

Errors, Inaccuracies and Misimpressions in Errol J. Lea-Scarlett's *Queanbeyan: District and People* (1968), *Gundaroo* (1972) and *Queanbeyan in Distaff* (1983)

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PREFACE

Mr. Errol J. Lea-Scarlett's *District and People* (1968) contains much factually incorrect information and errors of pivotal significance. There are also errors in Mr. Lea-Scarlett's *Gundaroo* (1972) which should be noted. Along with indisputably incorrect information, certain departures from factual accuracy, while subtle, have great significance in terms of implication or historical interpretation and analysis and incompleteness, ambiguity and pointed implication in certain instances may give rise to important misconceptions. In 1972, Mr. Lea-Scarlett gave an address, "*Queanbeyan in Distaff – Some women who helped to shape local history*", to the Queanbeyan Professional and Business Women's Club, which was published in the *Canberra Historical Journal No. 1* in 1973 and reproduced in *Queanbeyan Pioneers: A First Study*, by Cross and Sheedy (1983). Errors and attitudes evident as sub-text in *D & P* and *Gundaroo* are augmented and amplified in that article which contains a striking misidentification and much questionable narrative.

In certain cases in *D & P*, discrepancy exists between the contents of official records and that which Mr. Lea-Scarlett states appears in them and there are instances where cited sources do not support his information. On several occasions, rumour and/or incorrect newspaper reports have been stated as fact, including in instances where corrections exist from the time or where official or other information differs or confirms that it is incorrect.

Several citations are incorrect and there are cases where cited sources do not exist, with no errata provided to indicate unintentional errors. Much material is unreferenced and unqualified, making verification difficult. In *D & P* this lack of qualification is further complicated by a statement in the "*Bibliographical Notes*" that un-named works on Queanbeyan and Australian history are not listed among the references "although some have been directly quoted". On occasion in *D & P* and *Gundaroo* there is reliance on secondary sources and indirect references with no immediate indication of that in the citations. For example, some of the references cited in *Gundaroo* are interviews with people taking place from 1969 to 1971 in relation to events taking place before those being interviewed were born, with some events spoken of having occurred nearly a hundred years previously. Useful as they may be for certain purposes, these verbal accounts cannot be considered to constitute primary sources of information or eye-witness accounts, but no qualification of this is stated where these accounts appear in the text. Little discretion has been used in invoking personal diaries, private correspondences and oral histories, with license being taken with these sources and without that qualification, making the line between human interest and factual accuracy delicate. In both *D & P* and *Gundaroo* comments and attitudes depicted are not necessarily those of the people to whom they have been attributed, but are due to license that has been taken with people who are not responsible for how they have been portrayed or cited. In instances, the discretionary judgement of reputable scholarship is ignored and in cases, even though Mr. Lea-Scarlett gives the impression he is quoting previous scholars, his commentary is contrary to theirs, while no indication is given of that in his text.

D & P and *Distaff* are highly editorialised works and Mr. Lea-Scarlett takes much license in his commentary, with much of that license based on factually incorrect information and with no indication that his comments are presumptive. In all of *D & P*, *Gundaroo* and *Distaff* there are instances where entire narrative and interpretation surrounds incorrect facts. There are examples where Mr. Lea-Scarlett cites or implies official records as the source or basis of his commentaries, but consultation with these records reveals that no such contentions exist in the sources cited or Mr. Lea-Scarlett's interpretation does not accurately reflect the information or views stated in the sources he cites, with no indication of that being given in the text. In several cases, commentary is unqualified or unreferenced and is invoked without qualification that it is Mr. Lea-Scarlett's interpretation only, making the line between opinion and historical accuracy indistinct. Many statements are ambiguous or carry uncertain meaning, with ominous or pointed implication that is not supported by the factual material of the time. In instances, incorrect impression is implied or could be gained or inferred due to manner of writing or omission of significant information or misimpression could exist due to meaning implied on entire reading where entire reading is required for meaning to exist. In certain cases pointed innuendo without qualification gives rise to objectionable interpretation. There are instances where balance is lacking or Mr. Lea-Scarlett has confidently taken a position that is questionable. Confusion of temporally dislocated events in *D & P*, gives rise to misimpression and in instances of brevity, Mr. Lea-Scarlett's summary accounts are contentious or inconsistent with material or more complete information.

Fictionalisation and misportrayal of individuals is a significant issue in all of *D & P*, *Gundaroo* and *Distaff*. Along with striking misidentifications and factually incorrect information, certain individuals have been subjected to accounts which are unqualified or unsupported by the evidence of the time. There are instances where Mr. Lea-Scarlett's, personally, subjective and judgemental denigration goes against explicit material information and is at times gratuitous, more "dirt" than detail, also without the qualification that it is commentative license, in the circumstances, its inclusion as human or

dramatic interest necessitating correction as a matter of historical accuracy, the narrative being so materially offensive to individuals involved.

While misidentification, misattribution and omission of pivotal information is an issue with Mr. Lea-Scarlett's histories of the district, political and personal bias is also pronounced in certain instances. A political "protectionist" Gale/O'Sullivan bias, which Lea-Scarlett introduces, for example in relation to the "1891" School of Arts, I contend, colours Mr. Lea-Scarlett's histories of the district in general and personal bias against an individual of note is explicitly evident in *Distaff*.

Time too, has, of course, rendered some of Mr. Lea-Scarlett's material inappropriate.

I have completed extensive research on the history of the Queanbeyan district, originally and independently, with reliance on primary sources and official records, and the correct material makes it apparent that certain information in *D & P*, *Gundaroo* and *Queanbeyan in Distaff* is explicitly in error or that it is questionable that it can be taken as historical fact. The proliferation of factual errors, lack of balance, debatable commentary and omission of important information, I believe, make *D & P* and *Queanbeyan in Distaff*, specifically, unreliable as sources on Queanbeyan history, at the least without qualification and correction. With *D & P* extensively cited as an authoritative history of Queanbeyan, including in more academic and official works, with some amount of public interest in relation to the history of New South Wales and Australia in general, issues with its original errors are compounded by repetition of the errors in work by other writers.

This paper contains a list of errors, inaccuracies and misimpressions identified in *D & P*, *Gundaroo* and *Queanbeyan in Distaff*. It is written in two parts – Part One addressing general errors and Part Two addressing errors in relation to politics. Due to their significance it may be advisable to jump directly to "Politics", starting on page 88.

The document does not contend that historians are not entitled to offer interpretation, opinion or differing points of view, but along with noting indisputably incorrect factual material, it identifies instances where commentary is based on incorrect information, balance is lacking or where it has not been qualified that commentary is opinion, license or presumption rather than fact. Anyone, of course, is entitled to their views, but in officially commissioned or sanctioned histories, and to which prominent people have put their names, I have taken the position that a certain standard is expected beyond that of personal "opinion", especially where license has not been qualified as such.

The corrections to Lea-Scarlett's work, by extension, addresses errors in works on Queanbeyan history in general that cite or are based on them, including where errors have been repeated unwittingly by other authors. However, selected works are referred to where relevant, such as *Queanbeyan Pioneers - A First Study* (1983) by Rex Cross and Bert Sheedy in which incorrect material by Mr Lea-Scarlett has been directly reproduced and contributions of issue credited to Mr. Lea-Scarlett feature prominently.

It may be that Mr Lea-Scarlett's work has been questioned by others, perhaps reflected in Prof Fitzhardinge's cryptic comment in his Foreword to *Queanbeyan Pioneers – A First Study* that "Critics of Queanbeyan [Pioneers?] might note that this book has been written, printed and published in Queanbeyan".

It should be noted that the attached corrections are brief and that consultation with my titles on the history of the district is necessary for broader context.

Please note that it has been necessary to extract excerpts from lengthy passages in Mr. Lea-Scarlett's work, including on occasions where entire reading is necessary for there to be recognition of his intentions. In those cases and in instances where incorrect or contentious commentary surrounds correct facts in such manner as to assign questionable context to those facts, an entirely original perspective may be necessary for a more accurate comprehension of the true context and character of events referred to, in which case I again refer to my works as noted above. In several instances I have addressed material to which Mr. Lea-Scarlett has assigned importance, making attention to corrections in relation to those events necessary.

The document does not claim to have addressed all the errors in or issues with the works referred to. My intention was not to trawl through Mr. Lea-Scarlett's work looking for errors. My research began as family history research, whereupon, being directly descended from four families of significance in Queanbeyan – the Afflecks, the O'Neills, the Boltons and the Griffiths', several members of whom were involved in every aspect of the district's history over many decades, it became necessary to research the entire history of the district. Having already completed much research originally and independently I then consulted previous work on the history of the district, whereupon, having already accessed much information, I was able to recognise errors in that work. I understand that without prior knowledge of the correct information and limited access to records previously that are now generally available, recognition of errors may have been difficult or that in isolation certain errors or issues may have seemed too insignificant for comment. However, being descended from families of the district who were among the most prominent and of cultural and pioneering significance, my initial research necessitated extensive and intensive detail on a comprehensive basis. Therefore, due to that, along with reliance on primary sources and my having completed much research before I consulted with any other work on the history of the district, from an independent and original perspective the issues were immediately self-evident. Inadvertent errors aside, for which I apologise in advance, I am reasonably confident that my work is, to the best of my knowledge, correct. Where I have noted discrepancies of significance with Mr. Lea-Scarlett's work, material has been checked by staff at State Archives and Records of New South Wales and the State Library of New South Wales.

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LIST OF ERRORS ADDRESSED

Page references to *Queanbeyan: District and People* are designated as “D&P”, to *Gundaroo* as “Gundaroo” and *Queanbeyan in Distaff* as “Distaff”.

Part 1 – General (Pages 5 - 87)

1. Page 97 (D&P) Opening celebrations for the Queanbeyan railway in 1887
2. Pages 107 and 108 (D&P) 1875 O’Connell Day speech incident with public school teacher, W. T. “Daddy” Holland, misidentification of members of the Queanbeyan Public School Board in relation to O’Connell Day incident, questionable account of events
3. *Distaff* Complaint about 1876 W. T. Holland in relation to pupil teacher, Isabella Ann O’Neill, misidentification of William Gregg O’Neill as the father of Isabella Ann O’Neill, incorrect references to the misidentified William Gregg O’Neill, misimpression of outcome
4. Page 111 (D&P) Maria Kenny was a teacher at the Public School, not St Benedict’s
5. Page 111 (D&P) Public School achievements
6. Page 105 (D&P) Schooling was not in private hands for the rest of the 1850’s - Christ Church C of E was open
7. Pages 105 to 107 (D&P) Dispute between Abraham Levy and Samuel Rae McPhail in 1869
8. Pages 105 to 112 (D&P) Education and schooling in the 1860s, the Church of England and Roman Catholic denominational schools
9. Pages 140 and 270 (D&P) Thomas Webber, Chief Constable of Police, misinterpretation of court case as a judge ruling that there was insufficient evidence of his death
10. Ambiguity due to indexation of three “Thomas Morans” under the same name
11. Page 129 (D&P) Loss of the mails by John Breen, possibly incorrect account
12. Page 129 (D&P) Batty Moran and Arthur Pooley, “Furious driving” cases in 1879, misidentification of police officer
13. Pages 76 and 265 (D&P) Incorrect references to Sen-const Thomas Moran
14. Pages 76 and 265 (D&P) Clarke Gang raid on Micalago
15. *Distaff* Statement that William Bruce and Lucy Hurley were harbouring “Pat Connell” is an error. It was “Tom Connell” and it was Snr-const. Thomas Moran who first arrested Bruce on suspicion of harbouring Tom Connell. Pat Connell had been shot dead by police much earlier.
16. Page 79 (D & P) References to bushranger, Frank Gardiner
17. Pages 78-79 (D & P) Capture of William Dunne and George Birmingham
18. Page 140 (D&P) References to Sub-inspector William Gregg O’Neill and raid at Jugiong by Ben Hall’s gang
19. Page 140 (D&P) Depiction of William Gregg O’Neill
20. Page 110 (D&P) Misidentification of Father James McAuliffe as “Jeremiah McAuliffe”
21. Page 111 (D & P) and page 67 (Gundaroo) Questionable depiction of Father McAuliffe in relation to sectarian strife and politics
22. Pages 144 (D & P) and pages 108 (Gundaroo) References to J. J. Wright and 1874 election
23. Page 144 (D&P) Orange flag-tearing incident
24. Page 93 and pages 97-98 (D&P) The O’Neills’ mails – James O’Neill began mail services to Lanyon in the 1850’s, it was not begun in the 1860’s
25. Pages 94, 95 & 140 (D&P) and pages 62-63 (Gundaroo) The roads and the railways
26. Pages 60-61, 140-141 (D & P) Free Selectors’ Associations
27. Page 135 (D & P) References to John Allan O’Neill’s *Queanbeyan Times* and *Queanbeyan Observer* newspapers – factual errors and biased perspective. The *Times* was not generally considered a “rag”, but was highly successful and gave rise to some of the most prominent writers, journalists and politicians in Australia and New Zealand.
28. Passages attributed to Lea-Scarlett in *Queanbeyan Pioneers*. References to *Queanbeyan Times* and John Farrell.
29. Page 135 (D & P) References to author, Miles Franklin, factual errors
30. Pages 157-158 (D&P) Misattribution of electric street lighting attempts to John Gale instead of George Tompsitt
31. Pages 124-127 (D&P) Queanbeyan Mechanics Institute/School of Arts – significant factual errors including that payment for Members was introduced in 1891. It was introduced in 1889, making the commentary based on that incorrect fact incorrect.
32. Pages 34-36 (Gundaroo) The Gundaroo Mutual Improvement Society – factual errors, questionable commentary
33. Page 114 (D & P) The Chinese in Queanbeyan
34. Pages 132 (D & P) Football in Queanbeyan – factual errors, misrepresentation of the game and individual players
35. Page 122 (D & P) and page 35 (Gundaroo) Questionable depictions of Harold Mapletoft Davis
36. *Distaff* References to Mary Ann Barnett, matron of Queanbeyan hospital
37. Page 53 and page 106 (D & P) Depiction of John Gale, editor of the *Queanbeyan Age*
38. *Edith May Walker* Unbalanced depiction of John Gale, factual error as to Rev. Fox
39. Article “John Gale” in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Factual errors.
40. Page 50 (D&P) The Presbyterian Church
41. Pages 140-143 (D&P) Dispute between J. J. Wright and W. G. O’Neill in 1870/71
42. (D & P) Complaints by John Allan O’Neill, J. J. Breen and J. Schofield against J. J. Wright in 1870

43. *Gundaroo*. Relationship between the Afflecks and John Gale and the Afflecks and the De Salises
44. *D & P*, *ADB* and *Gundaroo*. Contradictory depictions of J. J. Wright, giving altered context to events
45. *Distaff* References to George Tompsitt and Emma Tompsitt
46. *Distaff* First white women and children in the district
47. Page 171(*D & P*) Error re dentist, Amos Firth
48. Page 28 (*D & P*) Subtle but significant error re Alured Tasker Faunce
49. Pages 70 - 71 (*D & P*) Early bushrangers
50. Page 71 (*D & P*) Bushranger, William Westwood
51. Pages 62-63 (*D & P*) Roads and Fencing disputes in the early 1880s, depiction of E. K. Crace
52. Page 67 (*D & P*) Founding of the 1883 P A & H Association
53. *Distaff* (pp 190 - 191) Jane Getty Wilson and Caroline Jackson

Part 2 – Politics (Pages 88 – 103)

Page 126, pages 138-152 and page 249 in *D & P*. Factual errors and questionable commentaries.
 Pages 63 and 109-112 in *Gundaroo*. Factual errors and questionable commentaries

Part One - General

1. Page 97 (*D&P*). Lea-Scarlett's account of the opening of the Queanbeyan railway in 1887 states

It was a cold and miserable day, but 700 sightseers, as well as the town Band and Volunteer Corps joined J. J. Wright, the Mayor, in honouring the occasion. There was however a perfunctory quality about the whole function, with political devotees jostling for representation, social divisions painfully evident, unemployment and depression looming. A sixth sense warned the inhabitants that the railway was not going to be the key to economic advancement and the main hope of prosperity after all. The distinguished visitors had a look about the town, joined a banquet in the railway goods shed and were gone. There were no sore-footed, night-long dancers to blink at the next dawn as they found their way home. So much for the age of speed.

Lea-Scarlett's information is incorrect. The celebrations for the railway opening were among the most lavishly funded ever held in Queanbeyan and there was a grand ball which the visiting Ministerial party did attend until the wee hours and for which catering was provided from Sydney and a small orchestra brought in from Goulburn, all at great expense.

...The day's festivities were brought to a conclusion by a grand ball in the evening, at the Protestant Hall. Mr. Sutherland and Clarke and a number of Sydney visitors attended the ball, which proved a most successful affair. The Ministerial party return to Sydney by special train to-morrow.

– *Sydney Morning Herald*, Friday 9 September, 1887, p4

...The ball held in the Protestant Hall, later on, was most successful, and was kept up long after the Ministers had left the town. The Ministerial party left at 4.30 a.m. by special train for Goulburn, where they caught the express to Sydney.

– *Australian Town and Country Journal*, Saturday 17 September, 1887, p17

The *Queanbeyan Age* referred to the celebratory ball in its 10 September issue (p2) which notes the “600 or 700” people who attended, but the perspective was that, despite it being an inclement day, all of Queanbeyan turned out and in the next issue it reported on the festivities in more detail.

RAILWAY BALL...

Since society formed itself in Queanbeyan no social gathering has ever been brought to such a successful and highly delightful issue; nothing was wanting to make the evening thoroughly enjoyable and the indefatigable committee justly earned the compliments passed on their abilities as excellent and judicious managers. The commodious and very convenient Protestant Hall was tastefully and comfortably arranged; a splendid string band from Goulburn discoursed enchanting music; while brilliant lights and beautiful costumes combined to complete a scene which will long be pleasantly remembered by many. Though the attendance was unusually large so excellent was the management that no discomfort or crowding occurred and all present were enabled to engage in the mazy dance to their fullest bent. Visitors gathered from Sydney, Goulburn, Yass, Cooma, Bungendore, and other places, to say nothing of the distinguished party comprising the Ministers, Members of Parliament, etc., who were of course, the lions of the evening. The catering arrangements had been entrusted to Mr. John I. Smith, of Sydney, and his name is a sufficient guarantee that everything was complete in that department. We have been specially requested to make a note of the ladies' costumes...

– *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 14 September 1887, p2

Lea-Scarlett's information is unreferenced and his statements unqualified. It should be noted that the response to the railway by the people of Queanbeyan is Lea-Scarlett's own interpretation, unsupported by his incorrect basis for this that there was no ball to celebrate the occasion. In reality, every effort was made to ensure that the event was not politicised. The politics of protection v. free trade was beginning its aggressive incursion into Queanbeyan life, although nowhere in *D & P* is this specified by Lea-Scarlett, but in this instance, because of that, objection was raised to a potential source of discord, not as a reflection of division but in an attempt to prevent it. Protectionist Member for the district, E. W. O'Sullivan, had originally scheduled a meeting at Ginninderra to form a Ginninderra Protection Union, timed to coincide with the railway opening, but under protest from George Tompsitt and William Affleck, who stated that the opening events should be apolitical, O'Sullivan postponed the meeting until after the celebrations.

Lea-Scarlett may be confusing Queanbeyan for the opening of Bungendore railway station, two years earlier in March, 1885, when the Ministerial party attended a banquet in the goods shed and then left, but two or three thousand people attended and a ball was held, even though many of the townspeople had gone to Sydney to farewell troops to the Sudan.

2 and 3. Incidents with Queanbeyan Public School teacher, W. T. Holland, in 1875 and 1876. Lea-Scarlett's account of these matters contain significant errors and his statements are discrepant with the records held by NSW State Archives and Records that he cites as his sources. Consultation with the original records held by State Archives, in parliamentary records, in official notices and in other material, reveals distinctively different information. Lea-Scarlett misidentifies the people involved in these incidents and thereby also misattributes the forces at work in these cases.

As this is a notable example of incorrect factual material and questionable interpretation, I have addressed this topic in relative detail for illustrative purposes with a correction of specific errors, along with a chronologically correct account of the incidents with W. T. Holland in 1875 and 1876. Other errors are addressed more concisely, but please note that even though I have not addressed all other errors in the same detail, there are instances where similar issues apply.

Please note also that although the material records have been obtained from State Archives, the commentary in relation to it is entirely my own.

2. Pages 107 and 108 (*D&P*). O'Connell Day speech incident with Public School teacher, W. T. Holland, in 1875.

Lea-Scarlett states that

In the sectarian heat of the mid-seventies, J. J. Wright was to repeat the very behavior which had brought down his scathing denunciation upon George Campbell twelve years before...

He goes on to say that Holland

...had to put up at an inn not daring to bring his sick wife to the wretched residence provided to him...

...Even after the passage of the Public Schools Act of 1866 which brought both denominational and public schools under the control of one central board, the government expected residents to find one third of the cost of school buildings. This delayed the provision of permanent quarters for the Queanbeyan school for thirteen years, during which there were frequent changes of premises. While the Church of England and Roman Catholic schools both had permanent and well-appointed buildings and provided residences for the teachers, the public school pursued a troubled course from a dirt floor shanty in Rutledge-street, Oddfellows' Hall and finally, in 1870, Levy's abandoned store (now Woolworth's site) which had passed into the possession of J. J. Wright.

When McPhail's successor, William T Holland (affectionately known as "Daddy"), arrived at the beginning of 1870 the members of the School Board were looking forward to a period of peace following the departure of both Levy and McPhail. Permanent quarters were still out of the question because they could not raise their share of the £1050 estimated cost, but they had secured the vacant store which they considered to be 'most central, commodious and in every way well adapted for temporary use as a school, and upon which there is a comfortable residence for a teacher'. Daddy Holland quickly learnt that the members of the School Board did not feel that the teacher required anything like the comforts that they enjoyed in their own homes...

...at the Roman Catholic school at Pyrmont his methods had been assessed as "indifferent and barely tolerable"; now at Queanbeyan he got on the nerves of the Board because of his loud complaints about the house they had for him.

...He saw J. J. Wright, a powerful member of the School Board elected to parliament in 1874 with the Catholic vote going against him, but could not employ discretion in his public behaviour...

...The Irish faction, hesitant at first about which side to support, came out against J. J. Wright in the politics of 1874. Thus far their stand was based on religious grounds and local politics. Daddy Holland surprisingly twisted it towards Irish Nationalism. In 1875 celebrations were held to mark the centenary of the birth of Daniel O'Connell, 'the liberator', hero of the Irish. A local function for the celebrations was held on 7 August and at it Holland got up and made a speech 'not only anti-English but even of a disloyal, if not positively seditious character'.²¹ There was no reaction from the school authorities at the time, but a fortnight afterwards, the Chairman of the Board, Thomas Parr, resigned. He was succeeded by James Bamford Thompson, who immediately requested Holland's removal. At the same time, J. J. Wright, as landlord, announced that he would evict the school from his premises, recalling no doubt the forces that had opposed his own election. For a month the whole future of the school hung in the balance, with classes suspended for part of the time, J. J. Wright blocking an attempt to move back to the Oddfellows' Hall, and the authorities in Sydney desperately approving a plan put forward by thirty-two Protestant parents of pupils to move the school into a tent. Wright's first change in position came when he offered to reinstate the school if Holland were moved away, and in the end he had to give up altogether, allowing both teacher and school to resume, following a conciliatory gesture from Holland. This took the form of an excuse based on his own illness, caused by the building he had to occupy. Furthermore, he explained, 'I am an Englishman and loyalty to my queen and country was taught to me as a religious truth. My address which was extempore was quite a different affair from what appeared in print'.²² This was probably quite true, but Wright was ready to shift ground, for he was about to suffer a defeat which would have rankled worse, as Rev. A. D. Soares, and George Campbell, two of his most adamant opponents, had agreed, as trustees, to place the disused Christ Church School at the disposal of the Public School.

Note "21" cites "J. B. Thompson, 23 August, 1875 – Council of Education In-letters 1875 (AONSW 1/1008)."

Note "22" cites "W. T. Holland, 18 September, 1875 – Council of Education In-letters 1875 (AONSW 1/1008)."

- a. The letters cited were unlocatable under the information given by Lea-Scarlett. The correspondence was located by staff at NSW State Archives and Records in Series Number 3829 School Files 5/17409A Queanbeyan 1876 – 1911.
- b. Thomas Parr was not the Chairman of the Public School Board and he did not resign from the Board - he was the Secretary. At the time of the O'Connell Day incident he resigned as Secretary but remained on the Board. He was still on the Board when the new school building was formally opened in November, 1877.
- c. J. B. Thompson was never the Chairman of the Board. Thompson replaced Parr as Secretary and he wrote to the NSW Council of Education in that capacity on behalf the Board, who were unanimous in their request to remove Holland from his position in Queanbeyan. All of this is evident in the letter Lea-Scarlett cites and wherein Thompson clearly signs himself as "Secretary". It is also clear that the Dan O'Connell Day speech was not the only reason for the request - a major criticism was that Holland was neglecting the girls and this may be significant in relation to another matter which took place the following year.
- d. Lea-Scarlett notes that Wright was a member of the School Board, however, throughout, J. J. Wright was the Chairman of the School Board.

- e. Although Wright is highlighted in relation to this incident, the Board's request for Holland's removal was fully urged on by John Gale through the *Queanbeyan Age*.
- f. Lea-Scarlett's quotation of Thompson's letter and his reference to "school authorities" is ambiguous. The NSW Council of Education did not believe Holland's speech to be "seditious" and other School Board members' reasons for demanding Holland's removal were not necessarily on account of the O'Connell Day speech.
- g. Lea-Scarlett's tacit agreement with the Board that Holland "twisted" the O'Connell celebrations "to Irish nationalism" is Lea-Scarlett's own assessment and was not shared by the NSW Council of Education, who did not consider Holland's conduct sufficient grounds for removal and who refused to comply with the local Board's request for this.
- h. Wright was also the landlord of the building at the time, but the Council of Education refused to transfer Holland and it was this that prompted Wright to evict the School as landlord, with John Gale defending Wright through the *Age*. It should be noted that the parents, including of the protestant children, disagreed with Gale and the Board. Although Gale at first claimed Wright had evicted the School due to non-payment of rent, when the real reason was leaked to the Sydney papers, the press outside Queanbeyan condemned the local School Board for their "narrow-minded bigotry". J. J. Brown of the *Yass Courier* defended Holland's right to free speech and objected to a teacher being brought to account for their out-of-school activities and the 'unquestioning subservience' being demanded by a local Board. In reply, Gale believed a teacher's out-of-school conduct to be answerable to the local Board, invoking the language that had been conveyed in the Board's private communication to the Council of Education, claiming that if "sedition or disloyalty" were alluded to, even outside school, that the Board was within its rights to act (*Qbn Age*, Sat 18 Sep 1875, p2).
- i. Wright's offer to allow the school back into his building was not "following" a gesture from Holland. Wright wrote to the Council of Education in response to a request from them begging him to allow the school to remain in his building, which he refused. This was before Holland wrote a letter in response to the accusations about him. While there may be some basis to it, the references to Soares and Campbell in relation to Christ Church at this time as the motive for Wright's back-down are spurious. Wright was more likely reacting to a telegram sent to the Council of Education by the protestant parents in support of Holland offering to continue the school in a marquee and to the exposure of the incident in the NSW press. Around this time, Wright was joining with Rev. Soares in relation to a separate matter at the hospital involving Father McAuliffe and the following year, Wright himself helped arrange a move to Christ Church school room while the new PS building was being constructed when, *at that time*, Rev. Soares objected.
- j. In his September 18 letter, Holland did not apologise for his speech on account of illness or anything else. He merely apologised for being the "innocent" cause of such "trouble". He stated that what was in print was different from what he had said, but claimed no wrongdoing. Holland did write of himself and his wife being ill, which he said the "medical men" had determined was due to the state of the building, but this was following the incident in the context of requesting a leave of absence in order to be able to recover from the ordeal. Holland stated his belief that his removal had been "determined upon" for some time by a faction that had brought "discord and ill-feeling" into the district.
- k. Holland's reference to the state of the building, specifically in the context of excuse, was made in the year after the O'Connell Day incident when answering for neglect of duty in an entirely separate matter. Lea-Scarlett's reference to Holland and his wife staying at an inn instead of the house provided is unreferenced, but in the letter written by Holland, dated 18 September, 1875, Holland stated that he and his wife were still living in the building out of necessity, this assumedly being the house provided with the school.

Nine months later, in a separate matter, in June, 1876, the District Schools Inspector believed that Holland was claiming the well-known state of the school as an excuse for neglect of duty as his answer to a complaint about him in that matter. These comments were made in July, 1876, long after an architect had already been engaged to build a new school.

- l. There is little evidence for the contention that complaints as to the state of the building was the reason for the Board's request for Holland's removal. Contrary to the implication that there was disagreement with Holland over the premises, the hazardous state of the building was already well-known and the Council of Education feared that the incident with Holland may delay construction of the new building, for which plans were already underway, with the architect having to be advised of urgency due to the School having been evicted from its current building by Wright.
- m. Lea-Scarlett's implication that Wright was reacting to the Catholics' rejection of him in the 1874 election is incorrect. Lea-Scarlett's invocation of Catholic aggression, supposed "Irish nationalism" on Holland's part and a

“neutral” Wright somehow distanced from the events of 1875, gives incorrect impression. Contrary to Lea-Scarlett’s account, Wright had made a very aggressive anti-Catholic speech in July, 1874, which was the explicit cause of the Catholics voting against him in the December election. Contrary to Lea-Scarlett’s implication in his chapter on politics in *D & P* that Wright was “neutral”, the events of 1875 were consistent with Wright’s extreme anti-Catholic sentiments. So aggressive had Wright’s July, 1874, speech been that the Catholics urged a vote in December for William Forster, the man who wanted to remove all state funding from Catholic schools.

- n. The designation of an “Irish faction” in equation with Catholicism is misplaced. There were many Irish protestants in Queanbeyan and this assignment is inconsistent with Lea-Scarlett’s other references in other accounts. The invocation of ‘Irishness’ in questionable context recurs throughout Lea-Scarlett’s accounts of Queanbeyan and that is referred to elsewhere in this paper.

3. In *Distaff*, Lea-Scarlett refers to the 1875 incident with Holland and to an incident with Pupil Teacher, Isabella Ann O’Neill, in 1876. However, his account contains a significant misidentification and factual errors and his summary interpretation is discordant with the official records held by the NSW State Archives and Records that he cites as his source. The assessment of Holland is also inconsistent with earlier comments in *D & P*. In *Distaff*, Lea-Scarlett states

William Gregg O’Neill...was the father of a number of daughters and one son. Some of his daughters were concerned with education in Queanbeyan, and one of them was a pupil teacher at the public school some ten years after Mrs Francis resigned. By that time, O’Neill had well and truly returned to the town and was busy, in his blustering Irish way, stirring up hornets’ nests. The public school had just weathered a storm blown up by the wrath of another Irishman, J J Wright, about the supposed disloyalty of the teacher, Daddy Holland, when O’Neill created a stir on the grounds that Holland, instead of giving his daughter an hour’s instruction daily, was teaching Latin to two boys, one of them, J. B. Thompson’s son. Miss O’Neill came out of the ensuing row with no loss beyond what she could cure by pouting. Holland emerged with an excoriation of O’Neill to his credit: ‘It would be difficult to find a man more thoroughly or universally hated. His speciality is to foment strife and enmity in the community and under the guise of assumed holiness conceals a base and wicked disposition.’³⁶

Note “36” cites “W. T. Holland, Queanbeyan, to Secretary, Council of Education, 11th July, 1876 (Archives Office of NSW P. 1708)”.

- a. Lea-Scarlett’s citation for Holland’s letter was unidentifiable by staff at NSW State Archives and Records. However, the relevant correspondence was located in the School File for Queanbeyan Public School (5/17409A Queanbeyan 1876 – 1911), Series 3829.
- b. Isabella Ann O’Neill was not the daughter of William Gregg O’Neill, who had nothing whatsoever to do with the Holland incident in 1876. Isabella was the daughter of John Allan O’Neill and this is to whom Holland is referring, but not “to his credit” as Lea-Scarlett personally determines, but as a contributing factor to Holland being “reprimanded” and “cautioned” by the Council of Education for attempting to blame others for established misconduct. The misidentification is equally unfortunate in that at this very time William Gregg O’Neill was being awarded a special citizenship award in the form of an especially arranged public testimonial on the grounds of his work for the hospital – an award O’Neill had to be persuaded to accept. He had rejected it the previous year (*Qbn Age*, Wed 20 Jan 1875, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30597424>]) and acceded in 1876, only under pressure from John Gale and the hospital Board (*Qbn Age*, Wed 26 Jan 1876, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30600026>]). The presentation was made by J. J. Wright in a ceremony held for the purpose in July, 1876, at the very time the incident with Holland was taking place (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Jul 1876, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4254550>]; *SMH*, Tues 11 Jul 1876, p4,5 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13376515>]). W. G. O’Neill was considered one of the kindest and most generous men in Queanbeyan. At this same time he was also being commended for collecting subscriptions for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institute in Sydney, as was his usual practice.

W. G. O’Neill did have a daughter called Isabella Ann, but there was never a question that the Pupil Teacher at the Public School was John Allan’s daughter. Nowhere in the letter cited by Lea-Scarlett is there any reference to William Gregg O’Neill. Information held at State Archives explicitly identifies John Allan O’Neill as Isabella’s father, including a letter by him of 3 October 1877, to the Council in the same bundle (77-15626 or 77/22239) and incidental information in the correspondence Lea-Scarlett cites indicates John Allan as the man being referred to, i. e. reference is made to Isabella’s “brothers”, plural, in relation to an eye condition, when W. G. O’Neill had only one five year old son at the time. In October, 1877, Isabella’s father requested Isabella’s pay in arrears on her promotion to Class III in 1875, an increase from £24 to £30 per annum, from the Secretary of the Council of Education, Wilkins [NSWSA: NRS 3829, [77.22239]. The public information in the *Qbn Age* at the time also identifies Isabella Ann O’Neill as John Allan O’Neill’s daughter (*Qbn Age*, Wed 11 Mar 1874, p2).

PUBLIC SCHOOL EXAMINATION. - Miss Isabella Ann, daughter of Mr. J. A. O’Neill, proprietor of the Queanbeyan Times, has passed her fourth examination, and is now first class pupil teacher under the Council of Education. Miss O’Neill’s next grade will be that of assistant teacher.

- *Manaro Mercury*, Wednesday 5 November 1879, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page12466049>]

Previously, in October, 1875, when an attempt was made on Father McAuliffe and the matron at the hospital by O'Neill's brother, John Allan, supported by J. J. Wright and Rev. Soares, for supposedly interfering with the religious beliefs of a patient, W. G. O'Neill, Secretary of the Hospital, had disagreed with his brother.

- c. What really happened was that Holland was reported to the Council of Education by the District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, for neglect of duty. Isabella was the Pupil Teacher at Queanbeyan Public School, appointed in 1874. In a legally regulated arrangement, under the Pupil Teacher training system the Pupil Teachers were taught in-house by the Teacher who gave them an hours' instruction a day, either before or after school. On this basis the Pupil Teachers received their training in preparation for their examinations, promoted annually through four levels until they were awarded their teacher status. Throughout this time, the Pupil Teacher essentially performed the duties of teacher. In 1876, O'Neill complained to Murray that for nine months or more Holland had neglected his instruction to her in order to conduct a private Latin class instead. A meeting was held with Murray, O'Neill, Holland and O'Neill's father, John Allan O'Neill, during which Holland admitted his neglect and to the private class, which he was conducting in school time on school premises instead. Murray referred the matter to the Council of Education, to which Holland replied with a claim that the School building was "too hot or too cold" in which to work after school, a character attack on J. A. O'Neill and an accusation that Murray had misrepresented their meeting. Holland claimed Murray had omitted the personal reason he claimed he had stated as to why he was neglecting his duty, being disagreement with the girl's father, supposedly due to the earlier O'Connell Day incident. Murray replied that Holland had no authority to conduct a private class on the side while neglecting his salaried requirements, that Holland's excuse that the building was too hot or too cold was "absurd" given that he was conducting the private class in the same building, a denunciation of his deflection of blame for admitted neglect onto himself and the girl's father and admonishment for attempting to "mix up" the issue with the O'Connell Day incident. This latter was doubly offensive as during that matter J. A. O'Neill had attempted to help keep the school open. The result was that Holland was reprimanded and cautioned by the Council of Education. W. G. O'Neill had since assumed possession of the building in which the School was leased by J. J. Wright and at this point he advised Holland he wanted the building for his own purposes. This time there was no argument from the Council of Education and Holland was transferred to the Catholic school in Yass. The Public School was then conducted in the Christ Church school room, under arrangements by the Church Wardens, led by Thomas Parr, against the wishes of Rev. A. D. Soares, until the new building opened in November, 1877.
- d. Lea-Scarlett's personal determination of Holland's conduct as being "to his credit" was not the determination of the Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, who defended John Allan O'Neill and spoke severely of Holland's attempt at evasion of responsibility for misconduct. Holland was rebuked for engaging in personal character attack, with Murray stating that O'Neill "was as he had been represented to him viz., a quiet respectable tradesman".
- e. Lea-Scarlett's account is not representative of the judgment of the Council of Education or the Schools Inspector and does not accurately reflect the official "outcome" of the matter being that Holland was *reprimanded and cautioned* for neglect of duty under the regulations. Any impression gained by the ambivalent term "Holland emerged..." that this was the outcome of the matter in general is incorrect. It was Schools Inspector Murray who reported the matter to the Council of Education and who referred to Holland in very severe terms for his neglect and for his attitude. Murray pointed out the responsibility Holland would bear if through his negligence, the pupil teacher was denied promotion and commensurate increase in salary, even accusing him of 'dishonesty' in failing to fulfill his legal obligations. Lea-Scarlett's contention that Isabella O'Neill was "pouting" is unreferenced, so it is uncertain what is meant by that, but it is Lea-Scarlett's personal determination, contrary to information in the sources he cites and the position of Schools Inspector Murray and the Council of Education. It was with Holland that the Schools Inspector and Council of Education took issue over what they considered to be unjustified and deflective excuses for established neglect.

...After the inquiry I pointed out to the teacher that in as much as he received the whole of the fees, the Pupil Teacher, by her labor in the School actually paid him for the hour's special instruction that he was bound to give her on every school day, and that he was not at liberty to accept any employment or to enter into any engagement that would in any way interfere with his duty to her or prevent him giving her at least a full hour's teaching to commence immediately after dismissal of the school on every school day. I also pointed out to him the serious responsibility he would incur if through his neglect, the Pupil Teacher's term of apprenticeship were lengthened by a whole year and she deprived of twelve months' increase of salary.

The Teacher's plea of being physically indisposed to teach his Pupil Teacher after school while at the same time he taught a Latin class, is really absurd. But if he really felt fatigued at the close of the day and unable to teach his Pupil Teacher he certainly was unable to teach his special Latin class, and if an honest man, he would have done what some other teachers do, viz, teach his Pupil Teacher in the morning before he opened School.

It is quite clear and confirmed by his own admission that Mr Holland has neglected his duty to his Pupil Teacher and the fears expressed by the Pupil Teacher at her examination show that already she feels that she has suffered injury in consequence.

- Letter to Council of Education by Yass District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, 30 June, 1876

...It is absurd in Mr Holland to plead in extenuation of proved and acknowledged neglect of duty that his School room was too hot in summer and too cold in winter for him to teach his pupil teacher from four to five o'clock, while at the same time and in his pupil teacher's time, he taught a private Latin class which ultimately dwindled down to Master Thompson and the gaoler's son.

- Letter to Council of Education by Yass District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, 18 July, 1876

Incidents with Queanbeyan Public School Teacher, W. T. Holland, in 1875 and 1876 (J. Davis)

The records relating to these matters are held at NSW State Archives and Records, Series Number 3829 School Files 5/17409A Queanbeyan 1876 – 1911. Other sources include the newspapers and journals, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, *Manaro Mercury*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Queanbeyan Age*, *Yass Courier* and the *New South Wales Government Gazette*.

The arrival of Catholic Father James McAuliffe at St Gregory's in January, 1869, was an event of major significance. McAuliffe was a man of exceptional interest and he immediately became one of the most substantial figures in Queanbeyan, accepted by people of all denominations, in a meteoric rise in popularity. Barely months before McAuliffe's arrival, extremist O'Farell had attempted to assassinate the visiting Duke of Edinburgh at Clontarf and Henry Parkes had introduced the *Treason-Felony Act* in response. Yet, amid the sectarian tensions of the time, such was Father McAuliffe's presence that in Queanbeyan, not the Catholic St Gregory's, but the C of E Christ Church school dissipated against the rise of the Public School. Ironically, at the height of the anti-Catholic hysteria, in 1869, enrolments at St Gregory's surpassed that of the Public School. Following the 1872 election, McAuliffe played a role in the reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants. As a conciliatory gesture, Parkes had appointed the Catholic, Edward Butler, as Attorney-General and as the great historian, A. W. Martin, notes, McAuliffe assisted in a banquet held in Queanbeyan for Parkes and Butler designed to assist the process (Martin, A.W. 1957. *Electoral contests in Yass and Queanbeyan in the 'seventies and 'eighties*. Sydney Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings). The hazardous state of the Public School building was well-known and following a tour of the town during his 1872 visit, Henry Parkes had "needed no convincing". Parkes's visit was important for another reason. J. J. Wright and Parkes had been friends since the 1840s and whether or not it was Parkes who convinced Wright to stand in the 1874 parliamentary election, association with the man who had introduced the *Treason-Felony Act* was conspicuous.

Father McAuliffe was sincere in his active attentions. He established or supported schools throughout the district and assisted people in need, including women, who were especially disadvantaged, at an immediate and personal level. The prosecution of a teacher for rape was partly due to him, he dismissed a teacher for drunkenness and later in 1879, he was to found St Benedict's Higher School for Young Ladies. Supported by prominent Catholics in the district and people of all faiths, major advances in the Catholic church took place under McAuliffe. A branch of the Holy Catholic Guild was established, St Patrick's at Micalago was improved in 1871 (*Man Merc*, Sat 11 Mar 1871, p2), St Gregory's was enlarged in 1873 "to meet the wants of the congregation" (*Qbn Age*, Thur 24 Jul 1873, p2) and in that year also St Mary's in Bungendore was enlarged for the same reason (*Qbn Age*, Thur 14 Aug 1873, p2). He generally dissuaded sectarian hostilities and when a bazaar was held in aid of St. Gregory's, notable was the multilateral support for the school. On Christmas Day in 1873, over five hundred people attended his Christmas mass at St Gregory's, when at that time the entire population of the town of Queanbeyan was about 550 and the voting population of the entire district was about 1000 people. At the time of his death in 1879, McAuliffe was ministering to about 1000 Catholics in the district.

Due to McAuliffe's popularity and dissuasion of violence, that he was well-supported by prominent Catholics in the district, that he was good friends with W. G. O'Neill, ever a pacifying force in the district, and that even John Gale was careful to give him good press, unlike in much of NSW at the time, in Queanbeyan, Orange v Green was kept relatively tame. However, although the March 1870 sunset Clause of the *Treason-Felony Act* had allowed its worst effects to diminish, residual tensions flared on occasion at the hands of determined sectarians. Even Rev. Soares did not have the same following as McAuliffe and, however innocent, the incomparable popularity of "the priest", as both Leopold Fane De Salis and J. J. Wright referred to him in letters to Henry Parkes, made him a figure of attention for his enemies. At election time, his influence was both sought and feared and although McAuliffe denied proselytising, with Catholics in the district on the rise fear translated into accusations of militancy. In June, 1874, there was an archepiscopal visit by the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, Vaughan. Four weeks later, J. J. Wright took an active part in the 12 July Orange celebrations and delivered an anti-Catholic speech so offensive that today it would be practically unprintable (*Qbn Age*, Wed 15 July 1874, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30596328>]). So aggressive was Wright's speech it prompted the Catholics to vote in the December parliamentary election for his opponent, William Forster, the man who wanted to remove all state funding from denominational schools. John Gale, who already despised Forster and supported Wright in the election, attempted to appeal to the Catholics on that point.

Will they of Queanbeyan at a time when a system of education which meets their views is imperilled, return as their representative the man who on the 23rd January in last year moved in the Assembly a resolution to withdraw all funds from Roman Catholic Denominational Schools? Will they return in Mr FORSTER a man who to-morrow, if he had the chance, would overturn the present system of education, and substitute a system of cold heathen philosophy for one which breathes the grand principles of our common Christianity?
— *Queanbeyan Age*, 16 December 1874, p2

However, the Catholics led by McAuliffe, who personally led Forster's meeting at Bungendore, identified the objection to Wright as his sectarian hostility. The main issue with Catholic clergy interference in elections in NSW in general at the time was that they were exerting their influence to defeat Parkes' 1867 *Public Schools Act*. In 1874, the exertions of the Catholics in Queanbeyan were to the opposite effect. In that election, the Catholics in Queanbeyan were urging people to vote for a man who was practically even more devoted than Henry Parkes in supporting public education and who wanted

to remove *all* state funding from denominational schools. The Catholics' objection was to Parkes' *Treason-Felony Act*, although framed by Dep. Police Inspector-General, Edmund Fosbery, an extreme measure of legislation recognised as a major blunder in Parkes' otherwise revolutionary career, with Forster being one of only two men who had had the presence of mind to vote against it. One political advertisement in the *Age* read

...Show humbly your votes that we do not want discord sown and fostered amongst us. Most of us have seen the evils of it.
Give every man the credit of believing what he professes and worshipping God in his own fashion.

Nevertheless, with the assistance of William Affleck, who had vowed never to support Forster again since he had betrayed the Afflecks' trust in 1860 by refusing to support the pivotal "free selection before survey" Clause 13 in John Roberston's *Land Bill*, and Gale accused of manipulating the fourth estate to win an election, Wright was returned as Member for the District. This was, however, good news for the Public School. Funds had been assigned and plans were well underway, even if technical difficulties caused delays. The original School Board, appointed in 1867, had consisted of J. J. Wright as Chairman, with Abraham Levy, Dr. Andrew Morton, Dr. W. F. Hayley, J. B. Thompson and John Gale (*NSW Gov. Gaz.*, Fri 14 Jun 1867, p1425; *Qbn Age*, Fri 21 Jun 1867, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4532992>]). Levy and Hayley had since been replaced by Leopold Fane de Salis and Thomas Parr.

William Gregg O'Neill had opposed J. J. Wright in the December, 1874, election. At the declaration of the polls Wright and O'Neill had declared their friendship and co-operation and for having supported Wright, John Gale immediately acted to mend the election wounds. At the January, 1875, hospital annual meeting, Gale, Rev. Soares and the hospital Board tried to arrange a special testimonial to O'Neill for having selflessly and almost single-handedly improved the efficiency of the hospital since his appointment as Honorary Secretary in 1868. However, O'Neill rejected the award, stating that if they went around raising funds for such a purpose he would resign.

...Mr Gale at the close of the chief business of the meeting, was about to refer to the eight years' honorary services rendered by the secretary, when that officer withdrew. On his re-entering the room the President read the subjoined resolution to the meeting, and handed it to the secretary, viz., Proposed by the Rev. A. D. Soares, and seconded by Mr Gale – "That the thanks of the meeting be accorded to Mr W. G. O'Neill for his valuable services as secretary to the hospital committee during his term of office, and that a committee be formed to consist of the Rev. T. R. McMichael, Mr John Gale, Mr Henry Cane, and the mover, to raise funds for the purpose of accompanying this vote of thanks with a small testimonial as a substantial expression of approval of his services." - Carried.

The Secretary failed to appreciate the action of the committee. He said he supposed a vote of thanks for eight years' services was nothing more than might be expected, but as to going about cap in hand for subscriptions to present him with a testimonial, he warned them to do nothing of the kind, the moment such a move was made, that instant he should resign.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 20 January 1875, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30597424>]

The issue of the school premises flared again when in the same issue of the *Age* in which O'Neill's services that had resulted in great improvements to the hospital were acknowledged, a letter from O'Neill was printed denouncing the school premises as being unfit for children. O'Neill stated that he was withdrawing his children for the present due to the unhealthy condition of the building and the prevalence of disease it encouraged.

THE CHILDREN ATTENDING OUR PUBLIC SCHOOL.
TO THE EDITOR.

Sir, - Permit me to ask through your columns if the parents who are sending their children to the public school know the risk they are running. That fever and other contagious diseases are now being brought to, and taken from the school, there can be little doubt. The school premises too are a disgrace to any civilized community - the filthy sickening odour which springs from the undrained ground floors, and the dilapidated state of the whole rookery renders the premises dangerous, and little short of the very jaws of death to enter. Until the prevalent epidemic which now rages subside and more healthy premises are secured for a public school, parents would do well to keep their children at home. I have withdrawn my children for the present. We should ever remember that prevention is better than cure.

Yours sincerely,

W. G. O'NEILL.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 20 January 1875, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30597426>]

In April, Henry Parkes continued his commitment to public education and funding restrictions on country schools were removed. Gale devoted an editorial to the new regulations that would assist with improving the "disgraceful" state of the Queanbeyan School, identifying that the School Board had been trying for some time to gain appropriate premises for the school and that government funding regulations had stood in the way of this. Gale noted the inconsistency between Sydney and country schools in this regard.

MR PARKES, as author of the existing Public Schools Act, has rendered additional good service to the country by his motion in the Assembly on Tuesday last having reference to removal of an unjust and oppressive regulation, requiring in the case of country school premises, that one-third of the cost of their construction should be raised by private contributions. The country districts have long groaned under this intolerable burden - intolerable because, while Sydney, with its wealth and prosperity and [?st] population, has had costly schools erected entirely at the expense of the Government, they (the people of the interior) have been called upon out of their comparative poverty, and notwithstanding their paucity of numbers, to bear so large a proportion of the cost of erecting such buildings as are barely adapted to their requirements. The direct effect of this one-sided regulation has been to check the spread of education in the interior. Perhaps no place furnishes a better example of this than our own town. Here for years past the public school has been conducted in an abandoned and dilapidated store, for want of more suitable premises. The school board have made frequent efforts to bring about a better state of things. But the Council of Education were inexorable. Nothing less than that the stipulated proportion should actually be placed to the credit of the board in some bank

would be accepted as a condition of their granting the residue. With other claims upon private liberality constantly pressing upon the public, and with the prejudice created by the well-known fact that Sydney schools were built without private aid, it has been found impossible to raise the amount required; and consequently we have been obliged to put up with a state of things disgraceful to any community. With better accommodation the attendance at country public schools would vastly improve, and consequently the educational condition of the people also. There appears to be plenty of money in the public exchequer, and it could not be better applied than in increasing the education vote with the object of supplying a better class of school buildings throughout the country districts than at present exists. The amended form in which the resolution was finally carried will be found in our parliamentary summary, and the opinion of the House as expressed therein will doubtless be effectual in causing the country schools in this respect to be placed on an equal footing with those of Sydney.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 24 April 1875, p2

In May, progress toward the new building was made with funds already assigned for the purpose due to the efforts of J. J. Wright as the Chairman of the School Board and now MLA for Queanbeyan, and Leopold Fane De Salis, also a member of the School Board and a Member of the Legislative Council. At the time, genuine progress toward a building was made, which Gale wrote of in the *Age*.

PUBLIC SCHOOL. - At last there is a near and clear prospect of suitable premises being erected for our local public school. Since the adoption by the Legislative Assembly of Mr Parkes' resolutions affirming the desirability of having the entire cost of the erection of public schools in the country districts, like those in Sydney, borne by the Government, the claims of the public school at Queanbeyan have been brought prominently before the Council of Education by the Hon. L. Fane De Salis, M.L.C.; and J. J. Wright, Esq., M.L.A, who are members (the latter gentleman chairman) of the local board, and the result is the handsome sum of 1500/ has been positively granted for the erection of new school premises at Queanbeyan. We may therefore confidently expect that the erection of the building will be commenced without delay.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 12 May 1875, p2

The exception of Queanbeyan Public School in terms of funding was mentioned in Parliament on May 31, when William Forster, now Colonial Treasurer, said in answer to a question from Henry Parkes that negotiations for a building had been in place for some time and the contributions from the Queanbeyan public had been noted. Forster's answer in Parliament that day was reported as

The Council of Education received on April 28th the resolution passed by this House on the 20th, against requiring a contribution of one-third of the cost of erecting and furnishing Public school buildings...The Council of Education had not since that time required from private sources a contribution of one-third or any other proportion of the cost of establishing any Public school. But in one case - that of Queanbeyan where negotiations had been going on for some time, the Council had offered to build a school-house costing about £1000, if the inhabitants would subscribe £300...It was not intended to require contributions from private sources in dealing with future applications for Public schools. But the Council would give precedence to cases in which the inhabitants showed their readiness to help in the cause of education.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 5 June 1875, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30598326>]

However, August 7, 1875, was the day of the Dan O'Connell celebrations, when Catholics celebrated the achievements of the Irish liberator in securing equality for Catholics in Britain and at which Public School teacher, W. T. Holland, who happened to be Catholic, made a speech. Both McAuliffe and Hollands' speeches as they appeared in the *Queanbeyan Age* were inoffensive, even if, as Holland later claimed, his speech had been misreported. Both McAuliffe and Holland had emphasised that O'Connell's achievements had been attained through peaceful, constitutional and legislative means and McAuliffe specifically included an anti-sedition disclaimer in his speech stating that O'Connell did not wrest the British crown as he had too much respect for it (*Qbn Age*, Wed 11 Aug 1875, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30598822>]).

Nevertheless, at the time, school teachers were under a requirement that they were not permitted to engage in matters of political controversy and this was the pretext on which the local Public School Board, of which J. J. Wright was the Chairman and J. B. Thompson, the leader of the Orange Lodge in Queanbeyan, a member, expressed disapproval of Holland to the NSW Council of Education. Local solicitor, Thomas Parr, who tended to stay neutral in political matters, resigned as Secretary of the Board, although remaining on the Board as an ordinary member, and on August 21, J. B. Thompson wrote to the Council of Education advising them that he had replaced Parr as Secretary.

Notifying resignation of Mr Parr and his election as Hon. Sec.

Queanbeyan
21 August 1875

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that T. Parr Esq. has resigned the office of Secretary to te Public School Board here and that I have been Elected in his stead.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient servant

J. B. Thompson

*To the Secretary to the
Council of Education
Sydney*

Two days after informing the Council of Parr's resignation, on August 23, Thompson wrote to the Council on behalf of the Board requesting Holland's removal, which he stated was a unanimous request.

Sir,

I am instructed by the Public School Board to bring the following circumstances under the notice of the Council of Education. On Saturday the 7th instant, Mr W. T. Holland teacher of the Public School here addressed a public meeting in the language reported in the accompanying *Queanbeyan Age*, which appears to the Board to be not only anti-english, but even of a disloyal, if not positively seditious character, and as such is strongly disapproved of by the parents of his pupils. The Board are therefore unanimously of opinion that – having due regard for the welfare of the School – Mr Holland has by this imprudent step left them no alternative but to request the Council of Education to remove him with the least possible delay. In urging this request strongly on the Council of Education the Board beg to state in justice to Mr Holland that they have no complaint to make of his conduct in the school which so far as they know has been carefully circumspect and they are not aware of anything in his conduct to misfit him for the satisfactory discharge of the duties of a Public School Teacher in any locality where he may have the discretion to avoid the offensive display of his strong sectarian proclivities.

I am further instructed by the Board to state that while Mr Holland's public assumption of an attitude hostile to the political and religious opinions of the parents of nine-tenths of the pupils attending the Public School has rendered his immediate removal necessary, it has only precipitated the action of the Board as it has been for some time intended to request the removal of Mr Holland on other grounds, such as the desirability of procuring a teacher of higher classification, and the inability of Mr Holland to take any active part in the management of the school leaving it entirely destitute of that most important adjunct the female supervision of the girls.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

J. B. Thompson,

Secr. to the P. S. Board

The Council of Education, however, refused to comply with the Board's request, replying on August 30.

The Council resolved that while it is very undesirable for Teachers of Public Schools to engage publicly in matters of political controversy, the circumstances in the present instance do not warrant so extreme a step as that recommended.

At this time, Wright held the lease on the school building and on September 7, as the landlord, he wrote to Holland that he wanted the room delivered up to him.

Queanbeyan
7th September 1875

Sir

As I shall require the rooms at present occupied as the Public School I have to request you will make arrangement to remove the furniture books etc by Saturday next.

I am Sir
Yours sincerely
J. J. Wright

Holland subsequently wrote to the Secretary of the Council of Education, Wilkins, advising him of that on receipt of which a note was made to send a copy, urgently, to the architect of the new building, Wilson.

7th September 1875

Sir,

I have to inform you that I have this day received from Mr Wright, the lessee of the premises now used for the public school, a peremptory notice to quit at the expiration of the present week.

I have spoken to Mr Parr a solicitor and the late Secretary of the Local Board and he informs me that as Mr Wright has received no rent for a considerable time and has allowed the premises to be occupied on sufferance there is no resource but to comply with the notice. I shall be compelled in consequence to close the school at the end of the week for a time at least as there is no building in the town at present available to accommodate the number of pupils who for the present quarter exceeds one hundred. The closing of the school will cause considerable annoyance and inconvenience and I have therefore to beg that you will for favour me with instructions how to act.

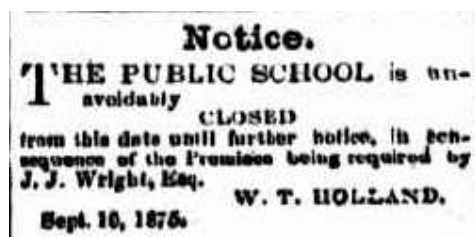
I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obedient Servant

W. T. Holland

On Saturday, Holland posted a notice in the *Age* that the school was closed indefinitely, due to the premises being required by J. J. Wright.



Qbn Age, Sat 11 Sep 1875, p3

At that point the *Age*, under John Gale, printed an explanatory article supporting J. J. Wright as landlord and Chairman of the School Board in evicting the school, supposedly on the premise of failure by the Council of Education to pay rent, but with no mention of any political motive for the Board's action.

Closing of the Public School.

The people of Queanbeyan will learn with surprise and regret, by reference to our advertising columns, that the public school here closes from to-day for an indefinite period, for want of suitable premises for school purposes. For many years the public school has been conducted, as our local readers know, in premises belonging to Mr J. J. Wright; but it may not be so well known that while for a year or two a miserable installment of the rent was paid by the Council of Education, the gentlemen composing the local school board paid the greater portion out of their own pockets, and afterwards, when the Council refused any further assistance, for some years longer bore the total cost of the rent, until at last they positively refused to do so any longer. But even after this, Mr Wright, who, besides being landlord of the premises, is chairman of the school board, continued to permit the occupation of the premises for school purposes for some two or three years longer, notwithstanding the doubtful prospect he had of getting his rent. All those years efforts had been put forth for building proper school premises, on the site granted by the Government for that purpose; but the movement was frustrated or delayed again and again, by circumstances over which the board had no control. Of course it was not to be expected that the most generous of landlords could thus indefinitely continue what in fact was a mere tenancy at will; and so at length the matter has been brought to an issue by the teacher being peremptorily ordered to quit the premises. Under the circumstances there is no alternative but to close the school, at least for the present, as there are no other premises in town available and suitable for the school, thus one hundred children are cast adrift without any immediate prospect of having their educational requirements satisfied. It is to be hoped the result of this crisis will be to show the Council of education the necessity of at once setting about the erection of school premises with the £1800 voted for that purpose.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 11 September 1875, p2

On Monday, 13 September, the Council of Education wrote to J. J. Wright "requesting that the use of the building may be continued for some time longer".

Council's Minute Upon Letter No. 75.14547

Queanbeyan

The Council resolved that the Secretary communicate with Mr. J. J. Wright, the owner of the premises in which the school has hitherto been conducted, requesting that the use of the buildings may be continued for some time longer as otherwise the school must be closed and the pupils deprived of the means of instruction.

The Secretary was further directed to bring the urgency of this case under the notice of the Architect in order that delay in the preparation of plans of new school buildings might be avoided.

13.9.75

However, the real reason for the local Board's action was leaked to the Sydney papers and others and on Tuesday, 14 September, the media outside Queanbeyan disclosed the real reason behind the local School Board's actions toward Holland. The *Yass Courier's* telegram read

QUEANBEYAN, Monday, 12:50 p.m.

The public school was closed today under the following circumstances: the local board had recommended the removal of Mr Holland, the teacher of the school, for what they considered an offensive speech delivered by him on the occasion of the local O'Connell Centenary banquet. The Council of Education, although disapproving of Mr Holland's language on the occasion in question, refused compliance with the application of the board. As no rent had been paid by the Council of Education for the use of the school premises, the chairman of the local board, the landlord, closed the school.

and the Sydney Morning Herald reported

QUEANBEYAN. - A telegram received yesterday states: - The Public school closed to-day under the following circumstances. The local Board recommended the removal of Mr. Holland, teacher, on account of a speech delivered by him at the O'Connell Centenary celebration. The Council of Education refused compliance, although not approving of Mr. Holland's language. No rent having been paid by the Council of Education for the use of the room, the chairman of the local board, as landlord, closed the school.

- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Tuesday 14 September 1875, p7

The issue now reported throughout the media outside Queanbeyan with specific reference to the O'Connell Day speech, the matter now took on a very different character with J. J. Brown at the *Yass Courier* denouncing the roboticism being imposed on the students and the teacher, defending Holland's right to free speech and objecting to a teacher being brought to account for their out-of-school activities and the 'unquestioning subservience' being demanded by a local Board.

The position of a school master under the Council of Education is a peculiar and unenviable one. He has no end of masters to serve. In this instance, indeed, his choice is not defined simply, as with most men, to one between God and Mammon, but to a range of lower deities, alternating between Mr. Wilkins and the members of his local board. Mr. Wilkins is the Scylla of his fate, and the leading men of the local board his Charybdis. And, we have quite forgotten the school inspector! Taking this by no means unimportant person into consideration, and we find, between God and Mammon, no less than three mighty powers to whom it behoves the public school teacher to 'kowtow.' Is such a state of things normal? We answer emphatically, no! A school teacher should be the head centre of his own immediate circle. Those whose lot it is to be *in statu pupillaris* under him should, so long as he act morally and honourably in the general esteem, acknowledge him as their master. If the title of master is to be diluted by hurried inspectorial reports, or brought into ridicule by the petty malice of the members of a local board, the sooner it ceases to be one sought after by our intelligent youth the better.

The true use of a local board is to help the master, not to master him; not to be continually sitting in judgment upon him, measuring his out-of-school phrases and criticising his out-of-school pursuits; and the true use of an inspector is not to discover what a teacher and his pupils do not know, but what they do know. Our ideas, however, are not those of Mr. Wilkins and of that Council whose servant he is supposed to be, but whose tyrant he is in reality. His idea is that a teacher should be the docile slave

of that perfect system which he (Wilkins) has set up in New South Wales — a system which does not ask for originality or talent in its underlings, but simply for a wretched unquestioning subservience.

We are under the impression that it would be quite feasible to institute an educational system in the colony under which the services of competent teachers might be secured without making it compulsory on them to drop the dignity of their manhood on accepting a *ferula* in the tutorial ranks, and without making a complete surrender of self respect a *sine qua non* to promotion. The Council of Education appears to think differently, at least, if we are to judge it by its acts. As we learn by a telegram received this evening from Queanbeyan, the local board of the public school of that township having found fault with a speech delivered by the master of that school, on the occasion of the O'Connell Centenary celebration, recommended his removal. Such an extreme step that Council would not proceed to; but they temporised, and, while not approving of his speech, refused to remove the obnoxious teacher. Now, what has the Council to do with a teacher's out-of-school opinions? If the teacher be a drunkard, or otherwise of bad repute, by all means dismiss him; but why censure him indirectly when he has done nothing worthy of censure? Mr. Holland, of Queanbeyan do not know, but surely he is none the worse a teacher for holding extreme views, either for or against O'Connell. The Queanbeyan public school local board, so far as we can see, had no right to criticise Mr. Holland's out-of-school observations on a topic open to the criticism of the general public; and unless the board was in a position to prove disorderly or bad conduct against Mr. Holland they had no right to recommend his removal from his post. The brief report we have received suggests the disagreeable notion that there has been bigoted stupidity on the part of the Queanbeyan board, and reprehensible weakness on the part of the Council of Education. If Mr. Holland was guilty of uttering a speech which his departmental heads could not approve of (presuming it to have been one they had a right to criticise at all) he ought to have been moved from his post. If he was not so guilty, his conduct should have remained uncriticised. As it is, the temporising policy of the Council of Education has placed them in this position; they have either allowed an unsuitable person to remain in possession of a not unimportant office, or have unjustly inflicted a penalty on a person not properly amenable to their jurisdiction.

- *Yass Courier*, Tuesday 14 September 1875, p2

The *Manaro Mercury* compared the *Age's* earlier "version" of the matter appearing in its 11 September account, stating that "a little more light is let in" by the *Courier* and the *Herald* and reproduced the *Courier's* editorial (*Man Merc*, Sat 18 Sep 1875, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article114397048>]).

On Thursday 16 September, Wright replied that he would allow the school back into his building if Holland was replaced as teacher.

Holland's speech now a matter of general discussion outside Queanbeyan, the *Age* now made specific reference to it, but differed with the *Yass Courier*, believing a teacher's out-of-school conduct was answerable to the local Board, in the language invoked in the private communication to the Council of Education, claiming that if "sedition" or "disloyalty" were alluded to, even outside school, that the Board was within its rights to act. The *Age's* account then was that when Wright evicted the School, Holland was appointed by the Council of Education to the Roman Catholic school in Goulburn and would transfer to there unless the Queanbeyan school was immediately re-opened, his appointment having already been announced in the *Goulburn Herald* (Sat 18 Sep 1875, p4). The *Age* stated that it was this that prompted the parents of many of the children to petition the Board in support of Holland and Holland therefore waited in Queanbeyan pending the result of that petition.

THE circumstances which led to the closing of the public school at Queanbeyan require to be plainly stated, in order that a proper estimate may be formed of the action taken by the Board and the Council in the matter, as well as that of the teacher, which originated the crisis. On the 7th of August last MR HOLLAND delivered a speech at the O'CONNELL celebration in Queanbeyan and which was duly reported in the local paper. His utterances on the occasion gave umbrage to certain citizens and the matter being taken up by the Board at a meeting convened for the purpose, it was held that the teacher had acted very unwisely, and that some of the sentiments expressed by him were disloyal and calculated to engender in others opinions and feelings such as dutiful subjects of the Crown ought never to cherish or tolerate. It being considered that Mr HOLLAND'S ideas being read by his pupils would beget in them similar dangerous principles, the Board, whilst bearing testimony to the general efficiency and otherwise unexceptionable conduct of the teacher, recommended his removal as the only means of neutralizing the effects of his objectionable political doctrines and giving assurance to the parents of children attending the school that there would in future be no grounds for apprehending a repetition of the evil. The Council's reply was not what the Board expected; for although expressing its disapproval of the part taken by the teacher in the demonstration, it did not consider that his conduct justified compliance with the request of the Board. Ere the matter must have ended, but for the circumstance that the Chairman of the Board (Mr WRIGHT) happened to be landlord of the premises in which the school was conducted, and, *as such landlord*, and not in his official capacity, Mr WRIGHT was at perfect liberty to terminate the tenancy-at-will under which the school was held in his premises, and with some show of reason, there being in large arrears of rent due. In vain did parents intercede, in vain did the Council of Education request the use of the buildings for some time longer until the completion of the proposed new school, pointing out the great hardship which would be the closure of the school, be inflicted on the pupils. Mr WRIGHT was inexorable; the premises would be available only on the condition of the change of teachers. Yesterday we were shown a requisition addressed to the Board, in course of signature, and already signed by the parents of a goodly number of the pupils, expressing their confidence in and regard for the teacher, and guaranteeing the rent of any other premises obtainable which may be found suitable for school purposes, provided the school be at once re-opened. This requisition has not yet come under the notice of the Board, so far as we know, and consequently we cannot speak as to its reception or disposal. The requisitionists were doubtless prompted to immediate action by the fact of the school being disorganized and that peremptory orders had been received by the teacher from the Council to proceed at once to the charge of the Roman Catholic Denominational School at Goulburn unless immediate action was being taken to have the Queanbeyan Public School re-opened. This appointment is also publicly announced in one of the Goulburn papers. Mr. HOLLAND, however, still remains in Queanbeyan abiding the result of the action being taken by the parents.

The action taken by the Board and the temporising of the Council, as well as the conduct of the teacher which gave rise to all this, have been freely canvassed both in and beyond the district. Our *Yass* contemporary has a leader on the subject, in which he holds that neither the Council nor the Board have any right to criticise a teacher's out-of-school opinions, and says that "unless the Board was in a position to prove disorderly or bad conduct against Mr HOLLAND, they have no right to recommend his removal from his post." We entirely differ from our contemporary's views in this matter. The utterance of "opinions" may be as pernicious in its effects as the practice of "disorderly or bad conduct." If, as the Queanbeyan School Board believed, a teacher's

words spoken on a public occasion were disloyal and even seditious, they surely, instead of exceeding their duty in reporting the matter to the Council of Education, would in keeping silence be guilty of gross dereliction of duty; and if for this reason they recommended the removal of a teacher, to our mind they would, as the best judges of the probable consequence of the teacher's act, be fulfilling one of their legitimate functions.

As regards the conduct of the Council of Education, our contemporary says – "If Mr Holland was guilty of uttering a speech which his departmental heads could not approve of (presuming it to have been one they had a right to criticise at all) he ought to have been moved from his post. If he was not so guilty, his conduct should have remained uncriticised. As it is, the temporising policy of the Council of Education has placed them in this position: they have either allowed an unsuitable person to remain in possession of a not unimportant office, or have unjustly inflicted a penalty on a person not properly amenable to their jurisdiction." Our opinion of the Council's action, if the term can be applied to the simple doing of nothing at all in the matter, is similar to that of our contemporary. It should either have refused to find any fault at all in the teacher or, since it condemned his conduct or utterances, should have acceded to the request of the Board; and for this reason: that after such an expression of disapproval as came forth from that body, it became manifest that the mutual confidence which ought to exist between the Board and a Teacher was disturbed and the mischief could only be remedied by a change.

It does not appear that in all these proceedings the teacher has been deemed worthy of being asked for his answer to the charges laid against him. So far as we know, no opportunity has been afforded to him for offering any explanation whatever. Supposing for instance that he has been misrepresented, or that the objectionable expressions imputed to him are capable of being to a greater extent explained away, in such case it is surely unfair and un-English to condemn a man unheard. We shall probably hear more of these school proceedings yet.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 18 September 1875, p2

At this point, Isabella Ann O'Neill, John Allan O'Neill's daughter, was the pupil teacher at the school and during this incident her father acted in the best interests of keeping the school open.

On the same Saturday, 18 September, a meeting was held whereby renting from the Oddfellows was discussed but declined and Holland wrote to the Council of Education informing them of that.

18th September 1875

Sir

I have the honour to acquaint you that I anticipated being able to reopen the school next week as arrangements have been pending to rent the Odd Fellows Hall. The matter was to be decided this evening and I regret to say that the members through the influence of Mr Wright who was present have declined to allow the premises to be made available for the purpose. There is still a probability of securing the Church of England School room which will be much more suitable. The Reverend incumbent and G Campbell Esquire of Duntroon as Trustees have given their consent and of the other Trustees, Messrs Wright and Duff, the former will certainly refuse but if the latter should agree and his decision will be known on Monday I shall be able to reopen at once but if disappointed I shall have no remedy but to leave.

With reference to my temporary appointment by the Council to RC school at Goulburn I have to respectfully solicit the Council to allow me to defer taking charge for a time as I feel myself at present unequal to the responsibility of so large a school. The miserable dwelling which I have had to occupy and pay rent for during several years and the still premises in which I have taught have produced their effect both upon myself and my wife who has been an invalid for more than two years and is at present so prostrate by weakness as to be scarcely able to cross the room or use the least exertion. The diseases from which she is suffering has in the opinion of the medical man been caused by the unhealthiness of the building which from necessity we still occupy. For her sake and also for my own I have to beg if it can be granted without inconvenience a few weeks leave of absence to recruit my mental more than bodily health. I have been teaching for the past seventeen years and have never been absent from my duties for a single day through sickness and I trust my length of service will entitle me to be consideration of the Council. I regret that I have innocently been the cause of so much trouble and annoyance and I feel very grateful for the generous view taken by the Council of my conduct. I've been to tonight most emphatically and distinctly the language and sentiments imputed to me. I am an Englishman and loyalty to my queen and country was taught me as a religious truth. My address which was extempore was quite a different affair from what appeared in print and I feel that I have been condemned for what was never spoken or even imagined by me. I have reason for believing that my removal had long since been determined upon by the faction that has brought into the district this cold and ill-feeling where formerly existed harmony and goodwill.

I have the honour to be Sir

Your obedient servant

W. T. Holland

However, on the same day that Gale's reply to J. J. Brown on Wright and the Board's behalf appeared in print, so too material appeared in the Catholic *Freeman's Journal*, which specifically named Wright and designated his action as sinister in, being the leading Catholic journal in NSW, a somewhat more histrionic account.

Through the action of Mr. J. J. Wright, to whom the buildings in which the school has been held belong, over 100 children are deprived of the benefits of education. A telegram which appeared in Tuesday's Herald indicates sufficiently the sinister motives which prompted this action.

-*Freeman's Journal*, Saturday 18 September 1875, p 12 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article115477977>]

THE QUEANBEYAN SCHOOL BOARD.

The recent action of a few of our local school boards cannot fail to bring upon them merited disgrace. It is only the other day that we were called upon to direct our attention to a case of gross injustice inflicted upon a school teacher, at the instigation of the Wilcannia Public School board; and now there is presented infinitely worse case, in which a similar body in another locality is still more discreditably implicated. The body to which we allude is the Queanbeyan Public School Committee. This board first demanded the dismissal of the teacher because he had committed the unpardonable offence of participating in the O'Connell Centenary Celebration; but the Council of Education refusing to condemn its servant on such a charge, the Board proceeded to take the culprit's punishment into its own hands. This it did in a manner entirely consistent with the dignity of its own character and its enlightened zeal in the interests of education. It abolished both the schoolmaster and his school!

The school was in full operation up to the last moment, until it was crushed by the body who were specially appointed to watch over its welfare, and, judging from the number of its pupils, must have been well supported and highly prosperous. It is said to have had an attendance of over one hundred pupils, for whom the board has shown the affection of a generous

guardianship by turning them summarily out of doors. The thing was effected in this way: It happened to be remembered, when the teacher, Mr. Holland, had manifested his attachment to the cause of civil and religious liberty so far as to join in publicly honouring the memory of its foremost champion - it happened, we say, when the most sacred feelings of this school board were thus outraged, that it was remembered that the school building was the property of the chairman, Mr. J. J. Wright. When, moreover, the Council refused this deeply irate and injured board vengeance upon the culprit, or even the common redress of indirectly persecuting him, then its worthy chairman further remembered that the Council of Education had for some time past forgotten, or, at all events, discontinued to pay any rent. It is more than probable that Mr. Wright, in the heat of his religious zeal for unsectarian education, had for a long time forgotten to make any claim for his rent, but in any case its non-payment made him master of the situation. The Council had contumaciously refused to obey the dictation of its landlord, and that, too, in regard to a mere teacher who had made himself obnoxious - not indeed by infringing any rule or regulation, but in being what he was, an Irish Roman Catholic and an O'Connellite. The places of that schoolmaster and of those hundred and odd children will know them no more. It matters little to this high-principled patron of education that there is no other building in Queanbeyan in which they can be received - indeed his summary expulsion of them from his premises appears to have been determined by that fact. O, thou model chairman of a model Board, thou hast well vindicated thy title to be a chosen patron of education!

Now, what terrible thing is it that this teacher has done to draw down this disaster upon himself and a whole school district - what crime has he committed besides participating in the O'Connell Centenary celebration? He was a prominent participator. He made a speech. Yes, he eulogized the great Dan; but apart from the heinous enormity of this fact, there was absolutely nothing that could possibly be open to challenge in his conduct or the meeting he attended and addressed. The most hostile review of Mr. Holland's speech will disclose nothing any reasonable human being with common intelligence to resent. The strongest passage it contains is that where allusion is made to the civil disabilities, the repeal of which gained for O'Connell the honourable title of Liberator. Mr Wright will not, we hope, take offence if we quote it "The grandest picture ever presented by history was the presentation by the Irish Roman Catholics, at the time, of their faith intact and their loyalty to the Crown which thus ruled them." Now, when Mr. Wright and the Queanbeyan school board took mortal offence at this, we will venture to assert that they showed a complete want of right reason and common intelligence. It is presumable that they were not at the time clothed in their right minds, but that they were and are still suffering from the hydrophobia of incurable bigotry. The Queanbeyan Board has effected the dismissal of the teacher - it has suppressed the school - now the public may fairly demand the discharge of the Board. It is said that the Council of Education, while maintaining the teacher against the local board, expressed disapprobation of his speech. Does the Council then usurp authority over the minds of its teachers, so as to allow no difference of opinion on such a subject as the career of O'Connell? Does the Council reprimand and punish its subordinates for perverse, or, as one may say, heretical opinions upon open subjects? The Council, it seems, does not approve of the career of the Liberator; but surely it might agree to let one of its subordinates differ from it for once, particularly as it had not declared itself ex-cathedra upon this point. Upon what questions, social or political, are teachers to be allowed freedom of opinion?

- *Freeman's Journal*, Saturday 18 September 1875, p11 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article115477999>]

On September 20, a telegram was sent to the Council of Education by W. A. Beattie on behalf of 32 protestant parents of 88 of the children at the school, supportive of Holland and offering to erect a marquee as temporary premises in which to continue the school.

Sep 20 1875

From Mr Beattie on behalf of 32 parents comprising 88 protestant children attending Public School.
To The Council of Education Sydney

Would the Council approve of temporary erection covered with tarpaulin for a school. We bearing all expenses & we earnestly request that Mr Holland should be retained as teacher.

Subsequently, the Council decided to reject Wright's condition and to accept Beattie's offer.

The Council resolved not to accept Mr. Wright's offer upon the terms mentioned in his letter, but agreed to allow the school to be conducted in the temporary premises proposed in Mr Beattie's telegram.

20.9.75

No letter written

School now conducted in old buildings. Plans etc. of new premises sent for tenders. 23.9.75

At this point, the *Freeman's Journal* hit the streets in Queanbeyan and the parents were preparing to set up the school in a marquee, having sent a telegram which contradicted the Board's claim it was acting on their behalf in objecting to Holland. Before the Council's acceptance letter to Beattie was sent, Wright relented. On Tuesday, 21 September, he agreed to allow the school back into his building and with the incident resolved, temporarily, the school resumed in Wright's building on Monday, 27 September.

In the *Age*, Gale wrote

Re-opening of the Queanbeyan Public School.

Considerable excitement and inconvenience have been caused by the recent sudden closing of the Queanbeyan Public School; and anxious parents and others interested in the education of the young have employed their utmost exertions to obtain the use of other premises for school purposes rather than have so many of the children of the town left for a long period without the means of education. Amongst other means, a very handsome rent was offered to the trustees of the Oddfellows' Hall for the use of that building, but the offer was declined. And we are now happy to announce that Mr Wright, the landlord of the old premises, has, rather than the school should be broken up altogether or even scattered for an indefinite period, resolved to forego whatever benefit he might have derived from the possession of the premises, and submit to temporary inconvenience, rather than inflict upon the community the serious evil which otherwise would ensue from his late decision. In making this announcement, we are authorised to say that arrangements have been made for the teacher (Mr Holland) resuming school duties in the old premises on Monday next, when it is to be hoped that a large attendance will prove that the interests of the school have not suffered by the temporary interruption of its duties.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 22 September 1875, p2

Throughout, Gale had written in obtuse manner, implying no direct connection with the School Board. The *Freeman's Journal*, however, was blunt.

QUEANBEYAN PUBLIC SCHOOL. We learn from the Age that tenders are called for the erection of public school buildings and teacher's residence at Queanbeyan. We quite agree with our contemporary that good has come out of the action of Mr. Wright and the board, but the Age can claim no credit for the result. It was we who exposed the injustice that was done to the teacher, on account of having made a public speech on a subject upon which it was perfectly free for different people to differ in opinion without bitterness or prejudice. The Age said not one word against the narrow-minded bigots who brought about the lock-out.

- *Freeman's Journal*, Saturday 2 October 1875, p12, 13

In August, the original dedicated Crown Land grant gazetted in 1870 for the Public School had been resumed and by September 21, the Board was calling for tenders for the erection of suitable premises. As signatories to the official contracts dated September 21, the Board was comprised of J. J. Wright as Chairman, James Bamford Thompson as Secretary, with Leopold Fane De Salis, Thomas Parr, Dr. Morton and John Gale, members. The composition of the School Board stayed the same throughout the tendering process which continued into December. By January, 1876, construction work had begun on the new building. Gale later replaced Thompson as Secretary of the Board.

However, before the new building was completed, events took place that resulted in Holland being transferred to the Catholic School in Yass and the School temporarily moving to Christ Church. John Allan "Jack" O'Neill was becoming increasingly involved in civic and social affairs. Like his older brother, William Gregg, he had a keen sense of humanitarianism and social justice. However, unlike his brother, whose central role of non-sectarian benevolence was a pacifying force in the district, Jack O'Neill's politics had a specifically Orange bent, a uniting factor between Jack, J. J. Wright and Rev. Soares, who then joined in a concerted attack on the comparatively unoffending Father McAuliffe, in a move the Hospital Board recognised as being distinctly prejudicial. In October, 1875, Jack O'Neill brought a complaint about the matron to the Hospital Board, accusing her of conspiring with Father McAuliffe to put religious pressure on a patient in the hospital (*Qbn Age*, Sat 9 Oct 1875, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30599263>]). The written accusation referred only to the matron, but during the Board meeting held to discuss the matter, O'Neill also insisted that McAuliffe's conduct be examined. Jack's brother, William Gregg O'Neill, devotedly Anglican, former police officer, Secretary of the hospital and a secularist, opposed to a clergyman being President of the hospital on principle, true to his impartially judicious form, said "it was a pity any notice was taken at all of the matter". He "regretted that a brother of his should be informer in a case of this kind", that "the accuser's letter was only a matter of hearsay" and that "No one would be safe if proceedings were to be taken on such slender grounds as these", highlighting the prejudice behind a case that not only had little evidence to support it, but, by extension, was being brought against a figure it was outside the jurisdiction of the Board to examine. McAuliffe came forward at the meeting to ensure that the matron was not wrongly implicated in his action. He stated that he had advised a patient, a young woman, Mrs. Masters, to return to Catholicism, she having become a Protestant, but that the matron had no part in it. Mrs. Masters confirmed that McAuliffe had said to her that if she was a Catholic he could raise funds for her to be with her friends in Parramatta and that her children could be taken from the people they were currently with and placed in an orphan school. She confirmed that the matron had merely asked her what she was going to do after McAuliffe had left. According to the *Age*, McAuliffe stated it was his duty to seek those who had left the flock, but denied militancy –

To render help where he had reason to believe help was needed under these circumstances, he had often exerted himself. But he solemnly asserted that he never in his life stepped out of his way to make one proselyte.
– *ibid*.

On the evidence of the patient, Mrs. Masters, and McAuliffe, the matron was exonerated and a ruling was made that McAuliffe was "not amenable to the meeting," with several people protesting at the proceedings taking place at all, Rev. McMichael and Gale stating that McAuliffe was just doing what priests did and Malone blurting "And all that you can bring against the matron is that she asked Mrs. Masters what she was going to do. If that was all that passed why bring her to a trial? Let us have fair play."

McAuliffe was probably merely conscientiously practising his faith and attending to his duties during a time of generally prevailing tense circumstances. The Hospital Board had examined a contention that religious pressure was being put on a patient, but it also determined that the perceptions about the matron and McAuliffe had been excessive. The more rational minds of the Board had determined both his actions and that of the matron to have been without fault, the indication therefore being that in a time of tension, probably, normal conduct was being given greater significance than it deserved.

The incident at the hospital was the last recognisable act of religious prejudice enacted publicly in Queanbeyan for some time, but it was immediately followed by a bizarre case against Rev. Soares, not by the Catholics, but by J. J. Wright, when on Tuesday, January 11, he tried to bring a case against Soares on account of pigeons of his that had gone to roost in Christ Church steeple. For some time Soares had battled with the pigeons and the great piles of poop they left in the harmonium and on the heads of the Church choir singers, with Jack O'Neill jnr, sexton at the church and son of Jack O'Neill, snr, assigned the task of cleaning up after them. Many townspeople took their seats in the 'house' and applauded in favour of Soares, while Wright, in conducting his own case, called a procession of witnesses, including William Cantle, manager of his flour mill, who admitted that Soares had asked him to take the pigeons, or more likely begged him to, James Schofield,

bootmaker, who first demanded who was going to pay his costs, George Osborne, to whom Rev Soares had made a present of several of the birds and John Allan O'Neill, jnr., who admitted that as sexton one of his duties was to clean up after the pigeons in the tower and that the Reverend had asked him to remove about fifty birds, some of which were killed and some kept in an aviary. Sixteen year old John Allan jnr., who, called as a witness for the prosecution, on oath attested that the Reverend had asked him to remove the pigeons on account of the barrow load of manure he had to clean out and the complaints from the choir singers as to the droppings from above. In accordance with the law in these matters, the Bench ruled that the pigeons, having taken up residence at the church of their own accord, had become the Reverend's property and that there having been no rebuke toward him over this, Rev. Soares was correct to assume ownership of them and do with them as he pleased. The case was dismissed, but not before Wright entered into a character attack on Rev. Soares, Soares attempted to defend himself from the damage done to his character by Wright, to which Wright objected and also by Gale, with Soares protesting at the manner in which Gale had defended him in the *Age*, at which point Gale stood up and also objected to the Bench proceeding in this manner. Court was adjourned and Rev. Soares invited all to the Oddfellows Hall where, according to the *Age*, the debate continued. It was at this point that Soares was appointed Canon at Goulburn. He remained in Queanbeyan for the year, but in January, 1877, he left for Goulburn to take up his new position.

In January also, it was announced that Father McAuliffe was going on a leave of absence and he left Queanbeyan in March (*Qbn Age*, Sat 29 Jan 1876). It was also at this time that he began his plans for St Benedict's convent school. Following a public testimonial and dinner, he travelled to America, Britain and Europe, getting a mention in the *San Francisco Monitor* on the way (*Qbn Age*, Wed 28 Jun 1876, p2) and in June it was reported that he had written to Martin Byrne that he would be back at the end of the year (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 21 Sep 1876, p2).

At this time also, John Gale, Dr Morton and the hospital committee again tried to acknowledge O'Neill for his services to the hospital and this time in the interests of harmony, O'Neill acceded.

...The Treasurer (Mr Gale), then rose and said - There was one officer of the institution who he thought as a suitable recognition of his long, arduous, and eminently useful services in connection with this institution, was entitled to something more than verbal compliment. When he (Mr Gale) resigned the office of secretary, upwards of eight years ago - an office he felt he was unable to do justice to - his successor was Mr W. G. O'Neill, who had ever since accepting office exerted himself to the utmost in the interests of the institution. He found the duties of secretary badly performed, the subscribers few in number, and the funds as low as could be. As the direct result of the present secretary's exertions the hospital had year by year been steadily and increasingly prospering, and this year was in a higher degree of prosperity than it had ever before attained to. Last year, after a seven years' service, he proposed something of the kind he was now about to suggest, but his proposition fell to the ground as there existed some doubt whether the funds of the hospital could be legitimately appropriated for a testimonial to one of its officers - a matter about which, in deserving cases, he himself never had a doubt. His object was not just now to conclude with a motion, but to hear further opinion on the question, after which if favourable he would rise again; if no one else did, and propose a motion in accordance with the views he had expressed.

Dr Morton endorsed the views of the previous speaker. The present secretary had done a great deal of good in many more ways than by the collections he had raised. Many of the improvements in the hospital were the direct result of his exertions and suggestions, and the improved system upon which the institution was conducted. There was one thing in particular for which the secretary deserved some substantial recognition at the hands of those who conducted the affairs of the hospital and that was the generous and self denying manner in which he returned the commission paid to him upon all collections. He (Dr Morton) thought some testimonial ought to be presented to Mr O'Neill.

After some other expressions of approbation had fallen from others present at the meeting,

The Treasurer again rose and referring to the refund of commissions by the secretary as alluded to by Dr. Morton, said that was a matter he had overlooked that now that it had been mentioned he desired to present an additional view of the question to the meeting. He found, by reference to the books that during the eight years Mr O'Neill had held office, he had with money that was truly and absolutely his own - money that he might have appropriated to his own private use - enriched the hospital to the extent of at least one hundred pounds, or he might rather say, two hundred pounds, taking into account the Government subsidy of pound for pound on all private contributions to the funds. Thus in any small amount they might vote to the suggested testimonial, they would in fact be giving back to the secretary not a tithe of what he had given to the funds. He would move that recognition of the valuable pecuniary and other services rendered by the honorary secretary of this institution during the past eight years he has held office, the sum of 251. be voted, from the general funds for the purchase of a gold watch and chain bearing a suitable inscription for presentation to that gentleman and that Dr Morton, Mr. Parr and the mover be appointed a committee to carry out this object.

Mr Naylor having seconded the motion, it was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Mr O'Neill replied. This was not the time to speak as he desired to speak in answer to the action now taken. He was very glad however to find that it was at an annual meeting, and not at one that might have been denominated a hole and corner meeting, that the decision so complimentary to himself had been arrived at. In reference to what had been said and done, he merely wished to draw attention to the fact that in all he had done he had not been actuated by the hope of reward, and he hoped in all he had to do he never should be. Although the duties of secretary properly carried out were arduous and had on one occasion, when Mr. R. Mehegan held office in 1860, been remunerated at a rate of 10*l.* per year, he (Mr. O'Neill) never felt that he could keep the percentage allowed him for remuneration, and he could assure them that if they never could see their way clear to do what they had just resolved to do, it would have made no difference to him in discharging the duties of that office in future.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 26 January 1876

It was not long before schooling was again disrupted, first by an outbreak of scarlet fever (*Qbn Age*, Wed 5 Apr 1876, p2), and then in June, when new issues arose with the teacher, Holland, this time due to conduct by Holland himself which brought him up against the people who had previously defended him and this time also against the District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray. Isabella Ann O'Neill, daughter of Jack O'Neill, had been appointed Pupil Teacher at Queanbeyan Public School in 1874 after passing a "highly satisfactory examination" by the Inspector. Under the pupil-teacher training system, teachers were taught "in-house" for four years, with, under the guardianship of their parents, the Teacher providing

them with an hour's daily individual instruction in teaching skills and content before and/or after school. Under this system the quality of training varied. O'Neill's performance had been exemplary, but for some time Holland's attentions to her as his student had fallen off. Although O'Neill was teaching at the school and performing all her duties, Holland was neglecting to provide her with the instruction required by the regulations and for her to succeed in her examinations in order to take an unauthorised private Latin class on the side instead. On June 17, 1876, in the presence of her father and Holland, O'Neill made complaint to the District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, that she had not been receiving her compulsory instruction. After hearing through the complaint and with Holland admitting to the neglect, Murray concluded that Holland was at fault and on June 30, he reported the matter to the Council of Education.

On the 17th instant Miss O'Neill expressed to me her fears as to the result of the examination she was then undergoing in consequence of the teacher, Mr Holland, having failed to give her hours lesson daily after school hours. At the close of her examination and in presence of her father and the teacher, Mr Holland, Miss O'Neill said

"My complaint is that Mr Holland has never since my appointment to the present time, given me my hours lesson daily after school hours. He may, perhaps have given me one day and another three quarters of an hour's instruction, but this was irregular and many days I had no teaching. Mr Holland only set one lesson to work. In reply to Mr Holland Miss O'Neill said "You have not treated me during the last nine months as you did before. You did not exhibit to me the same spirit in giving me my lessons." Mr O'Neill said "My daughter has been in the constant habit of teaching lessons with her to do at home as best she could by herself, and to take to school the next day to show to Mr Holland instead of receiving instructions from him according to the pamphlet I received from the Council. This practice continued till her eyes began to fail, and to such an extent was it carried that I contemplated taking her from the school altogether. With this end in view I bought her a sewing machine. This practice has been increasing during the last nine months. Sometimes she would come home immediately after the children were out of school, and when I would ask why she did not stop for her lesson she would say that the teacher was teaching the Gaoler's son Latin and she would have to stay till he was done. Mr Holland was also engaged frequently after four teaching Master Thompson's lesson, when he should have been teaching my daughter her hours lesson." In reply to Mr Holland Mr O'Neill said "I did not, during those nine months complain to you on this matter, but I did state to members of the local board that I thought my daughter was not receiving justice at your hands. I did not mention this to members of the local board to have an enquiry. Up to about nine or twelve months ago I had no fault to find with you. Some nine months ago I used my influence to keep the school open. In consequence of my daughter's position in it you told me it was my interest as much as yours to fight to keep the school open." Mr Holland said "I admit that I did not give Miss O'Neill her full hours' instruction. Circumstances rendered me physically indisposed to do so. I had formerly a Latin class twice a week from four till no specified time, sometimes till after five. Miss O'Neill was indeed school at the same time during her list doing her lessons full and I considered this as her hours of instruction required by the regulations or though I was not with her."

After the inquiry I pointed out to the teacher that in as much as he received the whole of the fees, the Pupil Teacher, by her labor in the School actually paid him for the hour's special instruction that he was bound to give her on every school day, and that he was not at liberty to accept any employment or to enter into any engagement that would in any way interfere with his duty to her or prevent him giving her at least a full hour's teaching to commence immediately after dismissal of the school on every school day. I also pointed out to him the serious responsibility he would incur if through his neglect, the Pupil Teacher's term of apprenticeship were lengthened by a whole year and she deprived of twelve months' increase of salary. The Teacher's plea of being physically indisposed to teach his Pupil Teacher after school while at the same time he taught a Latin class, is really absurd. But if he really felt fatigued at the close of the day and unable to teach his Pupil Teacher he certainly was unable to teach his special Latin class, and if an honest man, he would have done what some other teachers do, viz, teach his Pupil Teacher in the morning before he opened School.

It is quite clear and confirmed by his own admission that Mr Holland has neglected his duty to his Pupil Teacher and the fears expressed by the Pupil Teacher at her examination show that already she feels that she has suffered injury in consequence.

- *Yass District Schools Inspector, J. H. Murray, to Council of Education, 19 June, 1876. NSWSA: NRS 3829, 5/17409A [76.12093]*

Holland was approached for his explanation to which he replied on 11 July.

Queanbeyan Public School 11th July 1876

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum number 76.10262 of the 5th instant requiring me to furnish an explanation in regard to my alleged neglect to give my pupil teacher Miss O'Neill the requisite amount of instruction.

In reply I beg to state that the communication made by Mr Inspector Murray to the Council differs materially from the statements made by Miss O'Neill and her father to him in my presence.

Miss O'Neill states that since her first appointment she has never received an hours' lesson daily after school hours, that perhaps one day with another three quarters of an hours' instruction was given daily, but this irregularly, and on many days she had no teaching. The first portion of Miss O'Neill's statement is simply untrue, the latter portion substantially correct. I have not as a general rule given more than three quarters of an hours' instruction daily partly out of regard to Miss O'Neill and to myself. The Council has been made aware by the Inspector's Reports of the condition of premises in which the School was held. The school room was exposed to be full glare of the afternoon sun, and in the summer season after four the heat was often so sickening and intolerable, that although blessed with robust health, I have been unable to teach from sheer exhaustion, and frequently have been obliged to defer the making up of the daily records in consequence of the perspiration streaming from my face onto the books. In the winter, which is here very [sic.], I felt the cold very keenly, as the schoolroom had no fireplace and many of the large windows were unglazed. At these seasons I have curtailed and even omitted the lessons for the sake of my own and my pupil teacher's health. She suffered constantly from colds and sore throat which could reasonably be expected, as the room in which she was compelled to teach her class was but nine feet by twelve, uninhabitable in wet weather, having four doors, a large window partly unglazed, a fireplace and the floors and walls rotting with damp. Miss O'Neill also frequently requested to be excused from instruction on account of illness or to attend to domestic duties at home when her mother was sick.

Mr O'Neill also states that his daughter had been in the constant habit of fetching lessons home to do as best she could by herself. In giving Miss O'Neill her home lessons, I was not aware that by so doing I exposed myself to blame, and he states that this practice continued till his daughter's eyes began to fail, and that he contemplated to remove her from the school. In answer to this I can state that his daughter's eyes were not failing nor likely to fail from hard study. She was simply suffering in common with her brothers and sisters and many others from the ordinary opthalmia and while so afflicted I gave her strict orders not to study, and as to removing his daughter from the school Mr O'Neill never had the most remote intention.

He states likewise that his daughter sometimes would come home immediately after school, and her reason was that I was teaching the Gaoler's son Latin and that I was frequently engaged in teaching Latin to Master Thompson when I should have been teaching his daughter. Miss O'Neill has always been in the habit immediately after four o'clock of going home as it was near at hand, and returning not very punctually to her lessons. The Gaoler's son who was once a people of mine, being anxious to learn Latin I offered to hear his lessons, and during the last six months he has scarcely been at the school as many times, and I generally heard his lessons in the yard in the evenings on which the school room was being swept. With regard to Master Thompson who is still one of my pupils, his lessons for the past year have not averaged one in a week.

Mr Murray has not mentioned the statement made to him by Mr O'Neill that until nine months ago, he had no reason to complain and that since that time I had ceased to hold any communication, for reasons of which he was ignorant. I am sorry that Mr Murray, in justice to me, would have made this omission as it would serve to explain the motives by which Mr O'Neill is actuated. When I was deprived of this schoolroom last September, Mr O'Neill was very demonstrated in his expressions of friendship to myself, and when the matter was amicably arranged I received convincing proof of his having acted a double part, and for my own security I resolved to keep aloof from a man so dangerous. I'm a state that Mr O'Neill bears a most unenviable character. It will be difficult to find a man more thoroughly and universally hated. His speciality is to foment strife and enmity in the community, and under the guise of assumed holiness conceals a base and wicked disposition.

I have now endeavored to give an explanation of the charge brought against me, and I have to acknowledge that I have been guilty of neglect, but I trust that the circumstances which I have already referred to will serve as a plea in extenuation. I have always, although apparently neglectful, taken an interest in Miss O'Neill. I have encouraged and directed her in her studies, and have given her every facility by placing my own books at her disposal. During my eighteen years of service, this is the first charge that has been brought against [sic.], and this is only done to gratify the spleen of a vindictive and ungrateful man.

- W. T. Holland to the Council of Education in response to a charge of neglect, 11 July, 1876.

NSWSA: NRS 3829, 5/17409A, [76.13515]

J. H. Murray's reply to Holland on 18 July was a direct and concise appraisal of the matter - whatever issues Holland had with John Allan O'Neill this was irrelevant to his Pupil Teacher and to his requirements under the Regulations, contravention of which Holland himself admitted, his excuses and defensive accusations therefore merely constituting further cause for admonishment. Murray stated that the case simply was that Holland was required to instruct the Pupil Teacher as per the Regulations and that he had failed to do so, the rest being irrelevant noise. As verified by staff at State Archives, the first page of Murray's correspondence is missing, so the records begin with the second page.

...for Mr Holland to complain that my report to the Council differed from the statements made by Miss O'Neill and her father, without showing how it differed. My statement to the Council is in every respect correct. During the enquiry, Mr Holland attempted to mix up his dispute with certain people in Queanbeyan which occurred some nine months before. I pointed out to Mr Holland that those disputes had nothing to do with the complaints made by his pupil teacher and in this he acquiesced. I did him no injustice by leaving them out and omitting to state that up to about nine months ago Mr O'Neill found no fault with him. Mr Holland has taken much pain in giving his opinion of Mr O'Neill specially and the specific and character but this has nothing whatever to do with the case. I may state, however, that as far as I know, Mr O'Neill appears to be what he was represented to me viz. a quiet respectable tradesman. The case, in itself, is simply this a complaint that was to Holland and neglected her in her own instruction and did not give her her full-time. This all confirmed his daughter's statement. Mr Holland admitted the charge and admittedly charge was true and in his explanation he states I have to acknowledge that I have been guilty of neglect it is absurd and Mr Holland to plead in the extenuation of approved and knowledge neglected you see that his school room was too hot in summer and too cold in winter for him to teach his people teacher from four to five o'clock when while at the same time, and his pupil teacher's time he taught a private Latin class which ultimately dwindle to down to master Thompson and the Gaoler's son.

I wish to confirm everything stated in my previous report.

J. H. Murray
Inspector District
18-7-1876

- *Schools Inspector J. H. Murray's response to Holland's explanatory letter, 18 July, 1876. NSWSA: NRS 3829, 5/17409A.*

[As the first page of this letter is missing, it is not possible to provide specific citation details for it, other than the bundle within the Series and School File numbers as quoted above. However, it follows directly from Holland's 11 July letter in the bundle.]

Subsequently, as indicated by a red note in the margin of the June 17 letter, Holland was reprimanded and cautioned by the Council. However, in the mean-time possession of the school building passed from J. J. Wright to W. G. O'Neill, who had earlier condemned the state of the premises for use as a school. On July 1, William Gregg O'Neill wrote to Holland that other premises for a school would have to be found. This time there was no argument from the Council of Education and Holland was ordered to wind up his affairs in Queanbeyan and proceed to the Catholic school at Yass (*ATCJ*, Sat 29 Jul 1876, p12).

QUEANBEYAN.

Thursday.

The public school premises having been handed over by J. J. Wright, Esq., as tenant to Mr. W. G. O'Neill, the owner, the majority of the local board declined making arrangements for other premises till the new school buildings, in course of erection, are finished. Mr. W. T. Holland, the teacher, on Tuesday received instructions to wind up affairs at the Queanbeyan Public School, and proceed to Yass, to take charge of the Roman Catholic Denominational School, to which he has been appointed.

- *Australian Town and Country Journal*, Saturday 22 July 1876, p12

By October, 1876, Richard Van Heythuysen was installed as the new Teacher of the Public School, transferring from Young. Isabella O'Neill continued as a highly regarded Pupil Teacher at the school and a rarity in the Education Department in that she passed all her examinations in straight succession, achieving her Class 1 status in July, 1879.

As arrangements for the new building continued, throughout the tendering process in late 1875 to January, 1876, as indicated in the contracts held by NSW State Archives and in the official advertisements in the newspapers, the Board

consisted of J. J. Wright, who was the Chairman throughout, Thompson as Secretary, with John Gale, Andrew Morton, Thomas Parr and Leopold Fane De Salis, the other Members.

The Public School was conducted in the C of E Christ Church schoolroom pending completion of the new building, with J. J. Wright himself arranging this and guaranteeing around £10 or £15 pounds in rent. Rev. Soares, however, now Canon at Goulburn, was furious at this development and on his behalf, the Bishop of Goulburn wrote to the Council of Education in protest. However, following a discussion as to whether the Christ Church Trustees or Church Wardens had authority, the matter was resolved and the Public School continued in the Christ Church schoolroom until the new building was completed.

There was a slight fracas in 1877, when Soares' replacement at Christ Church, Rev. J. Maitland Ware, came up against John Gale, now Secretary of the Queanbeyan Public School Board, and Schools Inspector Murray over the arrangements for scripture classes at the school.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.
TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD.

Sir, - The admirers of the educational system of New South Wales are constantly dwelling upon the "facilities" afforded to clergymen for imparting religious instruction, and blaming the clergy for not using them. Will you afford me a small space to exemplify to your readers these "facilities." The Public school here is carried on at present in our Church of England schoolroom, rented at a nominal rent for the purpose, and in which there is no class room. On my moving here last January, I arranged with the Master of the Public school, to give religious instruction for half an hour twice a week as interfering less with the secular work of the school, than a whole hour once a week. I made my lessons purely Scriptural for the sake of the children of non-Episcopalian families. The numbers in the school were roughly 60 Church of England, 40 other Protestants, and 30 Roman Catholics. About one-fourth of the last-named had brothers or sisters being educated as Protestants. Thus on Monday morning and Thursday morning in each week the 30 Roman Catholics enjoyed a game at play for half an hour, while nearly 100 Protestants received instruction in the Bible. But this week the inspector arrived, and he has pronounced the whole thing so irregular, that it cannot be permitted to continue. In the most courteous manner he suggests that on each Monday and Thursday morning I should march my hundred Protestants about an-eighth of a mile to the unfinished classroom of the new schoolhouse, give them their religious instruction, and march them back again; while the teachers and the thirty Roman Catholics get on with their work in the schoolroom. It would be great fun for the Protestant children who were to enjoy the walk to and fro, the extra fresh air, and shorter hours inside; but whether it would conduce to the general discipline of the school remains to be proved. I trust that some day the parents of New South Wales will awake to the necessity for having the reality instead of the empty name of "facilities for religious instruction" in every school; and am, Sir, yours obediently,

J. MAITLAND WARE

The Parsonage, Queanbeyan, 26 August.

- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Thursday 30 August 1877, p5 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13399177>]

SIR - In your issue of the 30th ultimo, the Rev. J. Maitland Ware makes a very lame attempt to exemplify the facilities afforded by the provisions of the Public Schools Act to impart religious instruction by clergymen and other recognized Denominational teachers, by citing an instance where, despite the absence of those facilities, an unjustifiable interference with the routine of school duties and positive usurpation of the authority of the teacher in charge has been discovered and very properly suppressed. The Public Schools Act and its appended regulations, which have also the force of law, nowhere provide for the imparting of Denominational religious instruction in the schoolroom where children of all shades of religious opinion are taught the elements of secular instruction, as well as the grand doctrines of the existence of and trust in God, and love to God and man. Provision is, however, made for special religious teaching, vide regulation 3 in separate class rooms, where such exist. There, and there only, the recognized Denominational religious instructor may exercise the privilege of teaching those children *of his own faith, whose parents sanction*, such teaching.

But what are the facts at Queanbeyan? Even those admitted by Mr. Ware are manifestly irregular and untenable, viz: - 1. The usurpation of the authority of the Council's teacher for half an hour twice in the week. 2. The assumption that the parents of the 100 Protestant children, of whom 60 only are members of his own denomination sanction his services. 3. The causing of an interruption to the status of 33 Roman Catholic children while prosecuting his work. There are additional facts which are either altogether ignored, or not clearly brought out by your revered correspondent, viz: - that there are no facilities existing at Queanbeyan for carrying out the provisions of the Act with regard to Denominational teaching. 2. That assuming that Mr. Ware has obtained the sanction, implied or expressed, of the sixty parents of the Church of England children attending school, he has altogether exceeded his right in claiming forty other Protestant children as part and parcel of *his* one hundred Protestants. 3. That with the object in view of enabling, as far as possible, the reverend gentleman to continue his Bible lessons, the inspector and School Board suggested for his adoption one of several feasible courses which presented themselves - such as the mustering of the children under Mr Ware's charge half-an-hour before the usual school time, their detention for a like period after school hours, the leading of them to some apartment in his own roomy residence close by, or to the class-room (now all but completed) of the new school, distant less than two minutes' walk from the present temporary school premises.

I may add that neither myself individually, nor the School Board collectively, knew aught of the irregularity referred to until discovered by the inspector, or most certainly the same course would have been pursued by them as has been adopted by Mr Murray.

As for the subject matter of Mr. Ware's complaint, it is more ideal than real for in all cases - except those like that of Queanbeyan, when suitable buildings have not as yet been erected for carrying out the tolerant provisions of the Public Schools Act - the facilities do exist and thanks to the liberality of Parliament and the energy of the Council of Education they are still multiplying as fast as the means at their disposal will allow.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Ware has based his strictures on the illogical and unjust conclusion that, because in one or two exceptional instances when Public schools are conducted in temporary premises, facilities do not exist for imparting special religious instruction, [*ergo?*] such facilities are altogether an empty name.

JOHN GALE,

Secretary to Queanbeyan Public School Board.

September 4.

- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Friday 7 September 1877, p5 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13399593>].

However, by November, 1877, the new building was completed and the Secretary of the Council of Education, Wilkins, attended Queanbeyan for its opening, even if the more egalitarian aims of “free, secular and compulsory education” seem to have been lost on the banqueting committee overseeing the opening feast!

QUEANBEYAN, Wednesday.

The banquet intended to celebrate the opening of the new public school here will not come off, in consequence of the attempt to make it exclusive by fixing the price of the tickets at a guinea each. The management of the affair was not in the hands of the right men. The children (fortunate creatures) are to have a cheap spread, instead of a banquet. The whole affair is creating much amusement at the expense of the banquet committee.

- *Australian Town and Country Journal*, Saturday 1 December 1877, p9

In November also, Jules De Smit and T. Thompspon Laing joined the local School Board.

OPENING OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL QUEANBEYAN.

(Abridged from the *Queanbeyan Age*.)

On Wednesday, Mr. W. Wilkins, secretary to council of education, and Mr. J. H. Murray, inspector of schools for the Yass district, arrived in Queanbeyan to assist at the formal opening of the school.

A luncheon given by the school-board took place at Mr. Gale's (secretary to the board) to which the following sat down, namely, J. J. Wright Esq. J. P. (in the chair), Mr. Wilkins, the Rev. J. M. Ware, Mr. T. Parr (in the vice-chair), Mr. Murray, the Rev. J. G. Taylor, and Mr. Van Heythuysen, the head-master of the school. All the members of the board were present except the Hon. L. Fane De Salis, Dr. Morton J.P., Mr. J. B. Thompson M.P., and Mr. J. De Smit, who were unavoidably absent. Apologies were received from the Rev. Canon Smith and Rev. J. McAuliffe.

After luncheon the gentlemen proceeded to the school-premises, and outside the enclosure were met by the children drawn up to receive them.

Miss Cook read an address to Mr. Wilkins, after which the party repaired to the schoolroom, which was gaily decorated.

The Chairman said it afforded him very great pleasure to introduce Mr. W. Wilkins, the secretary to the council of education, who had come from Sydney to formally open the building. He expressed the pleasure he felt at the great improvement which had taken place in the teaching of this school since the advent of Mr. and Mrs. Van Heythuysen, even under the disadvantages presented by insufficient buildings.

Mr. W. Wilkins said the work which had just been accomplished in Queanbeyan was now in course of progression in ninety other places in the colony; while in sixty other instances similar works were in an advanced state of progression. Nearly one hundred other places awaited the selection of a site. It would therefore be seen that the number of new public schools at present in progression and contemplation in New South Wales was nearly two hundred. In order to tell whether children were really being educated it would be necessary to ascertain if they were learning to think and act for themselves and also to be guided by proper motives, and prompted by what was right, and wise, and good. On the authority of the council of education he declared that the school was then open for public instruction.

Mr. J. H. Murray, inspector of schools, said he held the axiom that it was impossible to have satisfactory results from teaching without home-work - evening-exercise. He had a secret to tell the children of the school - he was afraid the girls wouldn't keep it - it was that they were pitted against the children of all other schools in the locality. People would measure other schools by their standard.

Mr. James Nugent proposed a vote of thanks to the Queanbeyan public school board for their exertions in the cause of education in Queanbeyan. The proposition was carried by acclamation.

Mr. Parr returned thanks on behalf of the Board.

The Chairman alluded to the Hon. L. Fane De Salis, who though having no direct interest in the school, and deriving no benefit to his family from it, had always taken a lively interest in the school, and the present edifice. Mr. De Salis not only, while in Sydney, often waited on the secretary with him (the chairman) but in order to have a school superior to the plan at first submitted, became bond with him for the additional cost, three hundred pounds.

Mr. Gale proposed a vote of thanks to the teaching-staff of the school, with special mention of Mr. Van Heythuysen, and of Mrs. Van Heythuysen's service in the sewing and singing departments. Mr. Van Heythuysen replied.

A vote of thanks was then accorded to the chairman.

After the meeting the visitors repaired to the classroom to inspect some plain and fancy needle and wool work, knitting, tatting, &c., which had been done by the children of the school under Mrs. Van Heythuysen's superintendence.

In the evening a tea-meeting was held in the Protestant Hall to afford the parents of the children and the friends of education generally an opportunity of attending to manifest their sympathy with the proceedings of the day.

Mr. J. J. Wright occupied the chair, supported by the Rev. J. G. Taylor and Messrs. Wilkins, Murray, Gale, and Van Heythuysen. Some addresses were given and pieces of music rendered.

The meeting broke up about ten o'clock.

- *Goulburn Herald*, Wednesday 5 December 1877, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article100879388>]

The new building was considered a major achievement for Queanbeyan, for Leopold Fane De Salis and for J. J. Wright as Member for the electorate.

...The building is substantial, and the contractor has faithfully carried out his work, the only fault being that the ventilation is slightly defective. There is accommodation for 200 children, which, after Christmas, is the number expected to be in attendance. The school is under the charge of Mr. Van Heythuysen. A cottage residence has been built on the adjacent piece of land, and is nearly ready for occupation.

- *Australian Town and Country Journal*, Saturday 22 December 1877, p23

YASS DISTRICT. - Excellent public school buildings have been erected at Cootamundra and Queanbeyan. The material condition of several schools throughout the district has been improved by additions, repairs, and supplies of new furniture of the best kind.

- *Australian Town and Country Journal*, Saturday 8 June 1878, p19

N. B. There are no copies of the *Queanbeyan Age* available for 1877.

4. In *Distaff* Lea-Scarlett states

[St Benedict's] was born out of the many inefficiencies which bedevilled the old St Gregory's Roman Catholic Denominational School, of which one of the last teachers, Miss Maria Kenny, lies buried in the Riverside Cemetery beneath a stone erected by her pupils and friends.

Page 107 (*D&P*) Lea-Scarlett states

With the enforced closure of the Queanbeyan Roman Catholic Denominational School at the end of 1882 the teacher, J. J. O'Ryan, was transferred to the Public School at Lambton and St Benedict's convent was left to cater for elementary instruction.

- a. Although Maria Kenny was Catholic she was a teacher at the Public School until she died in 1881, not at St. Gregory's.
- b. Jeremiah O'Ryan left for Lambton in 1880, when he was replaced by Edward Bendon, who arrived with his wife in March (*Man Merc*, Sat 7 Feb 1880, p2). O'Ryan had been appointed under Father McAuliffe in January, 1879. However, reportedly due to inadequate accommodation for his family, Bendon left by October for Campbelltown, replaced by Mr J. J. Cunneen (*Qbn Age*, Sat 23 Oct 1880, p2). In September, 1882, Cunneen was promoted to IIIB (*GEPP*, Thur 14 Sep 1882, p4). By December 1882, St Benedict's had been largely completed and the Archbishop ordered St. Gregory's to be removed to the western wing of the convent after the holidays (*Qbn Age*, Mon 4 Dec 1883, p2). In January, 1883, Cunneen was appointed as assistant teacher to the Queanbeyan Public School, temporarily relieving James Buckland as headmaster for a month as Buckland was ill (*GEPP*, Tues 9 Jan 1883, p4).

5. Page 111 (*D&P*). Of educational achievements Lea-Scarlett states that pupil-teacher, Blanch Helman,

gained for Queanbeyan its first academic honours in 1883 when she obtained the medal for English History in the Junior University Examination. To permit that examination to be held, Rev. J. Auchinleck Ross of Christ Church and Rev. Robert Steel of St. Stephen's, joined with Father Patrick Birch and solicitor Thomas Parr to form a local committee.

Of Sarah Brennan, daughter of Sub-inspector Martin Brennan, he states only that she was "the first Catholic woman to graduate as a Master of Arts from Sydney University" and later became a nun at the convent.

- a. Blanche Helman passed the University Examination in 1884, not 1883 (*SMH*, Wed 3 Dec 1883, p7 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13580229>] & Fri 5 Dec 1884, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30790338>]). Lea-Scarlett's information is unreferenced, but according to the *Age*, the superintending committee for the examination consisted of Rev. Steel and "a committee of ladies" (*Qbn Age*, Fri 17 Oct 1884, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30790031>]). Her marks were recorded as a High for History and a Low for English. In 1883, of eight candidates from the Public School sitting the Junior University examination, only Ethel Hudson and Barry Brooks passed (*GEPP*, Thurs 16 Nov 1893, p4).
- b. Prior to 1884,
 - i. C. C. Beatty and W. Parr, both of the Public School, passed the Junior University Examination in 1879 (*ATCJ*, Sat 27 Dec 1879, p9)
 - ii. William John Morton of the Public School passed it in 1880 (*SMH*, Wed 29 Dec 1880, p3)
 - iii. Fanny Amelia Kelly, of the Public School, passed in 1881 (*ATCJ*, Sat 31 Dec 1881, p13) when the committee comprised Rev. J. Auchinleck Ross, Rev. R. A. Steel, Dr Richardson, Mr Gale, Mrs Russell and Miss Kemp
 - iv. Sarah Brennan, educated at St. Benedict's, passed the Junior University Examination in 1882. Sarah Octavia Brennan was one of the most distinguished scholars in Australia. She was not only the first Catholic woman to achieve such honours - in 1889, she also became one of the few women to succeed at the University of Sydney to that time, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts in Latin, French, Classics and Mathematics.
 - v. Ethel Hudson and Barry Brooks of the Public School passed in 1883 (*GEPP*, Thurs 16 Nov 1893, p4).

In 1880, at the Public School, Van Heythuysen was still teacher and Miss Maria Kenny, assistant teacher. Isabella O'Neill was stated in the newspaper as being pupil teacher (*SMH*, Wed 30 Jun 1880, p3), but this was her last year of training. She was a Class I teacher by this time. In 1882 O'Neill was appointed inaugural teacher at Kowen Provisional School. By the end of the year, Kowen had been elevated to Public School status and O'Neill remained as its teacher until December, 1885. In 1882, Heythuysen left Queanbeyan Public School, replaced by James Buckland for a year, with Cunneen relieving him temporarily. Reuben Hayter was headmaster from 1883, James Dunlop from 1887 to 1896 and George E A Ling until 1917, followed by Ridley.

- c. In both *D & P* and *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett quotes a resident to summarise the attitude to education in the Queanbeyan district in general as dismissive. However, it should be noted that the remarkable fact about Queanbeyan, occasional truancy aside, was that its inhabitants generally were passionate about education, regardless of sect. In 1868, 173 children were recorded as being on the rolls, with all three schools well-supported at the time. The treatment of Catholic school teacher Rooney brought out most of the town in support of him. In 1863, the same had taken place when the public supported the teacher at the C of E St John's, Wotherspoon, in the Canberra School case and, as noted elsewhere, in the notable incident with the teacher in 1875, it was the parents who acted to keep the Public School open. Queanbeyan was noted as an exception for funding in recognition of the support the public had for the construction of new buildings. The sectarianism and rhetoricising on the basis of grand principles was more a battle between a few "high-minded" individuals than by the general public, who merely wanted a decent education for their children. Father McAuliffe's founding of St Benedict's was well-supported, including by non-Catholics and the achievements of some of its students, as well as those of the Public School, bears testimony to the standards being aspired to.

6. Page 105 (*D & P*). Schooling in Queanbeyan in the 1850s. Lea-Scarlett states

...The earliest recognisable schools in the district were established during 1843. One at Christchurch, taking 30 little boys and girls, had as master the young Scottish medical practitioner, Andrew Morton, still waiting for a professional opportunity.¹³ The other, a private school, catered for twenty-four children. For another generation, education conformed to the pattern thus established, with the church taking the dominant role. To the Queanbeyan school the Church of England added in 1845 schools at Canberra (under James Baillie), and Ginninderra (Hugh McPhee).¹⁴

From 1849 onwards the government played a direct role in education by establishing its own National Schools, the forerunners of the later Public Schools. Alongside the National Schools, government subsidies were still paid to the denominational foundations. In the first crop of National Schools in 1849, one was established at Yarralumla.¹⁵ Excepting another on the South Coast at Pambula, Yarralumla, was the southern-most government school from Sydney before Port Phillip (Victoria), and it survived for three years under the management of Richard Bedford and his wife. In 1852 it was abandoned when the enrolment unaccountably dropped by half. An attempt to revive it in 1855 under T. Kelly, who found 35 pupils wanting instruction, did not outlast the year.¹⁶ For the rest of the fifties education around Queanbeyan reposed in the hands of private enterprise. The attitude of many of the inhabitants to schools is summed up in a comment from Gundaroo when an attempt to establish a National School there was cold-shouldered by residents: 'Riding a horse and driving a team of bullocks is, in the opinion of a good many, all the education the young "uns" require.'¹⁷

- a. Due to manner of writing, it is uncertain as to what is meant by "For the rest of the fifties education around Queanbeyan reposed in the hands of private enterprise". However, ignoring other issues, it should be noted that any implication that there were no other schools or government schools "around Queanbeyan" in the fifties is specifically incorrect. A National School briefly was open in Gundaroo, as Lea-Scarlett himself later refers to in *Gundaroo*. Church of England Christ Church school was fully functional in Queanbeyan throughout with John Ford as the teacher, appointed in 1855, succeeding John Morris (*NSW Returns for the Colony, Qbn Age*, Wed 10 Jun 1896, p2; *Emp*, Sat Jun 25, 1859, p1; *SMH*, Tues 8 Aug 1854, p1). He remained until 1860, when he was replaced by Gualter Soares, brother of Rev. A. D. Soares. C of E St. John's at Canberry was also open, as was the Catholic St. Gregory's from 1851.
- b. That Lea-Scarlett's generalisation of the attitude to schooling in Queanbeyan is questionable is evident elsewhere in this document. Its debatability in relation to Gundaroo specifically is evident in that the first attempt at a National School in Gundaroo in the 1850s was by residents who were stymied by the C of E rector, who was fiercely opposed to secular education and who went door-knocking to tell people not to send their children to it. It was due to militant action by the rector that the School closed. In Gundaroo in the 1870s, unusually for the spartan population, there were three schools in the local area – a Public School in Gundaroo and two half-time schools at Gundaroo and Sutton, all of which were well-attended.

7. Page 106 (*D&P*). The incident between the Public School teacher, Samuel Rae McPhail, and store-keeper, Abraham Levy, in 1869. Following contentious comments relating to Scots and the 1863 Canberra School Case, which I have not addressed at this time, Lea-Scarlett states

Samuel Rae McPhail...was given to drinking and finally came to odds with the school board for this reason. It was not long before Dean White compelled the removal of some Catholic children from the public school (as it was styled after a second Schools Act in 1866, and Rev. A. D. Soares branded McPhail and his school as nearly akin to infidelity).¹⁸ An even more serious threat to the teacher was that at the same time he also fell out with Abraham Levy, the storekeeper, who was a member of the school board. Levy had never been particularly popular in the town and was now looking back on twenty-one years which had failed to make him prosperous. The closure of his store was imminent. His son had been acquiring a classical education over and above normal schooling for a fee of sixpence a week paid to McPhail who gave evening classes at home. The teacher one day complained to the school children of the niggardly weekly tips that he was getting for his Latin lessons to young Levy. The upshot was a stormy entry into the schoolroom by the enraged father who called McPhail 'a drunken sot' in front of his pupils¹⁹. Effective instruction could scarcely continue after such a scene but McPhail lasted for another 9 months until the Council of Education, yielding to the pleas of the School Board, sent him to teach at Jembaicumbene.

Note "19" cites "*Goulburn Herald*, 13 March, 1869".

- a. The reference cited of the *Goulburn Herald* was a direct reproduction of the original court report printed in the *Queanbeyan Age* (11 March).
- b. Lea-Scarlett's presumption in stating as fact that Levy paid McPhail "sixpence a week" for Latin lessons, with assumption both that the comment had been made and that it was correct is Lea-Scarlett's own inference, not necessarily apparent in the reference cited or the original information in the *Age*. It was this contention, that McPhail had said that Levy only paid sixpence per week for the lessons, that had provoked Levy to enter the school room to confront McPhail, upon which McPhail denied having made the comment. McPhail took Levy to court for the altercation and the court report in the *Age* was that Levy entered the room to demand why McPhail said he only paid sixpence per week. McPhail denied the comment and Levy claimed that McPhail then said that Levy "ought to be prosecuted and convicted" for entering the room to abuse him, being why Levy then shouted at him "You are a liar; You are a drunken sot; You are drunk now". The Bench dismissed the case against Levy, but the issues with McPhail over drinking, as Lea-Scarlett refers to, were material - his teaching record at NSW State Archives notes that McPhail was dismissed from Jembaicumbene in December, 1871, for "intemperance".

The original material as printed in the *Age* and reproduced in the *Goulburn Herald* was

INCITING TO A BREACH OF THE PEACE.

(Before the Police Magistrate and Messrs Wright and Byrne.)

S. R. McPhail v. A. Levy. - Defendant appeared to answer the information of the complainant that on the 1st instant, he did in a public place, namely, the public school, Queanbeyan, use to the said complainant certain words calculated to lead to a breach of the peace, to wit, "You are a liar; you are a drunken sot; you are drunk now." Before pleading defendant objected that their worships had no jurisdiction, the public school not being a public place within the meaning of the act. The bench however, after a short deliberation, resolved to go on with the case without committing themselves to an opinion as to the objection raised. The defendant thereupon admitted using the words, but pleaded not guilty to the charge of unlawfully using the same. The complainant having stated his case was then sworn, and gave evidence in substance as follows: On the afternoon of the 1st inst., defendant came into the school and asked complainant why he had made use of his name that morning in school and said he only paid sixpence per week for teaching his son Latin, and on being questioned by their father his two sons confirmed the statement. Witness denied that he had made any such statement, and asked the [sic] any of the children present to hold up their hands if they had heard him say so. None held up their hands. Defendant thereupon made use of the words complained of. Witness felt such language to be humiliating him in the presence of the children. The public have access to the school, and he dare not refuse them admission. The defence was that complainant, after the conversation recorded, told defendant that he ought to be prosecuted and convicted; and that it was this remark that led defendant to use the words complained of. Case dismissed. - *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 11 March 1869, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30578917>]; *Goulburn Herald*, Saturday 13 March 1869, p3

While it is correct that McPhail's transfer to Jembaicumbene took place in January, 1870, notice of his transfer was immediate. In the same issues of the *Age* and *Herald* in which the court case was reported, the following also appeared –

THE QUEANBEYAN PUBLIC SCHOOL. - Mr S. R. McPhail, teacher of the public school in this town, has received notice from the council of education that he is shortly to be transferred to another district. It is not yet known who Mr. McPhail's successor is.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 11 March 1869, p2; *Goulburn Herald*, Saturday 13 March 1869, p3.

- c. Current-day issues with invocation of the word "niggardly" are self-explanatory. This was Lea-Scarlett's own invocation and was not used in the literature cited and reproduced above.
- d. At his farewell dinner Levy was stated as being 25 years in the district (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 24 Jun 1869, p3).
- e. Lea-Scarlett's sweeping license with Levy's character and motive is not an accurate reflection of Levy's general experience. Lea-Scarlett's comment as to Levy's "popularity" is unqualified and unreferenced. However, in reality, Levy was as "popular" as anyone else in Queanbeyan during his quarter century in the district and he was a substantial part of Queanbeyan life. He was a magistrate, a "very sincere friend" of J. J. Wright's (ibid.), active in politics for many years, and, as noted by Lea-Scarlett, a member of the Public School Board. With Wright, he had been one of the original four patrons of the National School when it was established in 1864 and he played a large part in the Mutual Improvement Society and the social life of Queanbeyan. In 1864, he stood for Queanbeyan in the NSW parliamentary elections with reasonable support for a layman against the two very prominent figures of Charles Campbell and Leopold Fane De Salis, greater than John Gale had, when he attempted to stand for the district in 1881. On p45, Lea-Scarlett himself refers to Levy's earlier commercial success, a success which was almost unrivalled except by Wright himself. Wright and Levy had been politically active together for many years, they had been active in the improvement societies together and they were on the School Board together and this intimate friendship may well have been a reason for the Board to turn on McPhail over his dispute with Levy, as noted by Lea-Scarlett. Levy's motive for confronting McPhail is self-explanatory and requires no other impetus when it is understood that McPhail's comment being untrue was the basis of the confrontation. Although, once, John Gale took exception to Levy mentioning historical Jewish persecution in a history lecture Levy delivered, it is not an accurate reflection of Levy's overall standing and history in the town. The people appearing at Levy's farewell dinner, including Gale, paid him an unusual tribute of communion by each drinking from a "loving cup" with which he was presented as his farewell gift (ibid.).

8. Pages 105 to 112 (*D&P*). Schooling in the 1860s. Lea-Scarlett states

The Church of England school had gone out of existence at the end of 1870 following a series of scenes between the Rector and the teacher, George Lane. Although Lane was finally got rid of in 1868, the next teacher, Henry Field, was unable to continue in the face of dwindling attendances. Similar troubles had weakened the Roman Catholic School at St Gregory's, but this survived. The most serious conflict there involved a teacher John P. Rooney, who was dismissed because he showed lack of zeal 'manifest by your declining to sign the petition against the Public School Bill.' The Bill referred to was the 1866 Act, which was strongly opposed by Church of England and Roman Catholic leaders. Encouraged by an address of sympathy from all the parents of the Catholic schoolchildren, as well as most of the influential residents, Rooney refused to go, and Dean White had to tolerate him in the school until he transferred to the Public schools in 1867.

...Although St Gregory's...was saved the violence of the personal disagreements that destroyed Christ Church School, it could scarcely be claimed that it enjoyed a high tone. One after another the teachers found it impossible to accept the high-handed Father McAuliffe.

...Whereas Scottish Presbyterianism crystallising in injustice done to a teacher, had set the tone of the sixties, Irish Catholicism, activated in much the same way, was to dominate the late seventies.

In *Distaff*, Lea-Scarlett elaborates on his comments in *D & P*. He states

Gualter Soares had once been employed in the custom house until he got into some kind of a scrape (which George Lane described as smuggling) with three other men, one of whom Stewart, was his brother-in-law. Lane, foolishly – or as he would have it, unknowingly – wrote a heading 'Soares, Stewart & Co.' in the notebook of young Robert Soares, son of the late schoolmaster. The child showed the work to his grandmother, with what results can be imagined. The die being cast, it was for the vicar only a matter of waiting for an opportunity to deliver a death-blow to the schoolmaster. He had not long to wait. Referring to himself very formally as 'the Chairman' (of the school committee) he duly reported the climax:...

...That young lady made more local history than she realized, for Lane left at the end of the year, not only a failure as a pedagogue, but the victim also of a mischievous rumour that he was mad. One of the people accused of spreading the report of Lane's madness was Mrs Mary Willans, wife of the Clerk of Petty Sessions.

Lea-Scarlett goes on to describe how Mrs Willan's sister-in-law, Mrs Conolly, delivered the sermon one day when Rev. A. D. Soares was not present.

- a. Lea-Scarlett's accounts contain factual errors and that, along with the haphazard information about the Public, Church of England and Catholic schools and bare references to the "second Schools Act", gives little indication as to the context of events referred to. The chronologically disjointed history and the limited reference to the C of E school to the period from 1868 to 1870, neglects major events taking place due to the introduction of Parkes' 1866 *Public Schools Act*. This had been a central cause of major and malicious disputes involving a few of the prominent figures of Queanbeyan and was the font of provocation for the general state of disruption to schooling in Queanbeyan at that time, but which Lea-Scarlett ascribes to internal personal disputes or the church hierarchies outside Queanbeyan. Of the pivotal 1866 Act, which Lea-Scarlett refers to as a "second Schools Act" that the 'C of E and Catholic leaders opposed', one sentence on page 107 states that it brought the public and denominational schools under the one board and a comment on page 110 is made that "government funding meant government supervision", however this latter only in the context of contentious reflection on McAuliffe's supposed motives in founding St Benedict's. Contrary to Lea-Scarlett's depiction, while it is correct that issues with tyrannical landlords and rented buildings were highlighted by the 1863 Canberra School Case and the 1875 incident with W. T. Holland, debates about education in the late sixties were almost entirely dominated by the introduction of Parkes' *Public Schools Act*. The temporal dislocation of school incidents and the attribution of issues to personal failings of the teachers, internal personal disputes or impositions of the Church hierarchies outside Queanbeyan, neglects the debate between public and denominational schooling which was raging within Queanbeyan at the time due to the introduction of the 1866 Act. Subsequently except for one instance, that involving Rooney, the broad policy issues in play from 1866 and how they impacted on the life of Queanbeyan, have been overlooked. From Lea-Scarlett's disjointed commentaries it might not be apparent that these specific issues with the C of E and RC schools in Queanbeyan all occurred at the same time and in the same brief period surrounding the introduction of the 1866 Act. The rise of the Public School in Queanbeyan in 1867, from which the National School had evolved, was to have profound effect, as at that time, while the Public School flourished, support and funding for the C of E school decreased. During this nascent time of the Public School in Queanbeyan, as the direction of public education in general became more secular, heated storms surrounded education, with the teachers standing in the line of fire of a living debate between public and denominational schooling. This descended into personal malice at times and was not restricted to only one or two individuals or any one denomination. Determined theists, like John Gale, rejected secular education in entirety, refusing to accept any public school system that did not include religious instruction. Determined denominationalists did not believe that moral instruction in public schools was sufficient or of a kind they could approve of.
- b. As correctly noted by Lea-Scarlett, the Catholic and C of E administrations opposed Parkes' 1866 Act and encouraged parents to avoid the public school system. It is correct that the residents of Queanbeyan signed a petition to Catholic school teacher, Rooney's, support and he stayed on until 1867. However, Lea-Scarlett's abbreviated quotation omits the specific pretence under which Rooney was dismissed.

- c. As correctly noted by Lea-Scarlett, George Lane left Christ Church School in 1868. However, to say it was solely due to personal disputes with Rev. A. D. Soares is not correct. There was general dissatisfaction with Lane, under whose management the school attendance had diminished to three at the time of its closure, similar to his experience at Gundaroo, where he had been briefly employed in 1855. The incident with Gualter Soares at customs house was more than “some kind of scrape”, which a description as “smuggling” barely covers. In 1858, Gualter Soares was dismissed from his position as 10th loading waiter in the Customs department in Sydney on the grounds of acting as “an accessory after the fact” in that, it was alleged, he had assisted his brother-in-law, James Stewart, to flee the colony after his part in a customs scam that defrauded the NSW Government of nearly £3000 in duties, the largest scam of its kind in NSW to that date. Soares protested his innocence through a Sydney newspaper, claiming guilt by association and circumstantial evidence. By January, 1860, Soares had been appointed joint Post-Master at Queanbeyan and master of Christ Church School, where his brother, Rev. A. D. Soares, was the rector. Soares may well have been innocent and none of the issues involving Gualter Soares reflect on Rev. Soares, who, in Queanbeyan at the time, was never implicated in any wrongdoing. However, for Lea-Scarlett to state that Rev. Soares was acting on Lane solely out of revenge for a comment about the incident involving his brother, is somewhat licentious. While there may or may not be some basis to it, Lea-Scarlett’s cited reference for this position is a letter by Rev. A. D. Soares over Lane’s treatment of one of the girls in the school and this singularisation overlooks much information surrounding Lane in general. A damning inspection report by schools inspector, McIntyre, on 29 June, 1868, stated that, although the building was “suitable in good repair, neat and tidy in appearance, and well supplied with working materials”, the “discipline admits of great improvement. The instruction is not well regulated, and the attainments small and unsatisfactory” (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 21 Oct 1869, p2). William Gregg O’Neill, as Christ Church representative to the synod in Goulburn and in letters to the *Glbh Hld*, referred to a level of attendance so insufficient as to justify keeping the school open. When Lane denied this, O’Neill responded that Lane was misrepresenting the state of the school, writing that Lane’s records would “not show an average attendance of twelve children exclusive of his own family” and he claimed that on one occasion Lane had “found his school composed of one and closed it, preferring a walk in the bush to sitting watching the four corners of his room with the boy in the midst” (*Glbh Hld*, Wed 21 Oct 1868, p3 & Wed 28 Oct 1868, p4). When Lane replied that O’Neill was incorrect, stating that the children were away due to illness and that “No less than thirty-five children were absent from the other public school on the same day” for the same reason (*Glbh Hld*, Wed 21 Oct 1868, p3), O’Neill pointed out that there was only one public school in Queanbeyan and that Lane’s figures were incorrect.

Rumours as to Lane’s sanity, as referred to by Lea-Scarlett, are as any rumours are, but any credibility difficulties Lane was experiencing could not have been helped when he tried to justify his claim that Christ Church was a “public school”. Lane blamed McPhail for incorrect figures and then tried to assert that in another way they were correct (*Glbh Hld*, Wed 4 Nov 1868, pp2, 3). As Lea-Scarlett notes in *Gundaroo* (1972), but not *D & P* or *Distaff*, Lane had a similar experience when he was master of the C of E school in Gundaroo in its brief existence from 1855 until Bishop Barker closed it in 1856. In *Gundaroo* (p33), Lea-Scarlett notes Lane’s performance as a teacher there as having been assessed as “so meagre as scarcely to entitle him to a certificate of the lowest class”.

Following Lane’s departure and the appointment of Henry Field, the C of E School re-surged, with an enrolment of forty-one students (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 25 Mar 1869, p2). In 1869, another event of significance happened in Queanbeyan in that Father McAuliffe was appointed to St Gregory’s Church and his popularity partly caused enrolments at St. Gregory’s to increase at the expense of Christ Church. Ultimately the C of E school closed, edged out by the other two schools.

- d. The C of E school was not destroyed by violent internal disagreements with the rector. But for one teacher, Lane, Soares had good relationships with the Christ Church teachers, not surprisingly, considering his brother was the teacher from 1860 and he himself and his wife led the school after that until Lane was appointed. Lane was not the teacher when Christ Church closed in 1870. As Lea-Scarlett himself notes, Lane had already left two years previously; he had only been in the position for a year. The School had favourable inspection reviews under Gualter Soares from 1860 until in 1866 complaints were made about him, believed to be malicious, and he resigned. Rev. A. D. Soares and his wife then briefly conducted the school while seeking a permanent teacher. The school closed in 1867. Later that year it re-opened briefly with Lane, closed again, and then successfully re-opened with Henry Field in 1868, before closing permanently in 1870 in contentious circumstances when it was claimed by the Council of Education that enrolments were insufficient but with inconsistency as to official figures.

LOCAL SCHOOL BOARD. - The following gentlemen constitute the newly-appointed local board of the Church of England denominational school at Queanbeyan, their names having recently been submitted by the bishop and approved by the Council of Education: - Rev A. D. Soares (chairman), Messrs W. G. O’Neill, R. Meahagan, T. Hinckman, and A. W. Gabriel. This school, which had decreased to three pupils, at the retirement of the late teacher, has under its present management already increased to forty-one.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 25 March 1869, p2

Although the inspection report under Field was not favourable, there was no hostility between Field and Rev. Soares. Field assisted Rev. Soares in services at Christ Church and when he left Queanbeyan in 1871 it was with a

“highly eulogistic” reference from the local Board with Rev. Soares chairing the meeting at which it was presented to him. The Christ Church School Board was supportive of Field and Rev. Soares queried the Council’s decision, appealing for a review.

Queanbeyan (C.E.). - Visited, 20th December. Number of pupils enrolled: - Boys, 21; girls, 19; total, 40. Present at examination: - Boys, 19; girls, 15; total, 34. The grounds are fenced, the school-building is suitable, and there is a fair supply of furniture, apparatus, and books. The pupils are unpunctual, talkative, and not sufficiently attentive to their work, and the progress in learning is slow and unsatisfactory.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 8 June 1871, p2

THE LATE CERTIFIED C. E. D. SCHOOL.

The Council of Education having withdrawn the certificate of the Church of England denominational school in this town, the teacher, Mr Field, yesterday by invitation met the local board to be relieved from his duties and receive an expression of the board's opinion as to his past services. The meeting took place at eleven a.m., the Rev. A. D. Soares in the chair. Mr Field having accounted for the school property committed to his care, the chairman read a letter addressed to the retiring teacher couched in highly eulogistic terms, referring to the good reputation and many estimable qualities possessed by Mr Field, both as a teacher and member of the church. Mr Field gratefully acknowledged the contents of the letter handed to him, observing that he intended asking the board for a certificate, but did not expect so flattering a testimonial. Mr Field is now awaiting an appointment to a fresh school; and in place of a school under the Council of Education being henceforth conducted in the Church of England school room, we understand a school is to be conducted there for young children by a lady about to arrive from Goulburn.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 16 February 1871, p2

Against the rise of the Public School and St Gregory’s, with the arrival of the popular Fr. McAuliffe, the C of E school could not compete.

- d. A minor error exists in that while Lea-Scarlett’s description of Mrs Conolly leading the service in Rev. Soares’ absence is correct, the reference he cites for it, ‘*Golden Herald*, 22 March, 1871’ is incorrect. There is no such paper as the “*Golden Herald*”. It may be that the reference should be either the ‘*Queanbeyan Age*, 16 March, 1871’, in which the original article was printed or the ‘*Goulburn Herald*, 22 March, 1871’ in which the original article from the *Qbn Age* was reproduced.

9. Pages 140 and 270 (D&P). Reference to Thomas Webber, Chief Constable of Police. Lea-Scarlett states

William Gregg O’Neill came to Queanbeyan in 1853 as Chief Constable in succession to Thomas Webber, who either died or disappeared that June – his fate was never proven⁹.

Note “9” states

His death on 10 June, 1853 and burial two days later are recorded in the registers of Christ Church, Queanbeyan, but in a case at Goulburn Circuit Court it was ruled that there was not sufficient evidence of Webber’s death (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September, 1853).

- a. The *List of Coronial Inquests and Magisterial Inquiries* records that Webber died on 10 June 1853, with the coroner in Queanbeyan certifying his death due to natural causes. Accordingly, from 1854, Webber’s widow, Elizabeth, was paid a gratuity from the Police Reward Fund (*Returns for the Colony*, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857) and a government pension from the Revenues of the Colony (*Emp*, Sat 13 Aug 1859, p10). The *Returns for the Colony* in 1854 also record that Thomas Webber, Chief Constable of Queanbeyan, was “deceased” and his death in 1853 is recorded with the NSW Registrar of Births, Deaths and Marriages.
- b. The *SMH* (p3) article cited by Lea-Scarlett refers to a murder case unrelated to Webber’s death that had no bearing on the determination of Webber’s death in general. This was a trial against James McSpadden, accused of the murder of James Kirwan. It was not an official determination in regard to Webber’s death and there was no court “ruling” as to Webber’s death at this trial. The only relevance of Webber to this trial was the admissibility of his evidence by deposition, he having since died. The *SMH* article cited reports that at this trial the lack of proof of Webber’s death *non constat* was a legal technicality relating only to the use of Webber’s evidence by deposition as the prosecution did not procure material evidence, such as Webber’s Death Certificate at the trial. On objection by the defence and discussion with the judge, the prosecution chose not to admit the evidence in Webber’s deposition. This was not a ruling by the judge and not a ruling by the judge as to the death or circumstances of Webber’s death in general. There was never a question that Webber was dead, merely that the legally admissible evidence of it was not produced at this trial [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12948741>]. The same *SMH* article reported that at the trial, constable Henry McDonald testified that Webber was now dead of which he was sure and that when the Queanbeyan churchyard was flooded he had tried to recover Webber’s grave to prevent it from being washed away. The *Goulburn Herald*’s concise report was

An attempt was made by the Crown to prove the death of Chief Constable Webber, in order that his deposition might be read. After an argument the Crown Prosecutor stated that he would not press its reception by the Court.
- *Goulburn Herald*, Saturday 10 September 1853, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101734938>]

10. Three “Thomas Morans” are indexed under the same name. On page 76 (*D&P*), there is reference to Thomas Moran, senior-constable of police in Micalago, on page 92, to Thomas Moran, the mail contractor and on page 129, “Tom Moran, driving for his father,” the “father” in this instance probably being John Moran. As all three “Thomas Morans” are indexed as the same person it is not always clear that they are three distinctive people.

11. Page 129 (*D&P*). Loss of the mails by Lea-Scarlett’s great grandfather, John Breen. Lea-Scarlett states

Even coachmen, traditionally viewed as cautious and responsible, were not free from the craze for fun, frequently associated with rivalry among competing firms. Tom Moran, driving his father’s coach, and Pooley, driving for Pooley and Malone, once crossed the flooded Molonglo River at Burbong, leaving a rival mailman, John Breen, stranded in the middle of the river after losing his horse and the mails.

- a. This is unreferenced, but if it refers to the loss of the mails in 1873, the account is incorrect and may be based on an incorrect account given in the editorial of the 13 November 1873 issue of the *Queanbeyan Age*, but which was corrected in the 20 November issue (p2) [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4253511>], with both Pooley and Breen writing to correct the account. Neither Pooley nor Moran were present when the floodwaters rose or when Breen lost the mails, they having already crossed a long time before. Pooley had crossed the river at eleven-thirty in the morning and did not even know about the loss of the mails until five o’clock in the afternoon. Breen was standing on the bank when the waters rose and he stated that Moran sent assistance to him as soon as he became aware of his predicament.
- b. The reference to “competing firms” and Breen as “a rival mailman”, and therefore the context of this account, if this is a reference to the 1873 incident, is incorrect. It is correct that, at times, competition between certain mail contractors was fierce. However, in this instance the context is misplaced. At the time, John Moran, Tom Moran’s father, held the contract for Cooma to Goulburn, and Breen was driving for him, i. e. not as his rival, indicated in the deference by Breen to Moran – i. e. Breen took Tom Moran’s instructions, Pooley said he would tell Tom Moran of Breen’s situation and it was John Moran, father of Tom, who sent assistance to Breen. Although Moran and Pooley were rivals, Pooley waited for the more experienced Moran to lead him safely across the river and Moran told Breen to assist Pooley with his trace.

A paragraph in the 20 November edition of the *Age* directs to the letters from Pooley and Breen as containing “the details” of the event, which can therefore be taken as acknowledgement of these accounts. It would be difficult to be otherwise given that Pooley and Breen were the only witnesses!

12. Page 129 (*D&P*). Batty Moran and Arthur Pooley, “Furious driving” cases in 1879, for “racing” each other down Macquoid Street. Lea-Scarlett states

Batty Moran and Arthur Pooley, youthful scions of competing dynasties, tore down Macquoid Street one day in 1879 while their passengers held on for their lives...Constable Michael Torpy, standing in Monaro Street, took a dim view and secured for each the option of £5 or fourteen days.

Lea-Scarlett’s information is unreferenced but the court report as related in the both the *Queanbeyan Age* and the *Queanbeyan Times* stated that it was Senior-Sergeant Brennan who was present and brought the cases against Moran and Pooley. Constable Torpy’s testimony was that he merely went outside to see what was happening when he heard the commotion (*Qbn Age*, Wed 25 Jun, 1879, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30675899>]; *Man Merc*, Sat 28 Jun 1879, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article114521636>]). Const Torpy, step-father of Lea-Scarlett’s great grandfather, J. J. Breen, was a good police officer, but Lea-Scarlett’s information about this event is incorrect.

The competition context for this event is correct, although Pooley also referred to how he resorted to speeding to avoid being fined for being late, which the judge sympathised with, but pointed out was no excuse, even if, as it was stated in court, none of the passengers felt that their lives were in danger.

13. Pages 76 and 265 (*D&P*). References to Sen-const Thomas Moran and the Clarke gang raid on Micalago. After a brief précis of the career of the Clarke gang, with specific reference to Thomas and John Clarke, Lea-Scarlett states

But by far the most daring of their ventures was the holding up of the entire village of Michelago...Constable Moran happened to be away with the gold escort. Had he not been absent, it is doubtful whether he would have been a match for the Clarkes as he had the reputation of being an occasional drunkard and, when in his cups, had been known to do curious things such as chaining together the prisoners in the lock-up and even holding up the mail coach in jest²⁴.

Note “24” cites “*Illawarra Mercury*, 8 September, 1864.”

- a. There is no issue of the *Illawarra Mercury* for 8 September, 1864, as this was a Thursday, when the *Mercury* was not produced. A brief reference to a mail prank appeared in the *Mercury* of Friday, 11 September. However, this was merely a reproduction from the 3 September *Qbn Age*, issues with which are detailed below.

- b. A false account of the mail coach prank originated from an event that took place on Saturday 29 October, first reported in the *Qbn Age* in November (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 3 Nov 1864, p2), when it was stated that Moran was otherwise never known to engage in such behaviour, and neither the article in the *Age* nor the *Mercury* make reference to “chaining prisoners in the lock-up”.
- c. The reference to “chaining prisoners in the lock-up” may relate to an event reported in the *Qbn Age* in January, 1862. As far as can be ascertained by both myself and staff at the State Library of NSW, there is no such reference to Sen-const Moran in any issue of the *Illawarra Mercury* at around that time. “Chaining the prisoners in the lock-up” was a comment made in a case in January 1862, when incidental reference was made to the ‘customary precaution’ of chaining prisoners at night. This occurred in the report of a court case appearing in the *Queanbeyan Age* and it appears that this is the only such reference from the time. The issue in that case was not that Moran was drunk, but that he had tried to give a prisoner in the lock-up some rum, brought up by Chief-Constable O’Neill for “endeavouring to convey spirituous liquors to certain prisoners in the lock-up”, for which he was fined (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 30 Jan 1862, p2). In that instance O’Neill acted properly on a complaint, but he seemed sceptical, questioning in court the evidence of the man who had made the complaint, stating that it differed from what he had said to him earlier. This was partly a personal dispute. At the same time, the person who reported Moran, the lock-up keeper, also reported him for ‘conveying water to the public on police time’ as Moran had taken water to children whose parents were away. The Bench had no choice but to fine Moran a nominal amount for doing it on police time, but accused the lock-up keeper of “peevisness” and unnecessarily making enemies (*ibid.*).
- d. During the same case in 1862, it was revealed that Moran had also cautioned a constable against discussing police business with his wife and other members of the public, citing an instance of foreknowledge of a police excursion to the Jingeras. At this same time the police staff at Wild Cattle Flat, the only police station in the Jingeras, were rotated due to the compromising intimacy of the police officers with the locals (*Qbn Age*, Thur 23 Oct, p3 & 30 Oct, p2). By contrast, at nearby Micalago, Moran was considered a good officer and it was this reputation that protected Moran from occasional slanders, whether by accident or of the type that come with the job.
- e. The comment that Moran held up a mail coach in a drunken prank is incorrect, as is any implication that he was drunk while on the job. Sen-const Moran was a highly regarded and efficient police officer of many years’ standing before joining the NSW police, with a good reputation and it was revealed at the time that the report in the *Queanbeyan Age* of a mail coach prank was false. Moran did not have the general reputation of being a drunk, being why the report of the prank was met with scepticism, including by the editor of the *Manaro Mercury*, who refused to print what was as yet an unsubstantiated account.

The official information from the time is that on 29 October, 1864, Moran rode up to meet the coach and asked if it had any mail for the Micalago police, as was his usual practice, when one of the passengers in the coach, Canberra school teacher, John Thomas, was drunk on the floor of the coach. The driver began “larking” with Moran and Moran then rode off. Thomas reported his perception of the event to Sgt Latimer in Queanbeyan and this account was printed in the *Qbn Age*. Gale reported it in the *Age* as a morality tale of how drink had gotten the better of a man who otherwise had the general reputation of being a remarkably “efficient police officer” and generally “well-behaved man”, but with Moran, his police colleagues, many friends and highly respectable people in Queanbeyan, fearing for his career on the basis of the disputed report. As a result of the report, two investigations were held - a police investigation by Captain Battye and another in Queanbeyan court (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 1 Dec 1864, p2). Moran was cleared by Battye’s investigation and in court, when Moran appeared voluntarily before magistrates J. J. Wright and Dr. Hayley to answer charges of misconduct and drunkenness, the mail driver and a passenger, Mary Evans, a reliable Queanbeyan resident, testified that it was John Thomas who was drunk on the floor of the coach and that Moran had done what he normally did, being that he rode up and met the coach and asked if it had any mail for the Micalago police. The testimony of all the witnesses was that they were aware that it was Moran asking for the Micalago mail. The driver and Moran had started “larking”, with the driver pointing his whip at Moran and Moran pulling out his revolver in response, which the drunken Thomas had misinterpreted and John Gale at the *Age* had repeated. However, there was no more to it than that and all charges were dismissed with a caution to Moran to be more careful with his revolver in future (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 1 Dec 1864, p2).

Gale had intended the article as a morality tale of how on one occasion drink had gotten the better of an otherwise good man, but the event snowballed at a time the NSW police were under general criticism for failing to stem bushranging and the Cowper Government’s new *Police Regulation Act* was under fire for political reasons. After the court case and the details were known, the *Manaro Mercury* stated that Gale should print a retraction, acknowledging the error. Instead, while noting the variance in the information, Gale defended the original article and his decision to print it with reference to the severity of the matter ‘should it have been true’ and claiming that the witnesses had given different versions when testifying under oath than to him and had not mentioned Moran’s usual practice of asking for the letters for Micalago (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 8 Dec 1864, p3).

Nevertheless, cleared by two official investigations, Moran continued with his reputation intact, at least until 1968.

- f. The evidence in the public information is that Moran did not have the reputation of being a drunk. Point was made that he was generally of good character and not inclined to drinking on the job. Once only, Moran was brought up on a charge of drunkenness, when it was recognised by the court as being a one-off. In March 1861, Chief Constable O'Neill brought Moran up on a charge of drunkenness on one day on the 19th February. Moran admitted to having had three drinks throughout the day but stated that he was not drunk and that in eighteen years of police service he had never been up on any charge before. As a first offence and with testament by O'Neill as to his generally good conduct he was fined a mitigated amount of £1 (*Qbn Age*, Sat 9 Mar 1861, p2).

This had arisen in relation to a case before the courts involving a violent assault that had been perpetrated on Moran in Micalago on 19th February by three men, Patrick Maher, Martin Ryan and Thomas Donohue, when Moran was nearly killed. The assault had taken place in the main street in Micalago in view of several witnesses, when Moran had been violently set upon while on his way home from the pub. Maher had driven his horse into Moran intentionally and Moran seized the bridle and pulled Maher down from the horse. Ryan and Donohue came to assist Maher and with Moran overcome, Donohue kicked him while he was on the ground, until store-keeper, William Lenehan, and Trooper O'Sullivan, came to Moran's defence. Maher claimed that Moran was drunk at the time and had confronted him, but Lenehan and O'Sullivan's evidence corroborated Moran's and Lenehan testified that Ryan and Maher were drunk. Maher's own witness, Doyle, said that Moran had "signs of liquor on him" but stated that he had not heard Moran threaten Donohue (*ibid.*, Sat 2 Mar 1861, p2). Each of the offenders were convicted of assault and fined, and in default, Donohue went to jail (*Qbn Age*, Sat 9 Mar 1861, p2).

Police regulations were very strict at the time. Moran admitted to having three drinks during the day, but that he was not drunk. When set upon he was in fact on his way home from the pub after work. He vowed it would never happen again and in the years until his death in 1867, he was never again brought up for such, not including the false report of the mail coach prank, when at that time, three and a half years later, in 1864, one of the bases of scepticism about the report was that it was uncharacteristic of him. The Clarke-Connell gang raid on Micalago took place two years later on Friday June 1, 1866.

- g. Lea-Scarlett's connotation about Moran in relation to the raid on Micalago is not supported by the evidence of the time. Moran was the only police officer credited with taking action at the time and actions he took in response to the raid did play a role in bringing the career of the Clarke-Connell gang to an end. On learning of the raid, Moran, by then in Queanbeyan with the gold escort, immediately raced back to his wife and children, basically having to push his way through Captain Battye to do so, and even then he was the only police officer permitted to go. For this the police were criticised for putting the interests of the gold above that of the people of Micalago (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 7 Jun 1866 p2). William Bruce was arrested by Moran a short time after the raid on a charge of harbouring but was released by the police magistrate on a legal technicality relating to the date of the outlawing of Tommy Clarke and Patrick Connell (*Qbn Age*, Thur 21 Jun 1866, p2). In October, however, Bruce was caught consorting with Clarke and this time he was arrested for harbouring, partly due to Moran's evidence. Bruce then appeared in Central Criminal Court in Sydney in 1867 to answer charges relating to several separate incidents, including harbouring and committing robbery under arms while in the company of Clarke and Connell, when Moran's evidence was given by deposition, he having since died. (*Glb Hld*, Sat 6 Oct 1866, p3 & *Emp*, Tues 9 Oct, p3, Thurs 11 Oct 1866, p2, Tues 7 May 1867, p5, Fri 16 Aug 1867, p5 & 5 Nov, 1867, p6).

It is possible that Moran may not have been able to do much about the raid, but 'drunken incompetence' is not likely to be the reason for that, and, to the contrary, he was praised for his conduct in relation to the raid, the only police officer who acted at all. There were many references to the raid on Micalago in the press throughout the colony. No deleterious contentions exist as to Moran's conduct in relation to the siege. When Moran died in the year after the Micalago raid he was buried with full police honours (*Qbn Age*, Fri 19 Apr 1867, p2).

14. Lea-Scarlett's account of the raid on Micalago contains several errors.

- a. The reference Lea-Scarlett provides for a description of the fight that took place between the gang as being the *SMH* of 4 June, 1866, is incorrect. The report he refers to appears in the *SMH* of 5 June (p4). The 4 June edition of the *SMH* contains merely a brief statement that a raid had occurred but without any details (p4).
- b. The manager of Levy's store was George Fowler, not "Foulis", as stated by Lea-Scarlett, verified by Fowler's own letters to the *Qbn Age* about the raid (*Qbn Age*, Thur 12 Jul 1866, p3 & Thur 26 Jul 1866, p2). The *Glb Hld* article Lea-Scarlett cites states his name as "Fowliss", but both the *Glb Hld* and *SMH* articles cited by Lea-Scarlett give the correct name as stated by Fowler in his own letters to the *Age*.
- c. The raid on Micalago had been preceded by an extremely violent raid on the town of Nerrigundah, barely six weeks earlier, during which a police officer was shot dead, a member of the public was murdered and another shot, wounded and beaten.

- d. The comment that Moran “happened to be away with the gold escort”, that the gang “shouted drinks for everyone” and then left, “leaving no-one the worse, excepting Foulis, who had been punched, and his employer, Levy”, followed by an account of “the life that they led with their friends” described in a night spent with them by George Commelin, who partied with them and then boasted of how he had not turned them in when asked by the police if he had seen them, does not reflect the seriousness of the events and misses the significance of the raid on Micalago. The comment that “Regrets at missing the Kiandra gold escort were breathed about, until the topic switched to a missing £5 note” is not in accordance with the reports of the time. The bushrangers did engage in a fight between themselves about a missing five pound note, but what was stated about the gold escort is that it had left Micalago that morning while the bushrangers had the town under surveillance and it was believed that the gang raided Abraham Levy’s store in lieu of the gold due to the strength of the escort. The significance of this raid was that it was a well-organised attack on a town, supported by extensive intelligence, including as to police movements. The “minute details” of their daily activities were recounted to the captives by the bushrangers, and it was therefore conjectured that the inhabitants had been under surveillance by the gang with “powerful glasses” all day. It was believed that the gang raided the town that day specifically, because the police were not present, having ridden out with the gold escort that morning under the command of Captain Battye. It was believed that the gang had the town under surveillance and had intended to raid the gold escort, but that when they saw the strength of the escort, they waited for it to leave, and then raided the town instead.
- e. During what was an extremely violent raid, Fowler was assaulted by Connell at gun point by the bushrangers who threatened to “blow his brains out” if he turned his face from the wall and to shoot him if he rode for help. An employee of Mrs Lenane was brutally kicked by the gang who claimed they had been watching him all day being “lazy” and who said that they were punishing him for that (*Qbn Age*, Thur 7 Jun 1866, p2). The *Glbh Hld* article cited reported that one of the bushrangers dealt another captive, Patrick Reddan, a “tremendous blow with the butt of his revolver” for “looking...too closely at his undisguised features” (Wed 6 Jun, 1866, p3). A further account elaborates that Reddan “got three blows of a revolver on the head” (*Qbn Age*, Thur 26 Jul 1866, p2). The assault on Patrick Reddan is referred to in the *Glbh Hld* article Lea-Scarlett cites as one of the references for his comments. As noted by Lea-Scarlett, both James Kinsela and Blewitt, two of a road work party nearby, also had been “bailed up”. Accounts by victims of the Micalago raid were not that they revelled with their captors. Two victims stated that they were “compelled to drink”, defensively stating that being so affected prevented them from acting against the bushrangers, and Fowler stated he refused to drink at all.
- f. Lea-Scarlett’s summary of the event was not the reaction to the raid by the people of the time who were stalked, terrorised and assaulted at gun point by one of the most vicious gangs in the criminal history of New South Wales. While the prevalence of harbourers and accomplices is an accurate reflection of conditions at the time and there was concern that young men particularly, were influenced by a misperception of bushranging as being “romantic”, contrary to popular belief, the people of New South Wales in general did not see bushranging as a bit of fun. The Clarke-Connell gang, specifically, was considered to be outrageous, their career “one of the most fearful in the annals of Australian crime”, the gang engaging in a “tribal lawlessness”, the entire family “steeped in viciousness” (White, 1900). The Clarke-Connells were not underdogs acting against police corruption or social tyranny, or even individuals forced into crime by circumstance, but an entire family described as enacting crime as a way of life, failed by lack of education or socialising influences in the Jingerras, as partly intimidated by Lea-Scarlett. Lea-Scarlett’s later concluding designation of the bushrangers of the sixties as “gangsters” is more accurate than the context he gives their exploits in his narrative about them.

The people of Micalago were traumatised by the raid and the effect the siege had on them was shattering. Justified or not, there was great suspicion as to harbourers and telegraphs and that certain people in the town may have been accomplices. Accusations were cast publicly on individuals, one of whom, Kennedy, who owned the inn in which the hostages were held, responded to innuendo about him and his family through the paper (*Qbn Age*, Thur 26 July 1866, p2). There was every reason to fear the gang, considering a very recent and violent raid on the town of Nerrigundah and the reaction of the Clarkes to secret operations later put in place to catch the gang.

Lea-Scarlett notes that Tommy Clarke had already murdered when the gang raided Micalago. In April, Clarke, already an escapee from Braidwood jail, had murdered Constable Miles O’Grady. However, Pat Connell was also implicated in this and not stated in *D & P* is that this murder took place during a similar, extremely violent, raid on the town of Nerrigundah, perpetrated six weeks prior to the raid on Micalago. During that raid in April, both Constable O’Grady was shot dead and a member of the public, John Emmott of Moruya, was shot through the leg and forced to crawl to Mrs Groves’ pub at Deep Creek, where the gang were holding several victims, before engaging on their siege of the town of Nerrigundah itself (*Moruya Examiner*, Fri 13 April, 1866 & *SMH*, Mon 16 Apr, 1866, p5). Emmot sustained a wound to the head by a pistol, while being made to ‘move on’ after collapsing from loss of blood. During the raid on the town, Constable O’Grady, although on a sick-bed, had risen and killed one of the bushrangers, and was shot in the ensuing gun fight. Within a few hours he had died from his wounds. As they left the town, the gang continued their onslaught, reportedly robbing, beating and killing another man and burning a house down in the process (*Qbn Age*, Thur 19 Apr 1866, p2 & *SMH*, Mon 17 Dec 1866, p5).

By the time of the raid on Micalago, several police and members of the public had been murdered by bushrangers, including by “Mad Dog” Morgan, members of Ben Hall’s gang and the Clarke-Connell gang, and many ordinary people had been shot and wounded during armed raids. Violence perpetrated on people who acted against bushrangers was an effective deterrent to anyone attempting to turn them in. John Clarke, father of the Clarkes, had murdered a man, Noonang, and two of the Clarke gang’s later members, Bill Scott and James Dornen, were found with their skulls bashed in, believed to have been murdered by the Clarkes on the principle that “dead men tell no tales” (*Emp*, Wed 1 May, 1867, p4). The *Age*, while running an article on an atrocity committed by Ben Hall’s gang on an informer, omitted all the details of his murder as being unfit for print. Following the violence of the Clarke-Connell gang specifically, the papers started taking the precaution of suppressing names of witnesses appearing in court to give evidence against the gang so as not to be “an instrument by which the witnesses might run a risk” (*SMH*, Mon 17 Dec 1866, p5). Additionally, in the 1860s it was common for men who failed to act, even while being held at gunpoint, to be publicly chastised as “cowards.” Captives present at Micalago were publicly shamed in that regard by at least one newspaper (*Qbn Age*, Thur 7 Jun 1866, p2), and this account was reproduced in papers throughout the colonies.

- g. Lea-Scarlett makes an error that several historians have made in stating that at the time of the Micalago raid Thomas Clarke “already had a price on his head for the murder of a policeman”. At this time both Thomas Clarke and his uncle, Patrick Connell, were only under “summons to surrender” and had not as yet been officially outlawed. The omission of Connell from this same action is also common. Following the murder of Constable Miles O’Grady in Nerrigundah in April, on 19 May, a “summons to surrender” to the Braidwood police was issued against both Thomas Clarke and Patrick Connell with the deadline expiring on 29 May, on penalty of being outlawed should they fail to give themselves up. The deadline passing with no appearance by either, on 31 May they were declared outlaws by the Chief Justice, with the official proclamation, dated 5 June, appearing in the *Government Gazette* on that day and in the papers on the 6th. On 1 June, the gang raided Micalago in a well-organised assault, similar to the raid on Nerrigundah. On 5th June, four days after the raid on Micalago, official proclamation outlawing both Thomas Clarke and Patrick Connell was made by (Sir) James Martin, Sir John Young and (Sir) Henry Parkes. At this time rewards were posted of £500 and £300 each for their capture, along with further rewards for the capture of their accomplices and harbourers. Secret undercover operations were put in place to catch the gang.

The context and date of the outlawing were important. William Bruce, arrested by Snr-Constable Moran for harbouring Clarke, initially had to be released, as it was deemed that, technically, at the time he was harbouring the bushranger, a short time after the raid on Micalago but two days before the official proclamation was made, he was not harbouring an outlaw (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 21 Jun 1866, p2).

15. In *Distaff*, with no mention of Sen-const Moran or his part in Bruce’s capture, Lea-Scarlett refers partly to Lucy Hurley and William Bruce in the context of an example of ‘women’s lib.’ Lea-Scarlett relates how Lucy Hurley’s sister, Caroline, assaulted Bruce’s mother at his instigation and then refers similarly to Lucy. Lea-Scarlett states

Lucy Hurley was as proficient as Caroline when it came to rough play, for in due course she and William Bruce were charged with aiding the bushranger Pat Connell. The evidence revealed that when Bruce galloped off on horseback at the approach of the police Lucy yelled out, ‘Woodland, Woodland, you b ----- wretch, don’t shoot him,’ and then shook her dress with such effect that the policeman’s horse shied away down hill.¹³

Note 13 cites “*Queanbeyan Age*, 11 October, 1866.”

Lea-Scarlett’s reference to Pat Connell is an error. In October, 1864, William Bruce and Lucy Hurley were charged with abetting Tom Connell, not his brother, Pat, who had been shot dead by the police in July. Although not mentioned by Lea-Scarlett, it should be noted that Lucy Hurley was the notorious Tom Connell’s mistress and that she was a telegraph for the Clarke-Connell gang.

16. Page 79 (*D & P*). References to bushranger, Frank Gardiner. Lea-Scarlett states

Frank Gardiner, one of the great romantic figures in the history of Australian bushranging, was born not far from Queanbeyan, at Boro Creek, in 1830. In the early sixties he worked with the gang of Ben Hall, who came close to the town on several occasions. Gardiner’s sister and niece lived in Queanbeyan and he was supposed to have visited them while the police were hunting for him²⁹.

Note “29” states

The story which lacks confirmation is typical of local beliefs about bushrangers. A similar claim that Hall, Gilbert and Dunn had been openly riding about Bungendore resulted in an apology to the Bungendore police by the newspaper editor who published it. (*Goulburn Herald*, 1 July, 1865).

- a. Gardiner’s origins are uncertain and errors as to his childhood at Boro are common. However, under his real name, Christie, from at least 1850, he had an extensive criminal history in Victoria and NSW and it is well known

that as Gardiner it was he who founded the gang that Hall later took over from him when Gardiner fled to Queensland following the June, 1863, Eugowra escort raid.

- b. Lea-Scarlett's comment about Gardiner is unreferenced, but ironically, the report of this that appeared in the *Age*, reproduced in many papers around the colonies, stated that it was "believed" that Gardiner had relatives in the "neighbourhood", not necessarily Queanbeyan town itself, and that police and volunteers went out to search for him when a report was circulated that he was passing through the district on the way to the Jingerras from Yass (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 14 May 1863, p2).

17. Pages 78-79 (*D & P*). Capture of William Dunne and George Birmingham. Lea-Scarlett states

...Chief Constable O'Neill, not long afterwards, on the trail of cattle-stealer, James Webber, traced [William Dunne] to the back of Dunn's inn, where Edward Dunn was helping him to escape. Then on 26 December, 1863, the Cooma Mail was held up by two men, once again near Rob Roy. Suspicion fell on William Dunn. Either unknowingly or daringly, he came into Queanbeyan. In the street he was recognised and shot at, but got away. Charles Donohue, Sergeant of Police, and another policeman (both in disguise) trailed him to Michelago...

Donohue gave chase and Dunn fled in the direction of the Jingeras. After several miles, and when the policeman had fired seven shots, Dunn's horse fell from exhaustion. Even then the youth would not surrender and Donohue had to strike him on the head with a horsewhip to subdue him, after which he threw down a pair of handcuffs which Dunn was obliged to put on himself. Seeing that the policeman was bushed, he then tried to embarrass him by refusing to show him the way back. It was only when Donohue threatened to strap him to his horse and drag him about that a reluctant guide led him back to Rob Roy...Subsequently, while maintaining his own innocence, Dunn admitted that he knew where the mailbags were hidden. He led the police to a tent, outside which a horse was tethered. Inside was the loot. No trace could be found of the occupant. The missing mail robber was Patrick Bermingham, an itinerant reaper. While the police were searching for him he audaciously attended the Queanbeyan races. Together with his bush telegraph, "Rugby Dick" Middleton, he was taken by the police at Phil's Creek in January, 1864...²⁸

Note "28" cites "*Goulburn Herald* 30 December, 1863, 2 and 9 January, 1864, 30 April, 1864."

The main points of departure from the cited accounts are that

- a. Sergeant Donohue set out with a constable from Micalago, Snr-const Moran's station, in the pursuit of Dunne and the sources cited state that it was these two who were "both in disguise".

Information having reached the head quarters of the police at Cooma; Mr. Superintendent Markham on Monday despatched Sergeant Donohue and another trooper, on search, mounting the former on his (Mr. Markham's) favourite horse. On Tuesday Sergeant Donohue, accompanied by one of the Micalago police, both in disguise, in the course of a search for the mail-robbers, came upon two men in the bush tailing a small herd of cattle.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 31 December 1864, p2 & *Goulburn Herald*, Saturday 2 January, 1864, p2

- b. No motive was stated in the newspaper reports for Dunne's refusal to assist Donohue in their return to the Rob Roy. The interpretation that Dunne's intention was to "embarrass" Donohue by refusing to lead him back to the Rob Roy, is Lea-Scarlett's. The original articles merely stated

...Being in strange country, and not having observed the direction he had travelled, the sergeant was at a loss to retrace his steps with his prisoner, seeing which Dunne became unwilling to afford him any information on the subject, and it was only by threatening to strap him to his horse and drag him where he pleased that he was induced to act as guide; and thus after a while they reached the high road near the Rob Roy where Dunne's relations reside...

The original article emphasised that Dunne was merely determined not to get caught.

- c. Birmingham's name was George, not Patrick. The man who apprehended him was Sub-insp Patrick Brennan.
- d. The cited sources do not refer to Birmingham as an "itinerant reaper". The *Qbn Age* stated that, as well as shearing at Lanyon, Birmingham was a printer working at their office and in January, the *Age* reproduced the *Braidwood Observer's* query if all printers would turn bushranger as Birmingham had, should the government introduce a proposed newspaper tax which would see them out of work! (*Qbn Age*, Thur 14 Jan 1864, p2)
- e. The 7 January *Qbn Age* article (p2), reproduced in the 9 January *Glbn Hld* (p2), stated that it was only a rumour that Birmingham had been seen at the Queanbeyan races.
- f. The citations Lea-Scarlett provides are not correct. The 30 April, 1864, *Glbn Hld* article reported the court case whereby Birmingham pleaded guilty to the robbery of the Cooma mail and Dunn pleaded not guilty to being an accomplice to the robbery. As correctly stated by Lea-Scarlett, the jury could not reach a decision and were ordered locked up for the night. On resumption of the case on the morning of Saturday 30 April, the jury was still hung and subsequently discharged and Dunn remanded for further trial. The separate case of horse-stealing, however, was heard in Goulburn court on Tuesday 3 May and reported in the *Glbn Hld* of 4 May, (p2), when Dunn pleaded guilty and was sentenced to five years' hard labour. On that day the robbery case against him was dropped. It was also in the 4 May issue of

the *Glbh Hld* that George Birmingham's fifteen year sentence for the robbery of the Cooma mail was reported. The capture of Birmingham and Middleton was reported in the *Yass Courier* and reproduced in the *Glbh Hld* of 3 and 13 February, 1864, the case having been heard in Yass court and then referred further to Queanbeyan (*Qbn Age*, Thur 21 Jan 1864, p2).

18. Page 140 (*D&P*). Comments as to Police Sub-Inspector William Gregg O'Neill and the Ben Hall raid at Jugiong. Following a contentious account of O'Neill's personal background, Lea-Scarlett states

O'Neill surrendered to the bushrangers after Parry was hit, and earned a good deal of criticism for doing so, although an official enquiry acquitted him. When he returned to Queanbeyan in 1866, however, he had been dismissed from the Police Force on suspicion of profiteering on forage supplies.

These comments are unreferenced but the summary of the Jugiong raid is too unbalanced to be accurate and the reference to the forage case, in overall judgement, cannot be said to be correct.

This topic is covered in detail in my book, *The O'Neills of Queanbeyan*, and in the course of my research I encountered material never presented into the public domain previously. I would not expect, therefore, that any material on this topic would be complete and along with much misinformation about Ben Hall and bushranging in general having been prolific for many decades, misinformation about the Jugiong raid has also been evident on occasion. However, there is little basis for Lea-Scarlett's accounts, which even in the general scholarship previous to my research has not been so harsh or brief.

- a. O'Neill was generally praised for his conduct at Jugiong and a petition for his promotion was forwarded to the Colonial Secretary, James Martin. One man, an enemy of O'Neill's from his former Chief Constable days in Queanbeyan, circulated a rumour that O'Neill had fired only one shot during the encounter. Police Insp-Gen McLerie had been relying on the captures of Ben Hall and John Gilbert for the full details of the Jugiong raid to be disclosed under oath during their trials. After they were shot by the Forbes police, many months after the raid, an inquiry was held, with O'Neill exonerated by the succeeding Colonial Secretary, Charles Cowper, when issues emerged, including that the person who had claimed O'Neill had supposedly 'fired only one shot' during the incident had not even seen the encounter. He had taken his wife to hide behind some rocks and although he had heard firing, he was not in a position to see by whom.
- b. Although police magistrate A. C. S. Rose, a passenger on the coach who was publicly criticised and suspended for his conduct during the Jugiong raid and during an enquiry into police constable Roche who had fled during the attack, later tried to bring a charge against O'Neill of supposedly manipulating police forage contracts, on intervention and examination of the case by the then Attorney-General and Premier, James Martin, on Wednesday 7 March 1866, it was determined that no offence had been committed by O'Neill. This was the official and reported outcome and the case did not go to trial.

[FROM A CORRESPONDENT]. GUNDAGAI. Wednesday evening. The Attorney-General has declined to file a bill against Sub-Inspector O'Neill, not considering the evidence disclosed any offence. Public opinion here is favourable to Mr O'Neill. - *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 8 March 1866, p2

Gundagai. Wednesday, 3 p.m. - The attorney general has decided not to file a bill against Sub-inspector O'Neill, as he is of opinion that the evidence does not disclose any offence. - Telegram to Tumut Times. *Goulburn Herald*, Saturday 10 March 1866, p3

Although officially cleared by the Attorney-General, it is correct O'Neill was removed from the police. However, the official date of removal was Thursday 8 March, the day after O'Neill was exonerated (*NSW Police Gazette*, 11 April 1866, p181). Having been formally cleared by the Attorney-General of any offence prior to leaving the service, officially, no suspicion was hanging over O'Neill for this. The reasons for O'Neill's dismissal were complicated, involving a legal technicality and O'Neill's arrest of prominently connected people and this is dealt with in my book, *The O'Neills of Queanbeyan*.

19. Page 140 (*D & P*). William Gregg O'Neill's family background. Lea-Scarlett states

O'Neill was deeply religious and a strong supporter of Christ Church...He was proud of his father, a Customs officer, and his uncle, Rev. Patrick O'Neill, of Lincoln. His education was at least as good as Wright's, in spite of the charge of a local inn-keeper, Henry Cane, that he had been 'educated in a Sligo workhouse and turned amuck.'¹⁰ Through all the bitter religious divisions of the time he remained aloof, a leading promoter of the building of the Methodist Church, a loyal parishioner of the Church of England, a friend engaging in political intrigue with a Catholic Priest.

Note "10" cites "*Queanbeyan Age*, 25 April, 1868."

- a. This bare information, underlined by a reference to O'Neill's uncle Patrick, is unqualified; the only reference provided is Cane's letter to the *Age*. While Lea-Scarlett does not imply wrongdoing on O'Neill's part in this instance, referencing Cane's letter without O'Neill's response could give misimpression as to O'Neill and the events. There is no basis for the singling out of Patrick O'Neill in the letter O'Neill wrote in reply to Henry Cane.

In this instance, O'Neill's reference to his several uncles was a response to Cane's aspersions on his background. It should be noted that O'Neill and Cane settled their differences and Cane was one of the Hospital Board members who in 1876 presented O'Neill with a special public testimonial for his services to the hospital.

Sir, - As a general rule it is not becoming in a man to blow his own trumpet, still there are times when he is justified in so doing. In a letter which appeared in your last issue, signed Henry Cane, it was boldly stated that I had been reared in Sligo workhouse. This I could easily have passed over had it not been that some perhaps might believe there were grounds for such a statement. I was not at any period of my life reduced to such condition, nor is it likely I could be, seeing that I had those belonging to me who could prevent it - one of my uncles, the Rev P. O'Neill, being a minister of the Church of England, stationed at Louth, Lincolnshire; another, Dr W. O'Neill, M.R.C.P., London, who commands at the present time the leading practice of the city of Lincoln; another, Dr J. O'Neill, of Auckland, member of the parliament of New Zealand and principal director of the Bank of New Zealand; also Allan O'Neill, his brother, who has been for years city surveyor and treasurer at the same place. I have another uncle, the Rev. Lewis O'Neill, minister of the Primitive Methodist Church in America. My father, also, as it is known to at least a few in the colony, for years held rank as an officer in the Irish constabulary, in which force I was born and reared to the age of twelve years. I may also state that although placed at the head of six in family when only fourteen years old, my father did not leave us in want, as the yearly rents arising out of our property to this day exceeds £50 per annum. As to the allusion made to "human forge", there are few, if any, who will not admit that in the case [?]ed I was more sinned against than sinning. It has also been suggested that I wished to expose Sergeant Latimer. This I most emphatically deny. It was I who had him appointed as constable and was partly the means of getting him his promotion; and there has occurred nothing since which would cause me to regret what I did. It may be that some men desire to kick the ladder from under them: with this, however, I have nothing to do. Too much fuss has been made about the police and their refreshment. The mere accidental omission of the word "stewards" before "luncheon" in the balance sheet was the head and foot of my offending. What a storm in a teapot! But suppose the police did eat and drink to the amount of £7 18; what of that? In my time in the Sydney patrol the city police were always provisioned with abundance of every kind of refreshment in a booth at Homebush and not only that, but each man received from the stewards a day's pay for every day he was doing duty on the course, as pocket money. Fifty pounds each [annual?] and thirty pounds at each jumper's races, did not cover the expense of the police; still the stewards invariably paid these expenses. At the close of last year's races I was complimented for the manner in which the races were going and similar acknowledgement was made this year, but when such is followed by abusive and fault-finding letters, it cannot be wondered if I decline a duty in future not only onerous, but truly toilsome and unprofitable to

W. G. O'NEILL.

P. S. When Dr Morton sat down to write in defence of the police he also should have defended himself against the charge of unjustly expending the race funds, as it was he who principally contracted the debts he complained of. W. G. O'N.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 2 May 1868, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30577856>]

- b. Although Lea-Scarlett's comment that O'Neill was "deeply religious" appears in the section on politics it has no political relevance. O'Neill *was* religious, however, politically, he believed in separation of church from state. He was opposed to a clergyman being the President of the hospital as a matter of principle (*Qbn Age*, 17 Jan 1880). He was a passionate supporter of Henry Parkes' *Public Schools Act* of 1866, support for which was part of his election platforms. Forster, the man he gave his seat to in 1869, believed in complete separation of church from state, wanted to remove all state funding from denominational schools, satirised Parkes' Chinese Restriction Bill in 1861 and was one of only two members who opposed the extreme *Treason-Felony Act* in 1868. O'Neill famously established or supported many or any churches and institutions in Queanbeyan, regardless of denomination, his aim as a man and as Chief Constable of Police, to bring organised social, moral and legal structure to what was at the time, a small collection of a very few shops, shanties and selections, surrounded by a few very large pastoral estates, with legitimate settlers antagonised by bushrangers, cattle thieves and general, often drunken, rabble rousers.
- c. In referring to O'Neill's religious tolerance, Lea-Scarlett states that O'Neill "stayed aloof" from the sectarian issues of the time, but it would be more correct to state that O'Neill was a main force in maintaining stability during the religiously-fuelled disputes of the 1860s and 1870s, and in the 1880s he actively defended people of non-British background from persecution. Although C of E and having housed the Wesleyans in the district, one of the most significant aspects of O'Neill's character and reputation was that he was a man of non-sectarian bias and one of the stabilising forces in Queanbeyan during times of sectarian heat. O'Neill did not get involved in the religiously-fuelled disputes in Queanbeyan, instead invoking Australian allegiances away from the sectarian tensions of the old country. As were most people of the time, O'Neill was devout, and occasionally quoted scripture along with modern literature and philosophy in his speeches, but his approach was universal and he often spoke of the need for religious tolerance and harmony. At no time did he enter into the extremist, fervent, religiously-based sermonising that John Gale expounded through the *Age*.

Lea-Scarlett quotes O'Neill's credo that "In Australia, all are British whether Scottish, Irish or anything else, by birth." Throughout his working and private life O'Neill acted according to that principle. As a police officer, part of O'Neill's reputation was that he did not restrict the performance of his duty to people of white race or Christian faiths, he helped defend the Catholics against the prejudices directed toward them during the 1870s and in the 1880s, when the politics of protection became a stimulus for race-hate, O'Neill was the leading voice against persecution of the Chinese.

- d. A report that McAuliffe supported O'Neill in the 1869 NSW parliamentary election was false, noted as such at the time.

20. Page 110 (*D&P*). Father McAuliffe was “Father James McAuliffe”, not “Rev. Jeremiah McAuliffe” as he is referred to both in the text and the index. Rev. Father James McAuliffe and Jeremiah McAuliffe, brother of Mrs Lee, owner of St Patrick’s inn, were two people and assumedly Lea-Scarlett realised the error as in the later, *Gundaroo* (1972), the two are referred to distinctively.

21. In both *D & P* and *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett makes pronounced and singular reference to the Catholic priest, Father McAuliffe, in relation to sectarian hostilities in accounts lacking balance and qualification. On page 111 (*D&P*), he states, without reference or qualification, that “With the death of Father McAuliffe in 1879 a prime mover in the sectarian bitterness was removed.” In *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett attributes the “sectarian heat of the ’70s” to Father McAuliffe, specifically in the context of education, but unqualified and unreferenced. In *D&P*, also without qualification, he refers to William Gregg O’Neill supposedly “engaging in political intrigue with a Catholic priest”, and elsewhere incorrectly invokes the false rumour that Father McAuliffe had advised his parishioners to vote for O’Neill in the 1869 election. On page 67 in *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett more explicitly refers to Father McAuliffe as “a bigoted zealout of the most formidable description” in loose association with the Wyanga school case, in unclear reference to which Lea-Scarlett claims the “field lay open to the aggressive interference of Father McAuliffe.” Despite noting that Canberra rector, Rev. P. G. Smith, “never quite convinced himself during more than fifty years in control of the district that he had not absolute rights to first fruits and tithes”, he entirely attributes the issues at Wyanga to the “aggressions” of Father McAuliffe.

Lea-Scarlett states

Father McAuliffe welcomed strife as a means of reminding his flock of the sufferings of the Pope, who was at that very time besieged by liberals in Rome. It was an opposite case at Wyanga, however, for there the liberals pressing for the abolition of illiteracy in the faraway Australian bush were fighting a losing battle against the Pope’s supporters, but the Protestant schoolmaster defiantly stood his ground, “in a Most chivalrous and praise-worthy manner” (as he himself observed), enjoying every moment of the siege.

- a. A false rumour as to Father McAuliffe’s involvement in the 1869 election by supposedly advising his parishioners to vote for O’Neill was incorrect and noted as such at the time.
- b. While at the time, others were specifically identified as sources of sectarian discord, Father McAuliffe was generally credited with acting against “strife”, was not aggressively militant and often acted to diffuse sectarian tensions. In his paper, historian, A. W. Martin (Martin, A.W. (1957). *Electoral contests in Yass and Queanbeyan in the ’seventies and ’eighties*. Sydney Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings), notes that as Member for Queanbeyan, O’Sullivan was the “man around whom some of the bitterest sectarian feeling ever seen in Queanbeyan, raged.” O’Sullivan’s Catholicism at one point brought him up against the Protection and Political Reform League, which had to introduce resolutions that its members could not oppose the 1879/1880 Education Act, precisely, it said, to deal with people like O’Sullivan.

Although he seems to be quoting Martin’s paper in reference to comments by Leopold Fane De Salis and J. J. Wright in reference to McAuliffe, Lea-Scarlett both ignores and writes contrary to Martin’s more critical analysis of those correspondences. Although Lea-Scarlett cites Martin’s paper in other contexts, such as in relation to the 1874 and 1877 elections, referred to elsewhere in this document, his interpretations of Father McAuliffe differ considerably from Martin’s. Martin was explicit in querying Leopold De Salis’ contentions about Father McAuliffe.

Old Leopold De Salis, for example, wrote vitriolically to Parkes after the 1872 election:

“My son has had a glorious victory against all the borough-mongering influences of the [Rutledges], the Campbells, the Wrights, numerous squatters and last but not least the most unprincipled personal exertion of the priest who by intimidation such as I think ought to be inquired into, forced his flock to break their promises toward my son – so far as he could influence them – as well as by the most outrageous lies in which he was well backed by your friend Mr J. J. Wright.”

De Salis was perhaps blinded by prejudice, and his evidence alone is not sufficient to bear out the precise charges he makes here.

Martin also goes on to refer to how De Salis encouraged the allegiance between Parkes and the Catholics, represented by the inclusion of prominent Catholic, Edward Butler, in his cabinet. Of the 1873 banquet held in Queanbeyan for Parkes, Martin states

[De Salis] was one of the chief organisers of a public banquet given to Henry Parkes and Edward Butler. The event had a special significance...it was a symbol of temporary Protestant–Catholic reconciliation...The 1873 dinner was intended to symbolise this rapprochement of feeling in Queanbeyan. On the subject De Salis wrote to Parkes

“Your union is generally acceptable and locally speaking the fact of being associated together in a banquet will eradicate those prejudices which are unnaturally stimulated against you – and which I hope are now being checked by the very promoters. Wright assures me that Father McAuliffe takes a warm interest in promoting the banquet.”

In December 1874, the Catholics urged the electorate to vote for Forster against the fiercely anti-Catholic J. J. Wright, when Wright then, like De Salis in 1872, pleaded with Parkes to ‘gag the priest’. There was nothing of sectarian “aggression” in the Catholics’ support for William Forster against Wright in the 1874 election. This was following Wright’s aggressively anti-Catholic speech earlier in July in relation to the Orange celebrations and there was no question as to why the Catholics were suspicious of Wright and Gale in their claims that Wright was feigning to be “pro-Catholic” as part of Wright’s election campaign.

The main issues with Catholic clergy interference in elections in general was that they were using their influence to defeat the *1866 Public Schools Act*. In 1874, the exertions of the Catholics in Queanbeyan were to the opposite effect. In that election, the Queanbeyan Catholics were urging a vote for Forster, a man who was even more extreme than Henry Parkes in supporting public education and who wanted to remove *all* state funding from denominational schools, with specific reference to Catholic schools. The Catholics’ objection was to Parkes’ *Treason-Felony Act*, an extreme measure of legislation, with Forster being one of only two men who had the presence of mind to vote against it at the time, a man of independent mind, exercising reason, despite his own secular principles.

There is little or no evidence that Father McAuliffe was the “source of sectarian strife” or that he was a “bigot”. McAuliffe was merely actively Catholic and this was sufficient to draw fire from his protestant enemies, several of whom were prejudiciously sectarian. There is little evidence of sectarian aggression on Father McAuliffe’s part in general. Attributing “sectarian strife” to Father McAuliffe in the Wyanga case in 1871, specifically, is questionable. In that case, although not mentioned by Lea-Scarlett, equally involved was Rev. Smith, who, according to school teacher, Samuel Edmonstone Plumb, refused to allow the C of E kids to attend Wyanga after it “fell into sacerdotal hands”. While Lea-Scarlett relies on Plumb for his own designation of McAuliffe as a “rabid priest”, this invocation is not specifically qualified and Plumb’s description of the matter in the *Gln Hld* was more even-sided. In 1875, Plumb referred to the Catholic school at Bungendore, also one of McAuliffe’s projects, as “excellent” and his account of the Wyanga case in an article in the *Goulburn Herald* was

An abortive attempt was made three years ago to establish [a school] at Wyanga, a locality centrally situated to the scattered population; but on account of its management falling into sacerdotal hands, more than half the population, who were of the opposite persuasion, refused to send their children to it; and for the last eighteen months it has been closed.
Goulburn Herald, Sat 23 Oct 1875, p3.

The sacerdotal hands were Father McAuliffe’s and the priest refusing to allow children of his faith to attend it was Rev. P. G. Smith. Additionally, any objections Father McAuliffe had to Plumb may have been well founded. Lea-Scarlett’s account of Plumb as a man of ability lost within mediocrity is probably correct. The general view of Plumb was that he was over-qualified to teach primary school students in secluded schools, “a square peg in a round hole”, as stated by the *Age*. However, Plumb was conceited and a notorious drunk and his condescension was not necessarily justified. Lea-Scarlett’s statement that the Schools Inspector refused to recommend Plumb on account of drunkenness is questionably tempered by his following statement that Devlin was inferior to Plumb “in wit and intemperance”. Several commentators at the time questioned Plumb’s pomposity, one saying that his education did not extend beyond schoolboy Latin. Lea-Scarlett states that Plumb’s “previous school” had closed due to the itinerancy of the railway community. Assumedly, Lea-Scarlett is referring to the Public School at New Country Flats. However, in 1869, complaints were made about Plumb for drunkenness at that school, when he denied the evidence of many reliable witnesses. He was then dismissed from Sutton for “neglect of duty”. Several other cases involving Plumb raised questions as to his character. Lea-Scarlett’s depiction of Plumb as “pretentious and flamboyant” is accurate and he had an ability to get the backs up of many people. After being dismissed from Sutton, Plumb was appointed to Carwoola, where he was suspected of cheating when one of his students won first prize in a NSW essay competition. In that case, Plumb not only did not hesitate to take credit for the ideas in the essay, he even boasted they were his, and although the judges awarded the student the prize, there was little doubt that ethical lines were blurred in that case (*Qbn Age*, Wed 29 July 1874, p2). At the same place, also in 1873, Plumb brought an abusive language suit against a man but told him not to bother appearing in court as he himself was not going to, leaving his motives for bringing the case open to question. When the defendant turned up anyway, the judge commended him for his wisdom in doing so and not only dismissed the case against him, but advised him in seeking costs against Plumb, for what was seemingly an act of malice, or at the least, extreme conceit (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 10 Jul 1873, p2).

- c. Lea-Scarlett’s pointed remark that Father McAuliffe “hit upon the idea” of the convent immediately after an unfavourable school inspection at St Gregory’s to ensure his own “easy influence”, is open to question, especially being so ambiguous as to intention. Plans to build the convent were announced a month after the report was published, but the concept had been under consideration for some time. The broader evidence is that McAuliffe was genuine in his attempts to improve conditions for girls. Alcohol abuse was rife throughout the district and conditions for young women, specifically, were not advantageous. It should be noted that in an indecent assault case in 1873, McAuliffe’s actions were significant to the teacher involved losing his position and being tried and imprisoned, when local members of the public treated the incident with dismissiveness. McAuliffe’s “influence” in that instance had been advantageous.

It is correct that the general view was that St Benedict's filled a genuine need and from the outset there was a lot of support for the school, from both Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Given Lea-Scarlett's incorrect information about the composition of the Public School Board in 1875, the people involved and the context of the events with Holland, his contentions about McAuliffe are open to question. This was the time of the action against Holland by the Public School Board, supported by Gale. In 1880, on the completion of St Benedict's, St Gregory's was moved into one of its wings. However, McAuliffe had died in 1879 and St Benedict's was as much subject to inspection as St. Gregory's had been.

What was notable about McAuliffe, and what is not indicated by Lea-Scarlett, is that during his brief ten years in Queanbeyan, he was one of the best-loved figures in the district and by people of all faiths, with a following that was unprecedented for a clergyman in Queanbeyan. On Christmas Day in 1873, over five hundred people attended his Christmas mass in St Gregory's. At that time the entire population of the town of Queanbeyan was about 550. His influence was both sought and feared. Even John Gale was careful not to offend McAuliffe and he always gave him good press. McAuliffe's death by accidental drowning in 1879 evoked an almost unprecedented public response. Hundreds of people attended the scene of the accident and his funeral was one of the largest ever held in the district. Gale was bombarded with requests for copies of the *Age* which carried the lengthy articles devoted to his drowning, the inquest and his funeral, and unable to cope with the demand, Gale stated an intention to print a special revised pamphlet. McAuliffe's only real enemies were a few very determined anti-Catholics and it is more likely that his incomparable popularity made him a figure of attention for his enemies, not the least of which because he wasn't passive. His active attentions raised an ire among certain members of the community, that on one occasion, was recognised as being distinctly prejudicial, as referred to elsewhere in this paper. It was immediately following this that McAuliffe announced he was taking a leave of absence to Europe. It was also at this time that he began his plans for St Benedict's. McAuliffe was known for dissuading sectarian violence and the evidence is more that Father McAuliffe was merely an active and popular figure, conscientiously practising his faith and attending to his duties during a time of generally prevailing tense circumstances, when probably, normal conduct was being given greater significance than it deserved.

22. Of the 1874 election (p144 *D&P*), Lea-Scarlett states

A sinister sectarian element had slowly emerged in colonial society and politicians made it into a serviceable tool. The Queanbeyan Orange Lodge, founded in 1873, had its flag torn up one night; a Protestant procession in the town was charged by a wild bullock; police were reinforced at Bungendore in anticipation of a disturbance when an Orange Lodge was founded there, John Webb of Springbank poisoned his neighbour's dog because it was called Leo, and that was the Pope's name. The processions in Queanbeyan on 17 March and 12 July frequently ended in brawls. J. J. Wright denied a charge he was supported by the Orange Lodge in his win in the 1874 election, but the mere suggestion decided the minds of many electors. Only atheists and pagans could be neutral.

- a. This reads ambiguously, but for purposes of clarification, Wright was not neutral and his lack of impartiality earlier in 1874 was not a "mere suggestion" at the hands of 'unscrupulous politicians'. In July, 1874, Wright had made an anti-Catholic speech so ferocious it prompted the Catholics to vote against him in the December election.

In *D & P* Lea-Scarlett makes only bare reference to Wright's religious hostilities in reference to the attempted assassination of the Prince in 1868, when he attributes a supposed feud between Wright and O'Neill to O'Neill's unprejudiced position. In that source, along with convoluted reference to the 1874 elections in regard to the Holland incident and suggestion of Catholic aggression, with misattribution, Lea-Scarlett somewhat distances Wright from the events of 1875 and no mention is made of his aggressively anti-Catholic stance in July, the previous year.

A marked difference exists between the depiction of Wright in *D & P* and Lea-Scarlett's entry about him in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (1972), where Wright is more explicitly stated as the "bitterest of Orangemen" and "Orangeman" is listed as among his occupations. In terms of the events of 1874/75, this is more accurate.

- b. Lea-Scarlett's reference to his ancestor, John Webb, may be correct but the flag-tearing incident that he refers to was not as implied. This was a misunderstanding of a paragraph in the *Age* that was corrected in the leader of the next issue. The religious prejudices at the time had given rise to a few alarming incidents, but at times when it threatened, genuine attempts were made to keep Green v Orange in Queanbeyan relatively tame. This was partly due to Father McAuliffe's popularity and his friendship with protestant, but universal, William Gregg O'Neill, and that the district was the home of several prominent Catholics, such as the Byrnes, the Shanahans and the Malones, making sectarian discord impracticable. What the *Age* reported was that a well-meaning Catholic had loaned his Union Jack to Orangemen for their 12 July celebrations, but other Catholics thought it an un-Catholic thing to do at the time and took the flag from him and tore it up so he couldn't do it again. A letter writer calling themselves "A Confirmed Protestant" wrote about this, based on an ambiguous account that had appeared in the *Age*, but Gale acted swiftly to correct the mistake and hastily inserted an article in response to the misconception to deter any potential hostilities (*Qbn Age*, Wed 21 Jul 1875). "Confirmed Protestant" later wrote that he became aware of the mistake too late to prevent his original letter from being published.

24. Pages 97 to 98 (*D&P*). The O’Neills’ mails. My great great grandparents, James and Mary Ann Affleck O’Neill, are among the few Queanbeyan people accorded high regard in *D & P* and the information about them is generally correct, but for a couple of errors. On page 93 (*D&P*) without identification of the contractor Lea-Scarlett states

In the early 1860s a horseback mail to Lanyon was started...

and then further on the page he states

William Gregg O’Neill and his relatives made a reputation as mailmen and coach proprietors. It was not until 1868 that WG O’Neill himself entered the field, following the lead of his brother, John Allan, who a year before had taken over the Gundaroo-Canberra-Queanbeyan mail. In 1869 the two brothers and their employees were covering over five hundred miles each...

- a. For clarification, James O’Neill was the first of the three O’Neill brothers to enter the mail business in Queanbeyan and ran the first mail service to Lanyon, inaugurating that run in the 1850s. He had been operating a saddlery and harness business in Trinculo Place since January, 1855 (*Qbn Age*, 15 Sep 1860, p1), with his brother, John Allan, apprenticed to him. Their older brother, William Gregg O’Neill, was John Allan’s guardian and at that time, the Chief Constable of Police. James entered the mails initially against his Chief Constable brother’s advice, but that he did so was to prove fortuitous for the family, with John Allan and then William Gregg later following his lead in this in 1868, as correctly stated by Lea-Scarlett.

James had been running the Lanyon mail as a sub-contract from the mail contractor, Tom Moran, for some time when in 1860 he also took on passengers to Kiandra. In 1860, he extended his mail runs and later held several mail tenders for the district. He was briefly in partnership with Thomas Moran, the mail contractor, in 1860.

THE NEW MAIL CONTRACTS. - Mr. James O’Neill of this town, saddler, has entered into partnership with Mr. Thomas Moran in the Cooma, Goulburn and Braidwood mails, and notwithstanding the low figure of the tenders at which the new mail contracts are taken, it is their intention to carry on same in a creditable manner, even though the task may be a difficult and ill-paid one. Mr. O’Neill has held a sub-contract for the Lanyon mail from Mr. Moran since that branch has been established, and as far as we are aware, has done his work satisfactorily.
– *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 6 October, 1860, p3

Moran’s services drew criticism from a rival contractor and initially both James and William Gregg O’Neill defended Moran in this, but they soon fell out and James ended his partnership with Moran a very short time later in 1861. *When a bit older*, John Allan ran a saddlery and harnessing store in Queanbeyan and in March, 1866, when W. G. O’Neill left the police and returned to Queanbeyan, the O’Neills restructured their businesses. James had become manager of the saddlery and harness store in Queanbeyan in 1865 and John Allan took on mail runs, operating from Bungendore. Within some years only James and his family were running mail and coach services. By the time of the opening of the railway in 1887, William Gregg O’Neill had died and John Allan had left the mail business for many years, establishing the *Queanbeyan Times* in May, 1879. The surviving mail contractor was James O’Neill, with his wife, Mary Ann, continuing the proprietorship after he died in 1891 and then their sons doing so well into the 1930s, as referred to by Lea-Scarlett on pages 97 and 98 (*D & P*).

It should also be noted that later mail contracts for the mail to Lanyon were held by William Gregg O’Neill, junior, the son of James and Mary Ann O’Neill, nephew of W.G. O’Neill, snr. Born in Queanbeyan in 1860, he held this mail run for some time before later moving to Queensland.

On page 162, Lea-Scarlett also states that when James died in November 1891, he left “a widow and eight children.” This is a minor error in that James and Mary Ann had nine children, but at the time of James’ death, only the youngest daughter and four boys were still living at home, the other children, including the eldest, who was thirty-one by then, having married and left home some time previously.

25. *D & P* and *Gundaroo*. The railways and the roads. On page 94 (*D & P*) in reference to the coming of the railway and its impact on the horse-back and coach proprietors Lea-Scarlett states

The establishment of a [mail] run from Gunning to Queanbeyan in 1876 gave first warning to those who had made the Royal Mail a living. The reason was the opening of the railway, making Gunning a temporary railhead for the whole Queanbeyan district...

On pages 62 and 63 in *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett states

John Gale for some years had been urging through his paper, the *Queanbeyan Age*, the cause of railway extension south of Goulburn, with a particular claim for a route to Yass via Lake George and Gundaroo, so he exulted in 1868 when a surveyor taking measurements of the Lake offered an opinion that a railway along the shore would cost little more than the construction of a first class highway and would entail no engineering difficulty greater than a cutting at Geary’s Gap...When the issue was brought to full life with the survey of a line through Gunning in 1872 controversy immediately flared over the proposals of Leopold Fane De Salis, M. P. for Queanbeyan and his father, (the former M.P.), both arguing for a line through Gundaroo...William Affleck...opposed the suggestion as a waste of time and money...Understanding his motives is impossible without examining his reaction to the election of De Salis in March 1872, an election which meant for Affleck only that a

squatter son was succeeding a squatter father who had been charged with neglecting the needs of Gundaroo, while two Irishmen, William Gregg O'Neill (whose brother was married to William Affleck's sister) and Charles Hamilton Walsh, who offered at least a half-hearted opposition to squatterdom, were defeated in the same poll...
 ...For Affleck the 2 November 1875 was a day of triumph, when the Gunning rail was opened, bringing Gundaroo as close to rail communication as it was ever to be. In token, he acted as agent at Gundaroo for the public luncheon held as part of the celebrations and later stoutly maintained that Gunning provided a satisfactory railhead for Queanbeyan and the Monaro, citing as proof of its accessibility the fact that John Gale...was able to drive from Queanbeyan to Gunning via Gundaroo in six hours.⁷

The history of the roads and railways in Queanbeyan is complicated and the main figures changed their positions over several decades, but the elevation of John Gale over many others in general is misplaced. There were many people involved in the roads and railways and it was often a matter of disputes of significance. Lea-Scarlett does not go into the topic in detail, however, the bare comments he does make give misimpression by that brevity. In *D & P* there is almost no mention of the roads and railways other than a brief statement on page 95 that the "battle of the routes" was fought out for two years from 1878 and that the Queanbeyan Railway League had some gains. This is preceded however, on page 94 with spurious commentary in relation to the mails. In *Gundaroo*, lengthy mention is made of Gale, essentially in the context of personal dispute, and brief reference is made to de Salis, also in the context of personal dispute. The paucity of information in *D & P*, along with ambiguous information in *Gundaroo* (1972), gives rise to incorrect or incomplete impression as to the history of roads and railways in the district, of individuals in relation to it and the significance of the matter. Lea-Scarlett's depictions of the disputes requires comment as he focusses on Gale, but not others of greater significance, including pivotal disagreements between many of the leading figures of the district and John Gale.

- a. There were many people involved in the roads and railways besides John Gale, who played no practical role in those matters and whose only contribution was to expound his views through the *Age* and personally slather anyone who disagreed with him – notably the Afflecks over the Marked Tree line on occasion and Thomas Rutledge and Frederick Campbell over the railway line.
- b. When the government elected to extend the Cooma railway in 1878, Gale ferociously opposed the rail line from the north, advocating the Goulburn-Bungendore line.
- c. While the Bungendore rail line, completed in 1875, affected mail services on those routes, the general context that concern existed among mail contractors that rail would put roads out of business in the Queanbeyan district specifically, is incorrect. While after 1885 it may have affected the routes to Bungendore, it was a Royal Mail contractor, W. G. O'Neill, who led the thrust for the railway to Queanbeyan. From as early as the 1860s he proposed the road and mail route to Gunning for the express purpose of linking Queanbeyan with the railway and although Lea-Scarlett does not state it, it was he who founded the Queanbeyan Railway League in 1878. The routes between the rails in the ACT and the district of Queanbeyan continued to be serviced by road for decades, and still are, due to the specific circumstances in and around Queanbeyan and then the national capital being established at Canberra. The main railway route was considered a priority with the branch lines served by improved roads which allowed freedom of movement and prevented development from being locked into the tracks, which had always been an intentional priority. Although the proposal of the Yass-Canberra railway line was part of the reason Yass-Canberra was chosen as the site for the Federal Capital Territory, that line most vocally advocated by William Affleck and opposed by John Gale, that railway line was not completed and therefore much of the district remained dependent on road services for reasons unrelated to the mails. If anything, the new road from Queanbeyan to Gunning to meet the railhead specifically opened up a new mail route which stayed in service for many years. Although the O'Neills did not hold the mail contract for that route, W. G. O'Neill was a leading figure in promoting it, however, his first preference was for a light rail link between Queanbeyan and Gunning.
- d. The omission of W. G. O'Neill from any reference to the railway requires mention as it was O'Neill who, with De Salis, in practice, was a major figure in leading the thrust in bringing the railway to Queanbeyan, and who, for many years, led most of the deputations pleading for the construction of and improvements to the roads, railways and bridges, with at times Gale in the *Age* sometimes supporting them in this. Speaking in 1878, when the railway route to Queanbeyan was being decided, De Salis wrote that his exertions over ten years for the railway had failed partly because he "was not backed up then or since by a single one of the selfish potentates of and around Queanbeyan, save W. G. O'Neill alone" (*Qbn Age*, Sat 6 Apr 1878, p2). Typically of De Salis, this was to some extent extreme, however, it is correct that O'Neill and De Salis were main driving forces behind the railway over a long time, including at times they received little support. O'Neill was one the most active agitator for the railway from the first discussions in the 1850s until his death in December, 1886, leading public, political and operational discussions as to all matters involving the railway, including the form it should take, the route and the location of the station. It was O'Neill who founded the Queanbeyan Railway League and Town League in 1878 and 1879 and proposed their composition, when the "battle of the routes", as referred to by Lea-Scarlett, was fought out.

Like, O'Neill, William Affleck was one of the original advocates of the road to meet the Gunning railway and was instrumental in its construction. In his *Reminiscences* Affleck writes (pp24-28)

At this time, the Government called for tenders for the extension of the railway from Goulburn to Yass. With this I started to advocate the opening of the road from Gundaroo to Gunning, so that it might be fit for traffic by the time the iron horse

travelled into Gunning, for the road was only a horse or cattle track at the time. I was well supported in my endeavours by the member for Yass Plains (Mr Fitzpatrick); we got the road on the schedule as third-class, which meant £10 per mile, but year by year we got the class increased and secured £25 per mile...

...as the opening of the Gunning road was being proceeded with it was found it would be necessary to bridge the Fairfield Creek, so the Government was got to start a bridge, and it was placed so as to serve both the Gunning and Yass River roads. I and two others were appointed trustees for the roads, and we set to work...The bridge over the Fairfield or Gundaroo creek was completed in March, 1879, giving easy communication with the Gunning and Yass River roads.

Lea-Scarlett's citation on page 62 in *Gundaroo* for the Fairfield survey in the 1850s is an uncredited reference made by Affleck to that survey in 1872.

- e. The roads communications issue was several times overshadowed by outbursts over the Marked Tree line and Lake George road, with the Afflecks favouring the Marked Tree line and De Salis, O'Neill and Gale promoting the Lake George road and it was this that was the basis of major disputes between these individuals from the 1860s, erupting violently on three notable occasions – 1860, 1864 and 1872-1873, i.e. election years.
- f. The controversy over the Marked Tree line and Lake George roads was re-ignited earlier in March, 1872, before the elections, not in September, when a petition to re-instate the Lake George road was got up by many residents of the district, including those who had always been opposed to the Marked Tree line. This caused a response from those in favour of the Marked Tree line and a third proposal was again put that a road to Gunning be maintained in anticipation of railway extension. For several months the issue of the roads and their relationship to the railways was debated through the *Queanbeyan Age* and the *Goulburn Herald*.

The dispute between the roads was pivotal to the elections in March, when, at that time, as correctly stated by Lea-Scarlett, part of De Salis' platform was priority for roads over railways. At the time this would have gained Affleck's support. Lea-Scarlett's information about the relationship between the Afflecks and the De Salis' is incomplete and any misconception that the Lake George Road controversy arose in September 1872, may well make Affleck's motives obscure, but that the issue had re-surfaced much earlier in March, when part of De Salis' platform for the election at that time was roads over railways, raises no mystery. De Salis reversed his position after the election, making Affleck's reaction self-evident. There was no inconsistency in Affleck's position on the roads or the railway, so no motive needs to be sought for a supposed change in his position. Affleck had always initially been opposed to the railway to Gundaroo as a waste of resources, but had supported maintaining the road to meet the rail at Gunning, being among those who long in advance proposed the change in the mail routes for that purpose. He had always advocated the Marked Tree line as the priority road route to Collector as opposed to expenditure on the more circuitous and often impassable marshy Lake George Road. On the Marked Tree line Affleck was opposed by De Salis, O'Neill and Gale, but Affleck, O'Neill and Gale were in agreement on the road to Gunning. Affleck's positions were never personal – his reputation was that he put principle over personality. Contrary to Lea-Scarlett's bizarre statement that Affleck only became involved in elections in 1874, William Affleck had been actively involved since the 1850s and was very familiar with the De Salis'. In 1874 he stated,

I believe Mr DeSalis is a very hospitable gentleman as a private individual...however good he may be as a resident and gentleman, he is not the man for Queanbeyan as a representative of the people, and that should he offer his services as our representative our votes will show him that as selectors the free selectors are neither sharks nor crocodiles in our opinion.
William Affleck.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 11 November 1874

and he "warmly" supported De Salis' son, George De Salis, in the 1882 election due to his position on land.

The highlighting of Gale's advocacies, alongside omission of De Salis, O'Neill, Affleck, William Davis and others' proposals of the railway and road to Gunning affect the interpretation of De Salis in 1872 and Gale in 1878-1880. It is correct that Gale supported their proposals of the rail and road to Gunning through the *Age* and O'Neill and others' petition for the Lake George road. Gale was a zealous advocate of De Salis' position on the roads and of his performance in the House in 1872, until later that year furious disagreement between Gale and the De Salis' was played out through the *Age*, when De Salis senior, stated his belief that Gale was personally motivated in this. Gale was in agreement with Affleck on the road to Gunning, but opposed to him over the Marked Tree line. However, the Afflecks were not the only people Gale came up against in his aggressive effusions on that topic – enemies he made on that issue included the government surveyors, J. B. Thompson and Harold Mapletoft Davis, and the editor of the *Goulburn Herald*, W. E. Riley.

- c. Any implication of familial agreement between W. G. O'Neill and William Affleck is entirely misplaced as they were ferociously opposed to each other. Affleck refused to support O'Neill in elections, stating he was keeping him in Queanbeyan to "protect the people of New South Wales". O'Neill opposed Affleck over the Marked Tree line and their public exchanges over the railway route in 1878 and 1879 were unequivocal. The obtuse insertion of O'Neill being 'Irish' has no meaning. It meant nothing to Affleck, whose Irish brother-in-law, James, was married to Affleck's sister. James and Mary Ann for a long time lived with the Affleck family in Gundaroo.

- d. Walsh was J. J. Wright's candidate in the election and there was nothing "half-hearted" about either Walsh or O'Neills' free selector politics. The 1872 nominations were riotous, when for the first time in Queanbeyan the police had to be called in to suppress fighting between Walsh and De Salis' supporters, while both Walsh and De Salis attempted to keep O'Neill. "the gentleman", on their side. Wright and Walsh were accused of being free-selector extremists, making sensational accusations against De Salis, senior, in relation to treatment of free selectors, and calling De Salis, junior, who was the candidate in this election, "his squatter father's son".
- e. It was understood at the time that De Salis was spitting the dummy because Affleck didn't support his railway "deviation" to within four miles of Gundaroo, when he thought he would. Gale accused Affleck of selfish motives in favouring the Marked Tree line but equally attacked him for opposing De Salis' railway "deviation" to Gundaroo, when it was obvious, including to the Government surveyors, that De Salis' "deviation" was an engineering nightmare and, as Affleck stated, would have been a costly mistake at a time the NSW Treasury was already £400 000 in debt. Gale's comments as to engineering were uneducated and absurd as was his claim that the Lake George swamp could be easily or cheaply reclaimed for a road. However, Affleck's motives in both cases were not selfish and as Affleck himself pointed out "providence" proved him right when one year the Lake George road was flooded out completely and the Marked Tree line was the only route to Goulburn available. Although Gale originally supported De Salis in 1872, later in the year, the two had a major public falling out.

In 1878, Affleck's brother-in-law, W. G. O'Neill, also accused Affleck of selfish motives in then favouring a northern railway route, when both financial circumstances and the route differed from previously and Affleck and Gales' positions were reversed, with Affleck now promoting a northern route under the new scheme, which took a direct line from Gunning through Gundaroo, Ginninderra and Canberra. Gale then and always after fiercely opposed any northern route, no indication of which could be ascertained from Lea-Scarlett's material.

As a brief précis –

The issue of the road dispute came down to whether the main road to Queanbeyan from Goulburn should be the hilly, Marked Tree line through Gundaroo and Collector or the marshy, often impassable Lake George road though Bungendore. Both involved significant engineering issues and government funding was necessary to make either a first class road. W. G. O'Neill, Leopold Fane de Salis and John Gale favoured the Lake George road, while William Affleck, William Davis and others favoured the Marked Tree line, supported by government surveyors, H. M. Davis and J. B. Thompson.

The railway was more complicated. William Gregg O'Neill and Leopold Fane De Salis were leading figures in the original thrust for the railway. In anticipation of railway extension to Gunning, which could serve as a railhead for the entire Queanbeyan district, William Gregg O'Neill, William Affleck and Michael Fitzpatrick, the Member for Yass, supported by John Gale, advocated maintaining a first class road from Queanbeyan to meet it. Bridges, of course, were necessary for that and O'Neill, Affleck and Fitzpatrick were instrumental in their construction. As early as the 1860s, O'Neill also proposed light rail from Queanbeyan to Gunning. De Salis was inconsistent. For the 1872 election, he initially pledged support for roads over railways, which in the economic circumstances of the time, gained Affleck's support. However, after the election, he opposed the slated Gunning railway route and proposed a loop-line "deviation" from Gunning to Gundaroo, expecting Affleck's support, but which Affleck opposed as a waste of money that the NSW treasury could not afford. Gale initially supported De Salis' rail "deviation" and De Salis' performance in the House in 1872, until later that year furious disagreement between Gale and the De Salis' was played out through the *Age*.

When the government elected to extend the railway to Cooma in 1878, O'Neill was a main figure in leading the thrust for the railway through Queanbeyan with De Salis stating that his efforts for the rail over many years had failed as he had not been supported by any of the leading figures in the district but O'Neill. Several routes were under consideration and O'Neill established the Queanbeyan Railway League to democratically decide the question. In 1878, Affleck changed his position and advocated a northern line from Gunning through Gundaroo-Ginninderra-Canberra as opposed to a route from Goulburn through Bungendore from the east across the southern shore of Lake George. O'Neill originally favoured a third route from Goulburn and along the western shores of Lake George and then through Bungendore (roughly the route the Federal Highway now follows), but when the other two were short-listed he opted for the Bungendore route. John Gale, who had originally supported de Salis' loop-line to Gundaroo, now reversed his position in 1878 and fiercely opposed any rail line through from the north, favouring the Bungendore route. Gale personally savaged Thomas Rutledge, who wanted the rail to go through the Molonglo. Following fierce disputes, in 1881, the govt surveyor settled on the Bungendore route.

26. Free Selectors' Associations. Several errors/misimpressions exist in Lea-Scarlett's references to the FSAs in the district. On pages 140 and 141 in *D & P* Lea-Scarlett claims that on W. G. O'Neill's return to Queanbeyan in 1866 he "immediately identified himself with Wright again in the new Free Selectors' Protection League". On pages 60 and 61 (*D & P*), after a generally correct summary of the disputes that arose between squatters and free selectors over fencing, Lea-Scarlett refers to the Queanbeyan Free Selectors Protection Association in 1866, citing those who had taken part in the Canberra School Case in 1863 involving George Campbell and which he interprets as an uprising of the town against a squatter, a revolt against "the landed gentry". In this context, reference is made only to Dr. Morton, George Kinlyside, John Gale and George Dixon as being on the FSPA committee. On page 61 (*D & P*), of the FSAs in the district, Lea-Scarlett states

One formed in Michelago in 1881 had as its model a branch at Ginninderra where free selection had been particularly widespread. When reformed as the Gininderra Protection Union in 1888 it had as its president Samuel Southwell, jnr.

- a. The skewing of the 1866 FSA in terms of the history of the Canberra school case and issues some of its members may have had with Campbell, along with the obtuse and questionable comments about Walsh and O'Neill as the only information relating to this topic, makes the brevity of this topic of issue. Much more information is required for there to be accurate grasp of the history of the FSAs in Queanbeyan.

The Queanbeyan Free Selectors' Protection Association was founded in 1866 by W. G. O'Neill, J. J. Wright, John Gale and William Affleck. Throughout his life O'Neill was heavily involved with free selector politics, always an office-bearer of the FSA and the 1878 delegate to the FSA conference in Sydney. He was still Secretary of the FSA when he died in 1886. Importantly, in 1869 and 1870, he supported the elections of Forster, Garrett, Egan and Hart to preserve the Robertson government which had introduced the *Land Act* in 1861, with its all-important "free selection before survey clause".

- b. It was "Leopold William Fane De Salis" who stood in the 1872 election, not "Leopold Fane De Salis" as stated by Lea-Scarlett.
- c. Referring to Gale's motive as being to wage war against squatters, the landed gentry or the pastoral interest is not quite correct. While advocating selector rights and actively supporting Southwell and Young in their financially crippling Supreme Court disputes during the roads and fencing wars of the early 1880s, Gale was one of the main voices begging conciliation between free selectors and pastoralists from 1866, as well as later, as correctly referred to by Lea-Scarlett in his reference to the alignment between Gale, Southwell and Thomas Rutledge in the Lands and Roads Association in 1882 when Leopold Fane De Salis was its President and George Fane De Salis elected as its representative in parliament. Writing as *The Wizard* in the *GEPP*, free selection 'extremist', James Gillespie, criticised Gale for supporting De Salis over Hodgkinson. Hodgkinson stood against George De Salis stating that he did not believe that De Salis, the squatter, would be capable of turning against his class. It was generally recognised that standing in the interests of the Queanbeyan Land and Roads Association, De Salis represented a way-ahead candidate, "warmly supported" by the Afflecks.
- d. It is correct that Gininderra was a free selectors' stronghold, but importantly, the Gininderra Protection Union was not a re-formation of the FSA. The GPU was a politically Protection-based organisation, its specific aim being to oppose the Free Trade politics of the current Parkes government, formed at the instigation of O'Sullivan for that purpose (*Qbn Age*, Wed 7 Dec 1887, p2 & Sat 28 Apr 1888, p2) and was not specifically a free selectors' association. The Ginninderra Protection Union was merely, literally, a change of name in October 1887 from the Democratic and Protection League formed during O'Sullivan's visit to Gininderra when he made the speech Lea-Scarlett refers to in relation to the Mechanics Institute (*Qbn Age*, Sat 22 Oct 1887, p2 & 1 Oct 1887, p2). O'Sullivan made that speech for the purpose of illiciting support for the establishment of the Democratic and Protection League, and in October, the committee made a decision to change its name to the Ginninderra Protection Union.

This took place in 1887, not 1888, as stated by Lea-Scarlett.

- e. It was "James" Gillespie who was active in free selector interests and with the Ginninderra Free Selectors' Association in the 1880s, including in relation to the Queanbeyan meeting in 1880 (*Qbn Age*, Tues 5 Feb 1884, p2), rather than "John", as stated by Lea-Scarlett, although John Gillespie had been involved earlier. James Gillespie was a foremost agitator for free selectors' and then protection politics in the district. For many years the Ginninderra correspondent for the free trade paper, the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, under the name, "The Wizard", Gillespie became known for his support of protection and for his sparring with free trade politician, William Affleck. James Gillespie was the grandfather of Canberra historian, Lyle Gillespie.

27. Page 135 (*D & P*). References to John Allan O'Neill's *Queanbeyan Times* and *Queanbeyan Observer* newspapers. Lea-Scarlett's account of this is

Literary activities increased through the foundation of the *Queanbeyan Times* by John Allan O'Neill in 1879. O'Neill's motives were strongly political, and his paper was viewed as little more than a 'rag'. Victor J. Daley and John Farrell, well-known poets, both wrote for it, however, during short stays in Queanbeyan. O'Neill's second paper, the *Queanbeyan Observer*, also fared poorly under his management. It was purchased in 1894 by Edward Henry Fallick and finally absorbed, as the *Times* had been by the *Age*.³⁷

Note 37 states "For histories of local newspapers see R. J. S Fallick, *The Centenary of the Queanbeyan Age* (C & D. H. S. Papers, August, 1960) and the Centenary Supplement, *Queanbeyan Age*, 16 September, 1960."

Lea-Scarlett's perception of O'Neill's newspapers is quoted by Sheedy in *From Maneroo to Monaro* (1995) and was repeated by Gillespie in *Some earlier purveyors of local news* (*Canberra Times*, Mon 20 Sep 1976, pp6,7), where he stated

that O'Neill's *Times* supposedly "proved unpopular, being mainly politically motivated." However, John Gale's great-grandson, R. J. S Fallick, makes no such qualitative comment in his *Centenary of the Queanbeyan Age* (1960) cited by Lea-Scarlett, republished in 2013. Noting the establishment of the *Age* by Gale in 1860, Fallick merely states

For nearly the first three decades of its existence the "Age" had the field to itself. Then two other papers were launched by Mr John Allan O'Neill. First of these was the *Queanbeyan Times* which soon passed into other hands.

This topic is too complicated to address in this paper other than to say briefly that the establishment of O'Neill's newspaper was considered to be one of the most important events in Australian publishing history and O'Neill one of the "straightest men" in journalism. The *Times* became one of the most well-known, highly regarded and trusted papers in the colony and it had the reputation of being the most reliable paper in Queanbeyan. It was one of the most successful papers in New South Wales. Under O'Neill, the *Times* had the largest circulation of any paper in the Southern Districts and while the *Age* was produced once or twice weekly, not long after its establishment, the success of the *Times* was such that production was stepped up to three times a week. Usually, provincial papers were printed once or twice a week, with only those in the big towns printing three days. It was the substantial reputation and circulation of the *Times* that acted against O'Neill in a libel case that resulted in the paper being sold in 1888. The *Times* and *Observer* were advanced and eloquent, important for the voice they gave to Free Trade/Labour and "fair play" against the politically protectionist *Age*'s monopoly of the media in Queanbeyan and for the nurture they gave to the emerging distinctively Australian literature and culture. The *Times* gave their start to some of the most important writers and politicians in Australian and New Zealand history and after the *Times* was sold and the O'Neills conducted the *Observer* from 1889, with the three papers now in Queanbeyan, the *Age*, The *Times* and the *Observer*, the *Observer* then had the largest circulation, larger "than both of the other papers together".

The references to two of the *Times*' staff is of such contention as to be too complicated to address briefly, however, it should be noted that it was at the *Times* that Labour leader, Harry Holland, did his apprenticeship, not the *Age* as has been falsely attributed elsewhere. A history of the *Times* appears on *The O'Neills of Queanbeyan*.

O'Neill's papers were political only in that they differed with protection, which was trumpeted by the *Age*. They were free trade/labour papers, but their general reportage was of a high standard. Part of the significance of O'Neill's papers was that they provided balance to the flagrantly political *Age*, considered from 1885 as being nothing more than a "mouthpiece" for Edward William O'Sullivan and the politics of protection. It is correct that the *Times* and *Observer* were generally free-trade/labour papers as opposed to the blaringly protectionist *Age*, but the *Times*' coverage extended beyond politics, being one of the reasons other papers preferred it to the *Age*. O'Neill's left-wing politics was also the reason the *Times* tended to attract the more avant-garde of Australian writers. The *Times* was advanced in its support for Australian literature and culture and its 'politics' was often many decades ahead. For example, the *Times*' 1888 Centennial edition leader contained a lament at the demise of the Aboriginal race due to white settlement, in one of the first recognitions of the Indigenous people as the original owners of Australia. At the same time, the *Age* editorial's reference to the Aboriginals was as "the lowest savages". The scope of the *Times* and *Observer* was very broad and O'Neill's family and staff were part of New South Wales' journalistic, literary and political leadership. In its ten year existence under O'Neill, the *Times* gained a reputation for journalistic impartiality and reliability, both on its own account and in preference to the *Age*. From its first edition in May, 1879, many papers preferred to take their Queanbeyan news from the *Times* in preference to the *Age* and there were Schools of Arts in New South Wales that held copies of the *Times* and not the *Age*.

Ever since O'Neill established the *Times* in 1879, its most vicious, and almost only, critics were a very few interested parties, including Percy Clement Hodgkinson, who correctly feared the paper would affect his chances in the 1880 NSW parliamentary election, and John Gale, who fiercely resented the new rival and its success. The noticeable bias against the *Times* attracted comment by other papers in 1879 and 1880, who soon wearied of the treatment, which became a matter of general disapproval. It was the *Age*, whether in John Gale's hands or not, that was considered to resemble tabloid gutter press with its sensationalistic headlines of the like of "The Yellow Agony", "Mongolian Hordes" and "Calls to All Protectionists", than the *Times*, which was considered more responsible in its reportage. As Gale launched into his characteristic excess and the *Times* gained a reputation of substance, for journalistic, political, personal and other reasons, other papers chose to rely on the *Times* for their Queanbeyan news. In 1891, when the *Age*, at that time still in John Gale's hands, savaged the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* for its preference for the *Times*, at that time, under George Tompsett's management, substantial newspaperman, Hebblewhite, replied

Under the formal heading of "A Foreign Trade Journal's Little Dodge Exposed" the Queanbeyan *Age* attacks us with a severity that is simply appalling. Our editor, we are informed, is a foreign trade fanatic; we hate all our protectionist contemporaries, and none more bitterly than the aforesaid *Age*; and we haven't a more implacable hatred for any protectionist than the one who represents Queanbeyan. Out of political empathy we in our extracts make the *Age* play second fiddle to its local and junior contemporary, the *Times*; and more than that, we credit to the *Times* the matter which we take from the *Age*. There are more of these sloop destroying charges, and altogether it is very evident that the *Age* is in a bad way. The *Age* may be merciful enough to allow us to explain in as mild a manner as possible that we do not hate it, that we take our extracts first from the *Times* because it is more convenient for us, and that after we have been through that journal there is little to be obtained from the *Age* but paragraphs trumpeting the doings and sayings of "our member." If at any time the *Times* has been credited with matter taken from the *Age* it was done inadvertently and with no intention of wounding the feelings of the venerable organ which has been so grievously wronged. To avoid such mishaps in the future, and to keep the editor of the *Age* a little longer on this mundane sphere, we shall probably adopt the system of heading our Queanbeyan extracts – "from the Queanbeyan papers," but will still continue to give the *Times*' matter first place. As regards the member for the constituency, we beg to assure his wet-

nurse that we do not hate him. All we want to do is to correct the great mistake of his life. Mr. O'Sullivan imagines that he is a democrat, whereas he is in reality a fossilised conservative into whose composition a few foreign substances in the shape of democratic principles have found their way. He is, however, to give him his due meed of credit, doing his best to eliminate those substances, and is succeeding very fairly, the £700 a year or so which he draws from his grateful country, empty treasury notwithstanding, no doubt expediting the process. May we hope that after this frank confession the Age will never again barrow up our souls like it did last week.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 23 April 1891, p2

Even Gale and the *Age*, although at times savaging John Allan O'Neill and his papers, occasionally acknowledged O'Neill's integrity and qualities as a journalist and newspaper proprietor. In 1902, when O'Neill established a new paper in Parramatta, the *Age*, back in the hands of the Gale family in partnership with John James Gay, wrote

The "CUMBERLAND HERALD." - Copies of the first and second issues of a paper bearing this title and published at Parramatta have reached us. Despite the most critical observation an imprint could not be discovered on the first issue, thus our curiosity arose as to the publisher who gave birth to such a newsy little journal; however, upon receiving a copy of the second issue we were not the least surprised to find that the publisher is none less than Mr. John Allen O'Neill, who it will be remembered edited the *Queanbeyan "Times"* (which is now incorporated with this paper), some twelve or fourteen years ago. The production, which is a creditable one, consists of 18 pages, published weekly and sold at a penny. By glancing over its columns it is perceptible that it will be a battler for the rights of the people of Parramatta; it is nicely patronised with good healthy advertisements and ought to do well under the present management.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 20 August 1902, p2

It was a suit in 1888 from William Price, distinctively due to the paper's stature, that put Jack O'Neill in debtor's prison and ended his ownership of the *Times*, condemned around the country as an excessively harsh attack on one of "the straightest men in the provincial press". The topic is dealt with in detail in *The O'Neills of Queanbeyan*.

It should be noted that some information by R. J. S. Fallick in relation to John Gale and the *Queanbeyan Age* is incorrect.

28. In *Queanbeyan Pioneers: A First Study* (1981, p 208), Cross and Sheedy state

Mr Errol Lee Scarlett, author of such books as 'Queanbeyan - District and People', 'Gundaroo' and 'Roots and Branches' wrote about Farrell as follows:

"Farrell bought the 'Lithgow Enterprise' in March or April, 1887. In his new paper he wrote the following recollection of an incident in Queanbeyan, copied in the 'Queanbeyan Age', 11 January, 1888:

"E. W. O'Sullivan is coming on steadily and will one day too good work in the cause of Land Nationalisation. When our eyes first beheld him we said to ourselves, 'This is a misguided young man. Parliament is the flame, he is the moth. He will beat vainly at the doors of it while the Voices say, 'Ye cannot enter here'. That was at Queanbeyan some years since. He had come to run against four local men for the seat, and his case was considered more than hopeless, and bordering on the burglarious and blasphemous. Who was he - a mere agitator from the City - to come and run against reputable local citizens? We heard his first open air oration in those parts. He stood in a corner between a billiard room and an hotel, and addressed the public in a glowing speech, introducing Philip of Macedon, the Keystone of the Democratic, and the coming of protection. The public consisted of three astounded residents, two small boys, ourself, a passing Swagman, the town crier and a stray horse. By and by the boys went away and the horse gave it up and the citizens strolled meditatively into the pub, but we and the bellman remained to the last, and Mr O'Sullivan called us gentleman and that for the cordial reception we had given him he thanked us, and would not at that stage called for a show of hands. With an audacity that left the good people of Queanbeyan breathless he went on with what seemed the most desperate campaign a man ever yet engaged in, holding meetings all over the district and addressing unsympathetic crowds of three or four everywhere..."

It was somewhat of a coincidence that Queanbeyan should have been the residence of two famous Australian poets during the eighties. One was Farrell; the other, of course, Victor J. Daley (2). The following brief account of Daley's Queanbeyan career appeared in the 'Daily Telegraph', 1st January, 1906.

"It was in the latter part of 1879 that Victor J Daley and E Caddy reached Queanbeyan after a tireless and somewhat profitless walk from Melbourne. The travellers pitched their tent outside the town and in a very short while they had closed with Tom Buttle for a job at his tannery. The job was only a temporary one - enough to supply a few shillings for the continuation of the journey. It was here that Daley's turning point came. The future poet and writer conceived the idea of getting something to do on the Queanbeyan press, and it was from this beginning that he became a writer."

In the same paper of 1st January, 1906, appeared the following article over the signature of W. Farmer Whyte. It suggests that Daley was still in Queanbeyan in 1891, the year in which N. M. Lazarus became Mayor:

"Daley met Farrell in Queanbeyan a quarter of a century ago. Farrell was then engaged on the unpoetical work of brewing beer - later, when he wrote poetry and leading articles, he used to say "the more congenial work." Victor Daley, a young, fresh-blooded Irishman, walked into Queanbeyan one day, and got a job on the 'Times' of that town, then owned by Mr. John A. O'Neill. He went to live with O'Neill, who soon recognised he had made a good bargain, for Daley's work made the 'Times' a new paper, and people bought it because of its cleverness and its novel features. Farrell and Daley both put a lot of their early verse into it, and many a fine joke they used to tell about those days afterwards... There was a meeting one night in opposition to the temperance party, and one man in the audience kept making

interjections. "Who is the man who is interjecting?" it was demanded from the platform. "The man who will be Mayor," came the reply. And the man's name was Nathan Moses Lazarus. That week Farrell wrote these hitherto unquoted lines for the Queanbeyan 'Times' -

'Will he be Mayor? He may or may not,
The choice of the voters is often the oddest;
But anyhow people keep saying "Great Scott!"
Was ever a man so delightfully modest?"
He don't ask our voice, but gives us his own,
Yet Friday will portion the thorns and the roses;
And when the numbers are publicly known
We'll see whether Nathan is reckoned our Moses!' "

- a. Due to awkward punctuation and presentation, the credit for this is somewhat obscure. It seems to read that Lea-Scarlett wrote the entire passage, but whether that is correct or not, there are issues with it.
- b. Farrell left Queanbeyan in May, 1887, and bought the *Lithgow Enterprise* in July, 1887.
- c. While the reproduction of Farrell's account of O'Sullivan in 1885 is correct, it should be noted that Farrell went on to be one of O'Sullivan's fiercest enemies, including through the *Daily Telegraph*, of which Farrell was later editor and then leader writer. Farrell was a supporter of Henry George's land tax principle and of the Labour Party. However, although O'Sullivan at one time extolled George, he reversed his position. That and many other factors, including O'Sullivan's turn on the shearers and miners in their 1890 – 92 strikes, led to Farrell and the workers' movement engaging in hostilities of mutual enmity for most of O'Sullivan's political career.
- d. The citation of "1st January" for the *Telegraph* article by Whyte about O'Neill's *Times* is incorrect. The article appeared in the January 6 *Telegraph*.
- e. Truncation of the original article by Whyte is significant. Along with other issues, omitted material from Whyte's article specifically identifies the municipal election year as 1885, when the town had just been municipalised. Ending with the line "We'll see whether Nathan is reckoned our Moses!" omits the material which explicitly states that Lazarus was not elected Mayor that year. Daley was living in Queanbeyan in 1885, but not in 1891. Although not the entire article, the more complete material reads

...Daley met Farrell in Queanbeyan a quarter of a century ago. Farrell was then engaged on the unpoetical work of brewing beer - later, when he wrote poetry and leading articles, he used to say "the more congenial work." Victor Daley, a young, fresh-blooded Irishman, walked into Queanbeyan one day, and got a job on the "Times" of that town, then owned by Mr. John A. O'Neill. He went to live with O'Neill, who soon recognised he had made a good bargain, for Daley's work made the "Times" a new paper, and people bought it because of its cleverness and its novel features. Farrell and Daley both put a lot of their early verse into it, and many a fine joke they used to tell about those days afterwards. One of them is worth narrating. The town had just been incorporated, and the municipal elections were approaching. The temperance people banded themselves together. Farrell (the brewer!) went to O'Neill. "We'll have to fight these good temperance folk," he said with his fine, rich, Irish brogue. And O'Neill told him he could use his paper in "the cause of fair play." There was a meeting one night in opposition to the temperance party, and one man in the audience kept making interjections. "Who is the man who is interjecting?" it was demanded from the platform. "The man who will be Mayor," came the reply. And the man's name was Nathan Moses Lazarus. That week Farrell wrote these hitherto unquoted lines for the Queanbeyan "Times": -

Will he be Mayor? He may or may not,
The choice of the voters is often the oddest;
But anyhow people keep saying "Great Scott!"
Was ever a man so delightfully modest?"
He don't ask our voice, but gives us his own,
Yet Friday will portion the thorns and the roses;
And when the numbers are publicly known
We'll see whether Nathan is reckoned our Moses!

There is Irish humor in this skit, and it seems to have had its effect, for Lazarus, though he made a very estimable alderman, was not elected Mayor. For a time Farrell and Daley contented themselves with writing jingle like this. One day a deaf and dumb comp. [composer] named Jordan drew on the whitewashed plaster above the fire a picture intended to represent a little angel of about seven summers banging a drum. Daley wrote these lines below it:-

Lord, give me in the realms of bliss
No measly harp to strum,
But let me sit and bang like this
An everlasting drum.

Fancy Daley ever having written such a word as "measly". But these are types of early efforts of twin souls ere they had more fully cultivated the Muses. Besides, Daley drew a thick line between poetry and verse. "Write us some poetry, Mr. Daley," said one of the comps. on one occasion, pointing to the drum and angel. "That's not poetry, my boy; that's verse," said Daley.

As someone has already pointed out, Queanbeyan 20 years ago was what might aptly be described as a Mecca for literary pilgrims. Why? O'Neill. His heart was so big and he was doing so worldly well that any man fallen on evil days - especially if he were Irish - could be sure of his lending a helping hand. Moreover, it is just within the bounds of possibility that those who had tasted of his hospitality used to "pass the word on," as tramps are said to do, and it was no uncommon thing for minor poets to travel down from Sydney tired of Riot, to take refuge at this Writers' Rest. Several names recur to me, but they don't concern us now. Daley, Farrell, and others who were making their way up the literary ladder, were oftentimes found smoking their pipes together in Queanbeyan. The two I have named were practically fast friends for life. Practically starting out together, it is curious how they stuck to each other. I remember a good many years ago buying a copy of the "Bulletin" book with the title of "The Golden Shanty." There I found Farrell and Daley side by side. I haven't the book by me now, but I remember Farrell's "How He Died" and "The Last Bullet" were there. I forget Daley's verse. Long before that Daley had published many verses - some in Melbourne, some in Sydney. His first contribution to a Sydney paper was, I believe, "The stucco age," which appeared in old Sydney "Punch." It began -

This is the stucco age, the age of sham:

The age of things immortal and deeds that damn.

In later years Daley and Farrell saw much of each other in Sydney. The former used to tell of a visit he paid to Farrell one night in the "Daily Telegraph" office. "Which of us is going to write an obituary notice of the other?" asked J. F. They spun a coin. Heads, Daley wrote; tails, Farrell. "The coin ran under the table," said Daley, a few days after his friend's death, "and I think Courtney found it afterwards, but it must have been heads." Daley wrote the obituary, and among other things he wrote was this: - "I remember quoting to him on an evening the saying of Abou ben Zeeyd - 'I am a singing man of the singers - the world's guest and a stranger.' He said he would say it about me. And I have to say it about him."

Yet neither of them is a stranger. Both men have gone, but they live for us still in their work. When they buried Daley on Saturday they took with them to the grave a beautiful floral harp, with a laurel wreath attached, and a heart of red carnations and bonvardia - and a streamer said "Victor - in verse, in life, in song." This from "some lovers of Victor Daley and some admirers of Australian verse." There were many at the graveside, and though some may never have met him, he was no stranger. Rather was he "singing man of the singers - our guest and familiar friend!"

- *Daily Telegraph*, Saturday 6 January 1906, p6

29. On page 135 (*D & P*), Lea-Scarlett states

Apart from journalists, the only early local writer of promise was Stella Maria Miles Franklin, of Brindabella. Her first novel published under her pseudonym, Miles Franklin, in 1901 was *My Brilliant Career*. In it, as in most of her eleven novels, she drew on the local scene. Her skilful characterisation embarrassed her family and friends, and she left Australia in 1905. The district in which she had grown up coloured all her writing. No other writer better described the Queanbeyan district - a land 'where earth, purified by a thousand years, nay, aeons of fallowhood, first gave up its grannie grubs to the magpies who warbled liquid notes of thanksgiving, and to the kookaburras, who filled the valley with grotesque mirth'.³⁸

Note 38 cites "Miles Franklin, *My brilliant Career*, (Edinburgh, 1901)."

- a. The passage Lea-Scarlett quotes does not appear in *My Brilliant Career* as he cites. It occurs in the award-winning, *All That Swagger* (1936), published after Franklin's death. The passage also does not refer to Queanbeyan. Franklin wrote of an "idyllic" childhood in the autobiographical, *Childhood at Brindabella: My First Ten Years*, written in 1952-1953. While Franklin spent her childhood at Brindabella, when she was nine, Franklin and her family moved to Thornford, just outside Goulburn, a fact she describes in detail in *My Brilliant Career*. It was while living in that district that she wrote *My Brilliant Career*, completing the novel in 1899 and it was her experiences during that time that are depicted in the novel, portraying her life during the 1890s depression, when she and her family were living on a "1000 acre farm near Goulburn."
- b. Franklin wrote more than eight novels under her own name and six novels under the pseudonym, Brent of Bin-Bin, as well as non-fiction works.
- c. William James O'Neill, chief sub-editor of the Sydney *Daily Telegraph* and John Allan O'Neill's son, wrote children's verse under the name "Bill", and in 1926, his children's novel, *Budgerie Bill*, was published, illustrated by the well-known artist, B. E. Minns, praised as one of the first genuinely "Australian" children's novels. Jack O'Neill's daughter, Mary Holland, wrote for the *Bulletin*, *Telegraph* and other publications under noms de plume.
- d. Victor Daley and John Farrell were never merely journalists. They were two of the leading poets in Australia, Daley referred to as "Australia's greatest poet", by his best friend, Henry Lawson. Together Daley, Lawson and Farrell formed the *Dawn and Dusk Club*, named for one of Daley's poems, and with the other writers, including Henry Kendall and others they formed the well-known core of the avant-garde of Australian literature. It was the editor of the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* and friend of Farrell, T. J. Hebblewhite, and then Henry Lawson who encouraged Franklin and to whose credit, *Career* was published.
- e. Anna Maria Bunn, sister of Terence Aubrey Murray and James Fitzgerald Murray, lived with her brothers at "Yarralumla" and "Woden", Jerrabomberra, after the death of her husband in 1834, during which time she wrote the first novel published on continental Australia, *The Guardian*.

30. Pages 157 – 158 (D&P). Electric street lighting. Lea-Scarlett states

Electric lights were first used in Queanbeyan in 1888, when the streets, still not lit at all, were ‘very dark, dreary and miserable’.⁸ The new system of lighting was introduced on the Oaks Estate in the works of the Queanbeyan Wool and Manufacturing Co. The early use of electricity was confined to the works and the nearby Roller Flour Mill.

The matter of street lighting was first raised in the Council in the second year of the municipality by N. M. Lazarus and John Gale, who asked for a report on the erection of lamps in dangerous parts of the town.⁹ Until the roadworks then in full swing were finished the matter had to be held over, but Lazarus brought it up again after three months, and this time secured an undertaking to provide ten lamps as soon as funds were available.¹⁰ He lost interest when the streets in his part of the town were made safer for pedestrians. When the question was revived in 1889 John Gale was the prime-mover recommending electricity supply to shops and dwellings as well as to the non-existent street lamps.¹¹ The Mayor, George Tomsitt, always fond of grand schemes, supported the plan. An investigating committee recommended the lighting of Crawford-street from Rutledge-Street to the railway gates, and Monaro and Macquoid-streets for their entire length. Tenders were received, and the project, funds permitting, might well have been realised, making Queanbeyan one of the first towns in New South Wales to be lit by electricity.

The collapse of the electricity plan came in two unexpected ways. Edwin Henry Land succeeded Tomsitt as Mayor in February, 1890, and this was followed by the death of Tomsitt’s wife, Emma, a month afterwards. At the time, tenders for the electricity supply were still before the Council. Tomsitt immediately decided to return to England for six months, offering to consult influential friends about both electricity and water supply while abroad. The Council acceded with tongue in cheek and late in April Tomsitt made his departure. On 1 May Lazarus again came forward with a proposal to light the street with twenty-four kerosene lamps...

When Tomsitt returned in November he found the main streets graced by prism-shaped lights on pretty wrought posts bearing the ineffaceable legend ‘E. H. Land, Mayor, 1890.’ As if to endorse the practical actions of the men who gave Queanbeyan its first street lights, the Council elected Lazarus mayor for the next year, and then returned Land each year until his death in 1897...

Gas lighting was first discussed as early as 1892 when Alderman Eskell Lewis presented a conversion plan...

Whereas the need for good streets and adequate lighting was quickly solved by the Municipal Council, the third problem, water supply, dragged on for years.

Note “8” cites *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 8 December, 1888. Notes “9” and “10” cite Queanbeyan Municipal Council Minutes and Note “11” cites the Minutes of 31 October 1889.

No other mention is made of John Gale or the *Age* in relation to electric street lighting, nor is it stated who owned the Oaks Estate works.

Lea-Scarlett’s account of street lighting and that Gale supposedly attempted to introduce it is incomprehensible.

- a. It was George Tomsitt who led the Wool and Manufacturing Co. and the Roller Flour Mill and it was he who introduced electricity to Queanbeyan at the mill and who tried to introduce electric lighting when elected Mayor in 1889. There was never any question that it was his idea, as noted in the Council Minutes and the general references in the press. Although unstated by Lea-Scarlett, his citation “8” of the 8 December, 1888, *Goulburn Herald* is a reproduction of an article in the *Queanbeyan Times*, which at the time was under the management of Tomsitt’s step-son, Dornbusch, who wrote for a scientific journal supporting electricity.
- b. Tomsitt did travel to England and Europe but this was expressly with the Council’s approval to assay electric lighting and water schemes, with Tomsitt bearing the Council’s official seal with which to do so. This had been entirely due to Tomsitt’s efforts against major opposition. As correctly noted by Lea-Scarlett, almost immediately on Tomsitt’s departure, “Lazarus’ ” plan of kerosene lamps was adopted and Tomsitt returned to find the kerosene lamps already installed. However, this planned surreptitious ‘gazumping’ was lauded by Gale, who nominated Lazarus for Mayor. When Tomsitt returned from Europe, in its January 21, 1891, editorial the *Age* applauded the kersone lamps and savaged what it called “Tomsitt’s electricity fad”.

The impression given in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* by Lea-Scarlett that John Gale was not in Queanbeyan but was in Junee during this time is incorrect, as referred to elsewhere in this paper. Gale wrote his last editorial for the *Age* on Sat 27 June 1891 (p2), after he lost the paper to bankruptcy, at which time he then moved to Junee. In that editorial Gale claimed responsibility for being the sole brain behind the *Age* since he founded it in 1860 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31164060>].

- c. Lea-Scarlett’s claim that gas was not “discussed” until 1892 is ambiguous but Gale’s preference for gas was one of his claimed reasons for slathering Tomsitt’s electric lights. With incorrect reference to Tamworth, which was, in fact, the first town in NSW to be lit by electricity, in almost Luddite-ish condemnation Gale’s *Age* described the installation of kerosene lamps as “far-sighted”, ridiculously claiming that they could be easily and cheaply converted to gas, which it claimed was superior to electricity, when the kerosene lamps were making Queanbeyan a laughingstock. There can be no mistaking the *Age*’s January 21, 1891, leader attacking Tomsitt, which reads

The Corporation Lights

A writer subscribing himself a "Suffering Ratepayer," but who, if we are right in our surmise as to his individuality, would be nearer the truth if he were to adopt the nom de plume of a "Disappointed Ratepayer" - for he is manifestly a devoted adherent of the euchred electric light party - has published certain adverse comments in our Monaro-street contemporary on our municipal street lamps; and the editor, following in his wake, has added fuel to the fire in a little paragraph of his own. The authors of these diatribes are evidently writhing under the defeat of the scheme afoot some time ago for saddling the municipality with a debt of some thousands of pounds for the installation of the electric light here. They wince because, whilst their apostle was exploring foreign fields for the purpose of maturing his scheme, Alderman Lazarus carried a motion in the Council in favour of the introduction of the less costly oil lamps which they so vehemently condemn and so utterly despise. The Council, for working within their means, are charged with having perpetrated a blunder; and the maintenance of "48 miserable lights" is denounced as "simply a disgraceful waste of money and time." The lamps are said by one of these carping critics to be "worse than none at all," and by the other to be "not much better than nothing." Surprise [sic] is expressed that Alderman Tomsitt, the electric light advocate, has not turned up at a Council meeting "to protest against the action of his brother aldermen and their treatment of him in connection with the lighting question." And finally not to mention all the dolorous notes given forth in these jeremiads - the ratepayers are called upon to send into retirement at the forthcoming municipal elections "those aldermen who voted for saddling the ratepayers with the burden of £200 per annum for those lamps, and, exposing them to the derisive laughter of all who have progressive ideas." Now let us look the matter fairly in the face and see how far this hue and cry is justified, and whether common sense or absurd prejudice prompts the emanations of the writers referred to. The impartial reader must in the first place laugh to scorn the silly statements that the lights are worse than none at all, and beyond saying this it would be insult to our readers' common sense to argue the point. It may be that the lamps are not as judiciously distributed or located as they might have been. In the next place, assuming that the working cost of the present street lamps is £200 per annum, the Council to meet that expense have levied a rate of four pence in the pound. And who will say that value is not given for the tax imposed? Had Alderman Tomsitt's fad of introducing the electric light succeeded, the rate imposed for the luxury would have been materially higher. But it will be answered that ratepayers would have had better value for their money. Perhaps so, and perhaps not; for electricians' are not yet agreed that electricity for street lighting is free from peril to life; but they are agreed that the life of an electric plant is only about seven years, when the first cost must be renewed. How could the ratepayers of a little borough like Queanbeyan stand that tax? Many municipalities of long-standing - to wit the neighbouring Borough of Goulburn amongst the number - prefer gas to electricity, and when lamps are required beyond the reticulation of their gas mains - as in the case of Eastgrove, a suburb of Goulburn - use the self-same kerosene lamps that are so much despised by the writers in our contemporary. More than that, our own Council Clerk has recently been applied to for information as to the first cost and working expenses of our modest system of street lighting, with a view to its being introduced into yet another country municipality. It has been contended all along by Alderman Lazarus - than whom the Borough Council of Queanbeyan had never a more far-seeing or more level-headed alderman amongst them - that the oil lamps of to-day are ultimately to be superseded by gas - the lamps being, in fact, gas lamps temporarily adapted for oil. We hope at no distant day to see our own municipal gas-works established, now that we have the facilities afforded by the railway for the cheap introduction of coal. It must be some consolation to the deluded ratepayers of Queanbeyan, as shown above, that they are not the sole objects of the "derisive laughter of all who have progressive ideas" - that Goulburn, Tamworth, and other centres of greater note than Queanbeyan, come in for a share of this derision. Wonder is expressed that Alderman Tomsitt has not entered his protest against the machinations of the enemies of his pet scheme. Others are expressing their wonder, too. The Council and the ratepayers are wondering — not that Alderman Tomsitt has not protested, but that he has not had the good taste to report himself to the Council whose delegate he was to England and elsewhere to gain information on the scheme he so enthusiastically advocated. As to the effort made to incite the ratepayers to visit upon the heads of the outgoing aldermen next month their blunder in the matter of street-lighting with oil by relegating power to a retirement which if these gentlemen do [?] and suffer defeat, it will be on some other count than having voted in favour of the first natural progressive step taken by the Council to illuminate the town. The true spirit of progression is seen in the first modest effort already made - ambition, folly, and reckless extravagance are the proper terms to be applied to what the writers in our contemporary style "progressive ideas."

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 21 January 1891, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31163971>]

The treatment of Tomsitt was an issue of significance. Tomsitt was a free trade electoral candidate against O'Sullivan and Gale's personal assaults on Tomsitt was a matter of great objection, leading to major social divisions in the town. Gale's side-swipe at Tomsitt, almost implying mismanagement of Council funds for supposedly not having reported back to the Council on his mission, drew great criticism, not surprisingly, given that Tomsitt had returned to find the gas lamps already installed and as a pre-planned ploy. Not only the man leading technological progress in the town against major opposition, Tomsitt was the very popular Captain of the local Mounted Rifles and his death by shotgun accident in January, 1892, not long after the death of his wife and savage treatment by Gale and the *Age*, prompted the deepest social division Queanbeyan ever experienced.

31. Pages 124 – 127 (D&P). The Mechanics Institute/School of Arts. Lea-Scarlett's account of the MI/School of Arts contains too many errors to correct in detail in this paper. Lea-Scarlett states

A second Mechanics Institute, lasting from the 1860s to 1880, thrived fitfully and was able to establish both a library and a lecture programme. It was finally split asunder in one of the recurrent rows involving W. G. O'Neill, who as landlord of the three rooms rented to the Institute, first let one room to the newly-established Bank of New South Wales, and then evicted the Institute from the other two, seizing goods and chattels for unpaid rent. But for the clash of personalities, the Mechanics' Institute may have survived...Four spectres haunted the Queanbeyan School of Arts movement: part-time (and lax) management, insufficiency of funds, lack of permanent premises, and faction fights. W. G. O'Neill died in 1886, the year in which a piece of land was set aside by the government for a non-existent School of Arts. When another foundation was attempted in 1887 J. J. Wright stood aloof. The forces of antagonism were therefore absent. Although the official subsidy had increased to £ for £, membership was still not strong enough to meet expenses and after two years there was yet another collapse, when the Municipal Council turned a deaf ear to pleas to take the Institution over.

In the heightened interest in his own destiny taken by the working man, particularly after payment of Members of Parliament was introduced in 1891, it was expected that the Schools of Arts would play an important part. This was the impulse guiding the final successful effort in Queanbeyan in 1891. Membership represented a compromise between the political forces of Free Trade and Protection with a slight lessening, by comparison with its forerunners, in the ranks of the typical enemies of Protection as described by E. W. O'Sullivan: 'store-keepers, newspaper editors and others who lived by the custom of the farmers.'

The principal obstacles to the earlier attempts were surmounted by the purchase of Evans's buildings...An outright gift of one hundred books by Dr. Patrick Blackall furnished the nucleus of a library which, energetically managed by James Dunlop, Headmaster of the Superior Public School, suffered none of the abuses of the old Mechanics' Institute Library. There the librarian had been charged with gross negligence and incompetency, and five books had been used as a head-rest by a man drinking in Tattersall's Hotel.¹⁸ Library holdings rose between 1891 and 1893 to 436, 645 and 701 in 1895. Membership grew steadily, at the rate of almost one per week in 1894 which was a year crucial for depression and rural depopulation.

A Literary and Debating Society established as an adjunct to the School of Arts in 1891 supplemented the normal lecture programme with practical discussions on topical questions. The first debate echoing a favourite political contention, discussed whether women should be allowed to vote...

Note "16" cites "*Queanbeyan Age*, 1 October, 1887" and Note "18" cites "*Queanbeyan Age*, 26 July, 1879."

Very briefly,

- a. Payment for members was introduced in 1889, not 1891, as stated by Lea-Scarlett. The *Parliamentary Representatives Allowance Bill* was introduced by the Parkes Free Trade Government in June, 1889, and passed on 20 September, 1889, effective from that date. It was not introduced by the Dibbs Protectionist Government briefly in office from 17 January to 8 March 1889 and from 23 October 1891 to 3 August 1894. It was in March 1889 that the Queanbeyan School of Arts briefly went defunct.
- b. W. G. O'Neill was not the landlord of the MI who in 1880 "seized goods and chattels for unpaid rent". The MI moved from O'Neill's building from 1 August, 1879, but at the time Lea-Scarlett refers to in 1880, the MI, having already moved from O'Neill's premises, were evicted from their new building by Frances Davlin, who "destrained on the goods and chattels for unpaid rent" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 10 Mar 1880), following which J. J. Wright advertised a "re-opening" in O'Neill's rooms in Monaro Street (*Qbn Age*, Wed 14 Apr 1880). When the MI failed in March, 1880, it was being run by Wright and Percy Clement Hodgkinson. However, it resumed in October, 1880, as the Mutual Improvement Society led by Rev. Scott and O. A. Willans, supported by the O'Neills' newspaper, the *Queanbeyan Times*, before winding up in May, 1881, when Rev. Scott left for Bungendore. Nowhere does Lea-Scarlett make any mention of the 1880-81 MIS or Rev. Scott, who attempted to revive the MI earlier in 1880, or of the MIS he founded in August, 1880.
- c. It was O'Neill who emphasised issues with lack of a building and it was O'Neill who had been urging the MI to construct its own building for decades, the only person who put forward any such motions, even offering some of his own land for the purpose. In each instance the Committee opted to rent rooms from him instead, but without paying the rent. O'Neill frequently carried the finances for the MI out of his own pocket for some time and it was at a meeting chaired by O'Neill in January, 1886, (*Qbn Age*, Tues 26 Jan 1886, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30790602>]) that he again moved for a dedicated building, when the motion was finally agreed to and the proposal then put to the Council after which it lapsed, probably because O'Neill died in December, 1886.
- d. The citation Lea-Scarlett provides in relation to the librarian and the books at Tattersall's is incorrect. The information about the books at Tattersall's appears in the 19 July issue of the *Age*, not the "26 July" cited. The 26 July *Age* contains an account of the 23 July meeting when it was merely noted that the current librarian had resigned and Hodgkinson was offering to act as librarian in his place.
- e. The description of the "old MI" and issues with the librarian etc. are incorrect.

Care has to be taken in relying on the *Age* for information about this topic. The reporter for the *Age*, G. T. C. "Gus" Miller, stated under oath in court that he had given an incorrect account of the 15 July MI meeting in the 19 July issue of the *Age* (*Qbn Age*, Wed 30 Jul 1879, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4297725>]). There had been an altercation with W. G. O'Neill at the July 15 meeting, but Miller testified in court that O'Neill had been the recipient of abuse by Hodgkinson. More complete information comes from other sources, including the *Goulburn and Queanbeyan Evening Penny Post*, which reported the matters in more accurate detail.

Although there is no indication of it in the *Age*'s report or by Lea-Scarlett, what really happened was that the police had to be sent after Percy Clement Hodgkinson for a book by John Allan O'Neill after requests for its return failed and William Gregg O'Neill found five books under Hodgkinson's pillow in Hodgkinson's room at Doonan's "Tattersall's" hotel. Hodgkinson mistakenly believed that John Allan O'Neill, senior, was the librarian and before the information about the books was made public, at the July 15, 1879, meeting Hodgkinson launched into pre-emptive attacks on both J. A. and W. G. O'Neill, unconstitutionally calling for the immediate dismissal of the librarian due to what he called the "higgle-piggedly" state of the library and rooms. The Committee rejected the motion. Further assaults on both W. G. and J. A. O'Neill ensued at Hodgkinson's instigation, partly related to his intention to stand in the 1880 parliamentary election, when initially he found collaborators in J. J. Wright and John Gale. However, this situation soon passed and all of O'Neill, Wright, Gale, William Affleck and John Allan O'Neill at the *Times* united to secure the election of J. B. Thompson against Hodgkinson in the 1880 election, with

W.G. O'Neill proposing him, Gale seconding the nomination and Wright driving them to the declaration of the polls in his own carriage.

- f. The School of Arts in 1887 and 1888 was led by George Tomsitt as President, with Lewis, Dixie, Morgan, Price, Cantle, Russell, Dr. Richardson and the brothers, Alexander and James Dunlop, with these men largely comprising the committee that reformed the School in 1891. In 1887, Tomsitt was President, Cantle was the librarian and Russell was the secretary. The Dunlops joined the committee in 1887, not in 1891, as may be inferred from page 126 in *D & P*, but they had a minor role at that time. The School waned when Tomsitt went to Europe in 1890 and resumed with Tomsitt again as President in 1891. However, in early 1892, Tomsitt was accidentally shot and with his death, the School plummeted.
- g. The 1891 School was a continuation of the 1887/88 School which, when it wound up in March, 1889, still had "8 or 9 pounds" of funds in an account that were rolled over to the new School in 1891. Books from the library established in 1887 were held in trust and became the basis of the library for the School when resumed in 1891.
- h. The practice of borrowing from the Sydney Free Library was begun by the 1887 committee and merely continued by the 1891 School.
- i. The library, both permanent and lending, was established in 1887/88, not 1891, as was the building fund.
- j. The library and debate club were begun by the 1887 School, when the first debate on female suffrage was held and women were admitted for the first time in the School's history. Although in July, 1891, with the resumption of the School, a debate was *again* held on the female suffrage question (*Qbn Age*, 29 Jul 1891), it was as part of the 1888 School of Arts Debating Club that a debate on women's suffrage was first held and, importantly, with women present at the debates for the first time (*Qbn Age*, Wed 15 Aug 1888).
- k. The 1891 library was not established by Dr. Blackall.
- l. James Dunlop was not the librarian for any significant time and he left the district in 1896 after several major incidents involving him at the Public School. At the start of the 1891 School, Samuel Percival was the librarian, aided by Lewis. Dunlop was briefly librarian, but resigned in October 1891, replaced again by Percival, at which time it was then decided to have the library open every day instead of the existing arrangement (*Qbn Age*, Sat 31 Oct 1891, p2). While attendance to the acquisition and cataloguing of books was "energetically" attended to by James Dunlop, in 1892, it was also noted that no-one was in attendance at the reading room during the week as a matter of course (*Qbn Age*, Wed 17 Feb 1892), when the sense of a representatively small number opposing Dr Blackall's motion that the reading room be open on Sundays was queried in a letter to the *Age*. It was stated at the annual meeting in January, 1895, that the library had been open for an hour every weeknight "the duties of librarian having been taken in turn by Messrs Skelton, Cantle, Vincent, Trennery, Helm, Byrne and McDonald." At the 1897 AGM the services to the library in 1896 were noted as

The institution is indebted to the following gentlemen for their services as librarians: - Messrs Cox, Skelton, Shuttleworth, Cantle, J. Byrne, Dunlop, and W. Pike. We have also to thank Mr J. Dunlop for the arduous task of stock-taking and re-cataloguing the books.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 16 January 1897, p2

However, Dunlop left the district before June, 1896. In 1897, Theophilus Cox, John Gale and George E. A. Ling, Dunlop's replacement as Headmaster at the Public School, did the stocktaking and re-catalogued the books. Mrs Barber was initially, minimally, but capably involved, but she died in September, 1897. Much credit for the role of librarian and care-taker is due to Miss Sarah Blinksell who, from 1897, maintained the position until she resigned in 1908, during the time the School gained genuine stability. Blinksell's efficient management of the library is credited in the 1902 and 1905 annual meetings and she is also referred to in this capacity in 1903. Following her, Mr Deans was recognised as an outstanding librarian of the School, with his wife also being credited in this.

- m. "pilfering and mutilation" were rife even into 1898, when a man was fined heavily by John Gale and another who heard the case against him in court.
- n. After 1891 there was not a steady increase in membership. Membership in the School was extremely erratic from 1892 to 1896. Two significant plunges took place between 1892 and 1896, from which it took years for the School to recover, one in 1892 and the other in 1894. While membership briefly surged with the purchase of the Evans building in 1894, immediately after that membership plunged to the lowest levels the 1891 School was ever to experience. The School began to recover after 1896 and it was only from then that the School gained any identifiable stability.

- o. The winter lecturettes Lea-Scarlett refers to, although popular, were intermittent. They lasted for one season in 1892, two brief seasons in 1893 and 1894 and then one in 1898 (*Qbn Age*, Sat 14 May, 1898). These were essentially a continuation of and in some instances, a repeat, of lectures held in the 1880s initiated by Rev Dr. Robert Steel of Sydney and his son, the Rev. R. A. Steel. In a separate section, Lea-Scarlett refers to only one of the Steels' lectures and in the general context of being a drawcard for larrikinism, which is debatable. More academic activities were pointedly run outside the "jurisdiction" of the School of Arts, such as a series of successful geology lectures in 1892 (*Qbn Age*, Wed 17 Feb 1892), when the *Age* complained that the lectures were not given by the School of Arts. The literary and debating society of the 1891 School was defunct within six months by January 1892. Although a couple of debates were held in 1893, the club did not resume permanently, with Dr. Blackall putting out calls to resume it in 1895 and again in 1896, and John Gale again doing so in 1899 and 1901, after it having briefly functioned in 1898.
- p. W. A. McDonald, who joined the committee in 1891, was a substantial member of the School and its Musical and Dramatic Society, as correctly noted by Lea-Scarlett on p127, but he left the district in 1896.
- q. Lea-Scarlett's crediting of the success of the "1891" School to a greater presence of Protectionists is explicitly incorrect. It should be noted that this is a non-sequitur reference to O'Sullivan's speech, which in itself had no direct bearing on the MI. This comment was made during a political address by O'Sullivan in Ginninderra in September, 1887, when O'Sullivan was advocating Protection as part of his attempt to establish the "Democratic and Protection League". What O'Sullivan actually said was

...that the progress of protection was retarded by the opposition offered to the cause by storekeepers, newspaper proprietors and others, who lived by the custom of the farmers. If these persons were so blind to their own interests as to oppose a law which would so enormously benefit their best patrons - and thereby benefit themselves - the farmers would have to combine together and take care to patronise only those storekeepers, newspaper proprietors etc., who worked on behalf of protection.

O'Sullivan's aim in that speech had been to steer farmers to patronise store-keepers etc. who were in favour of Protection. In the same speech he referred to Free Trade as a "craze" and said that all Free Traders were "simpletons", which was typical of the out-of-field comments for which O'Sullivan gained notoriety. His actual comment that farmers should support newspaper proprietors and store-keepers who were in favour of Protection was consistent with his typical strategy of attempting to blackleg voters from Free Trade/Labour to Protection.

What is meant by Lea-Scarlett's claim is obscure at best and unreferenced, but apart from the fact that being against protection was not a 'bad' thing despite Lea-Scarlett's tacit implication to the contrary, the contention is not only unqualified and spurious in general, it does not correlate with the true chronological history of the 1891 School. What is intended by "in its ranks" is uncertain, however, information about its management is readily accessible. When the MI faltered in March, 1880, Hodgkinson, "avowed protectionist", was the Secretary. He had been the cause of the disruptions to the MI in 1879. Lea-Scarlett makes no reference to the 1880/81 school. The 1886 resuscitation meeting was led by free traders, W. G. O'Neill, George Tomsitt, J. A. O'Neill, Samuel Percival, Dr Richardson and others, with John Gale, the only protectionist present. When the School was re-established in 1887 to 1888 and at the start of "1891" School, when it was most successful, it was being managed mostly by free traders, led by George Tomsitt, Free Trade candidate against Protectionist O'Sullivan. When the free traders left in 1892 following Tomsitt's death and protectionists dominated the committee, the School faltered. During 1892 to 1896, when the committee was almost entirely dominated by protectionists was when the School experienced its most disruption and significant plunges in membership. The temporary re-surgence of the School in 1894 was attributed by protectionists, Cox and Dr. Blackall, to the establishment of its own building. It was only after the 'larger number' of protectionist members left in 1896 that the School gained any identifiable stability. From then on it was a mixture of free traders and protectionists, making a determined effort to make the School work, in what Collett referred to as a "happy family". The perennial Trustees of the School were all free trade men. Committee members, Dr. Richardson, Cattle and Russell, all free trade supporters, involved with the School since 1887, remained on the committee into the next century. The library, annual show and female admission were established during the "free trade" leadership dominated time of 1887/88, the time during which the debating society also was at its most vigorous and the School was notable for its pivotal firsts involving women.

Lea-Scarlett's basis for any correlation between protection and how this would result in success for the Queanbeyan School of Arts is not stated. It is also a questionable contention, whatever is implied by it. This was not the general experience of Schools of Arts throughout the colonies at any time and it was not the experience in Queanbeyan. If anything, it could be argued, as it was by free trader, William Affleck, in 1870, that duties on books and newspapers etc. constituted the often-referred to "tax on knowledge" and therefore that this would act against the interests of a School of Arts. It is also questionable as to how the anti-liberal principles of protection in the 19th century would assist in the furthering of knowledge. Any contention that "progressive ideas" or intellectual or social debate were flourishing following the original 1887/91 leaders and the departure of the free traders in 1892 until 1897, is made questionable by the demise of the debating club and the failure of the attempt to introduce technical lectures during this time. To say that the School was 'successful' from latter 1891 to 1896

depends on a qualified definition of the term. James Dunlop was outraged at the direction the School took, despite his efforts to introduce technical education classes. The description of the debate club holding “useful discussions on practical topics” is open to question. At a debate in October, 1991, when the subject was “Whether it was better to have loved and lost than to have never loved at all” Dunlop was called to order for standing up and saying that the subject was “idiotic” and “that persons who had never given the subject a thought were more useful in the world” (*Qbn Age*, Wed 7 Oct 1891). Lea-Scarlett’s contention of success due to a protectionist political association is made all the more questionable in that the most successful Mutual Improvement Society in the district, in the much smaller by comparison Gundaroo, was run largely by two of the most prominent free trade men in the district, the Afflecks, for decades, from 1860, continuing well into the next century.

The continued success of the School is coincidental with the admission of women and their increasing role in its management and support and the temporary spike in 1894, with the purchase of its own building. The re-surgence from 1897 is coincidental with the library being made more accessible to country members and its success in 1909 was attributed to the addition of a billiard room. What continued steadily from 1896 was the reading room and lending library and this mainly due to Sarah Blinksell as care-taker, whose stable presence translated to a stable School from that time, with a higher population in Queanbeyan in general, in a direct correlation.

31. *Gundaroo* (pp 35 & 36). The account of the Gundaroo Mutual Improvement Society by Lea-Scarlett contains errors and contentious commentary. Lea-Scarlett’s states “in the long run”, the Society “typically” presented “a bored and apathetic image” that “could only flourish when agricultural work was slack”, also stating

Although the Society held its first meeting in November when a paper on its aims written by Arthur Affleck evoked a lively discussion among members, formal inauguration was delayed until 25 November with an address by W. R. Riley, editor of the *Goulburn Herald*. Debates on nebulous subjects and lectures by members on a variety of useless topics continued until the greatest moment of the Society’s existence arrived on 29 March 1862 when an address was given by the patron, Hon. Terence Aubrey Murray. Speaking extempore for two hours to a delighted audience, Murray failed to convey any comprehensive theme so far as can be judged from the sole surviving account, written by one who lauded it as “a masterpiece of eloquence...(showing) a clear and comprehensive understanding and an almost gigantic intellect”,¹¹ but who was clearly unable to understand what it was all about. Calling for three cheers for Gundaroo at the end of proceedings, Murray characteristically promised a donation of books which, like the books similarly promised at Queanbeyan on an earlier occasion, apparently never arrived.

- a. On 25 November, Riley gave his inaugural address to the Society but the Society was fully functional from its formal establishment in October, when successful meetings were reported.
- b. The *Goulburn Herald* article referred to by Lea-Scarlett was not the only account of Murray’s lecture. The *Queanbeyan Age* reported Murray’s address in detail wherein the topic was specified as “Improvement of the Mind”. Lea-Scarlett’s licentious conclusion from his incomplete information that Murray’s speech was an empty ramble, lacking a title and reflecting on the perceptions of the person who wrote the account for the *Herald*, is not supported by the more complete material. There is no basis for the supposition drawn from the *Glbn Hld* article Lea-Scarlett cites, that Murray “failed to convey any comprehensive theme” or the correspondent did not understand the material. The original articles read

GUNDAROO.

(From our own correspondent.)

LECTURE BY THE HON. T. A. MURRAY

ON Saturday last the Hon. T. A. Murray delivered a lecture in the School-room, in this place, the subject being the Improvement of the Mind.

At the time appointed, half-past two, p.m., Mr. A. Affleck, on the motion of Mr. Styles, seconded by Dr. Beales, was voted to the Chair. After introducing the Hon. Mr. Murray, and explaining the design of the lecture, the Chairman, referring to the object of the institute, commented in strong terms on the impropriety of any individual member of the class bringing disgrace on the Institute by an immoral life, and he sincerely trusted that in such a case the Institute would become the means of leading an erring one to change his course of life.

Mr. Murray commenced his lecture by referring to the vast improvements that have been made within the last twenty-five years, in things which owed their existence to the ingenuity of man’s mind, namely, railways, the electric telegraph, &c. He recommended those present to aim at the improvement of their own minds, and said he would look with contempt on the individual who had not an independent mind of his own. The greatest of men were self-taught, and by their own exertions had developed their native talent. He was not fit to be called a man who had not an opinion of his own, and who would shrink from expressing that opinion. That man was to be pitied who would so forget that the image of his Maker was stamped upon him, as to crouch to his fellow man simply because the latter possessed most money. The man who supported his family by digging with a spade was as much a gentleman as his fellow worm who could count his thousands of pounds. The Hon. lecturer was heartily applauded throughout the lecture, and was certainly worthy of all the applause he received.

At the close of the lecture, Dr. Beales, in a neat little speech, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Murray for the intellectual treat he had given; Mr. W. Affleck seconded the resolution; and Mr. Murray returned thanks.

Amongst those present we noticed Captain Moriarty, member for Braidwood; Dr. Hayley, of Queanbeyan; A. Gibbes, Esq., of Yarralumla, &c. After the meeting, Mr. and Mrs. Murray, and a portion of the family started for their residence, accompanied by Captain Moriarty and C. A. Massey, Esq.

I trust we may some time enjoy another such treat from the hon. gentleman.

Gundaroo, April 2nd, 1862.

-*Golden Age*, Saturday 5 April 1862, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30632408>]

GUNDAROO.

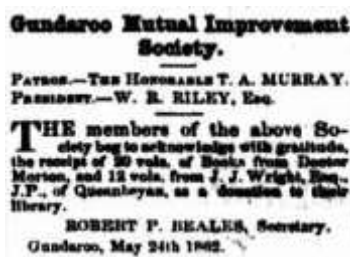
(From our correspondent.)

I have just been having a great treat. I have been listening this afternoon for about two hours to the great and Honorable T. A. Murray. You were aware by advertisement, that the honorable gentleman was to give an address to the Mutual Improvement Society in this place. It came off this day (Saturday). About half-past one o'clock p.m., Mr. Murray with his family arrived and, at two o'clock, was escorted to the school house by a deputation of four gentlemen from the society appointed to receive him. I think I never saw the school-house so full before. There were several strangers from a distance, amongst whom we noticed Captain Murray, A. Gibbs, Esq., and Dr. Hayley, of Queanbeyan. As soon as all were seated, it was proposed by Joseph Styles, Esq., and seconded by Dr. Beales, that Mr. Affleck, senior, take the chair. The chairman then in a very neat speech, stated the object of the meeting, and then introduced the Honorable T. A. Murray to the audience, who then commenced his address. The honorable gentleman spoke extempore. To attempt to dissect or analyse the address would be impossible; suffice it to say that it was not only a masterpiece of eloquence, but showed a clear and comprehensive understanding, and an almost gigantic intellect. Mr. Murray evidently has a mind that can grapple with the mightiest subjects. After delighting his audience for about two hours, the honorable gentleman concluded amidst loud and prolonged applause. Dr. Beales then rose and, in a pithy speech, proposed the cordial thanks of the meeting to the Honorable T. A. Murray for his visit and admirable address, which was seconded by Mr. William Affleck, and presented by the chairman. Mr. Murray replied, and stated that it was his intention to visit Gundaroo again, when his duties would permit. The honorable gentleman then proposed three cheers for Gundaroo, which was heartily given with the hip-hip-hurrah, and the meeting separated. You will see by this that the society is progressing; fresh members are being added almost every week. Mr. Murray has kindly promised us a donation of books, and so have Dr. Morton and J. J. Wright, Esq., of Queanbeyan. Advance Gundaroo!

March 29th, 1862.

-*Goulburn Herald*, Wednesday 2 April 1862, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article102587297>].

- c. The reference to the books donation by Murray is ambiguous however, I am aware of only one occasion when one ingracious comment was made in 1859 that Murray had not delivered a lecture in Queanbeyan, but it emerged that Murray was experiencing major political issues at the time. Omitted from Lea-Scarlett's account is a promised donation of books at the same time by Dr. Morton and J. J. Wright of Queanbeyan also, receipt of which was recorded. This also impacts on Lea-Scarlett's depiction of the personal and political relationship between the Afflecks and J. J. Wright, which Lea-Scarlett does not accurately reflect, as noted elsewhere in this document.



Gldn Age, Sat 31 May 1862, p3

- d. While issues with Beales' qualifications were raised, possibly unfairly, Lea-Scarlett's claim that the Society consisted of "the lame leading the blind" is contentious, especially if taken in comparison with his account of the Queanbeyan School of Arts. Lea-Scarlett mentions the editor of the *Goulburn Herald*, Riley, as giving an address, but not that he was the President of the Society. One of its founders, Arthur Affleck, was originally a book-seller by trade, coming from a family of bookbinders in Manchester, carrying a British Printers' Union ticket, and he was a pivotal figure in the politics of the district and NSW. While most were not university-educated neither were those in Queanbeyan.
- e. Regardless of the incorrect impression of the Society in its first years, it may not be apparent from Lea-Scarlett's account that the material he invokes refers essentially only to the first two years of the Society, when the Society was the longest running of its type in the district, continuing well into the 20th century, a major achievement, especially in comparison with the MI in much larger Queanbeyan, which experienced a very sporadic history, as Lea-Scarlett himself notes in *D & P*.
- f. The dismissal of the Society as "typically" presenting "a bored and apathetic image" is contentious. Within a year membership had grown from its seven inaugurating members to forty people. "Sixty or seventy" people attended its first anniversary dinner in October, 1862, when the ladies catered the entire event gratis. This was near to what the School of Arts in much larger Queanbeyan had as its total membership at the time Lea-Scarlett claims it was in its heyday (i.e. in 1895, when the membership consisted of 65 men). To generalise that the Society "could only flourish when agricultural work was slack" when one meeting in January, 1862, had to be adjourned until the 31st due to agricultural priorities at harvest time and when at the same time it received a donation of fifty-one books and another thirty-two in May, is a questionable assessment of the achievements of the Society in its first year. In general, throughout its lifetime of many decades, although there were a couple of brief periods of low attendance and it lulled on occasion, "in the long run" is an unfortunate phrase to generalise with as the Gundaroo Society went on to become one of the longest running societies in New South Wales and certainly the longest running in the district, still in existence in the 1900s, when Tom Haylen, father of Leslie Haylen, well-known socialist Labor MP, was on the committee. It is correct that during summer, men were frequently occupied elsewhere shearing or harvesting. The answer to that was that in the 1880s at least, it was decided to break up for the summer season rather than close the Society entirely, but the Society was still generally functioning. The building, donated as the

library for Gundaroo by William Affleck, still exists as the home of the Mutual Improvement Society. During this same time, from the 1860s onwards, by comparison, the MI in much larger Queanbeyan, had a pronouncedly sporadic history, closing entirely several times.

- g. Lea-Scarlett's description of the debates and lectures at Gundaroo is inconsistent with his depiction of the Queanbeyan School of Arts in the 1890s as being "useful discussions on topical subjects" and is not reflective of the Society as a generalisation in its exceptionally lengthy history. Some of the debates held by the Gundaroo Society were highly relevant and others were merely innocent. Topics ranged from Free Trade versus Protection to Chinese immigration and the topic of one debate in May, 1882, was capital punishment (*GEPP*, Tues 4 July 1882, p4). The entertainments were a mixture of recitals and farce, but also included readings from Shakespeare and Johnson and the parliamentary debate club was vigorous.
- h. Lea-Scarlett makes a bare reference to "some ladies" initially joining, which he dismisses with the following comment as to "the long run". The encouragement of women at Gundaroo from the start was significant and reported as such. This was something it took decades for the Queanbeyan School to achieve.

The mutual improvement society of this place is still going a-head. There was a good debate on Friday last – "Which is most useful, the warrior or the sanitary reformer?" Ladies are joining the society now, so our worthy president, when he thinks well to address us again, will have to commence with "ladies and gentlemen." A fresh election of officers took place on Friday last, in accordance with the rules, the society having been established six months. Messrs. Styles, A. Affleck, Thomas Booth, and A. Dyce were appointed trustees for the society; Dr. Beales was re-elected secretary and librarian for the ensuing six months; and Mr. Affleck, senior, treasurer for the same term. On Friday evening next, Mr. Dyce is to read an essay on the "Cultivation of the mind."

Gundaroo, April 27th, 1862.

- *Goulburn Herald*, Wednesday 30 April 1862, p3

A debate on capital punishment in 1882 was greatly enhanced by the presence of ladies (*GEPP*, Tues 4 July 1882, p4). The presence of women was, as per the time and not the location, more limited than that of the men, however, Arthur Affleck promoted the idea of women occupying all positions in society currently enjoyed by men, when ironically, resistance he encountered was not from the men.

33. Page 114 (*D & P*). Of the Chinese in Queanbeyan Lea-Scarlett states

A few penetrated the commercial centre. Charlie Ling operated as a tea agent, while Wesley Ling Ching and Ah Wey conducted stores on Monaro Street. The death of the latter in 1904 closed the period of store-keeping. After that, until their final disappearance...

- a. The reference to Ah Way is not quite correct. Ah Way ran his store from inside William Gregg O'Neill's Colonade from 1883, but went bankrupt in May 1886, closing down at the end of June (*SMH*, Fri 21 May 1886, p2 & *Qbn Age*, Tues 29 Jun 1886, p2), bought out by Fergusson (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 17 Jun 1886 p2).

b. Noticeably Lea-Scarlett's references to anti-Chinese sentiment in Queanbeyan is restricted to a brief mention of occasional larrikinish antics perpetrated on the Chinese in their 'camps' and at their market gardens. That brief summation highlights one of the most thunderingly loud omissions in *D & P* and that is the lack of any mention that seminal racist O'Sullivan, Member for Queanbeyan from 1885 to 1904, was one of the most voracious progenitors of the "white Australia" policy, thoroughly and ferociously supported in this by the *Queanbeyan Age*. While the inoffensiveness of the Chinese in Queanbeyan is acknowledged by Lea-Scarlett, nowhere in *D & P* is there any indication of the racially-based politics and beliefs of O'Sullivan and the anti-Chinese politics and sentiment promulgated through the *Age*. Nor is there mention of the actions of William Gregg O'Neill in acting against the anti-Chinese prejudices in the district. O'Neill had been one of the leading voices of resistance to the racism enacted toward the Chinese in Queanbeyan. There had been antipathy in certain quarters in the district toward the Chinese for many years and this was a source of dark events in the town. While Emily Hutchison wrote of her fear of the Chinese in her letters home in the 1850s and 1860s, in 1862, John Gale editorialised his belief that the solution to the Chinese at Lambing Flat was exclusion and segregation. Ah Way ran his store from inside O'Neill's Colonade building from early 1883 (*Qbn Age*, Fri 9 Mar 1883, p3) and in April, O'Neill defended Ah Way from larrikins who attacked him in his shop (*Qbn Age*, Tues 24 Apr 1883, p2). At the quarterly hospital meeting in July, O'Neill made special acknowledgement of the generosity of Ah Way and the Chinese in an appeal to stop the persecution (*Qbn Age*, Fri 6 Jul 1883, p2). The *Age* had condemned the actions of hecklers that had resulted in the death of a Chinese man and in 1883 the *Age* lauded O'Neill for his efforts to defend the Chinese, but John Gale had opposed Chinese immigration since 1860 and after the election of O'Sullivan in 1885, the *Age* was an aggressively anti-Chinese paper.

Throughout *D & P* and *Gundaroo* references to protection are restricted to economics, with bare, debatable economic theory omitting that taxation by duties was a regressive tax system and with questionable implication of social welfare. Omitted entirely is any reference to the other dominant ethos of protection, that of race-based immigration restriction. The *Age* denounced free trade, specifically the open economy essential to John Stuart Mill's principles, and espoused the closed economy essential to protection, with specific emphasis on racial immigration

restriction. When the *Chinese and Immigration Restriction Bill* was being discussed in the house in 1888 and Parkes and Dibbs were taking a more moderate approach to not exclude British subjects, Protectionist O'Sullivan expressed his fears that the Bill did not go far enough and that under it "we might be swamped any day by Chinese sailing from Hong Kong, Singapore, or any British possessions" (*SMH*, Fri 6 July 1888, p3). In an editorial at the time, when Arthur Hamlyn Gale was proprietor and Ernest A. James editor, the *Age* chastised Parkes for being negligent in stemming the "*Mongolian Advance*", and lauded O'Sullivan, "one of the leaders of the anti-Chinese movement", for his attempts to curb the "evils of Chinese immigration". It accused the free-traders of having ulterior motives and that their real aim was merely to engage "cheap labour" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 14 Mar 1888, p2). The *Age* accused Parkes of being weak for not being more aggressive in restricting the Chinese and opposed the Free Traders, referring to Mill's free trade doctrine as implicitly requiring opposition to trade restrictions (*Qbn Age*, 28 April 1888, p2). As the most extremist protectionist, O'Sullivan, who claimed to have fathered the term "white Australia", wanted all non-white British people removed and excluded from entering any part of Australia.

34. Pages 130 - 133 (*D & P*). Football and cricket. Apart from correct reference to William Davis of Ginninderra's support for cricket, the depictions of football and cricket contain errors and/or commentary of a limited perspective with again, generalisation drawn from scant sources, giving rise to a debatable account of the character of both sports. Within questionable commentary in relation to cricket, Lea-Scarlett states

...By the mid-sixties cricket as a recreation for townsmen had been wiped off in the desperate attempts of storekeepers to stay in business after the failure of local gold. They not only refused to give their hands Saturday afternoons off, but remained open until late on Saturday nights. Sunday sport was forbidden by law and abhorrent to a predominantly church-going community, so there was no cricket apart from the matches arranged on the estates and at Gundaroo (where there was only one store and virtually no town). While the country clubs proliferated...the Queanbeyan Club was not strong again until the 1880s...even so, the old problem of Saturday work remained...

In relation to football Lea-Scarlett states

...When the new game made its first appearance in around 1878 it was in order to play against a team from Yass, where one of the prime movers was Rev. A. D. Faunce, son of Capt. Faunce, and a former member of the Cricket Club.²⁷ The Queanbeyan players were predominantly drawn from the town, with a strong leaven of sons of storekeepers and businessmen. There was little interest in the game and the clubs suffered from disbandment at the end of each season. The code played was Rugby Union. Injuries and arguments were common from the outset. At a match between Queanbeyan and Goulburn played on the Queanbeyan ground in 1888, one of the Goulburn players received a broken collarbone and then Isaiah Lazarus, of the Queanbeyan team, was badly injured while tackling. Tempers flared. 'In one of the scrimmages a Queanbeyan player collared a Goulburn man about the region of the scalp; the man collared resented this treatment and by giving his opponent a gentle shaking, upon which the Queanbeyan player referred to, in a clear and melodious tone informed several of the visitors if they "required anything" [his words] his address was Royal Hotel, back yard'.²⁸ The Queanbeyan team at that time included three O'Neills and two Lazaruses.

When the club was reorganised as the Queanbeyan District Football Club in 1894, under the patronage of Frederick Campbell, the identity of the game with town life was established, in token of which eight leading residents – bank managers, storekeepers, solicitor, stock and station agent – agreed to act as vice-presidents. The president, Edwin H. Land, had been president of the old club back to 1890, the record of the treasurer, J. Brook, was even longer, but terminated with his death during that season. In the same period two other teams appeared in the town, the Juniors and the Auld Lang Syne Club, with equally distinguished patrons. The Juniors were responsible for the commencement of football games in the Park, at the back of the Police Station, in 1894.²⁹

...The Queanbeyan Football Club from 1895 to 1901, while Robert. T. Beatty was captan, defeated every other team in the district.³⁰

Note "27" cites "*Goulburn Herald*, 10 July, 1878."

Note "28" cites "*Queanbeyan Age*, 27 June, 1888."

Note "29" cites "*Queanbeyan Municipal Council Minutes*, 26 April, 1894.

Note "30" cites *Queanbeyan Age*, 12 September, 1911.

- a. The Queanbeyan Cricket Club played prolifically throughout the sixties. Many holidays were "observed", usually on Mondays, when the games would be played.
- b. Father McAuliffe was including football as part of church functions in 1870, soon after his arrival in the district in 1869 (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 22 Dec 1870, p1 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30581385>). It was instantly popular and became a regular feature of gatherings, played regularly at schools, including at the Public School and church functions. A few of many reports include *Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Apr 1871, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30581713>] & Thurs 4 May 1871, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30581770>] and it was played at the Queanbeyan Town Band Picnic in November, 1871 (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 30 Nov p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30582410>]).

The Queanbeyan football club was formally in play in 1877 (*Qbn Age*, Sat 14 Sep 1878, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30674147>]). The references to the club in 1878 were to its "re-organising" (*Qbn Age* 1 May 1878, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30673340>]) the club having broken up for the summer cricket season.

- c. The *Goulburn Herald* issue Lea-Scarlett cites makes no mention of Rev. A. D. Faunce [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page9464830>]), who was incumbent at St. John's, Bega, until January, 1880, when he moved to Yass.

The Queanbeyan players were wearing white with a blue sash and the match was described as spirited, friendly and well-attended, including by ladies. Faunce is not mentioned in relation to the return match held in Queanbeyan either. That match was a gala affair with a procession led by J. J. Wright, President of the Club, and T. Thompson Laing leading the town band, detailed in a lengthy article written by John Allan O'Neill writing for the *Queanbeyan Age*, prior to his starting his own newspaper, the *Queanbeyan Times*, the following year. One of the Queanbeyan players during that match, Rolfe, was from a Ginninderra free selectors' family and Hodgkinson was a surveyor (*Qbn Age*, Wed 21 Aug 1878, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30673979>]). H. S. Gannon, captaining a match in 1882 was a lawyer.

- d. Football was one of the most popular past-times in Queanbeyan. Throughout the 1880s football in Queanbeyan was described as being "exciting and popular" and it was generally well-attended by spectators, including women. In 1880, the Queanbeyan club was noted as one of the 26 members of the Southern Rugby Football Union (*SMH*, Tues 4 May 1880, p6). This popularity continued into the early 1890s. In June 1891, a team made up of players from throughout the district, including from Queanbeyan, Gundaroo, Micalago and Bungendore, played a team from Queensland in front of three hundred spectators.

The football match, Queanbeyan v. Rockhampton, came off on Monday on the Recreation Reserve, and although the weather was cold and drizzling about 300 spectators gathered to witness the game. The local club was represented by D. Wright (captain), full back; Clemenger, Barber, quarter-backs; T. Moore, W. O'Neill, Elliott, half-backs; W. Beatty, R. Beatty, Swan, Venard, Ryrie, Affleck, G. Moore, Massy, and Marshall, forwards. Immediately the ball was set going the play became fast and furious, and the pace was kept up to the end. It would be invidious to single out any particular player when all played so well. The Queenslanders admit that they never before met a more formidable team. Our boys defended their ground so well that when half-time was called only two tries had been obtained by the visitors, viz, a touchdown by Atkinson and one by McWilliams. In the second half the locals played still better, and only allowed the visitors to secure one try - McWilliams. When time was called the game stood - Rockhampton, 9 points; Queanbeyan, nil. The Queenslanders were entertained at a banquet in the evening at Pooley's Hotel.

- Goulburn Evening Penny Post, Thursday 25 June 1891, p4

- e. In 1878, the Queanbeyan Football Club was considered as among the better mannered in the game. Conversely at that time, it was the cricket team who were noted for being "bad sports", in specific comparison with the Yass football team who won a game in Queanbeyan with "modesty" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 20 Nov 1878). Although in 1875, the *Age* reproduced a letter from the *London Times* newspaper, by Rev. S. G. Rees, dissuading the encouragement of what he described as a "brutal" game (*Qbn Age*, Wed 16 Jun 1875, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30598380>]), the reports in Queanbeyan were of friendly, enjoyable affairs.

The common view of the game in Queanbeyan in the '80s was that "Football, rough as it necessarily was, was a friendly and gentlemanly game" (*Qbn Age*, Tues 27 Jun 1882, p2), with the umpire of a match between Cooma and Queanbeyan saying that "he had never acted for a better lot of men in his life" (*ibid.*). For its occasional roughness, there was little in the way of "arguments" associated with the game at that time. It was injuries received in the course of their work that prevented members of the Cooma team, G. T. C. "Gus" Miller, journalist/owner of the *Cooma Express*, and Foster and Glanham, surveyors, from playing in a match in July (*Qbn Age*, Fri 7 Jul 1882). At a match between Cooma and Queanbeyan in 1884, a sprained leg was sustained by one player, but there is no indication that it was due to "arguments" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 2 Jul 1884, p2).

As with any football club there were the occasional scraps, but there is no basis for such generalisation as is made to either the clubs in general during the 1870s and 1880s nor in regard to the, one, reference cited by Lea-Scarlett for his comments.

- f. There is nothing to support the context Lea-Scarlett's assigns to the 1888 football match he cites. During the match described the events Lea-Scarlett refers to took place, but the original article also states that

...the game which had just passed was played in the right spirit, that of friendship; unfortunately one of the visiting players had met with an accident, that of having his collarbone broken, he had however the consolation of knowing that it was broken in a friendly spirit.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 23 June 1888, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30920031>]

The President of the Club, William Price, stated that

...the match terminated in a very satisfactory way for both sides. He would remind the Queanbeyan team of their promise to return the match, and would say that when they visited their city they would be welcomed by the Goulburn Club in the same hearty and generous manner as the Queanbeyan footballers had received them on that occasion...that the match had been contested in a thoroughly gentlemanly manner, and he felt certain was enjoyed by both teams.

- *ibid.*

There is nothing in the article cited to support Lea-Scarlett's ominous implication in his reference to O'Neills and Lazaruses. In the scrap described by Lea-Scarlett, the Queanbeyan players are not identified in the reference cited. An article elsewhere in reference to a different match tacitly implies the O'Neills to be unlikely to be engaged in rough play. It is correct that the Juniors formed in 1894 with permission to use the Recreation Reserve behind the Police Station as a ground with the permission of the Council. It was at this time that Robert O'Neill was a star player for the Juniors. At a game in 1894, when Robert O'Neill and four Lazaruses were on the team, it was noted that a "light" Queanbeyan team, playing against a much stronger Braidwood side won the game through their co-operation and knowledge of the game. Robert O'Neill was only nineteen at the time.

...The game was not a very brilliant one, and was somewhat one-sided throughout. Queanbeyan was much the lighter, of the two teams, but their knowledge of the game gave them an advantage over Braidwood. It was somewhat strange to the spectators to see a light team like Queanbeyan push the heavy Braidwood forwards about. The game was a rather rough one, but friendly, and resulted in a win for Queanbeyan by three points (a try scored by Heeger). F. Lazarus also scored a try, but through a mistake the umpire gave it as a force. Throughout the game Braidwood showed that they had but little knowledge of the game, while the Queanbeyan team worked together well. Amongst the Braidwood backs Chapman and Maddrell were of most service; whilst in the forwards Stewart, R. Maddrell, Dawson and Fletcher did most work. The Queanbeyan players who were most conspicuous were Heeger, R. O'Neill, C. Yates, I. and F. Lazarus, Jones, Hannaford and G. McInnes.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 4 July 1894, p2

At the previous game when Robert O'Neill and Isaiah Lazarus were playing it was reported

The match between the Queanbeyan Football Club and the Queanbeyan Mounted Rifles came off on Saturday on the Rec. and proved a very enjoyable and friendly game. The club won by 7 points to 0. The rifles, considering their knowledge of the game, played very willingly. O'Neill's play was as good as ever it was. Kingston, Lazarus, and Richards (with Gibbs' weight) proved of valuable service, while Hannaford and A. de Smet were also conspicuous. For the club Skelton, Heeger, and Trenerry amongst the backs were the best, and I. Lazarus, W. Beatty, and C. Yates worked hardest amongst the forwards.
- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 14 June 1894, p4

The O'Neills were considered among the best players in the game over many decades and it was when they were less involved that the game experienced its most disruption. William Allan O'Neill and William James O'Neill were two of the great benefactors of the sport and in 1894 and 1896, when the game was experiencing disruption due to political hostilities off the field, nineteen year old Robert O'Neill, was a star player of the Juniors team Lea-Scarlett refers to. O'Neills continued to play for Queanbeyan for many years in all of the succeeding and successful clubs mentioned by Lea-Scarlett in *D & P*. William Allan O'Neill, William Gregg O'Neill's Newington-educated son, was a star player for the clubs, a well-regarded umpire and highly regarded member of the Queanbeyan community and popularly elected auditor of the Council.

Football Match. Queanbeyan v. Gundaroo.

THE return match (on Gundaroo's part) between the above clubs took place on the local football ground on Saturday last. The Queanbeyan Team came off victorious, having scored 6 points against the 2 gained by their opponents. A great number of spectators (quite as large a gathering as at the match against Goulburn) were on the ground and evinced much interest in the play throughout the match. The play commenced about half-past three, Affleck of the Gundaroo team kicking the ball off, and...

...Without doubt W. A. O'Neill was the sole cause of Gundaroo losing the match (he having scored nearly all the points to Queanbeyan's credit) and had he been absent Gundaroo would have taken the laurels with them back to the 'Centre of the Earth.'

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 11 July 1888

FOOTBALL - GOULBURN v. QUEANBEYAN. A DRAWN MATCH.

A MATCH between a team chosen from the local football club, and a representative fifteen of the Goulburn Boot Club (the premier Football Club of that city) took place on the Queanbeyan football ground on Saturday last. The contest was witnessed by a great number of spectators who seemed to fully appreciate the good play which was displayed. Following are the names of the players: - Goulburn - McLaren (back), O'Donnell, Judd, and Spillane (half-backs) Jessop, Cook, (Quarter backs), Nesbit (Captain) Osmond, Kinsela, Barnes, Ward, Thorpe, Kingston, McAleer, and Pryke (Forwards.) Queanbeyan - Beatty, (Back) De Smet, O'Neill and Brook (half backs), Clemenger, Byrne (Captain) and Moore (quarter-backs), Thomas, Knox, Foley, O'Connor, Swan, Martin, Harrison, and G. Moore (forwards). The game was started about half past three, a strong wind was blowing throughout the afternoon, but this was not in favour of either teams, as the change of goals at half time equalized matters. This match was without doubt the most closely contested game played by the local men during the season, and in our opinion if the Queanbeyan men were as well up in the passing as the visitors, the Goulburn men would probably have been defeated. Judd, Jessop and O'Donnell were the hardest workers on the visitors' side, and for the local team, O'Neill, Moore, and Dr Smet rendered the best service. The match resulted in a draw, no points being scored by either side. Mr. E. Land acted as umpire and gave every satisfaction. The visitors were entertained at a dinner at the Globe Hotel in the evening where the usual toasts were drank, and responded to. They left for home by the 8 o'clock train expressing themselves as highly pleased at the friendly feeling displayed during the match, and the cordial way they were entertained throughout the trip.

-*Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 14 August 1889

Football. QUEANBEYAN v. GOULBURN PIONEERS....

...THE DINNER.

The visitors were entertained at Pooley's hotel in the evening, when about 50 sat down to one of Mrs. Pooley's well-known spreads. The chair was taken by the Mayor, Mr. E. Land.

After all had dined, the chairman proposed the toast of "Football." After short eulogy of the game, as worthy of the indulgence of Australians, he mentioned that Mr. F. Campbell (Yarralumla) had written regretting his inability to attend the

supper, and expressing his willingness to bear part of the expenses. Mr. W. Beatty responded, and proposed the toast of the visitors, "The Goulburn Pioneers," to which Mr. Atkinson responded.

The following were the other toasts "Queanbeyan Football Club," proposed by Mr. Atkinson (Goulburn), responded to by Mr. W. Beatty. "The Southern Football Team," proposed by M. Dulhanty (vice-chairman). "The Ladies," proposed by Mr. G. Parr. "The Umpire," proposed by Mr. Broderick (Goulburn) who said he had never played under a better and conscientious man. Mr. W. O'Neill in response, said the duty on this occasion had been a pleasure owing to the obedience of the players on either side.

The rest of the evening, up to the time for catching the train, was occupied in singing, &c., all present spending a good time.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 21 June 1893

William James "W. J." O'Neill, son of former *Times* owner, John Allan O'Neill, was a successful and gentlemanly player and even when in Sydney as chief sub-editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, he and his wife continued as benefactors of the sport.

FOOTBALL PRESENTATION.

A presentation took place at Land's Hotel on Thursday night and an enjoyable evening was spent by those who attended. The presentation was that of a football cap, hand-made, of valuable material, the gift of Mrs. W. J. O'Neill, to the best all-round player of last season. The recipient was Mr. G. D. Ryrie, and the presentation was made by Mr. E. H. Land, before a large assemblage of footballers and enthusiasts.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 1 October 1892

"Mrs W. J. O'Neill" was the daughter of Edward and Selina O'Connor. Edward O'Connor was a long-time police officer in Queanbeyan before becoming the gaoler at Yass and he was the uncle of prominent Sydney Parliamentarian, Broughton Barnabas O'Connor. Mr and Mrs W. J. O'Neill's daughter, Eileen, married Sheffield Shield star cricketer and selector, Alec Marks.

- g. The teams disbanded at the end of each season because football was the winter game and cricket, the summer, and several people involved in organising football were also involved in cricket. As well as being a football umpire, W. A. O'Neill was also captain of the Queanbeyan cricket team and a star player, bowling for Queanbeyan, for example, at the Micalago game in March, 1896, playing with Beatty and Cadden (*Qbn Age*, Wed 1 April 1896).
- h. There was much football activity in Queanbeyan throughout the 1880s and 1890s, which Lea-Scarlett's abbreviated summary and leap from the 1880s to 1894 gives no indication of.
- i. In 1892, Frederick Campbell was Patron of the Club

Patron: F. Campbell, Esq. (Yarralumla).; President: E. H. Land, Esq.; Vice-Presidents: Messrs. F. A. Campbell, E. C. Campbell, James Cunningham, R. W. McKellar, W. Price, P. Pooley, H. J. Dixie, J. H. King, R. Hayes, W. A. McDonald, E. Rolfe, and Drs. Richardson and Blackall; Joint Secretaries: Messrs. D. Wright and W. A. O'Neill; Treasurer: Mr. G. Parr; Committee: All playing members (five to form a quorum); Selection Committee: Messrs. D. Wright, W. A. O'Neill and W. Beatty. It was decided to affiliate with the Southern Rugby Union, and Messrs. C. Beatty and Saunderson. were appointed representatives.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 20 April 1892, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31165817>]

- j. It was in 1894 and 1896 that football and individual clubs experienced serious ruction due to off-field personal and political hostilities and great polarity in the town in general. This time that Lea-Scarlett relates as football being in good stead was the only time that football in Queanbeyan was in disharmony. What is not apparent from Lea-Scarlett's depiction, is not so much that two teams were formed at this time, but that it was at this time that the football community split into, not two, but several, teams, primarily, the Auld Lang Syne, the Queanbeyan District Football Club and the Mounted Rifles Football Club, possibly, because of it. The *Age* expressed its belief that the disharmony was caused by the club splitting into two teams.

Very briefly –

The ruction began in 1894. 1894 was an election year and the effects of the politics were raging through Queanbeyan at the time. Major issues had taken place involving the Rev. W. H. Hall and his forced expulsion from the Wesleyan Ministry for his political beliefs, mainly his espousal of Henry George's land nationalisation principle. 1894 was also a depressed year in Queanbeyan. Unemployment was high and following a successful suit by John Allan O'Neill against J. J. Wright and the *Age* proprietors, Skelton Brothers and Cox, O'Neill sold his paper, the *Queanbeyan Observer*, and he and his entire family left for Sydney. Subsequently, at that time, of the O'Neills, mainly only Robert O'Neill, son of James and Mary Ann, was playing, successfully, for the QDFC, but being only 19, he then played for the Juniors. [N.B. Robert O'Neill was my great grandfather.]

In May, a "new" team, the Queanbeyan District Football Club, was formed.

Patron – Mr. F. Campbell, Yarralumla; president, Mr. E. H. Land; vice-presidents, Messrs. H. J. Dixie, R. W. McKellar, W. A. McDonald, H. E. Garraway, A. M. Dulhanty, P. Pooley, R. Hayes, and J. Russell; captain, Mr. W. Ryrie; vice captain, Mr. G. Osborne, junr.; secretary, Mr. W. M. Trenerry; treasurer, Mr. J. Brook. Mr. D. Wright was requested to write to the Sutton Club accepting a challenge for May 12.
- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 3 May 1894, p4

In June, however Trenerry resigned, replaced by A. Hannaford (*GEPP*, Tues Jun 19 1894, p4).

The *GEPP* reported that the QDFC had “wisely abolished the system of banqueting” (*GEPP*, Thur 10 May 1894, p4). Although it does not state why, it was probably due to cost in very economically depressed times. The Mounted Rifles team formed around June and it was decided to send to Sydney for uniforms, with each player paying the costs individually (*Qbn Age*, Wed 27 Jun 1894, p2).

Another club, the Auld Lang Syne was formed and by August friction between the QDFC and the new Auld Lang Syne club had emerged.

There is some friction between the District Football Club and the Auld Lang Syne Football Club. The secretary of the former wrote that the District Club did not intend meeting the Auld Lang Syne Club until other clubs recognised it. The secretary of the Lang Syne replied that this was a crayfish like transaction, and he showed that the club was recognised by others. The Warrigals have challenged the Lang Syne to a match in Goulburn on Saturday next, guaranteeing 30s towards expenses or to give the team a smoke concert. If the club cannot come the secretary is asked to make the same offer to the other club.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 30 August 1894, p4

When Protectionist E. W. O’Sullivan attended the Mounted Rifles ball, the conspicuous absence of a third of the company was reported. The friction was largely due to the political hostility that had been enacted toward the former Captain of the Mounted Rifles, George Tompsitt, who had stood for the Free Trade Party against O’Sullivan before his untimely shotgun death in January, 1892.

The military ball and supper under the auspices of the Queanbeyan half-company Mounted Rifles was held on Friday evening, in the Protestant Hall, but was not quite such a success as its predecessors. Mr. O’Sullivan was present at the commencement. The gallery was crowded with spectators. About thirty couples took the floor, which was not in the best order. Privates A. Hannaford and Frank Smith acted as Ms.C. in the most satisfactory manner. The music was supplied by the following members of the Queanbeyan Brass Band: - Messrs. Hellmund (piano), J Jordan (flute), H. Lazarus (trombone), E. Yates (cornet). The ball was arranged as a plain and fancy dress one, and there were dresses of both descriptions worn, the gentlemen making no attempt at elaborate vestments. An excellent hot supper was served in a large marquee erected at the rear of the hall, the catering being done by Mrs. Thompson. It is regretted that one-third of the military men were conspicuous by their absence.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 21 June 1894, p4

The *Age* reported that unfriendliness took place when the Auld Lang Syne and the QDFC played against each other on the field, although in a match between entirely different teams, a team from the Fire Brigade and a team calling themselves the “Workmen”. In that game it was uncertain if an injured hip was caused by a kick or a fall (*GEPP*, Tues Jun 19 1894, p4).

Early in the 1894 season, roughness by a Braidwood player against Bungendore also caused “ill-feeling” and rough play was noted at a game between Braidwood and Bungendore when O’Sullivan was present.

FOOTBALL. - A great deal of ill-feeling was shown at the late match with Braidwood and Bungendore, on account of the rough, brutal play shown by one of the visiting team who is reckoned a pugilist. Several of the onlookers could hardly be restrained from interfering when at an early stage of the game this ‘bully’ threw one of the Bungendore team and deliberately caught his head and bumped it on the ground, causing a severe contusion. The rough play shown throughout the whole of the game caused the onlookers to groan and hoot the visitors; but fortunately it was stopped in time. It is a pity our visitors did not know better than bring a player who showed such bad taste in using brute force to try and gain a match. We notice a report in one of the papers where the players say they were not treated to even a snack by our team. The reason is that the football club have decided on not giving any dinners, as it comes too expensive on the players. A scratch match is to be played here on Thursday between members and non-members, and a match is being arranged for Saturday next between Queanbeyan and Bungendore, to be played here.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 5 July 1894, p4

BUNGENDORE...

The Braidwood footballers reached here by coach on Thursday morning, and play commenced at 2 o’clock. The weather was cold. A great number of visitors were present, among whom was Mr. E. W. O’Sullivan, who evinced much interest in the game. Some very rough play was indulged in by one of the visitors, which called forth some severe remarks from the onlookers. The game was considered fairly even for some time, but a dispute arising the game abruptly terminated as it stood, 6 points to 3, in favour of Braidwood. On Thursday next the uniform v. non-uniform players will meet in the Rec. to try conclusions (all are members of the club).

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 4 July 1894, p2

The same Queanbeyan clubs continued in 1895, but this was a time of relative calm. Douglas Wright and William Allan O’Neill were now joint honorary secretaries of the Auld Lang Syne club (*Qbn Age*, Wed 10 Apr 1895, p2) and as reported in the *Age*, at a large meeting on 13 April, its committee was elected with Ed Land, the Mayor, as President.

FOOTBALL.

The Auld Lang Syne Football Club held a meeting at Land’s Hotel on Saturday night, for the election of officers, when there was a large attendance. Mr. Land was elected president, Messrs. Wright and O’Neill, joint hon. secs; Mr. C. Brook, treasurer; and Mr. R. Beatty and the joint secs., as the selection committee. – The Queanbeyan District F.C. has received a challenge from the Braidwood Club, with a choice of dates.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 17 April 1895

The *Age* reported that the management of the QDFC consisted of

Queanbeyan District FC
President, Dr. Blackall; Vice presidents, Messrs. Trenerry, F. Campbell, (Yarralumla), Garraway, Pooley, Hayes, and McDonald; Treasurer, Mr. F. Lazarus; Secretary, Mr. G. Siebert; Selection Committee, Messrs. C. Brook, F. Lazarus, I. Lazarus, H. Heeger, and G. Siebert.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 10 April 1895

Robert O'Neill, the only O'Neill playing regularly in 1894 and only nineteen, briefly played for the QDFC in 1894, but in 1895, when a Juniors team was formed, Robert played for that team as one of their strongest players. That year, 1895, was considered to be a time of relative peace.

The Juniors match was the leading article in the *Age* on Saturday, June 29.

FOOTBALL.

The Bungendore (Lake George) Football Club are playing the Queanbeyan juniors a friendly game on the local Rec. to-day (Saturday), and a great deal of interest is being manifested in the match already. The following will play for the Juniors: Fullback, R. O'Neill; halves, H. Heeger, S. Brook, W. Cantle; quarters, C. Lee, and G. MacInnes; forwards, Smallhorn, Waters, Gale, Erinshaw, G. Moore, G. Heeger, A. Hannaford and J. Webb. The Bungendore team will be picked from the following seventeen: - T. E. Coughlan, H. Doyle, R. Doyle, Hazlewood, Byrne, Knowles, N. Campbell, Lee, W. McGrath, Cummins, A. Winter, E. Winter, John McAlister, W. Overend, E. H. Laws, W. Edmonds, and T. Sharp. Play commences at 3 p.m.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 29 June 1895, p2

FOOTBALL.

The Googongs team of footballers came into town on Wednesday to play a match with the Queanbeyan Juniors, and the latter team, not expecting them, hastily got together a very poor team, comprising only eight of their own players. A scratch match was indulged in, with twelve men aside, which eventually resulted in a win for the Juniors by 32 points to eight. N. Gibbs secured two tries for the losers, while R. O'Neill secured four tries for the winners. The boys had the game all their own way right through. To-day (Saturday) they will receive at visit from the second fifteen of Captain's Flat, when the following will play for the home team: - Fullback, W. Meredith; halves, H. Heeger, W. Cantle, and E. Smallhorn; quarters, R. O'Neill and C. Lee; forwards, Erinshaw, S. Pooley, J. Waters, Gale, J. Smith, Webb, Jones, B. Winter, G. McInnes and N. McInnes.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 13 July 1895, p2

In 1896 again there were two Queanbeyan teams, consisting of the QFC and the Mounted Rifles. In that year major ruction again took place and during this time no O'Neills were involved with football in Queanbeyan, not even Robert, who had played for the Juniors in the previous, peaceful, season. John Allan O'Neill and his family had left for Sydney in November, 1984, so there were very few O'Neills in Queanbeyan to play football at this time. William Allan O'Neill was not even umpiring at this time.

FOOTBALL NEWS.

Unfortunately the disagreements among football supporters in Queanbeyan have not died out. Last season there was peace after the storm, but this year a new trouble has arisen. The selection committee of the local club picked a team to play for the Affleck medals against Captain's Flat, at the Flat on Saturday next, but this team did not suit the players themselves, evidently, for some of the latter took it on themselves to pick another team. On hearing of this the selection committee resigned. On Monday a meeting was held, and the resignation of Mr W. Walker, secretary, was received with regret; as was also that of Mr. C. Brook from the selection committee. Mr. W. Gale was elected secretary, and the following were elected as the selection committee - Messrs S. Brook, S. Pooley, W. Yates, R. Beatty, and W. Gale (Mr T. Jordan to act till Mr Beatty's return). The following team was then selected to visit Captain's Flat on Saturday: - Fullback, S. Brook; halves, H. Heeger, W. Meredith, and E. Smallhorn; quarters, J. Patterson and E. Lazarus; right wing forward, S. Pooley, left wing forward, T. Jordan; forwards, E. Langan, J. Smith, N. McInnes, A. Moore, W. Beatty, W. Gale, W. and C. Yates; emergencies, B. Smith, N. Gibb, W. Smallhorn. Players unable to go are requested to notify the secretary before Thursday.
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 15 July 1896, p2

At this same time police were requested to attend football matches in Windsor and fights took place at Melbourne matches. At this time the game was described as being "unduly rough." In September, the *Age* asked if it was "Football or fighting?" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 23 Sep 1896). There was general disorganisation and amidst major disarray, with Gundaroo and Queanbeyan not even sure if they were supposed to meet one day, and the Queanbeyan team wandering about the field not knowing if the Gundaroo team was even coming (*Qbn Age*, Wed 23 Sep 1896), the Captain's Flat "Pirates" won in 1896, with the *Age* saying that football in Queanbeyan "was murdered by the formation of two teams."

In 1897, football in Queanbeyan regained a friendly atmosphere. William Allan O'Neill returned to the game and a grand jubilee ball in aid of the Football Club was held. Again, Queanbeyan had the two teams, the QDFC and the MR, but now the two played in friendly camaraderie and while fights were taking place in Sydney and elsewhere in NSW, football in Queanbeyan was in good spirits again. The Queanbeyan Mounted Rifles continued as did the Queanbeyan Fire Brigade team.

- k. An O'Neill trophy, Affleck medals and O'Sullivan's Cup were also played for.
- l. Robert Beatty was a major player, but Lea-Scarlett's information is not quite correct. As noted above, 1895 was a year in which the clubs experienced major disruption, although this was no reflection on Beatty. In 1895, Beatty was a member of the Auld Lang Syne, not the District, Club and acted as a boundary umpire for the Juniors. He

became Captain of the Queanbeyan Club in 1897, when he was well-liked and the team did well. However, they did not win every game or against everyone all the time and, contrary to Lea-Scarlett's depiction of the O'Neills, in 1897, William Allan O'Neill was a prominent player and a well-liked umpire. Charles Townsend O'Neill, young son of James and Mary Ann O'Neill, had now also started playing and in early 1897, he also was conspicuous on the team, among others. In 1897, O'Neill captained in the absence of Beatty when the Club beat the Captain's Flat Rovers in September. Beatty captained his last game early in the 1901 season, replaced by Thomas Jordan in June, 1901, when Beatty also resigned his position as an Alderman on the Queanbeyan Council and left the district that year for Gundagai, where he continued as a prominent man in civic and sporting affairs and died in 1936.

- m. Lea-Scarlett's source for Note "30" is merely a football ditty written for the Queanbeyan Club in 1897, printed in the *Observer* and reproduced in the *Age* in 1911. It does not state Lea-Scarlett's information. [N. B. The ditty does not refer to W. A. O'Neill as he returned to the game immediately after it was printed.]

35. Incorrect and/or contentious reflections on the character of individuals is a major issue in *D & P*, *Gundaroo* and *Distaff*, where, along with misidentification and misattribution, there is much unqualified or unjustified denigration of individuals. Briefly, among those referred to in contentious or specifically incorrect terms are Sen-const Thomas Moran, Sir Terence Aubrey Murray, Sir Henry Parkes, Thomas Moran (the mail contractor), Harold Mapletoft Davis, Emmeline Davis, Abraham Levy, Henry Field, Rev. A. D. Soares, Gualter Soares, George Tomsitt, Emma Tomsitt, William Gregg O'Neill, John Allan O'Neill, Isabella Ann O'Neill, the *Queanbeyan Times* newspaper and, in a couple of instances, the entire town and district of Queanbeyan. [N.B. I am in no way related to the Davis' of Ginninderra or Queanbeyan].

This is too broad a topic to address superficially, but very briefly,

- a. Page 122 (*D & P*) and *Distaff*. Commentary about Harold Mapletoft Davis and his first wife, Emmeline. Lea-Scarlett states

Harold Mapletoft Davis, ne'er-do-well son of William Davis Snr of Ginninderra, brought his accomplished but sickly and ineffective wife Emmeline to live in town at Ivy Cottage. 'When I say that she sings and plays very nicely I have said all about her' was the opinion of her mother-in-law.

The label of "ne'er do well" is not qualified by Lea-Scarlett. In *Distaff*, Lea-Scarlett correctly notes that when away as Sub-insp of police, W. G. O'Neill leased his home, Ivy Cottage, to H. M. and Emmeline Davis, but more loudly repeats his insinuations as to Davis and his wives' characters.

Ivy Cottage, in Lowe Street, was O'Neill's own home, a four roomed cottage with verandah, kitchen, store, stable, yards and garden. When the family left, it was leased by Harold Mapletoft Davis, the spoilt and indulged son of William Davis of Ginninderra, who although his father said he had 'as much business with a wife as a toad with a side-pocket', had embarked on an early marriage with a consumptive girl who bore him four daughters before they came to O'Neill's cottage. Emmeline, Harold's wife, must have been as ill-equipped to deal with the world as her husband was disinclined to deal with it. 'When I say that she plays and sings very nicely I have said all about her', was her mother-in-law's verdict. The sickly Emmeline Davis died at Ivy Cottage on 5th November, 1862, aged only 28, and her husband pursued his fortunes elsewhere in the district. He was a surveyor of sorts and as there was no end of work for surveyors in those early days of free selection, he was, at least free from any overwhelming financial burdens on caring for his daughters.

- a. There is no evidence in the public information to justify this subjective and personal denigration of Davis and his wife and Lea-Scarlett's information about him is incorrect. It is correct that Lea-Scarlett's source for the personal comment about Emmeline was her mother-in-law, which makes reliance on it all the more contentious.
- b. H. M. Davis was in bankruptcy in 1863 at the time Lea-Scarlett refers to immediately after Emmeline died, due to a debt brought against him by Abraham Levy.
- c. Davis was officially gazetted as a licensed surveyor in 1863. After Emmeline died in 1862, he then married Martha Gowing in Queanbeyan, with whom he had more children. In 1864, he was the government surveyor for the Marked Tree line. John Gale was opposed to that road and when he personally slathered the Afflecks for their preference for it and made comments about the un-named surveyor in an editorial on the topic, Davis responded in defence of the Afflecks and himself, to which Gale replied that he had mistakenly believed the surveyor to be J. B. Thompson. Davis was a major player in his brother, William's, legendary Ginninderra cricket team and one of those genuinely supportive of the local aboriginals. Davis and his family lived in Young for many years, where they were residing when Davis was also gazetted as a mining surveyor in 1888. He then practiced as an auctioneer and commission agent, land agent and surveyor in Bungendore, where he was practising when he recommended "Queen Nelly" for a breastplate in 1888. Davis was still practising in Bungendore well into the 1890s, where he was a leading member of the community, involved in many functions, including as a magistrate, with the Bungendore School of Arts and the P & A. He led the support of E. W. O'Sullivan in Bungendore, co-operated with Gale in his involvement in the National Protection Association and was Secretary of the Bungendore Progress Association. In 1896, he was appointed as a trustee of the Bungendore commons. In 1899, he gave

evidence in William Creswell's claim on Roger Tichborne's title. He later moved to Sydney, where he chastised the local authorities on their tardiness in dealing with rats while the plague was ravaging Sydney.

- d. In *D & P* (1968), both William Davis senior and his son, William Davis, the "squire of Gininderra", are indexed under the single entry of "William Davis" Distinction between them in the text is not clear and although in *D & P*, Harold Mapletoft Davis is correctly identified as William Davis senior's son, on page 35 in *Gundaroo* (1972), he is explicitly misidentified as "the surveyor son of the squire of Gininderra". This misidentification is compounded by the ambiguous reference in *Distaff* to H. M. Davis supposedly being the "son of William Davis of Ginninderra". H. M. Davis was not the "squire of Gininderra's" son, he was his brother. Both William Davis, the "squire of Gininderra", and H. M. Davis were sons of William Davis, senior. William Davis, senior, was never the "squire of Ginninderra". William, junior, was always referred to as "the squire of Ginninderra."

Importantly, William Davis, "squire of Gininderra", did not have a son. He adopted his nephew, Ernest Palmer, as a son, who, on Monday 26 February, 1877, was killed in a gruesome riding accident on the Queanbeyan showgrounds, being why the distraught William Davis of Ginninderra sold his Ginninderra and Gunghaleen estates to E. K. Crace and moved to Goulburn. After the accident an article about Palmer was printed in a "country newspaper" that was condemned as being untrue and in bad taste. For clarification, due to Lea-Scarlett's misidentification of H. M. Davis in *Gundaroo* and the ambiguity in *Distaff*, the "mother-in-law" cited is not Suzanne (Palmer) Davis, the "squire" of Gininderra's wife, but Jane née Weston Davis, wife of W. Davis, senior.

36. References to Mrs Barnett, matron of Queanbeyan hospital. In *Distaff* after contentiously defending former matron, Mrs Rusten, from W. G. O'Neill's supposed 'blustering, Irish stirring', where he misidentifies W. G. O'Neill as being involved in a dispute with school teacher, W. T. Holland, Lea-Scarlett states

As successor to Mrs Rusten, Mary Ann Barnett (whom we have already met as landlady of the 'Mail Coach Inn' and the 'Queanbeyan Inn') was not long in the post. Her career, unlike Mrs Rusten's was punctuated by complaints, including "tampering with the religious beliefs of a patient."

- a. Mrs. Barnett was exonerated of interfering with the religious beliefs of a patient by the hospital Board.
- b. Mrs. Barnett was matron of the hospital from January, 1875, to 4 August, 1880, during which time she was generally efficient, until she resigned (*GEPP*, Sat 5 Feb 1881, p5) following issues raised by Percy Clement Hodgkinson, who criticised Gale's account-keeping as Treasurer and insisted the matron no longer be authorised to sign invoices, Barnett then took to drink, which she admitted, following which she soon resigned.

37. Page 106 and page 53 (*D & P*). Depiction of John Gale, editor of the *Queanbeyan Age*.

John Gale was a significant figure in Queanbeyan's history, but Lea-Scarlett's depiction of him is contentious. In the context of establishment of a National School in Queanbeyan, Lea-Scarlett broadly refers to Gale's supposed sentiments on education. In referring to George Campbell's autocratic action in 1863 in closing the Canberra school room to teacher, Andrew Wotherspoon, he states

...the Canberra School-House Dispute, which, if it taught nothing else of universal application, demonstrated with frightening clarity the extent to which partisan influences could control schooling. The signatories to the document of 1 August 1864 petitioning for a National School in the town, Andrew Morton and John Gale, had been prime-movers against George Campbell in the ructions of the previous year; both were prominent free-church adherents and, as such, foes of the religious Establishment.

and on page 53 he states

John Gale's newspaper presented Queanbeyan with a means of expressing what might be considered a popular viewpoint. Radical both in religion and politics, he saw at once the needs of the time – land reform, commercial progress, conscientious discharge of duty by all who were responsible to the public. He was remarkable for his ability to perceive forces eroding society and for his fearlessness in exposing them. Incompetent mail contractor and postal official, autocratic squatter, growing sectarianism, the domineering 'big man', all answered to his criticism. For this he had to pay in earning the fierce displeasure of competing factions, for growth had destroyed the earlier sense of civic interest, and in the absence of local government and civic unity, factionalism took hold of the town for two decades.

Lea-Scarlett's collaborators, Cross and Sheedy, partially quote this in *Queanbeyan Pioneers* and in *Canberra 1820 – 1913*, Lyle Gillespie also refers to Gale as "always the champion of the oppressed". Nowhere in *D & P* or *Distaff* is any other comment made in relation to Gale and education or principles in general, other than a bare comment that he was an ardent protectionist within contentious representation of that political framework.

- a. Gale's religion and politics were radical, but not to the left as may be implied - Gale was an ultra-conservative right-wing religious extremist who sermonised his beliefs through the *Age*.

- b. Gale was a Biblical zealot who believed “Scripture” and “religion” to be the only genuine source of education. Ignoring issues with contentious comments as to the 1863 Canberra School Case, the references to Gale’s attitude to education in the context as invoked by Lea-Scarlett cannot be considered valid as a generalisation. The references to the “free church” and Gale being supposedly “anti-Establishment” are ambiguous, but there should be no misconception as to Gale’s views on education. It is correct that, along with several people in Queanbeyan, Gale extolled Rev. Agnew, founder of the Free Church of England in opposition to Bishop Barker, in relation to a specific issue which was a matter of attention at the time, and he even assisted in a service Agnew conducted in Queanbeyan in 1864. However, while Gale was often inconsistent on any matter and his motives in certain actions seemed contradictory, he always maintained that the Bible and pulpit were the “only” genuine source of education. Gale was ferociously opposed to secular education, believing it incapable of imparting “moral” instruction, which he believed was the only “proper” education, and a “moral” education that Gale personally qualified in Old Testament Scriptural terms. From the founding of the *Golden Age* in 1860, Gale opposed the National System of education and in October, 1862, as Charles Cowper put a new Public Instruction Bill to the House, Gale wrote

For our own part we reject the Bill *in toto*, regarding it as nothing more than an old acquaintance with a new face; in plain words the present National system slightly modified; a system objectionable because ignoring [sic.] what we regard as the only basis of proper education - the religious element. Look with what care it specifies the hours for imparting “secular education;” and how studiously it avoids the remotest allusion to the inculcation of religious belief. What guarantee have we in the appointment of any eleven men, with such absolute power as is proposed to be given to these Commissioners that they will make any provision, not to say for systematic religious teaching, but even for the entrusting of the education of our youth to men of religious principle? Have we any guarantee that the Word of God, in whole or in part, shall be taught in these schools? that even the pastors of our youth shall have access to the lambs of their flock?

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 30 October 1862, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4274455>]

Including after Agnew’s visit in 1864, Gale frequently repeated his stance on “moral” education to the extent that he himself stated that his views on the topic were “well-known”...

...The Education of the young is a matter of anxiety to all who are interested in the future of these lands. In the present anomalous state of things there is as much fear of our lapsing into barbarism as there is hope of our keeping pace with the march of intellect. A system must be devised which will be calculated to grapple with the gigantic evil of ignorance - a system which while it provides for sound secular teaching must not overlook the religious element, which after all is the foundation and essence of education properly so called.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 8 December 1864, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30635328>]

In opposing William Forster’s election in 1874, Gale wrote of the man who wanted to remove state funding from denominational schools -

Will they of Queanbeyan at a time when a system of education which meets their views is imperilled, return as their representative the man who on the 23rd January in last year moved in the Assembly a resolution to withdraw all funds from Roman Catholic Denominational Schools? Will they return in Mr FORSTER a man who to-morrow, if he had the chance, would overturn the present system of education, and substitute a system of cold heathen philosophy for one which breathes the grand principles of our common Christianity?

-*Queanbeyan Age*, Wednesday 16 December 1874, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30597284>]

In 1895, Gale was still maintaining that “the pulpit” should be the “preeminent educator” (*Qbn Obs*, Fri 20 Sep 1895, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article240000674>]).

Gale wrote against Bishop Barker, cousin of Canberra C of E rector, Rev. Pierce Galliard Smith, on his opposition to Parkes’ 1866 *Public Schools Act* and savaged Rev. A. D. Soares for his comments against the same *Act*. However, Gale only supported the 1866 *Act* when its strictly secular form was abandoned to include a denominational component after massive opposition, including by Gale. Gale then acceded to the *Act*, probably under the guidance of influential men in the district, but helped eviscerate it by maintaining his opposition to removal of religious instruction in Public Schools. He sat on the Queanbeyan Public School Board, but his motive for that was probably to ‘keep his enemies closer’, a view borne out by the fact that his most conspicuous act in that role was to encourage the oppression of a teacher for making a speech outside school hours that the NSW Council of Education had little difficulty with and for which the local Board was denounced for its “narrow-minded bigotry”. Many years later, in 1886, he supported William Affleck in his stance when Affleck perceived the new District Board, of which Affleck was Secretary, to be superfluous and a waste of effort if it was not being taken seriously by the teachers or the Council of Education. That too, was not so much because he was in agreement with Affleck, who chastised Gale as being among those who rarely turned up to meetings, but because Affleck perceived the rejection of a recommendation by the Board as a “snubbing” (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 23 Dec 1886, p2).

Due to his religious conservatism Gale generally avoided discussion of scientifically controversial topics, such as evolution, which although the subject sweeping the world at the time, Gale made no mention of.

- c. No impression should be gained that Gale wrote in defence of liberal principles in general or was a champion of human rights. On several issues, Gale actively and explicitly fought against the introduction of liberal principles.

Subsequently, Gale made enemies of many people who could never be cast as ‘unprogressive’ or ‘evil’ for opposing him in his very contentious and religiously extremist views. To assume that any enemy of Gale’s was an enemy of humanity, is a dangerous misconception.

From the first editions of the *Golden Age* in the 1860’s, Gale waged campaigns for the harshest punishments possible, even for minor and first offences, and he opposed the abolition of the death penalty on the grounds that man not only had the power to take life but was *obligated* to in the name of God. In a model, although illogical and contentious, editorial of right-wing religious extremism, Gale not only invoked the Old Testament as justification for the death penalty, but even claimed that a case for it existed in the New Testament, based on a spurious invocation of Paul (*Qbn Age*, Thur 16 Apr 1863, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page4274545>]). Equating religion with the laws of the state, Gale emphasised his belief that punishment by death was not only an obligation, but that the Scriptures “*allow of no other mode of satisfaction*” (ibid.). The italics were Gale’s. He wrote specifically against that punishment was for deterrence, treatment or rehabilitation, a position he claimed statistics nullified, but that punishment should exist “for its own sake”. In other instances, he claimed education to be irrelevant and in certain cases, character irredeemable. In one instance when liberals got up movements to ban capital punishment, Gale sermonised not only that the death penalty should remain, but that it should be extended. At the time, the death penalty applied in cases of murder and rape, but Gale wanted to extend it to cases of highway robbery even where death did not occur, on the basis of mere assumption that it was “probably” intended (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 9 Apr 1863, p2).

Many years on, Gale claimed to have acted against the “harshness” of magistrates, that as a magistrate he had helped to reduce severity in sentencing, but it was Gale who had originally insisted that the harshest approach possible to crime was the only means by which it could be reduced and that anything else only encouraged it. He was opposed to mitigation in sentencing, including for first offenders, and savaged individual judges and the prosecution system for being supposedly ‘misguidedly’ lenient. While few would disagree that sentencing should be equivalent regardless of the status or background of an offender, Gale’s logic differed from the conventional wisdom in that he urged that first offenders should be treated more severely than repeat offenders and that “terror” should be invoked in the harshest manner possible to prevent re-offending (*Qbn Age*, Sat Jun 20 1868, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30578002>]). As late as 1882, when some boys heckled a Band of Hope meeting, he wanted them put to the lash (*Qbn Age*, Fri 5 May 1882, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30678287>]) and the next year he extolled the introduction of the *Criminal Law Amendment Act* that allowed application of the whip, even on children under ten in what Gale referred to as “the wholesome discipline of the lash” (*Qbn Age*, Tues 3 Jul 1883, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30788145>]).

In 1876, when James Kinsela, assistant-postmaster, was convicted of theft and sentenced to eighteen months hard labour in Goulburn jail, Gale wrote a furious article against the judge for the supposedly ‘lenient’ sentence, stating he knew more about the case and about Kinsela than the judge. When although recognising his guilt, friends, who Gale thought of as ‘misguided do-gooders’, attempted to mitigate on Kinsela’s behalf due to a sad decline in his mental health into gambling and alcoholism following difficult personal circumstances, Gale claimed alcohol abuse to be an “aggravating” rather than a “mitigating” factor and as such his “dissipated life”, as referred to by Gale, should have impacted on the judge’s perception of the case (*Qbn Age*, Sat 5 Feb 1876, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30600112>]).

In instances when Gale inconsistently altered his hard-line stance on either mitigation or punishment, his grounds were equally conservative or his objectivity was questionable. His contradictory position on more serious crimes was conspicuous. In a rape case tried in Bathurst only a few months after he was slathering a judge for Kinsela’s supposedly ‘lenient’ sentence of eighteen months’ hard labour for theft, Gale slathered a separate judge for not letting two men off a rape conviction. In May, 1876, Gale in Queanbeyan, commenting solely on reports of the case as it appeared in the Bathurst papers, devoted an editorial to pleading on behalf of two men convicted of rape and sentenced to death on standard conservative grounds, starting with a dismissal of the victim as a person of ‘low moral character’, according to Gale, for being in a hotel unescorted by her husband or friends, with Gale taking it upon himself to accuse her of prostitution, and stating that while the victim being a person of ‘low character’ did not excuse rape, it brought doubt on the credibility of her testimony (*Qbn Age*, Wed 17 May 1876, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30600878>]). He accused a motive for what he adjudicated, as opposed to Justice Faucett, whose judgement he dismissed as “slovenly”, was obvious - that the victim had concocted the story to cover infidelity, illogical as that was, Gale having also claimed that the victim had supposedly admitted to freely ‘putting it about’, in which case she would not have had to conceal it from her husband.

Although to the glad surprise of William Affleck, Gale claimed he supported Sir Alfred Stephen’s *Divorce Bill*, while many criticised O’Sullivan’s bigotry and absurd claims, Gale obviously did not think the matter important enough to deter him from keeping in power the man who personally and almost single-handedly prevented passage of the Bill in all its forms over many years from 1886, including into the 1890s, when Nield took up the Bill on Stephen’s behalf, by strategic measures such as delaying tactics and on such grounds that Australia may

end up like the United States, peopled with “semi-idiot” and “imbeciles”, apparently, due to the incest that would supposedly result, or France, where apparently adultery was “rife” in “married circles”! While much of O’Sullivan’s motive was religion, he stated he was opposing the *Divorce Bill* for the sake of women as much as his religious convictions, claiming that divorced women were supposedly only good for prostitution, as apparently ‘no man would want another man’s leavings’. Although O’Sullivan was denounced as a bigot and a fake “democrat”, as he so falsely styled himself, for his extremist and absurd statements on the topic, including by Sir Alfred Stephen himself, Gale, ever selective in the political material he reported, printed O’Sullivan’s 1886 speech in parliament on the *Divorce Bill* in full, without comment.

Qbn Age, Thurs 19 August 1886, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30792638>]

Qbn Age, Sat 28 August 1886, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30792764>]

SMH, Thurs 13 August 1891, p7 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13834751>]

Glbld Hld, Mon 17 August 1891, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-page9459897>]

SMH, Tues 8 Sep 1891, p7 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13838013>]

SMH, Wed 9 September 1891, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13838059>]

Mtld Merc, Thurs 10 Sep 1891, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article19000807>]

SMH, Tues 9 Feb 1892, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13862190>]

Despite Gale’s prolific sermonising against mitigation in sentencing and that the death penalty was absolute, in direct contradiction of the stance against Kinsela, when Gale claimed that drinking was an aggravating rather than a mitigating factor, when in 1903, his son, Charles Augustus Gale, then editor of the *Queanbeyan Observer*, shot his wife dead in a drunken rage in an open and shut case and was sentenced to death for murder, the *Age*, now back in the hands of another of Gale’s sons, Wilfred Ernest Gale, being conducted with much guidance from John Gale, claimed the case “may not be entertained with any seriousness” (*Qbn Age*, Fri 16 Oct 1903, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31095640>]). In that instance defence was made that being drunk constituted grounds for a “temporary insanity” plea and therefore the case should be dismissed in entirety or reduced to manslaughter (*Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Tues 20 Oct 1903, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98770520>]). When a Goulburn jury found C. A. Gale guilty and the judge passed the death sentence, a petition for mercy was circulated for which John Gale personally thanked the signatories (*GEPP*, Tues 20 Oct 1903, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98762139>]; *Burrowa News*, Fri 23 Oct 1903, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article101568281>]); *Qbn Age*, Fri 6 Nov 1903, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31095777>]; *Hillston Spectator*, Fri 13 Nov 1903, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article131320324>]).

On race, Gale, the *Age* and the *Observer*, after it changed hands from the O’Neills in November, 1894, to Gale/Fallick management, were particularly conservative. As early as 1861 Gale believed that the solution to the anti-Chinese riots at Lambing Flat was exclusion and segregation – exclusion of Chinese entering Australia and segregation of existing Chinese from British society (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 11 Jul 1861, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30631537>]). Even in the early 1900s, the Gale/Fallicks’ *Observer* was fiercely advocating protectionist race-based immigration restriction into Australia and in 1903 it reproduced an article blaming immigrants from southern France and northern Italy for issues in London and extending the prejudice to explicit anti-semitism. This was even opposed to E. W. O’Sullivan who, for his extreme racism, was never anti-semitic. O’Sullivan was actively supportive of the Jewish community in Sydney and despite being a devoted Catholic, O’Sullivan always spoke out against historical and modern persecution of Jewish people (*Truth*, Sun 28 Feb 1897, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article169751123>]).

- d. Gale intentionally avoided topics that could be controversial. While the subject of evolution was sweeping the world as a subject of discussion and debate, Gale avoided the topic in entirety other than to print an article by the charlatan, Thomas Guthrie Carr, of whom Gale was a devotee, who rhetoricised that the topic was best left avoided by religious men (*Qbn Age*, Sat 18 Jan 1879, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30674886>]). [The “mesmerist”, T. G. Carr, wrote for the *Age* under the non-de-plume, “Northumberland”.] In the 1860s, Gale had objected to Abraham Levy for referring to persecution in a lecture on Jewish history, saying that such topics were best left unmentioned so as not to make people feel ‘uncomfortable’.
- e. A depiction of Gale as a leader of commercial progress in the district is questionable. While he sometimes supported agriculture and mining to maintain a commercial base for newspaper subscription, Gale was generally opposed to technological and associated commercial progress. While famous wheat experimentalist, William Farrer, was enjoying an international reputation for his government-funded research at “Lambrigg”, Tharwa, the *Age* made no reference to him until after his death in 1906. When George Tomsitt tried to introduce electric lighting to Queanbeyan, Gale savaged what he called “Tomsitt’s electricity fad”. During the glorious Victorian age of innovation and scientific progress, which in Australia was pronounced, due to his religious conservatism Gale avoided reference to many innovations, including those that were associated with commercial progress.

- f. As a newspaper proprietor, Gale was unapologetically biased and never merely a conduit for the news. He believed that the purpose of a newspaper was to make the news, not merely to report it, and he credited himself with many eventualities that he claimed had taken place solely due to him. He himself laid claim to his biases, for which frequently it was Gale who was criticised or brought to account for acting as a potentate and abusing media privilege. Lea-Scarlett does not qualify his comments with specific details, but often it was Gale who saw himself as the 'big man', for which he made no apologies, frequently contending that he had a greater right than others to 'impose' his views, merely because he was a newspaper proprietor.

The power we wield is infinitely greater than that of a private citizen, and we should take eternal shame to ourselves, if we did not use it in the furtherance of what we believe to be the people's cause.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wed 17 Nov 1880, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30677826>]

"Conflict of interest" didn't concern Gale. In the election referred to in the above example, he himself seconded the nomination of J. B. Thompson. In another instance he specifically abused a correspondent for "*daring* to question a newspaper editor". Gale's arrogance brought him up against a lot of people with substantial reputations on much more dubious authority. In one instance he stated he was a better judge of where to site a town than the government. While one of the functions of a newspaper is to question, Gale rarely raised queries in relation to events or issues, but flagrantly abused individual judges, police officers, doctors, surveyors and other newspaper editors as 'idiots', "ignorant", "misguided" or experiencing 'lapses of judgement' merely because he disagreed with them on the basis of his own supposed innate superiority, even when this was on questionable authority, i. e. in opposing the judgements of others Gale rarely invoked or cited the observations of similarly qualified people as those he was disagreeing with but took it upon himself to do so on his own authority, without any equivalent or higher education, experience or background.

Misinformation about events and individuals appeared in the *Age* for which Gale was often criticised by his peers, but for which he also rarely apologised. Although Lea-Scarlett does not specify the 'exposés' he refers to, it should be noted that Gale's treatment of individuals was often viewed as persecution by the broader press and members of the public and incorrect information was frequently noted, but Lea-Scarlett provides no reference to that. Gale's assaults on individuals, often in florid rhetoric, claiming to be representing the 'righteous' path, at times as spontaneous outbursts of temper and at others characterised as sustained onslaughts, was rarely reasoned or objective and were of such offence other newspapers refused to print them. Gale rarely took criticism well and he responded to it with what came to be characteristic excess. After William Forster dismissed the *Age* as irrelevant in 1860, Gale exercised a determined crusade against him over many years, claiming to have single-handedly unseated him and kept him out, for which in 1874 he was accused of exploiting the fourth estate to influence an election. When another paper preferred to take its Queanbeyan news from the *Times* instead of the *Age*, Gale attacked it with a ferocity that forced the paper's editor to publicly respond.

Gale also did not always apologise for incorrect information that was printed in the *Age*. His righteous approach, he believed, justified his actions or he entered into illogical explanations or called everyone else "liars". In the case of Sen-const Thomas Moran he defended the decision to print incorrect information about a drunken mail-coach prank on the basis that it 'may' have been true, claiming the witnesses, who were under no obligation to talk to him at all, had given him different accounts than when in court under oath and apparently neglected to tell him that Moran had merely ridden up to meet the mail as he usually did. He also incorrectly stated that Moran's inebriety had been affirmed in court by two witnesses, when the witnesses had made no such comment about Moran, but had stated it was another person who was drunk (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 8 Dec 1864, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30635344>]). In 1879, he accused former Government astronomer, Rev. Scott, of lying when Scott corrected him in relation to larrikinism at a Band of Hope meeting (*Qbn Age*, Wed 9 Jul 1879, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30675970>]), while also contradicting his own and the *Age*'s frequently stated hard-line position on larrikinism in a noticeably sudden reversal (*Qbn Age*, Sat Jun 21 1879, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30675881>]). When criticised for bias or impropriety, Gale would sometimes indignantly deny an accusation only to then boast it at some other time. For example, in supporting J. J. Wright and opposing William Forster in the 1874 NSW parliamentary election, Gale wrote

...we should be wanting in our duty if we did not use what influence we possess in endeavouring to secure the return of the fittest representative and deter from deceiving and betraying the electors those whom we have every just reason to suspect as enemies and traitors of the people's cause...as in the tactics of war, so in these of political elections to underrate the power of the foe, and to treat otherwise than as strong those who may be weak in resources, is a folly which no sagacious general would perpetrate. And we repeat, therefore, that we should betray the trust reposed in us if we did not on this momentous occasion endeavour to guide the electors of this district in the selection of a worthy and faithful man to represent them...

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Saturday 19 December 1874, p2

What Gale called "guidance" others saw as manipulation of the fourth estate to influence an election, the accusation of which at the declaration of the polls, despite his overt statements in print, Gale denied with great offence, claiming to be always unbiased, but at a hospital meeting some years later when J. J. Wright accused Gale as Treasurer of being "loose and lax" with the accounts, Gale blurted that everyone knew to whom Wright owed his election in 1874 and this is how Wright repaid him! Gale often maintained his right to be biased, while

simultaneously denying accusations of bias, but repeating his original claims and re-directing the accusations of bias to supposed 'persecution', in 1880 stating

IN times of political contest this journal has invariably advocated with no uncertain sound what it has conscientiously believed to be for the good of its constituents and for the welfare of the colony; and it has the satisfaction of looking back over a period of upwards of twenty years to find that the cause it has advocated has invariably been triumphant. It has never flinched from its duty, though its discharge has brought hatred and persecution upon its conductors.

- *Queanbeyan Age*, Wed 17 Nov 1880, p2

Gale was at times criticised as a bigot and for fanning the flames of sectarian discord and many of the disputes that pervaded Queanbeyan from the 1860s were started by Gale himself or he was the cause of them or played a significant role in them, such as the oppression of school teacher, W. T. Holland, in 1875, when he claimed that a teacher's out-of-school activities were subject to censure by the local Board. Lea-Scarlett's reference to factionalism in the town is absurd given that for nearly two decades from the mid-1880s the town and district were definitively split in two by the division between protection and free trade, a division with profound social and cultural repercussions that was largely led by Gale and the *Age*, but to which Lea-Scarlett makes no reference. Far from being 'aloof' from factions in the town, Gale boasted that he himself led many of them. The "fierce displeasure" Lea-Scarlett refers to as Gale "earning" for himself for supposed out-spokenness, is accurately reflective of how Gale saw himself, but to echo that is to go against not the criticism of "competing factions" within Queanbeyan, but the larger body of broader New South Wales and Australia who opposed and criticised Gale for his extremist views and politics, with much of that criticism coming from the leading social, moral and intellectual thrust of NSW and Australia, and politically, from the trades unions and the Labour Party, as much as from Free Trade supporters.

What Lea-Scarlett refers to as "fierce displeasure" from "competing factions" in supposedly 'uncivic-minded' Queanbeyan, was reasonable and humanitarian criticism of Gale in Queanbeyan and in broader NSW and Australia for unreliability in his reportage, personal prejudice, religious extremism and political bias, much of which was affirmed by Gale himself. Many people disagreed with Gale's position on capital punishment, including due to the potential for the execution of innocent parties (*Gldn Age*, Thurs 23 April 1863, p3 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30633545>) and on other grounds. The principal Presbyterians in the district, the Afflecks, fought against capital punishment for decades and in this the Afflecks and Gale were completely opposed. A series of letters by Arthur Affleck arguing against the death penalty were produced in Parkes' former newspaper, then Bennett's *Sydney Empire* from 1860, and his son, William, sat with fellow MP, Haynes, in Parliament trying to have abolition bills passed for many years, while Gale called such people 'mindless' or 'ignorant do-gooders'. The O'Neills protected the Chinese from persecution and their newspapers embraced diversity, while the *Age* denounced the Chinese as "the yellow agony" and the first peoples as "wild savages". In 1903, the *Observer*, in Gale-Fallick hands since November 1, 1894, was still expounding exclusivist protection, even extending its prejudice to anti-semitism. Even though Gale called the people who opposed his views as 'immoral', 'stupid' and 'uneducated idiots', that perspective requires much qualification in being echoed.

Gale came up against many journalists and newspaper editors for incorrect reportage, whose criticism and even polite advice for correction or retraction he dismissed with arrogance or abuse. Gale slathered his rival, the *Queanbeyan Times*, from 1879 with a prejudice that soon wearied the external press and his unreliability and later that he was merely a mouthpiece for O'Sullivan and the politics of protection led to papers outside Queanbeyan rejecting the *Age* as a news source in entirety, preferring to obtain their Queanbeyan news from the *Times* as it enjoyed a reputation for journalistic ethics and the paper provided a voice for the politics of Free Trade/Labour determinedly denied by the *Age*. The *Times* emerged as the voice of balance in Queanbeyan, and, therefore, in the interests of impartiality and as a paper for free trade, as opposed to the *Age* which existed solely for the purpose of protection, it was the preferred source for papers outside Queanbeyan.

From the mid-1880s, the *Age* gained a reputation as existing for the sole purpose of "trumpeting" O'Sullivan and protection. However, outside of Gale and O'Sullivan's Queanbeyan enclave, NSW was generally Free Trade/Labour, the forces O'Sullivan and the *Age*, whether under Gale or not, were fiercely opposed to and the *Age*'s political commentaries on protection and free trade were contentious and even considered ridiculous. The *Age* gives little idea of anyone else's views and no reliable information as to the leading political theory in NSW and under which it was generally governed. Therefore, for information about the politics of NSW and Australia and a broader perspective, it is necessary to look elsewhere, both for balance and historical information. Generalisation about NSW politics on the basis of the *Age*/O'Sullivan's propagandising of protection gives rise to a very affected perception of the political history of New South Wales and Australia and it is necessary to access the broader sources to obtain both a more generally balanced view and any information about Free Trade and Labour principles.

Gale claimed full responsibility for being the sole brain behind the *Age* in his thirty year leadership of it from 1860 and when proprietorship changed in 1891, in Gale's last editorial for the *Age* in June, 1891, when, following his bankruptcy, the paper passed into the hands of Dunlop, Skelton and Cox, with his typical egotism, he headlined

his own "Valedictory" to himself as "The King is Dead! Long Live the King!" (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 27 Jun 1891, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31164060>])).

Gale is not a reliable source of information about himself and his claim in that editorial as to being in the editor's chair throughout the paper's history is not quite accurate. For some of the time from July, 1887 to August, 1889, when the *Age* was in his son, Arthur Hamlyn Gale's name, the paper was being edited by Ernest A. James (*Evening News*, Thur 13 Sep 1888, p5 & *GEPP*, Thur 30 Aug 1888, p4), even if James was in Nowra by February, 1889. From May to July in 1888, notices were posted in the *Age* that Gale disclaimed all association with the paper during that time. In mid-1887 Gale invested in the *Manly Spectator* with Harold Stephen. The *Age* transferred from "John Gale" to "A. H. Gale" from 6 July 1887 to 3 August 1889, but by 7 August 1889, the *Age* was back in the hands of "Gale and Co." However, while Gale's claim in his 1891 editorial is an inflation, it was generally understood that Gale was, for the main, the man in charge when any paper was in his or his family's name, being why it was necessary for Gale to post notices in 1888 to disclaim association with the editorial position of the paper at that time. Although the *Junee Democrat* was in his sons' name due to Gale's bankruptcy, it was believed that Gale was in charge, and in 1904, when the *Age* was in the hands of his son, Wilfred Ernest Gale, with James Knox, issues over conflict of interest arose in relation to his position as Electoral Returning Officer due to his association with the paper and its support for the Liberal Reform candidate in the NSW parliamentary election.

In terms of longevity, Gale was an exception and in this his claims about himself are very nearly true. Gale lived to be nearly one hundred and almost right up until his death he was still managing and writing for "his" newspapers and until the age of 97, he was still the Coroner for Queanbeyan. This incredible fact did not go unnoticed, and in 1928, he heard his last case and resigned from that position on the grounds of failing eyesight. He continued writing for "his" paper however, until he died the next year and it was considered that his claim to be the oldest living journalist in Australia was probably true. However, in his latter years, while Gale's claim to being one of the oldest living journalists was true, much other information he states about himself, his newspapers and of events in history, was not, and this misinformation has been the source of much confusion in Australia's history for decades.

38. Whatever one's position in relation to Gale and his politics or position on any issue, Lea-Scarlett's accounts provide no balance. Not only does Lea-Scarlett not qualify his accounts, i.e. specify who or what incidents he is referring to, barely in Lea-Scarlett's narratives is the 'other side' mentioned or general context conveyed. Lea-Scarlett's unbalanced approach to Gale is illustrated in his notes to the memoirs of long-time Queanbeyan resident, Public School teacher, Edith May Walker. Lea-Scarlett recorded Ms. Walker's oral history, which he printed in 1977, two years after her death in 1975 (Walker, E. M. L. (Edith May Leonard) & Queanbeyan and District Historical Museum Society (1977). *Ninety years in Queanbeyan : recollections of E.M.L. Walker*. Queanbeyan & District Historical Museum Society, Queanbeyan, N.S.W.)

Ms. Walker's observation of (p19) Gale was that he was a bore.

John Gale, the Fallicks' grandfather, was a very popular Methodist in our town's early days, but when I was old enough to criticize anyone's sermons I used to be bored stiff by him. He nearly always preached about the moon and stars. [SEE NOTE 13].

Lea-Scarlett has editorialised Ms Walker's personal first-hand observation with reference to another former resident, Emily Hutchison, who wrote of Gale several decades earlier. Lea-Scarlett's "NOTE 13" reads

The subjects of John Gale's sermons did not bore everybody. In 1860 Mrs Emily Hutchison wrote of him as "fearlessly faithful.... not good looking but when animated.... a heavenly light upon his countenance".

No such equivalent qualification is evident in Lea-Scarlett's editorship of Ms Hutchison's letters and his representation of Ms. Hutchison's letters is uncritical. Ms. Hutchison's letters are interesting, but much discretion is necessary in evaluating the information contained in them as they contain factual errors and her expressions, being very personal and subjective, are inappropriate as historical narrative if taken at face value. For example, Ms. Hutchison's accounts of Gale are superficial and imply infatuation - in one letter she expressly states her regret at not having married his like. Ms. Walker's *Memoirs*, however, written by a very experienced teacher, are an excellent source of information and generally more reliable - it is an editorial note by Lea-Scarlett that contains a factual error. Ms. Walker states that James Dunlop, Headmaster at the Public School, was a "bully", who she claims hounded her brother out of a position at the school and she refers to other incidents involving him.

The earliest Methodist minister I remember was Rev. Ebenezer Fox, I think. I can faintly remember Mr Hall, too, who was here before Mr Fox. Mr Fox was a clever man with a clever family, but they fell out with Dunlop and Mr Fox got up a petition to have Dunlop removed from the school, I think because Dunlop was cruel to some of the Fox family (SEE NOTE 12).

Lea-Scarlett's editorial "NOTE 12" states

Rev. E. Fox was stationed in Queanbeyan in 1893 and 1894.

Lea-Scarlett's note is incorrect. Rev. Fox was in Queanbeyan from April, 1893, to April, 1896, and this is significant due to events that took place during that time.

Ms. Walker's observations correlate with official records relating to James Dunlop and Rev. Fox and give a different impression of Dunlop than that stated by Lea-Scarlett in *D & P* in relation to what he refers to as the "1891" School of Arts, where he refers to Dunlop as a major reason for the supposed "success" of the 1891 school, which he also attributes to a greater presence of "protectionists". (This association is somewhat obscure. While Lea-Scarlett does not mention it, James Dunlop's brother, Alex, was at one time co-proprietor of the protectionist *Queanbeyan Age*. However, school teachers, generally, were required to be apolitical and there is no indication that Dunlop publicly contravened that requirement). Nevertheless, in reality, also not mentioned by Lea-Scarlett is that James Dunlop had been appointed to Queanbeyan after a mediocre career in the education department from 1875, teaching briefly in Sydney, Clairevaux and Blackfriars, where he failed to gain promotion to Class IIB in 1882. From Blackfriars he was appointed to Queanbeyan in 1887, which gained Superior Public School status in 1890. However, in the same year, Dunlop was cautioned for cruelty in his treatment of a student at the school, while at the same time he failed his examination for promotion to Class 1B level. The note by the Council of Education in his teacher roll states

Informed that the punishment inflicted on John Smith on 28.8.90 was severe and that he did not exercise good judgement as to its amount in relation to the offense, or as to the mode of administering it. Cautioned as for the necessity for giving strict attention to the Department's Regulations on the matter of Corporal Punishment.

In 1895, complaint was made by Rev. Fox in relation to punishment inflicted on a child and on July 31, Dunlop was again "cautioned as to his conduct in future" by the Council of Education. In August, 1895, Dunlop helped himself to a child's bank money to cover a debt by his mother. On this matter the Council of Education's note of August 2, 1895, was

In connection with action of detaining bank money of pupil in order to discharge his mother's debt the Minister approved of the following Minute "Mr Dunlop had neither the legal nor moral right to keep any portion of the bank money." When the money was withdrawn from the bank, Mr Dunlop's duty was to hand it over to the child in whose name it had been paid in, and to obtain a receipt from that child. To claim 2/6 of that amount to discharge a debt due by the mother cannot, in my opinion, be regarded in any other light than as a misappropriation of trust money and therefore necessary of severe censure.

The result of the petition against Dunlop that Ms. Walker refers to was an Education Department investigation in August, 1895. At that time, Dunlop survived in his position, but in April, 1896, another note was made by the Council of Education that Dunlop had "acted improperly in sending pupil Fox out of school while he was punishing a pupil" and at that point, Dunlop was transferred from Queanbeyan as Principal to a position as teacher at Kiama.

Despite throughout *D & P* and *Distaff*, freely invoking or inventing dirt on many others, Lea-Scarlett makes no mention of these significant facts surrounding Dunlop at Queanbeyan, who he instead refers to in heroic terms in relation to the School of Arts.

Major events had also taken place in 1893 and 1894 in relation to Rev. William Hesselstine Hall, after E. W. O'Sullivan performed poorly in a debate with Hall on the land tax, which Hall supported and O'Sullivan opposed. However, nowhere in *D & P* does Lea-Scarlett make mention of those events, which also were significant in the history of the district.

39. In the *ADB* there is more balance in Lea-Scarlett's entry about Gale, where his brief, ineffective two year term as MP for Murrumbidgee is more accurately assessed, as is his credibility as an historian, where Gale's absurd claim to have discovered Lake George in 1812 is noted. However, errors exist in the entry for Gale in the *ADB* also. The entry states

Gale...started the *Golden Age and General Advertiser*; after 1864 it was named the *Queanbeyan Age and Recorder*...

...became secretary of the Free Selectors' Association...

...In February 1887 Gale was elected for the Murrumbidgee. He was not prominent in parliament and some free selectors complained that he neglected their interests; in 1889 he did not seek re-election. On entering parliament he had sold the *Queanbeyan Age* to four of his children and in April 1887 invested £3000 in the *Manly Spectator* which he founded with Harold Stephen as his partner. Stephen so mismanaged the funds that Gale became bankrupt in March 1890. He returned briefly to Queanbeyan before going to Junee where he established the *Democrat* and remained until 1894 when he became editor of the *Queanbeyan Observer*, owned by his son-in-law, Edward Henry Fallick.

- a. Gale did not sell the *Age* on entering parliament. Gale did establish the *Spectator* in partnership with Harold Stephen in May, 1887, but his name was on the imprint of the *Age* until July 6, 1887, when his son, Arthur Hamlyn Gale's, name appeared until the paper resumed as "Gale & Sons" on August 3, 1889.
- b. Gale resided in Queanbeyan throughout his term as MP for Murrumbidgee from 1887 to 1889. He only went to Wagga Wagga to contest the election and to be present for the declaration of the poll in February. Days later, at a banquet in Queanbeyan on March 2, 1887, Gale professed to be a "political bigamist" and promised to do service to both his "wives" of Queanbeyan and the Murrumbidgee (*GEPP*, Sat 5 Mar 1887, p6). However, Gale was fully active in Queanbeyan throughout his term as the Member for Murrumbidgee, including as an Alderman on the Queanbeyan Council, during which time he attended most Council meetings (*Council Minutes*; *Qbn Age*, Sat 4 Feb 1888, p2), as a magistrate, leader of local temperance societies, President of the Queanbeyan Lands and Roads Association (*Qbn Age*, Wed 2 May 1888, p3) and initially as editor and proprietor of the *Age* until July, 1887 (*ATCJ*, Sat 7 May 1887, p15 & *Qbn Age*, 6 July 1887, p4). The paper was then briefly in A. H. Gale's name with Ernest A. James, formerly of Nowra, as editor. Gale had resumed editorship of the *Age* before January, 1889, by which time James had returned to Nowra.
- c. While technically not formally standing as a candidate, initially, Gale did seek re-election for Murrumbidgee in January, 1889, but was hooted from the stage.

With respect to Mr. John Gale, of Queanbeyan, he has not visited his constituents since he was elected two years ago. In fact, Murrumbidgee really had only two members. - *Evening News*, Monday 21 January 1889, p6

Mr. John Gale, one of the late members of the Murrumbidgee, attempted to address the gathering after Mr. Gormly's meeting, but the people filed out, hooting Mr. Gale all the while and upbraiding him for not having visited the electorate since he was returned two years ago. As the gas was turned out, Mr. Gale left the building. - *Braidwood Dispatch*, Sat 26 Jan 1889, p2

Mr. Gale, late member for the Murrumbidgee, then mounted the platform, and was received with derisive cheers and hooting. The gas was turned out, and no hearing was allowed Mr. Gale. - *Sydney Morning Herald*, Wednesday 23 January 1889, p10

On his partner, Harold Stephen's, death in 1889, Gale originally announced his intention to stand as a "thorough Protectionist" for Stephen's seat of Monaro in the corresponding by-election (*SMH*, Thur 5 Dec 1889, p8). Four Protectionists drew a ballot to decide the candidate (*ibid.* & *Newcastle Hld*, Fri 6 Dec 1889, p6). Gale won the ballot, however, following "strong manifestations of disapproval from several influential quarters" (*SMH*, Fri 6 Dec 1889, p5), Gale withdrew and G. T. C. Miller gained the seat for Protection.

- d. Following his bankruptcy in 1890, Gale was only briefly in Junee from mid-1891, for about two years. He wrote his last editorial for the *Age* on June 27, 1891, with ownership of the paper then changing hands to George Skelton, Alexander Dunlop and Theophilus Cox. Gale moved to Junee at that time and by August 1, the first issue of the *Democrat* was produced by Gale and his sons. However, through a sympathetic auctioneer, Gale had been able to keep his house in Queanbeyan and he was then fully active again in Queanbeyan long before ownership of the *Observer* changed hands from the O'Neill family to Gale's son-in-law, Edward H. Fallick, on November 1, 1894. By mid-1893, Gale was sitting on the local Bench and in December, 1893, he was appointed Electoral Registrar for Queanbeyan (*Glb Hld*, Mon 1 Jan 1894, p2).
- e. It should be noted that Fallick's proprietorship of the *Observer* was in name only, with Gale declaring the paper was "Edited and Conducted by JOHN GALE" from the first issue following the change in ownership, also stating that it was now a politically protectionist organ as opposed to its former free trade/labour leaning.
- f. The name of the paper after 1864 was *Queanbeyan Age and General Advertiser*, not *Queanbeyan Age and Recorder*.

In *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett cites R. J. S. Fallick's *The Centenary of the Queanbeyan Age* as one of his sources. It may be that these errors partly originate from this source, where on p3 Fallick states

Then there was no payment of members, and, after the one term, Mr Gale refused to seek re-election, as he was obliged to look after his own affairs. A business venture with a partner involved him in heavy financial loss. Settling this brought about the sale of the Queanbeyan Age in 1891, and Mr Gale transferred to Junee where the *Democrat* was launched.

and then on p4

Mr John Gale returned to Queanbeyan in 1894 to edit the *Observer* and did so until his retirement in 1903.

- g. Lea-Scarlett does not specify which FSA of which Gale was Secretary, but it was not the Queanbeyan FSA. William Gregg O'Neill was the very well-known Secretary of the Queanbeyan FSA from its establishment in 1867 until his death in 1886 and the recognised most active representative for free selection, alongside William Affleck. Gale's only active involvement was with the distinctive Ginninderra Association during the roads and fencing disputes of the 1880s, when he was a vocal agitator, but then due to personal motive and

protectionist political bias, a very different situation from representing free selector interests, specifically, which the *ADB* depiction correctly recognises he was weak at.

N.B. I have appraised those maintaining the *ADB* website of errors in that article.

It is also worth noting that despite the more balanced depiction of Gale in the *ADB*, in *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett's attitude to Gale reprises that in *D&P*. Lea-Scarlett introduces Gale and O'Sullivan into *Gundaroo* with an accentuation that is not matched by the entire omission of very significant others from the history of Queanbeyan. In *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett omits all reference to Arthur and William Afflecks' pivotal role in the politics of Queanbeyan from the 1850s and makes a striking error in stating that William Affleck only became 'practically' involved in elections in 1874. He also downplays William Affleck's standing and significance as a politician by stating that O'Sullivan was the representative for the Queanbeyan district, while not stating that during the first five years of Affleck's term in parliament as the Member for neighbouring Yass, Affleck was in government while O'Sullivan and the Protectionists were in opposition, during which time George Reid's Ministry, supported by the Labour Party, introduced some of the most important reforms, including the *1895 Land and Income Tax Assessment Act*, when fiscally, protection was defeated and for the first time in NSW, people were taxed according to wealth.

40. Page 50 (*D&P*). Of the origins of the Presbyterian Church in Queanbeyan Lea-Scarlett writes

The Presbyterians were a bit slower to organise. The first services in the district were held by Rev William Hamilton from Goulburn in 1838, but services remained dependent on occasional visits from Goulburn, Yass, or Braidwood until March 1861, when Rev. A Pennycuik of Braidwood, began regular monthly services at Queanbeyan courthouse and St Johns School, Canberra. The following December, the local Presbyterians, led by Dr Andrew Morton, met in William Hunt's 'Elmsall' and determined to construct a church of their own on the land reserved for them on Morrisett Street. A subscription list was started and donations came in but not quickly enough. A Minister needed £150 per annum as well as expenses and the rental of a cottage. Even when the money could be found an applicant was wanting. One Minister declined the invitation and went instead to the Lachlan goldfields. At length W. F. Reid was appointed and commenced his work with a service at the courthouse on 3 August, 1862.

This is not so much a matter of error as omissions and neglect of the unity of the Queanbeyan and Gundaroo charge. Services were held in Gundaroo from the 1850s. These were held for the entire district, with advertisements for services appearing in the *Age*, and the Presbyterian Church in Gundaroo, built by William Affleck, was the first Presbyterian Church to be erected in the district when completed in 1864. Throughout the Presbyterians' history in the 19th century, the minister for Queanbeyan was also the minister for Gundaroo and most management decisions, including at Queanbeyan and at St Stephen's when erected in Queanbeyan in 1872, were led by, initially, Dr Morton, Arthur Affleck and J. J. Wright, and then increasingly by Arthur Affleck, William Affleck and John Gale, including the calls to Rev. Martin and later to the universally praised Revs. G. L. Nairn and R. A. Steel.

A more complete account comes from the Presbyterian Church historian, White, who in 1951 wrote

QUEANBEYAN: ST STEPHEN'S

It is not clear when the first service was conducted in Queanbeyan, but the Rev. W. Hamilton, who conducted the first service at Limestone (Canberra) in June 1839, covered the whole district including Braidwood before that date, and we may be sure that Queanbeyan was not overlooked. It was not until 1844, however, that Queanbeyan is specifically named. It can be said in a general way that up to the early fifties Queanbeyan received attention from Ministers of neighbouring Charges, including the Revs W. Ross and S. F. MacKenzie of Goulburn, William Ritchie of Yass and A. S. Pennycook of Braidwood. The real beginning of the Charge came from the Gundaroo end, and for some years the Charge was known as "Queanbeyan and Gundaroo". The inspiring and driving force at Gundaroo was the Affleck family, who came to the district in 1855. Mr Arthur Affleck, the head of the family, was for many years an Elder and he contributed largely to the erection of the Gundaroo Church and was a most loyal supporter of the Charge. His son, Mr William Affleck, was Member of Parliament for the district for a number of years, and a well-known figure in the General Assembly for many years; dour and uncompromising, but faithful and true, respected by everybody, including those who may have smarted under his forthright speaking. He made provision by which the church at Gundaroo received £50 per annum under his will. By 1860 Dr Lang succeeded in having the Rev. William Ferguson Reid directed to that area. Mr Reid was a son of the Rev. John Reid and a brother of Sir George Reid. The earliest services were conducted in a storeroom owned by Mr Affleck, and the arrangements were primitive. In the year 1864 the present church was opened by the Rev. James Martin who had recently been settled, and who on this happy occasion deputized for Dr Lang. In Queanbeyan services were carried on in the Court House but in 1866 the financial position was rather critical and in 1867 Mr Martin resigned. In 1870 and 1871, the Rev. W. McKenzie was Minister of Queanbeyan; then for another period of years the Charge was vacant, and for some time was linked for working purposes with Yass.

— Rev. C. A. White, *The Challenge of the Years: A History of the Presbyterian Church in the State of New South Wales*, Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1951.

41. Pages 140 to 143 (*D & P*) Dispute between J. J. Wright and William Gregg O'Neill in 1870/71.

Lea-Scarlett's depiction of the relationships between the leading figures of the district, including John Gale, W. G. O'Neill, J. J. Wright, William Affleck and the De Salis' is a significant issue in *D & P* and *Gundaroo*, too complicated to address superficially. However, one notable example is Lea-Scarlett's account of the relationship between William Gregg O'Neill and J. J. Wright. Lea-Scarlett states that on O'Neill's return in 1866 it was "fast becoming impossible for the two to co-operate", that a "truce" was called for the 1869 election and that after the 1869 election "the paths of Wright and O'Neill separated completely." He goes on to say

...There followed a long series of public scenes involving the tempestuous Wright. Complaints about his behaviour lasted through the whole of 1870.¹⁵ James Schofield and John Allen O'Neill were the originators of the first complaint, urging that his commission as magistrate should be reviewed. The charges were flimsy and some were patently reports of idle gossip. While they were still being dealt with in Sydney, Wright and O'Neill appeared in court as a result of a scuffle that occurred between them at the Elmsall Inn. The government refused to consider the charges that had been made by Schofield and O'Neill, and then another complaint was made, this time by Joseph Breen, son of Wright's old friend, the late landlord of the "Harp". Breen alleged unbecoming behaviour and requested, in effect, Wright's dismissal. The accused man's reply was penetrating and convincing. He accused William Greg O'Neill of being the real instigator of all of the charges. His defence bristles with indignation at the machinations of his adversaries.

It was an Irish shindy that embroiled a whole town and poisoned local politics. Each of the principles had stung the others' pride. When the authorities in Sydney wisely let the matter drop it still continued in Queanbeyan, switching to family matters, which had been an aggravating cause, at the least, all along. Wright was one of the executives of William Blewitt's Will. Blewitt, Mrs. O'Neill's father, had died in 1868. He had a property, Lobs Hole, at the "Burra", and he had let his son-in-law use some of his land and animals there when he came back from Gundagai. On the old man's death there was some rent owing to the estate, and O'Neill declined to pay the Executors. Wright had no sympathy for a man who had not, like himself, succeeded on the philosophy of Self-help. Everyone, it seems, owed him money. He admitted that Schofield and John Allen O'Neill were motivated in their charges by the fact that he had sued both of them for debt. One day at the court while Wright was presiding O'Neill got up and called abuse at him. Wright sued for the insult and the debt together and O'Neill was ordered to pay his father-in-law's Executors £70. The judge obviously sympathised with the provocation leading to the abuse, for when O'Neill was found guilty of slander, the damages awarded amount was only one farthing. The other sum, however, forced him into bankruptcy.

Note "15" states "Official papers relating to the complaints are in the Colonial Secretary's papers, 70/3219 and 70/9184 (AONSW)."

- a. As the only reference sources cited are those stated in "Note 15", it has to be stated that Lea-Scarlett's citations for this information are significantly incomplete.
- b. While a few bits of information in these passages is correct, there is much that is not and the context and interpretation are questionable. There was a falling out between Wright and O'Neill in 1870/71, but omitted is a much more significant dispute from which the others were partially derived, that between Wright and J. J. Breen's step-father, Constable Michael Torpy, a very serious dispute which took place over several months and which ultimately led to Torpy being transferred out of town, when more than a hundred people signed a petition in Torpy's support. The confused presentation of the other disputes and omission of the major dispute between Wright and Torpy affects the interpretation and context of the events. There were complaints from W. G. O'Neill, J. A. O'Neill, Schofield and Breen, but the dates are out of order, the references to William Gregg O'Neill are absurd, it was not an "Irish shindy", it was not a "family matter" as such, the Blewitt Estate case was not the motivating factor, there was not a "truce" for the 1869 election, it did not "embroil the town for ten years" and the paths of Wright and O'Neill did not "separate completely".
- c. It was following the 1869 election that Wright was fractious toward W. G. O'Neill, including on Thursday, 31 March 1870, when he and O'Neill were involved in a scuffle at the "Elmsall". It was a year later in 1871, that Wright brought the Blewitt estate case. From 1870, Wright brought suits against several people, including Henry Cane and many others, for money also, including const Torpy for three dishonoured promissory notes in July.
- d. The legal interpretation of the Blewitt Estate case is not apparent from Lea-Scarlett's account. Lea-Scarlett's information reads obtusely, but for purposes of clarification, it was not O'Neill's "family", who brought the Estate action Lea-Scarlett refers to. O'Neill's brothers-in-law, William and Joseph Blewitt, had dissolved any rent technically "owing" by O'Neill on William sen's death and had absolved him of any liability to the estate. The legal significance of the case was that it was brought on the grounds of whether the Executor of the Estate or the beneficiaries, William and Joseph Blewitt, were the legally relevant party. It was determined that legally the debt was to the Executors, "J. J. Wright and one other", but the judge sympathised with O'Neill, stating so, not because of the separate slander case, but because of the implications of the Estate case (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Apr 1871, p2).

Lea-Scarlett's comments as to the specifics of this case are unclear. The damages from the Blewitt Estate case was £70. However, although both cases were heard on the same day, the slander case was a separate case and listed as such. In that case, the damages were only "one farthing" as determined by the court. However, Wright calculated his costs for that case to be £70 11d, so that the total amount to O'Neill in the slander case was £70, 11 pence and "one farthing," consisting of the costs associated with the case, as calculated by Wright, plus the one farthing (*Qbn Age*, 21 July 1871, p2). It is correct that O'Neill went insolvent on account of the further amount, but he reached a settlement with his creditors who accepted an amount of 7s and 6d in the pound and "one farthing", and was discharged from bankruptcy by the end of August. The original information for these cases is

CIVIL SIDE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 6.

Before his Honour Justice Faucett...

J. J. WRIGHT AND ANOTHER, EXECUTORS OF WM BLEWITT, V. WM. G. O'NEILL.

This was an action brought by the executors of the late Wm. Blewitt of Lobshole, near Queanbeyan, against the defendant, his son-in-law. It appeared that in May 1866, Blewitt leased to the defendant, land, sheep, cattle, and horses, at Lobshole, for seven years at £100 a year, payable on 1st January in each year; that the rent due in January, 1867, had been paid, and that on the 15th January, 1868, Blewitt died. A question then arose as to whether the rent due for 1868 was payable to the plaintiffs as executors, or to the sons of the deceased, who were devisees in his will of the property leased, and who, so far as their interest was

concerned, had agreed to release the defendant from all liability. The plaintiffs contended they were entitled to the rent or an apportionment of it *quo ad* the personal estate. His Honour, however, at the conclusion of his charge, told the jury they must find for the plaintiffs, and he was sorry for it. The jury found for the plaintiffs, damages £70.
 - *Queanbeyan Age*, Thursday 13 April 1871, p3

WRIGHT. V. O NEILL.

This cause was set down for assessment of damages. This action was brought by plaintiff for slander uttered by defendant, reflecting on the plaintiff as a magistrate and a private individual. The defendant not having pleaded, allowed judgment to go by default. The slanders were taken to be admitted. The simple question for the jury was that of damages. Evidence was given by Mr Willans, C.P.S. at Queanbeyan, of the uttering, of the words, and of the occasion, viz., when plaintiff was engaged in admitting parties to bail. The words used were (as we have often occasion to say in another class) of cases [sic.] unfit for publication.

Mr Butler and Mr Davis, instructed by Messrs Walsh and Betts, were for plaintiff; the defendant appeared in person, assisted by Mr Gannon.

After speeches by the counsel and the defendant, his Honour charged the jury who retired, and after an hour's deliberation, they returned a verdict for the plaintiff - damages one farthing. His Honour certified for costs.
 - *ibid*.

It was generally considered that Wright had brought the case out of spite toward O'Neill due to the real cause of his animosity toward O'Neill at the time, which had nothing to do with Blewitt's Estate.

- e. Lea-Scarlett states "Wright had no sympathy for a man, who had not like himself, succeeded on the philosophy of Self-help. Everyone, it seemed, owed him money" is unqualified license. At no point had O'Neill succeeded on anything but his own efforts and, as O'Neill himself pointed out, at no point did he need to. It was generally recognised of O'Neill as a police officer that he had risen through the ranks on merit and although it is correct that Wright pursued many people for money in general, this comment in regard to the Blewitt case specifically is questionable as Wright was acting as the Executor of William Blewitt, senior's, estate.
- f. While O'Neill and Wright did sometimes fight and were sometimes politically opposed, to say "their paths separated completely" after the 1869 election is absurd. Wright and O'Neill were very much connected until O'Neill's death in 1886. The dispute between O'Neill and Wright in 1870/71 was over by 1872, when not Wright and O'Neill, but Wright and Gale, were publicly brawling. During the 1872 election Wright proposed Charles Hamilton Walsh and Walsh and O'Neill supported each other to the extent that the other candidate, De Salis, accused them of "double-banking" against him. O'Neill replied to this by pointing out that even after he had declared his intention to stand, the De Salis' had approached him to lead their campaign for them. Walsh referred to O'Neill as a "gentleman" and O'Neill said to the voters that if they could not vote for himself then to vote for Walsh. At the declaration of the poll, Wright and O'Neill joked at how De Salis and his supporters ran off before the customary speeches were made, now that the election was over and there was no more grog to be had! Following the election O'Neill declined an invitation by De Salis to attend his banquet on the grounds that the invitation should have been extended to everyone, but included only himself and omitted Wright. At this same time, in 1872, O'Neill and Wright were on the annual races Committee together, led the petition in support of Douglass at Christ Church and in December they worked on the Committee for a visit by Colonial Secretary, Henry Parkes and Attorney-General, Butler (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 26 Dec 1872, p3). They opposed each other in the 1874 election, but made an intentional public show of amity at the declaration of the polls (*Qbn Age*, Thurs, 24 Dec 1874, p2). In 1876, Wright made a special presentation to O'Neill on account of his work at the hospital with the express purpose of putting to rest any impression of ongoing hostilities between them (*Qbn Age*, Wed 26 Jan 1876 & Thurs 13 Jul, 1876). In 1876 also, Wright, O'Neill and Rutledge chaired a banquet for John Robertson and Thomas Garrett, during which Wright toasted the Ministry O'Neill had played a large role in returning "in a eulogistic speech which was received with cheers" (*SMH*, Tues 21 Nov 1876, p5). In 1880, O'Neill and Wright united to secure the election of J. B. Thompson. Matters came and went over time, as between everyone in the district, but among their many associations at various times, in 1879, O'Neill was Wright's personal agent for the sale of ewes, they were part of a prospecting expedition together and Wright proposed O'Neill as President/Vice-President of the hospital. Gale also remedied false impression of Wright and O'Neill's relationship in 1879 when an "absentee reporter" wrote a false account for the *Singleton Argus* about the hospital meeting, noting that Wright had nominated him (*Qbn Age*, Sat 15 Feb 1879). O'Neill proposed Wright as Chairman of the Railway League that O'Neill led in 1878 and 1879, in 1879, Wright sent a note to O'Neill to chair a municipalisation meeting he himself could not due to illness. Wright read the Oddfellows' rites at O'Neill's funeral in 1886, O'Neill's son ran a store out of Wright's former Post Office stores after Wright went bankrupt and O'Neill's son-in-law was one of the pall-bearers at Wright's funeral in 1904, which O'Neill's wife, Charlotte, of course, attended.
- g. Any impression that disputes with Wright were specific to O'Neill is explicitly incorrect. Wright pursued a lot of people for money and brought several unusual suits and in the *ADB* Lea-Scarlett makes specific reference to two, when Wright evicted the Public School from his building in 1875 and when he charged Rev. Soares with larceny on account of pigeons that had gone to roost in Christ Church steeple in 1876. The action against school teacher W. T. Holland in 1885 had nothing to do with O'Neill, who supported Holland, and was due to Wright's anti-Catholic sentiments and the position of the Public School Board, including by De Salis, who had his own political issues with Father McAuliffe, and publicly supported by John Gale through the *Age*.

- h. Wright was reported for misconduct as a magistrate by several people at that time, but only barely indicated in Lea-Scarlett's account is that Wright was frequently criticised for misconduct including after W. G. O'Neill's death and at times they were not "fighting". Any general implication that complaints against Wright as a magistrate in general all originated with William Gregg O'Neill or were specific to O'Neill is incorrect. It is correct that W. G. O'Neill criticised Wright as a magistrate and that on the 1870 occasion John Gale initially sided with Wright and made an unqualified accusation through the *Age* that all complaints at that time had originated with O'Neill, but this was disputed (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Mar 1870, p2) and legal action was threatened. Later, however, Wright's conduct as a magistrate was also brought into question by John Gale and the *Age*, including after O'Neill had died. Many objections were expressed about Wright's inconsistency, breaches of judicial process and defiance of expectations of conduct, independently of O'Neill, including by his brother magistrates, which tends to indicate that O'Neill was not necessarily at fault in his observations, the specifics of which, in this case, are not stated by Lea-Scarlett.
- i. The dispute between O'Neill and Wright was one of many disputes involving J. J. Wright in the town in general, as Lea-Scarlett himself notes in the *ADB*, but it cannot be generalised about any more than the many squabbles and disputes that took place between the leading figures of the district over many decades. Whether due to his personality, as intimated by Lea-Scarlett in the *ADB*, or other factors, Wright was involved in many disputes and to single out one between him and O'Neill goes against the experiences of many people with Wright, not the least of which a major dispute with Lea-Scarlett's relative, police const. Torpy, which Lea-Scarlett does not mention but from the disputes with O'Neill and Breen originated or were largely related to. To single out a dispute between O'Neill and Wright in 1870/71, goes against the many brawls and disputes that took place in Queanbeyan over several decades between many people and, importantly, neglects the profound division that took place after O'Sullivan was elected in 1885 and the town was definitively split in two between the advocates of Protection against the supporters of Free Trade/Labour for many years. The spat between W. G. O'Neill and Wright in 1870/71 bears no comparison with the ruction caused by the war between free trade and protection from 1885.
- j. The 1870/71 disputes with Wright had nothing to do with being "Irish". Throughout *D & P* and *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett refers to many people as being "Irish", often in the context of a personality trait or in some way related to motive. Of O'Neill he says "Young boisterous and Irish, he exhibited all the volatility, generosity and inconsistency of his people". Apart from the inherent offensiveness in that reference to O'Neill, in *Gundaroo* of Wright he says "But he was bad-tempered, autocratic and Irish..." It is uncertain what Lea-Scarlett's ambiguous and often contradictory references to 'Irishness' are supposed to mean as they are often unqualified, but in many instances it is irrelevant. In reference to the Parkes-Butler banquet, Lea-Scarlett specifically states that Parkes was attempting to "woo the Irish", when the banquet was in fact, a specific attempt to reconcile Catholics and Protestants. The tacit equivalence of Irishness with Catholicism does not apply to Wright and O'Neill. Certainly, it meant nothing to O'Neill, a protestant, married to an Englishwoman and famous for his non-sectarianism. As noted by Lea-Scarlett, O'Neill stayed "aloof" from all sectarian issues, but while claiming the dispute between O'Neill and Wright to be an "Irish shindy", which he does not qualify, he simultaneously attributes it being due to O'Neill's neutrality in that "this kind of thing did not wash with Wright." The latter is more correct, but it had nothing to do with the 1870/71 dispute.

42. Pages 142 - 143 (*D & P*) Complaints about Wright as a magistrate by J. A. O'Neill and James Schofield.

- a. Wright's suits against J. A. O'Neill and W. G. O'Neill took place after the complaints were made about Wright as a magistrate, and in court, John Allan O'Neill stated his belief that Wright was pursuing him for money at this time because of the complaints he had made about him (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 17 Nov 1870, p2). It was in March, 1870, that James Schofield and John Allan O'Neills' complaints about Wright were heard, on instruction by the Colonial Secretary, and the complaint by Breen was heard on Friday, 28 October, 1870 (*Qbn Age*, 3 Nov 1870). It was on 17 November 1870, eight months after the complaint about him was heard, that Wright sued J. A. O'Neill for a debt from 1868, which Wright was only pursuing at this time. Wright's case against W. G. O'Neill as the Executor of Blewitt's estate was heard even later, on Thursday, April 6, 1871. [J. J. Breen was Mr Lea-Scarlett's great grandfather.]
- b. Lea-Scarlett's account of the complaints against Wright and his response is open to question. It was a local Bench that dismissed the complaints and consultation with the original documents held by NSW State Archives, both of their substance and Wright's response, including in relation to the complaint by Breen, could easily support different interpretation, especially as the latter complaint by Breen followed a major dispute between Wright and Breen's step-father, police constable Michael Torpy, a significant dispute of which Lea-Scarlett makes no mention but which ultimately led to Torpy being transferred out of town and over a hundred people in Queanbeyan signed a petition in Torpy's support, noting the peculiarity of the circumstances surrounding the transfer.

Below is a chronological account of events, without commentary or implication, indicating the correct sequence of events.

In February, 1870, police constable Michael Torpy was in court for alleged misconduct towards magistrate and J. J. Wright's friend, Martin Byrne. Armed with an exemplary police service testimonial from Captain Zouch and evidence from the gaoler, Lesmond's, wife, he got off with an admonition (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 3 Feb 1870, p2).

Wright had disapproved of William Gregg O'Neill stepping aside for William Forster in the 1869 election. He had supported Charles Campbell and protested Forster's win at the declaration. Wright's fury at O'Neill came to a head at their watering hole, the "Elmsall", on the night of Thursday, 31 March, 1870. O'Neill and Dr Morton were drinking together when they had a minor difference over an unimportant matter. A short while after Morton left, Wright stormed in demanding to find the "scoundrel" O'Neill. O'Neill initially ignored the slander and invited "J. J." to sit down and have a drink with him. Unappeased, Wright addressed O'Neill in a manner that O'Neill dared him to repeat "outside." Answering the challenge, out on the verandah, Wright continued his assault with increasingly rosy language to which O'Neill responded with his fist, this time breaking Wright's jaw. Brought up on a charge of assault, as with Martin Byrne in 1868, when on that occasion, J. J. Wright had defended O'Neill, O'Neill took a defensive position of extreme provocation and armed with depositons from mail contractor Moran's groom, Thomas O'Donohue, a carpenter, Robert French, and the inn-keeper, John Hunt, he counter-charged Wright with "using language calculated to incite a breach of the peace." Reluctant to get involved in what they correctly perceived as a personal dispute, the magistrates hearing the case declined to act against Wright and imposed a relatively lenient penalty on O'Neill (*Qbn Age*, Thur 7 Apr 1870, p2). They dismissed O'Neill's case against Wright, deciding that the verandah of the pub did not constitute a public place. For breaking Wright's jaw, to which he had pled guilty, O'Neill was fined a lesser penalty of £2, the bench recognising provocation and Wright's "indiscretion" for intervening in other peoples' quarrels and admonishing the issue of a Warrant when a Summons would have been sufficient. Although both O'Neill and Wright had gotten off lightly, furious that the magistrates had dismissed his case against Wright on "technical grounds alone", in April, O'Neill complained to the Colonial Secretary. He accused Wright of "conduct unbecoming of a gentleman...holding the commission of the peace" and causing a "public scandal" and that due to this being no "solitary" instance of "public house scenes" by Wright, he demanded to know how long this was to be allowed to continue (NSWSA, 70.291; NSWSA 70/2851/7/9?). Wright denied the charges, but also somewhat arrogantly, questioned 'the right of the Colonial Secretary to constitute a tribunal of his brother magistrates to investigate them' (*SMH*, Wed 2 Mar 1870, p3). Several complaints against Wright were under examination by the Colonial Secretary at the time, which in siding with Wright, the *Age* made reference to, implying that all complaints had originated from O'Neill in some covert manner, for which O'Neill admonished Gale's inappropriateness in so influencing other matters. O'Neill had publicly declared his interest in his own complaint and he rebuked Gale's pre-emptory comments in relation to a pending investigation, which offended the character of those independently "doing their duty." He also noted that Wright had not objected to the same course of action being taken against a J. P. in a previous matter. In response to a petition circulated in support of Wright, which O'Neill believed 'reflected on the character of independent complainants', O'Neill posted a libel caution in the *Age*. On the recommendation of the local magistrates, the Colonial Secretary dismissed O'Neill's complaint and that of another brought against Wright at the same time independently of O'Neill.

On Tuesday, July 12, Wright sued constable Michael Torpy for three dishonoured promissory notes (*Qbn Age*, Thur 14 July, 1870, p2). A month later, on Tuesday, August 9, Torpy was brought before the court on a charge of resisting the bailiff, Lever, while Lever was attempting to levy Torpy's horse to recover the debt to Wright. Torpy's defence was that as his was a police horse under police regulations he was "bound to keep possession of his horse from any and every person" (*Qbn Age*, Thur 11 Aug 1870, p2) a defence the prosecution argued did not justify the disrespect shown to a bailiff by a police officer, when proper processes could have addressed any wrongful levying. Wright was present during this altercation and had called for Sergeant Latimer to protect the bailiff. In court, Wright testified for the prosecutor, Lever. Torpy stated he would speak through his witnesses and called William Gregg O'Neill. O'Neill had been present at the altercation and he began by saying that he had heard Wright make two statements in court that were untrue. At this point, the Police Magistrate stopped O'Neill from making further comments as constituting character attack. More evidence was heard from other witnesses and on the basis of the case resting on whether police regulations superseded an *Act* of parliament, Torpy was committed for trial on 11 November, with the police magistrate leaving it to the Attorney-General to decide whether or not to prosecute. The Attorney-General rejected the case, but Torpy was transferred to Nelanglo. On August 25, a testimonial to Torpy appeared in the *Age*, the exceptional circumstances of his case being highlighted by reference to the "peculiar" circumstances of his transfer. The testimonial was headed by Father McAuliffe, Leopold Fane De Salis, WG O'Neill, Sindel, Duff, Brick and now also, John Gale, with Rev. Soares, P. C. Palmer, J. A. O'Neill and many more who added their names among the one hundred appearing in the testimonial (*Qbn Age*, Thur 25 Aug 1870, p). On Tuesday, September 5, in an obscure and odd appropriation of the law, from the Bench Wright then accused Torpy of "irregularity", "smoking a pipe" and "brandishing a stick in the street", but without formal charge (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 8 Sep 1870, p2). As Torpy was not in uniform at the time, Sergeant Latimer noted that no breach of police regulations had occurred, but Wright claimed that it was a matter of "breach of discipline".

Some weeks later, a complaint was brought against Wright by Torpy's step-son, J. J. Breen (NSWSA 70/8846), supported by two police officers, one of whom was no longer in town, but was being sought to give evidence (probably Torpy). This time Wright brought in the solicitor, Charles Hamilton Walsh, to represent him. Breen's complaint involved another altercation that he claimed took place at the "Elmsall", involving Bombala dentist, the London and Dublin educated Dr Andrew MacLean, who from August, 1870, had started a visiting surgery in one of O'Neill's cottages on Lowe Street as the first resident dentist in town. One night at the "Elmsall" Wright was drinking with MacLean and a draughtsman on

surveyor, J. B. Thompson's, staff when a discussion about the Franco-Prussian War currently raging in Europe became somewhat heated. In his complaint, J. J. Breen claimed that an altercation had taken place between Wright and another man, constituting evidence of Wright's misconduct as a magistrate. In depositions forwarded to the Colonial Secretary by Wright, Dr MacLean and the draughtsman denied that any altercation had taken place (NSWSA 70.9184) and the magistrates dismissed Breen's version as being unsubstantiated. The case against Wright was dropped and in January, Dr MacLean moved out of O'Neill's cottage to Rutledge Street for a few weeks before moving on to Braidwood in January.

On November 17, Wright called in an old debt of John Allan O'Neill from 1868, which John Allan believed was retaliation for his having complained about Wright to the Colonial Secretary (*Qbn Age*, Thur 17 Nov 1870, p2).

43. Whereas in *D & P* Lea-Scarlett aggrandises a dispute between O'Neill and Wright, while entirely omitting others', in *Gundaroo* he does the same with the Afflecks and the De Salises and the Afflecks and John Gale and this incorrect depiction of these relationships is a major flaw in Lea-Scarlett's accounts of Queanbeyan. Flagrantly inaccurate is the portrayal of the relationship between the Afflecks and John Gale, which is much more complicated than can be correctly surmised by the single sentence continually repeated throughout *Gundaroo* that Gale and the Afflecks were supposedly 'hardened foes'. On page 63 in *Gundaroo* in reference to the railway route Lea-Scarlett states

John Gale was no particular friend of Affleck's in spite of their common zeal as Presbyterians and he restated the support of the *Queanbeyan Age* in 1873 for the Gundaroo railway.

This assumption of association between friendship and position on issues is too superficial in reference to Gale and the Afflecks, but more importantly, Gale was a particular friend of the Afflecks and had been since 1855 and this is what made the publicly played out disagreements between them passionate and personal. Gale and the Afflecks had known each other since the Afflecks settled in Gundaroo in early 1855, along with W.G. O'Neill and Gales' "blood-brother" friendship, the start of one of the longest and most significant relationships in the district. Important to the understanding of the relationship between Gale and Affleck is the recognition that Affleck had been integrally involved in politics since the 1850s, contrary to Lea-Scarlett's strikingly incorrect belief that Affleck only became active in elections in 1874.

In *Gundaroo* Lea-Scarlett refers to Wright in the 1874 election being "unconsciously a reconciler of an old feud between Gale and the Affleck's." The use of the adjectives "old", "of old", "adamantine" and "foes", specifically, make the depiction specifically incorrect.

It is correct that Gale and the Afflecks were united in their support of Wright in the 1874 election. However, before that, in 1873, Gale and Affleck had shared more than a platform at an election meeting - in 1873 William Affleck was the Gundaroo correspondent for the *Age* (*Qbn Age*, 24 Dec 1873 & 2 Jan 1874). Gale and the Afflecks had fierce disagreements over the Marked Tree line and the railway route. The exchanges between Gale and Affleck, as between all of O'Neill, Wright, Gale, the Afflecks, the De Salis', the Campbells and Rutledge, were open-slathe on those matters. However, omitted from Lea-Scarlett's accounts is the recognition of the ephemerality of these disagreements, with Gale and the Afflecks 'making up' equally publicly and with equal passion, sometimes within days. Twice Gale viciously attacked the Afflecks in relation to the Marked Tree line. However, following a final reconciliation in 1872, Gale and Affleck never again fought in public.

On Wednesday 18 February, 1880, William Affleck laid the foundation stone for the new Caledonia store he was building in Gundaroo and a major gathering took place to celebrate the occasion. Present were J. J. Brown, owner of the *Yass Courier*, and Thomas Colls, later member for Yass Plains and who Affleck was to defeat for Yass in 1894. Gale had been invited to lead a toast to Affleck.

In *Gunadroo* Lea-Scarlett writes of this event

Later a dinner and "very social evening" at the Royal Hotel were attended by about sixty customers and a few special friends including John Gale (of old an adamantine foe of the Affleck's), Affleck's brother-in-law, David Cameron, and old Gundaroo residents Sandy Dyce and Charles Darby.

The pointed insertion by Lea-Scarlett of the comment that Gale was supposedly "of old an adamantine foe of the Afflecks" is not qualified, however, whatever is meant by it, Gale's own words provide the correction to the misimpression given by this. The only reference Lea-Scarlett provides for the event is a brief account appearing in the *Goulburn Herald*. However, Gale chose to include an inordinately lengthy article about the celebration in the *Age* and the best information about this topic is provided by Gale in his own words in his own paper at the time, wherein he refers to his twenty-five year association with the Afflecks. During his speech Gale referred to his long-standing relationship with the Afflecks and eulogises William Affleck, their host, at this occasion (*Qbn Age*, Sat 21 Feb 1880, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article306772491>]). There is no basis to assume that this was superficial, 'tongue-in-cheek', conduct by Gale. There was a reason that Gale and the Afflecks "made up" in 1872 and never again fought in public.

Significant in Lea-Scarlett's work also is the lack of recognition that Gale was infamous for the ferocious disputes he entered into with many people and of the many distinctive disputes that took place throughout the district. Any of the

“flings” between any of the prominent figures of the district, however vituperous in the moment, cannot be taken as general reflection. Many people in Queanbeyan agreed and disagreed on certain issues and were publicly very loud about it, but that is the most that can be taken as generalisation. As was often the case in Queanbeyan, following any of their public fracas, public display was made of amity to dispel impressions of ongoing hostility, especially if it was politically convenient, as for the 1880 election, when Affleck, Gale, O’Neill and Wright united to support J. B. Thompson.

44. In noticeable instances, Lea-Scarlett is inconsistent in his depiction of individuals and events. One example is a marked change from his glowing descriptions of J. J. Wright in *D & P* from that in *Gundaroo* (1972) and the *ADB* (1974) where Lea-Scarlett gives personally scathing portraits of Wright. Although in *D & P* there are references to Wright’s “arrogance”, ‘autocratic manner’ and later decline, in the context of denouncing Forster in the 1860s, Wright is described as a “champion of the oppressed”, who “would beyond any doubt have been elected if he had acceded to the request to stand as a candidate”, with pronounced references to Gale regretting that Wright was not standing himself. In *D & P*, in relation to the 1874 election, Wright is described as being “suave” and “well-intentioned”, enjoying “every honour that the town could give”, winning the 1874 election on ‘personality’, a great friend and correspondent of Henry Parkes and achieving great things for the district. In *D & P* Lea-Scarlett highlights a dispute between O’Neill as a supposedly singular “shindig” between the two.

However, in *Gundaroo*, of the 1874 election Lea-Scarlett states

...Wright although a storekeeper and a self-made man, was Irish, bad-tempered, autocratic and contemptuous of anyone but himself; his only friend, Dr Morton, was probably the only one who aroused support from his fellow Scot in Gundaroo for the candidature of the Irish storekeeper from Queanbeyan but Wright during his single term in parliament from 1874 to 1877 said little about anything and nothing at all about Gundaroo.

Although in *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett makes pointed statement in defending Wright from accusation that he was anti-Catholic, with an incorrect implication of sectarian ‘neutrality’ with the comment that only certain people could be religiously “neutral”, in the *ADB* (1972), Lea-Scarlett refers to Wright as the “bitterest of Orangemen”. In this entry Lea-Scarlett describes Wright as an “egocentric bigot” and a “misfit”, deserted by his own family after a decline into alcoholism.

But he was arrogant, choleric and spiteful, and his popularity began to wane after his eviction of the public school from his rented premises in September 1875, and his prosecution of Rev. A. D. Soares in January 1876 for the return of four pigeons which had nested in the church spire.

- a. Contrary to Lea-Scarlett’s strikingly incorrect statement that Affleck only became involved in elections in 1874, Affleck, Morton and “Irish” Wright had been politically associated since the 1850s. Nationality had nothing to do with the 1874 election, although due to Wright’s anti-Catholic position, sectarianism did.
- b. The anti-Catholic depiction of Wright is more accurate, but it should be noted that even the fiercely anti-Catholic Wright nominated the equally fiercely traditionally Catholic O’Sullivan for election in the interest of protection, a political turn which destroyed Wright’s personal relationship with Henry Parkes. Free Trade supporters Affleck and Parkes remained political colleagues for decades.
- c. It is correct that Wright brought unusual suits against individuals and was criticised as a magistrate for significant reasons, but this differs with Lea-Scarlett’s accounts in *D & P* wherein he accuses William Gregg O’Neill, John Allan O’Neill, James Schofield and J. J. Breen as supposedly being at fault in lodging complaints about him for misconduct as a magistrate.
- d. Again, the reference to “popularity” is questionable. Issues with Wright were rarely related to popularity. The string of 1870 and 1871 complaints were due to personal and political matters and took place several years before 1876.
- e. It is correct that after 1887 Wright descended into a major mental decline. His business went bust and later he was before the courts on more than one occasion for dangerously eccentric behavior. Although A. W. Martin alludes to the partial reasons for this in the paper Lea-Scarlett cites in relation to other topics, apart from an obscure reference to “forgetting about Parkes”, Lea-Scarlett makes no mention of how Wright’s relationship to Parkes was affected by his turn to protection, about which in 1887, Parkes was publicly scathing. However, it should be noted that Wright continued to play a substantial role in politics and Queanbeyan life after 1874. In 1880, with Gale and O’Neill, he supported the election of J. B. Thompson. In 1887, he nominated E. W. O’Sullivan for election. Wright was Returning Officer for the district until replaced by John Gale in 1904. The *Age*’s obituary and the gesture toward him by the O’Neills, with W. G. O’Neill’s son-in-law, C. J. Wren, carrying his coffin, reflects more accurately the respect the “old-timers” held toward him, as opposed to the younger Queanbeyanites, who were unfamiliar with him in his earlier years and only knew him from his latter ‘eccentricities’, as the *Age* pointed out in their obituary on him, (*The Age* (Queanbeyan), Tues 25 Oct 1904, p2).

45. In *Queanbeyan Pioneers* (1983), Cross and Sheedy reproduce in entirety Lea-Scarlett's *Queanbeyn in Distaff – Some women who helped to shape local history*, an address stated by Lea-Scarlett to have been delivered in 1872 to "reassess the importance of women in our local history" due to the emergence of "women's lib". There are many issues with this paper. Lea-Scarlett states

At this time when there is so much interest in women's status in society it is opportune to make an attempt to reassess the importance of women in our local history. If the history of any other place in Australia yields the same results as a re-examination of Queanbeyan, however, it seems that the conclusion will be that, with a few splendid exceptions, Australian pioneer women were kept so busy in their homes that there are few impressions left beyond those of hard labour, certain sorrow and uncertain joy.

The "few splendid exceptions" in Queanbeyan Lea-Scarlett refers to are somewhat obscurely invoked, mainly within references to men they were related to and/or in the context of contentious personal character attack on them. References to Isabella Ann O'Neill are addressed elsewhere in this paper. In reference to Emma Tomsitt, Lea-Scarlett claims of her husband, George Tomsitt, popular Captain of the Mounted Rifles, Mayor of Queanbeyan and Free Trade political opponent of O'Sullivan,

Tomsitt, viewed by many as an upstart, had few local friends but he could still muster fair support because he was the largest employer in the town and his superior manner was expected to reflect credit on Queanbeyan. Emma Tomsitt became too deeply involved in anti-O'Sullivan politics with the result she had fewer friends even than before. In a time of poverty and unemployment one of Mrs Tomsitt's worries was that she owned two houses...

- a. The depiction of George Tomsitt is highly questionable and materially incorrect. Lea-Scarlett does not qualify who, specifically, thought Tomsitt was an "upstart" or why, but it is certain that this is incorrect as a generalisation. Tomsitt was generally considered a "gentleman" and support for him was not merely because he was a large employer.
- b. Again, the concept of "popularity" is raised. It is difficult to ascertain how it could be determined if a woman in the 1890s had any friends nor how subjective interpretation is of relevance if related out of context. However, the general information was that Emma Tomsitt was admired for her generosity and the information about her husband, George Tomsitt, is explicitly incorrect. George Tomsitt was one of the most "popular" men in Queanbeyan and, more importantly, he was a significant figure in Queanbeyan's history. It was because of Tomsitt's popularity that major events took place. He was elected to the Council in 1888 with a massive 95 votes, when at the same time, Gale, who nominated himself for Mayor, lost to Juhn Bull (*Council Minutes*). Tomsitt was elected Mayor in February, 1889, with a majority over Lazarus, who was nominated by John Gale. He was a centre of activity in the town, a leader of the School of Arts and the main force behind its revival in 1887 and 1891. He was Captain of the Mounted Infantry and a leader of commercial and technological progress, leading the movement to introduce electricity and electric lighting to the town. He was a very popular contender for Free Trade against Protectionist E. W. O'Sullivan in 1887, when he had the show of hands at the nomination. He was a President of the Free Trade and Liberal Association, its inauguration supported in a visit to Queanbeyan by Henry Parkes in 1889. It is correct, as Lea-Scarlett notes, that Emma Tomsitt died in 1891, as did George Tomsitt, in February, 1892. However, Tomsitt's popularity was such that his untimely, gruesome death in a shotgun accident following the death of his wife and malicious political disputes involving John Gale and E. W. O'Sullivan was a shattering event that directly contributed to a major social division in the town. Along with the Prices, Dixie, the manager of Tomsitt's wool works, was a very good friend and when he died he was buried with the Tomsitts. As correctly noted by Lea-Scarlett in *Distaff*, Tomsitt's step-son, Ernest Dornbusch, and his family lived in Queanbeyan for some time, his daughter a noted musician. Dornbusch was for a few years editor of the *Times* newspaper. When Tomsitt died Dornbusch inherited his estate.
- c. George Tomsitt brought credit to the town in attempting to introduce electric street lighting, when Gale and Lazarus' kerosene lamps made the town a laughingstock. Lea-Scarlett's information in *D & P* about electric lights is incorrect as referred to elsewhere in this paper. Tomsitt was a major employer of Chinese workers, which was unpopular because of the racism that infused the district, feverishly incited by the *Queanbeyan Age* newspaper as opposed to what became Tomsitt's *Queanbeyan Times* newspaper.
- d. The sarcasm invoked by Lea-Scarlett as to Emma Tomsitt's supposed "worries" is his own. Information from the time differs from Lea-Scarlett's depiction of Emma. The war between free trade and protection caused profound social division in Queanbeyan, but to convey this as to fault in the Tomsitts or that politics was not transcended in relation to them other than by a few stalwarts, is a matter for objection. Efforts by George Tomsitt promising general prosperity were quashed by these same few stalwarts and there were wealthier people in Queanbeyan than the Tomsitts. Emma Tomsitt was an intelligent woman (among her achievements she published an account of her voyage to Australia), whose independent-mindedness was appreciated rather than resented. Her obituary in the *Goulburn Herald* reflects the unusual depth of response to her death and in itself makes questionable Lea-Scarlett's unqualified comments about her.

It is indeed a painful duty to chronicle the death of any good person, but when a lady like the much-lamented Mrs. Tomsitt, the esteemed wife of Mr. George Tomsitt, ex-mayor, is snatched from our midst a deeper gloom overshadows us. Although Mrs. Tomsitt had been ill for a considerable period, yet her dissolution came upon us with comparative suddenness last Tuesday afternoon. Her remains were attended on Thursday afternoon to the new cemetery, about a mile out of town, by a great many townspeople, but which number would have been much larger had not a rumour prevailed that the deceased lady expressed a wish that the funeral should be a quiet, unostentatious one. The many acts of kindness by this lady will long be remembered by the recipients, and a void is left which will not be easily filled.
- *Goulburn Herald*, Thursday 20 March 1890, p3

46. In *Distaff* Lea-Scarlett states

...We do know however that in 1828 there were four married women and four spinsters living within the area bounded by Bungendore, Michelago, Ginninderra and Gundaroo. With one exception they were either convicts or ex-convicts and four of them lived on the Molonglo Plains where the first waves of settlers and squatters had established themselves...the honour of being the pioneer woman resident was claimed, however, not by Mrs Gray but by Jane Kinsela, wife of the first chief constable. The appointment of her husband, Patrick Kinsela, to Queanbeyan's constabulary dated from 1st January, 1838, but as the court had to be conducted at Acton until September, 1839, it is most likely that the Kinselas were living in what is now the Australian Capital Territory until that time. This is supported by the claim of their son, James (born in 1838 and later postmaster at Queanbeyan), to be the first white child born at Canberra. The Kinselas was certainly determined to have some first to their credit!

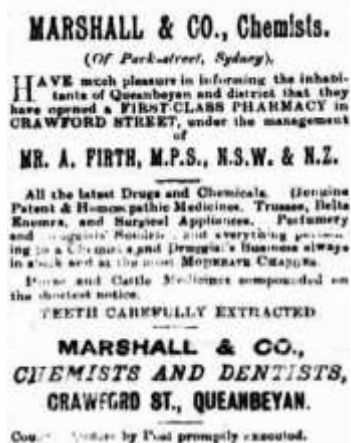
[N. B. Jane and James Kinsela were Mr Lea-Scarlett's ancestors. James Kinsela was best man to my great-great-gandfather, James O'Neill, at his wedding to Mary Ann Affleck in 1859.]

- a. There are other women noted in the 1828 Census.
- b. There were several "free" European women living in the "Queanbeyan" district prior to 1838 and the omission of emancipist women as residents is an arguable consideration - Joanna Keefe owned land in her own right at Micalago from 1829.
- c. Anna Maria Bunn, sister of T. A. Murray and J. F. Murray, lived with her brothers at "Yarralumla" and "Woden", Jerrabomberra, after the death of her husband in 1834.
- d. It is correct that Mr Lea-Scarlett's relative, James Kinsela, claimed to be the first white child born in Canberra, but the claim is disputed. John and Helen McPherson predated the Kinselas in the ACT by several years. As per the *ADB*, at least one of the McPhersons' several children was born there in the 1830's [<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macpherson-john-alexander-4135>], even though before the establishment of St. John's at Canberry, the birth, as was usual and along with that of other McPherson children, was registered in Sydney. The McPherson's daughter, born in 1830, may have been the first European child born in the ACT, although that is unconfirmed. Police magistrate Faunce's wife gave birth to a daughter, Anna Maria, before the 1838 sessions in December, soon before James Kinsela, born on the day of the sessions (*Syd Mon*, Mon 31 Dec 1838, p1), although she died at the age of two months.

47. On page 171 (D & P), Lea-Scarlett states

A profession somewhat new to the town as a permanent practice was a dentistry, established in the early nineties by Amos Firth, who drew teeth and patched them daily with the aid of laughing gas. Marshall & Co. practiced for a short period in opposition to him, trading as chemists as well. By the early years of the present century, there were two full-time dentists in practice, John S. Davison and C. T. Campbell.

- a. Firth was "Marshall & Co.", which therefore did not operate "in opposition" to him during that time. He was the director of the company in their Queanbeyan branch.



Qbn Age, Wed 22 July 1891, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31164072>]

In 1892, when Firth introduced nitrous oxide, he was still practising as “Marshall & Co.” (*Qbn Age*, Sat 14 May 1892, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31165982>]). Until mid-October, 1898, he was always “Of Marshall’s Dental Rooms”, after which from November, he advertised in his own right, while the company continued to operate in Sydney. Marshall & Co. never operated in opposition to Firth in Queanbeyan, but from 1897, advertisements for the company’s dental rooms in Sydney appeared, while Firth continued to practice in Queanbeyan until in 1900, he left the district for WA, where he died in 1905. Firth was an Alderman on the Queanbeyan Council and politically active, supporting Free Trade candidate, Alfred Allen, in the 1898 NSW parliamentary election and speaking at an address by Free Trade leader, George Reid.

b. Although until 1871 there was no dentist in town and it was some time before there was a permanent resident of substantial duration, from August, 1870, to January, 1871, Dr. Andrew McLean was the first semi-resident dentist, operating in W. G. O’Neill’s cottage on Lowe street. Adolphe Gabriel commenced practice in July, 1874, which continued into 1875. Others made passing visits until Firth did become the first genuinely resident dentist in 1901.

48. Page 28 (*D & P*). Within a lengthy section on Captain Alured Tasker Faunce, including brief mention of cases at Brisbane Water where Faunce was previously on the Bench, Lea Scarlett states

...His first year in the new situation resounded with complaints of inadequate accommodation near the court, late sittings, and summary remissions of sentences at the whim of the local constables. A choleric newspaperman, reviewing the events at Queanbeyan during 1838, concluded that ‘Capt. Alured Tasker Faunce is altogether unfit to be entrusted with the guidance or protection of any being whose life or liberty is of more value than that of an old stockhorse’.¹³

Note “13” cites “*Sydney Gazette*, 22 January, 1839.”

- a. Newspaperman, Cavanagh, was unfair in his treatment of Faunce, but although a subtle difference, it should be noted that the quotation from the *Sydney Gazette* Lea-Scarlett cites was not a reference to Faunce in Queanbeyan, nor the statement of a newspaperman - it was the summation by a judge of Faunce’s performance in Brisbane Water, invoked by the editor of the *Gazette* in relation to Faunce in Queanbeyan. The original article reads

The Queanbeyan Justice.

Captain Alured Tasker Faunce is altogether unfit to be entrusted with the guidance or protection of any being whose life or liberty is of more value than that of an old stock horse.

Such, gentle reader, was the finding on oath, ten months ago, of twelve special Jurors, individually and collectively as respectable men as ever entered the Jury-box; yet, in the face of this verdict - in the face of the declared opinion of more than one Judge of the Supreme Court, Sir Richard Bourke, who then Administered the Government of New South Wales, invested this very Capt. Alured Tasker Faunce with the power and authority of a Magistrate of Police, in a remote, but nevertheless important district of the territory. We shall not take the trouble of enquiring into the motives that induced Sir Richard Bourke to take this step, which must have been as repugnant to his own sense of justice as it was opposed to the feelings and the wishes of the community over which he was appointed to preside, for such of our readers as were resident in the Colony at the time can divine them without our assistance, and we consider it unnecessary to enter into an explanation, for the benefit of such as were not, because Sir Richard Bourke’s motives for acting so strangely can bear but very distantly on the subject under consideration. With such a verdict before us, however, even if we had been in perfect ignorance of Capt. Faunce’s previous magisterial career, we should have thought ourselves grievously wanting in our duty as the editor of a public journal, had we failed to keep a sharp look-out as to the manner in which human beings were treated by a man declared to be “unfit to be entrusted with the guidance and protection of any being whose life or liberty is of more value than that of an old stock-horse.”

- *Sydney Gazette*, Tuesday 22 January 1839, p2

The Brisbane Water case was complicated, with Faunce incarcerating locally prominent figures, including a magistrate, and Cavanagh a biased apologist for the “exclusives”, who were opposed to the progressive Governor Bourke. Faunce was defended by significant people in Queanbeyan, including T.A. Murray, and both he and Chief Constable Patrick Kinsela were exonerated by a government inquiry, even though there was still some question that Kinsela was taking kick-backs.

49. Pages 70 - 71 (*D & P*)

So long as the convict system continued, desperate, frightened escapees continued to roam the district. Only rarely were they gratuitously violent. In general, it would appear that, like Tennant, they were really seeking a means of subsistence. The safest course for them was to make hideouts in the hills, the plains, where they were obliged to make their living, exposed them to a high risk of capture. Sometimes are able to persuade a friendly ticket-of-leave man to harbour them, at the risk of losing his ticket if found out.

In 1834 William Roberts, the convict assigned to G. T. Palmer at Ginninderra, and member of a gang holding up stations on the Monaro, was shot dead. In the same year two other convicts of G. T. Palmer, Joseph Keys and ‘Billy the Rammer’, broke free. Keys was already suspected of murder and robbery. With Billy he resumed lawless career, short as it proved to be, thanks to one of the local police who captured them before they got out of the district.²

Note “2” reads “*Sydney Herald*, 20 April, 1835.”

- a. Lea-Scarlett’s commentary as to the bushranging of the time is questionable, including by the reference source he states in this instance. The bushrangers of the time were frequently violent. In the same Chapter Lea-Scarlett refers to attacks on Charles Bowman, but neglects to mention the particularly extreme violence to which he was subjected.

- b. The citation stated for “2” is incorrect. The reference to Keys and “Billy the Rammer” appears in the *Sydney Herald* of 30 April, 1835.
- c. The context as related by Lea-Scarlett is questionable. The reference is in a letter to the paper by a person complaining of the extensive bushranging in the district since the departure of Lt McAlister and in this source it was Billy the Rammer who was referred to by the letter-writer as having been suspected of murder, rather than Keys. The original article reads –

THE WORKINGS OF THE PRESENT CONVICT
SYSTEM IN THE INTERIOR.

To the Editors of the Sydney Herald.

GENTLEMEN, - In your Paper of the [sic] instant, a brief notice is taken of the escape of a prisoner named Turner, from Goulburn Plains Jail, and his subsequent depredations. If this had been a solitary instance I should have remained silent, but the neglect of discipline (to say the least of it) is notorious; permit me, therefore, through the medium of your Paper, to ask a few queries. In the first place, might I ask if it was true, that in the month of November last, a constable at Limestone Plains, apprehended two bushrangers in that district, assigned to G. T. Palmer, Esq, Ginningsinderry, and delivered them up to the authorities, at Goulburn Plains? and did not one of them, nicknamed Billy the Rammer, who had been in the bush seven or eight weeks previously, and who was confined on a charge of an attempt to murder and robbery, at Monaroo, make his escape with another man named Joseph Keys, both of which proceeded to Monaroo, where joined to another man belonging to Dr. Sherwin; and did not this trio commit more depredations and horrid deeds of villainy than would rival even Macdonald's far-famed party, to mention only one at the Rock Flat, the robbery of Mr. Catteral's Station, and the all but murdering Mr. Shepherd, whom they left for dead - true, one of the robbers paid the forfeit of his life, by the heroic exertions of Mr. Shepherd, and who would have captured the whole, but for the treachery of the Convict servants he trusted to? Again - did not a man, named Green, whose previous career of plunder was notorious for many months, escape, after being committed first at Yass, from whose district constable he made his escape? Again he was captured by a Mr. Macleod, and committed a second time by Mr. Murray, at Lake George. Did not the said Green walk away, to use his own phrase, when he immediately resorted to his long and well-known haunts beyond the Murrumbidgee River, and betook himself to his old trade, having first enticed the above mentioned Turner to join him, from his old master's service, R. Campbell, jun., Esq, Bligh-street, a lad of seventeen years of age, of an uncommonly mild and juvenile appearance, until again captured by private individuals, when on their way to Lumley, both Green and Turner managed to effect their escape from the constable - happily for the community in that district the former (Green) was again captured by the same constable who, at the risk of his life, went up to the muzzle of his gun and received the ball in his wrist. Turner, however, made his escape at that time, and, although subsequently lodged in Goulburn Jail, upon a charge of snapping his piece twice at special constable Brown when encountering the notorious Green. And finally - did the above-named Turner make his escape, when sent to the river for a bucket of water, and to which escape the robberies and burning of huts, carried on by this juvenile offender and his gang of five armed associates, may be attributed. In fine, may not all the robberies, arson, for happily their attempts to murder did not succeed with the whites, but unfortunately succeeded too well with regard to the blacks at Monaroo, particularly a fine black fellow, named “Joe Slack's Tommy,” was shot in cold blood, be laid to the charge of the inefficient system of Convict discipline, and the non application of funds for the erection of lock-ups, jails and sufficient places of security in these fertile and populous districts, and to the negligence of those connected with such matters. Although I would be loath to attribute blame to the paid Police Magistrate, Captain Allman, at the head of the police there, yet a no ordinary share of blame must be some where, and the sooner the blame is laid at the right door the better. Again I might put the question, would the depredations? or was there one tenth of the robberies committed when that active and indefatigable officer, Lieutenant Macalister, had the command of the police in that district? I am satisfied that every settler and individual in that part of the country will answer - No! There has been more bushrangers at large, and consequently more deeds of villainy committed, during the last few months, than has been for as many years previous. Afraid that I have already trespassed on your columns, I remain, gentlemen,

Yours, &c.

VERITUS. Monaroo, March, 1835.

- *Sydney Herald*, Thurs 30 Apr 1835, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12852054>]

The article “Veritus” refers to is -

THE CONVICT SYSTEM.

Complaints of prisoners escaping from the gaol at Goulburn have been very frequent; and, it is said, that no less than six have escaped within the last few months. One of them, a man named Turner, confined on a charge of robbery, and attempting to shoot a constable, left the prison for the purpose of obtaining a bucket of water from a neighbouring creek for the use of the gaol. On arriving at the creek, however, he, as might have been expected, suddenly dropped his bucket; and, seizing the constable's pistol, betook himself to the bush, where he no doubt pursues his lawless career on a large scale, being armed for the occasion. Had this ruffian been confined to his cell and properly secured, many robberies, and probably loss of life in the end, might have been prevented. We hope it may turn out that these complaints are not well founded, or that they may admit of some satisfactory explanation; for it is a dreadful thing to contemplate the present system of convict discipline, by which these ruffians avoid all necessary restraint.

- *Sydney Herald*, Monday 13 April 1835, p3

50. On p71 (*D & P*) In describing exploits by the bushranger, William Westwood, Lea-Scarlett refers to Westwood's capture by local residents with a citation of “*The Australian*, Sydney, 19 January 1841.”

- a. The citation stated is incorrect. Reference is made to Westwood in the 19 January *Sydney Herald* and the 20 January *Australian*.
- b. While the material may be correct, the 19 and 20 January articles cited relate Westwood's appearance in court in Sydney but contain no details as to his capture by local residents.

51. Pages 62-63 (D & P) Roads and Fencing disputes between Southwell and Frederick Campbell and Southwell and E. K. Crace. Following a generally correct reference to the roads and fencing disputes of 1882, Lea-Scarlett states

Edward Kendall Crace was a *bête noire* to the free selectors because, unlike the other large landowners, he had little Colonial experience. While men like Thomas Rutledge and Leopold De Salis, were ultimately able to come to terms with the small landholders, Crace, who moved into the district in 1877 when tension was critical, neither appreciated the background of the problem nor glimpsed its other side. His return to England in 1890 to provide his children with the best English education revealed little sense of identity with the district, in spite of his custom of providing entertainment for the hands on Gunghalin. His improvements to the station home and its park in 1883, involving the closing-off of a road, provoked a group of residents nearby to tear down his fences and uproot an orchard.³⁸

- a. While some information as to the roads and fencing disputes between Southwell and Campbell and Southwell and Crace is correct, the articles of the *Goulburn Herald* cited in Note “35” for that material are merely reproductions of original articles appearing the *Queanbeyan Age* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*. The same references repeated in Notes “37” and “38” in relation to Crace are largely irrelevant to Crace.
- b. The personal denunciation of E. K. Crace is debatable. There is no reason to relate Crace’s character any differently than that of Campbell in these matters or of Gibbes, who, although Lea-Scarlett does not mention it, was involved in the dispute with Young. It is correct that Crace briefly went to England in 1890, but on his departure reference to it by one of Crace’s fiercest critics in the fencing matters, James Gillespie, writing as “The Wizard” for the *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, was not as ungenerous as Lea-Scarlett’s depiction.

NOTES FROM GINNINDERRA.

BY THE WIZARD.

OFF TO ENGLAND. - I understand that E. K. Crace, Esq., of Gungahleen, accompanied by Mrs. Crace and family, are on the point of taking their departure on a trip to England. It is said that as Mr. Crace’s main object in visiting the old country is to give his children the benefit of the best English education his stay in England will in all probability extend over a term of some five or six years. It is gratifying to learn that while anxious to give his own children the benefit of the best education possible Mr. Crace has not been unmindful of the little ones attending the Public School here, for the teacher, Mr. Haig, informs me that a short time since he handed him a cheque for £1 10s, to be used in purchasing prizes, &c., for a picnic to be given during the midwinter vacation. Mr. Crace at the same time informed Mr. Haig, as secretary of the Ginninderra Cricket Club, that his subscription of two guineas per annum would be paid regularly during his absence. Such thoughtfulness on the part of Mr. Crace on the eve of his departure is worthy of the highest commendation.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Tuesday 25 March 1890, p4

Crace returned to Australia the following year. During his absence E. W. O’Sullivan had continued a major attack on Crace through parliament he had initiated in 1888 in relation to the original land grant from the 1830s that had passed to Crace on his buying the Ginninderra/Gunghaline estate from William Davis. However, the onslaught was considered to be in poor taste and ulteriorly motivated by a prejudiced local few. The attacks on Crace by O’Sullivan were believed to be politically motivated. Nothing concrete came of O’Sullivan’s attempt and Crace was welcomed back with an air of relatively humble apology. The consensus at the time was that Crace was a victim of his anti-O’Sullivan/Protectionist politics. Crace was in fact, the son-in-law of the well-known free trade politician, Sir Henry Mort, who was strongly connected with the dairying business of his brother, the famous refrigeration pioneer, Thomas Sutcliffe Mort. Their experience was not only substantial, but of national significance. The Crace’s daughter later married a son of Edmund Barton. There was more to the case between Crace and Gribble than Lea-Scarlett relates which may affect the impression of these matters. It was Percy Clement Hodgkinson acting on behalf of the Ginninderra Free Selectors’ Association that tore up Craces’ orchard. However, the *Queanbeyan Age* denounced the destruction of Crace’s valuable trees, especially as the fault was not with Crace, but a former owner of the property. Crace allowed a deviation to be constructed that avoided his orchard and the matter seemed to be settled amicably. However, late in 1884, Gribble had Crace charged with obstructing a road, due to which Crace was committed for trial. Evidence by other free selectors, including Ted Rolfe and Edmund Holland, favourable to Crace, tended to indicate it was a malicious suit and the Attorney-General put a halt to it, refusing to file a bill.

52. Page 67 (D & P) Following a generally correct observation that W. G. O’Neill and Gale founded a Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural Association in 1872, but a slightly incorrect confusion of the Canberra and Ginninderra Associations, Lea-Scarlett states

A second Queanbeyan Pastoral, Agricultural and Horticultural Society, formed in 1883, again with John Gale as founder, held no shows, but did succeed in obtaining the grant of ten acres as a showgrounds.

- a. The 1883 Society was not founded by John Gale. E. K. Crace was the main force behind the 1883 Association. Gale initially supported the idea through the *Age*, but at the meeting held to discuss its establishment, as Chairman, J. J. Wright had to restrain Gale, who entered into a personal on attack on Crace. Crace had been called on to introduce the specific aims of the meeting and, seconded by De Salis, proposed Dulhunty as Secretary, made other proposals and nominated a provisional Committee. Gale dissented and a major altercation between Crace and Gale took place with Wright having to intercede to prevent Gale from dictating to the meeting, stating that “It was the unenviable notoriety of Queanbeyan that it possessed the most degraded Press in the whole colony...every

day making scandalous personal attacks on private individuals, instead of devoting itself to a more worthy and legitimate work. He was not going to be dictated to or governed by it. It was a sirocco blast in their midst, withering and blighting all their dearest interests..." Rev. Auchinleck Ross also admonished Gale for his conduct at the meeting and acknowledged the efforts for the Association by Crace, Cunningham and Wright (*Qbn Age*, Fri 14 Sep 1881, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30788625>]). Gale responded, as he often did, without any impartial oversight, by applying his newspaper editorials as his own personal outlet to engage in sarcastic attacks on the movement and with individual attacks on Crace, Wright and Rev. Auchinleck Ross, accusing everyone but himself of "private pique" and "personal prejudices", when to all others present it was Gale who was throwing a dummy spit for not getting his own way. It is correct that in October, 1884, ten acres was allowed for the use of the Association. However, although Gale made a lot of noise about regretting that by that time, the Association existed only in name, as with the Mechanics' Institute, in relation to which he often made similar comments, he omitted to note that he was one of the reasons the Association had essentially folded, partly due to his refusal to co-operate with Crace and others.

53. In *Distaff* (pages 190-91), Lea-Scarlett states

Although she had more heart than head Mrs Jackson managed to totter along for a few years before reducing one of the best roadside inns in New South Wales to financial ruin...she married another convict, William Jackson, who made a great success of an inn which he kept in the vicinity of Bankstown. In 1834 William Jackson opened the 'Harrow Inn', right beside the present village of Gundaroo. It was...well-conducted and patronised - the first licensed house in fact be opened south of Lake George. After her husband's murder in 1837 Mrs Jackson tried to keep the inn going and, as hostess of the "Harrow", she was the first woman to conduct a commercial enterprise in the district. But she had little idea of proper management and fell an easy victim to the depression of the early forties, stalwartly purchasing jewellery while everything crashed about her. She left Gundaroo and her later career is a mystery...

...Jane Gatty was first married to James Wilson, a builder in Goulburn, who early in 1840 opened the 'Travellers Home' hotel Upper Gundaroo...Wilson died during his first year in the hotel and his widow then married George Woodman, who also died shortly afterwards. Until 1845 the widow Woodman ran the hotel single-handed, at the same time rearing the three children of her first marriage. She then she met an eligible sawyer, William Swan, married him and moved to Queanbeyan where she remained until her death in 1893 at the age of 88.

While it is correct that the "Harrow" was the first licensed inn in the district, other material is incorrect.

- a. Jane's name was "Getty", not "Gatty".
- b. Jane Wilson/Woodward's first husband died in 1839, not 1840.
- c. Jane Woodward's husband was murdered.
- d. Jane had five children by Wilson and was pregnant with Woodman's daughter when he was murdered.
- e. There is no mystery as to Caroline Jackson's latter life as she became well-known, partly in relation to a land dispute at Liberty Plains [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article113745014>] and as one of the oldest pioneering women of New South Wales when an article was printed about her in 1890, by which time she was "Mrs Martin" (*ATCJ*, Sat 27 Dec 1890, p32 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article71185913>]). Some of the information in the *ATCJ* article is incorrect, specifically in relation to Caroline and her husbands' origins. This was not unusual for the time in that a convict past was rarely admitted before it became 'un-Australian' not to be descended from convicts.

With slight modification for referencing purposes, the following two passages are extracted from my book, *Politics in Queanbeyan*, still in progress -

William Alexander Jackson held the lease for "The Harrow Inn" at Gundaroo in 1834, which he managed with his wife, Caroline. Born in Gloucester in 1797, formerly cook to Lady Mountmorris, at the age of twenty-four, Caroline Turner had arrived in New South Wales in 1823, having been convicted in Surrey in December, 1822. In 1825, she married William Jackson, transported in 1820, and at the time working for Dr Henry Grattan Douglass. The Jacksons owned an inn at "Liberty Plains" on the Liverpool Road, half-way between Sydney and Liverpool. Retaining the land at Liberty Plains, the Jacksons also bought land at Gundaroo and ran the "Harrow" inn. After William Jackson died in October, 1837, his estate was inherited by Caroline and their two sons, William junior and James. In addition to the "Harrow" and its adjacent land, the Jacksons had acquired much property in Gundaroo, where their son, William junior, continued to reside. Part of Gundaroo was at one time referred to as "Jackson", for the family that had been so historically prominent there. James Hamilton held the lease of the "Harrow" in 1838 and then George Turner in 1839, until Caroline Jackson resumed it in 1840. Caroline went insolvent in 1842 (*SMH*, Fri 12 August 1842, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article12419576>]), but she inherited from her uncle, George Turner, of Covent Garden in England, and Admiral Benbow. In 1845, Caroline Jackson married David Duncomb in Goulburn, but he died two years later. In 1849, Caroline married Alfred Martin. He died in 1890 and surviving all her husbands, Caroline died in 1895, at the age of 94. The Jackson's daughter, Esther, married surgeon, George Yarnold, in Goulburn in 1846.

Jane Wilson, née Getty, held the license to the "Traveller's Home", "on the line of road from Gundaroo to Queanbeyan", in May, 1840, following from her husband, James Wilson, who had died the previous year. Jane had married Wilson in 1827. He was a bricklayer and he died on September 28, 1839, while working on St Saviour's church in Goulburn, the fore-runner to the cathedral. In August, 1840, Jane became Mrs George Frederick Woodman, but her husband of barely two weeks was shot dead

at the inn on September 7 by a guest in a drunken altercation, with Woodman crying out what was to become of his children, assumedly Jane's five children by her former husband and his daughter with Jane born in April the next year. A month after the murder, Enoch Bradley stood before Justice Stephen in the Supreme Court in Sydney, when after a jury returned a verdict of guilty and swearing his innocence, Bradley was sentenced to hang (*Aust. Chron.*, Sat 7 Nov 1840, pp 2,3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article31729766>]). Jane held the license of the hotel in 1843 and 1844. Jane married William Swann in Queanbeyan in 1845 and the "Traveller's" was then managed by David Thompson, Martin Byrne and then John Donnelly in 1853. In 1856, Charles William Reade of Gundaroo held the license under Joseph Edgar's proprietorship.

Part 2 – Politics

Factual errors relating to politics in *D & P (Politics)*, pp 138-152 and p249) are prolific, amplified in the sections on politics in *Gundaroo* (p63 and pp110-112), which contain errors of striking significance.

1. On pages 137 and 138 in *D & P* Lea-Scarlett states that in 1851 the Counties of Murray and St Vincent were united as a single electorate and he then refers to William Forster being returned for “the Counties” in the 1856 and 1858 elections. This error has been repeated in productions citing *D & P* as their source.

- a. Under the new NSW Constitution of November 1855, the Counties of Murray and St Vincent were divided. Designated as separate electorates, accordingly in the 1856 and 1858 elections, each returned separate members for the new Legislative Assembly, Forster for County Murray and for St Vincent, James Thompson was returned in 1856 and Andrew Alcorn in 1858. St Vincent was united with County Murray for the 1851 election only.
- b. Lea-Scarlett refers to County Murray being united with King and Georgiana in 1843, from which it may not be clear that the united Counties of King and Georgiana comprised a single electorate, distinct from County Murray, from 1851.

2. On page 138 of *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett relates the political history of Queanbeyan from 1856 to 1860, starting with the 1856 election as

In that election there were signs of real campaigning, and meetings for both Forster and Murray were held at the Harp Inn at Queanbeyan...Although unopposed when polling day came in 1856, Forster was offered some criticism by J. J. Wright...Wright's was the only voice raised against Forster in Queanbeyan. He wanted to propose...Robert Stewart...He was cut short in his proposals by, of all people, Pat Carroll...who felt that only a gentleman ought to be elected and objected to Stewart because he was an undertaker.⁵...Two further elections passed, with Nathaniel Stephen Powell...defeated by Forster for the Counties in 1858, and Dr Morton quietly declining to stand against him for the new seat of Queanbeyan in 1859. A third lightning election in 1860 produced, for the first time, some really vigorous electioneering...Now that every man had the vote, and with John Robertson already loudly proclaiming his plan to introduce free selection, the popular will made itself felt. Forster could scarcely be expected to lend himself to the dismemberment of his own class, and when he gave his policy speech at Lee's St Patrick's Inn, he got a cool reception. J. J. Wright stood up at the same meeting and received much applause in an onslaught on Forster's policies. He was the man of the moment, a champion of the oppressed, and would beyond any doubt have been elected if he had acceded to the request to stand as candidate. Instead he chose to throw his weight behind a compromise. He brought forward a professional man, William Redman, a solicitor from Kiandra, the 'determined and uncompromising advocate of Free Selection Before Survey'.⁶ As if uneasy about Wright's choice, Gale grumbled in an *Age* editorial about having to support Redman when everybody would have preferred a Queanbeyan man - Wright himself in fact...If Queanbeyan ever stood fair to become a public joke it was because it chose William Redman as its representative...Wright took the chair at a meeting demanding the Member's resignation. That must have been a hard decision to make.

On page 110 of *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett states that

Gundaroo was represented by a succession of men who never belonged to or cared about the place and only one of them, J. J. Wright, seemed to come within the range of Affleck's approval...

...His only friend, Dr Morton, was probably the only one who aroused support from his fellow Scot in Gundaroo for the candidature of the Irish storekeeper from Queanbeyan but Wright during his single term in parliament from 1874 to 1877 said little about anything and nothing at all about Gundaroo...

...With the appearance of J. J. Wright in 1874 Affleck for the first time evinced a practical interest in an election, joining with George Devlin, the Tallagandra schoolmaster, in questioning both Wright and his opponent, W. G. O'Neill, when they held meetings at the *Royal Hotel*.

- a. The Afflecks were integrally involved in elections from 1856 and both Arthur Affleck and/or his son, William, nominated or supported candidates in every NSW parliamentary election from 1858. Their candidates and colleagues were some of the leading figures in Australia's history and that was one of the reasons Gundaroo was jokingly dubbed the “Centre of the Earth”. The siting of the Federal Capital Territory was largely due to William Affleck. Not mentioned on page 138 in *D & P*, is that when William Forster won the election in 1858 for County Murray, Arthur Affleck was the man who nominated him (*Emp*, Thurs 4 Feb 1858, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60262293>]). In the same election William Affleck nominated Sydney solicitor, William Redman for the United Counties of King and Georgiana (*Emp*, Tues 9 Feb 1858, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60263258>] *SMH* Tues 9 Feb 1858, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article13006020>]). The reason “every man had the vote” was because Arthur Affleck nominated William Forster, who introduced the *Electoral Reform Bill* as a condition of his nomination. The Afflecks, Andrew Morton and J. J. Wright ousted him in 1860 when he went against Robertson's *Land Bill* and its all-important Clause 13 – the “free section before survey” clause, support for which had been a condition of their support, and replaced him with William Redman, who William Affleck had nominated for King and Georgiana in 1858.

- b. At the meeting referred to whereby Wright opposed Forster, objection was also expressed by both J. H. and T. A. Murray.
- c. There were not three elections in Queanbeyan between 1858 and 1860, as stated by Lea-Scarlett, there were four.
- d. Lea-Scarlett refers to J. J. Wright's opposition to Forster in 1854 and 1860, but omits the significant information that between 1854 and 1860, Wright led the election of Forster in two elections and seconded his nomination in both. Lea-Scarlett refers to Wright's reversal of his position on Redman, while omitting any reference to his earlier reversal on Forster, which was more dramatic and significant. Wright's reversal on Forster in the 1860 election was for a very important reason as this was the election in which John Robertson went to the polls on the "free selection before survey" clause. Although they had secured Forster's election, to the Afflecks', Wright and Dr. Morton's mortification, Forster opposed the Land Bill and this was why they reversed their support for him. It is correct that in 1858 Wright had proffered Stewart, the "coffin-maker" as Connelly referred to him, but by 1859, he was joining with the Afflecks in supporting Forster and then in 1860, Redman. Together, all of the Afflecks, Morton and Wright had secured Forster's election in 1859, together they reversed their support for him in 1860, and together they supported Redman, the man William Affleck had nominated for King and Georgiana in 1858. Forster's nomination in the June 1859 election was proposed by Morton and seconded by Wright, when Forster was elected without dissension (*Emp*, Mon 20 Jun 1859). Full accounts of the nomination and declaration are given in the 25 June *SMH* and the 21 June *Empire*, although Wright's name is misreported as "T F Wright" in the latter. The 20 June issue of the *Empire* records it correctly as "JJ Wright." Likewise, at the November 1859 by-election, Wright led the support for Forster's return and seconded his nomination with T. Shanahan proposing him (*SMH*, Sat 12 Nov 1859; *Emp*, Wed 16 Nov 1859).
- e. Affleck and Wrights' political association went as far back as the 1850s and this longstanding association between them gives entirely different context to Affleck originally choosing not to stand in favour of Wright and his support for him in the 1874 election, than that offered by Lea-Scarlett in *Gundaroo*. Affleck led Wright's post-election banquet, filling in for Leopold Fane De Salis and his son, both of whom were ill, and during which he refers to his long-standing political association with Wright.

4. Page 139 (*D & P*). Of the 1860 nominations Lea-Scarlett states

In those days nominations were made at hustings, a type of open-air stage, amid speeches and merry-making. Forster was not at the Court House on the appointed day. Henry Hall of Charnwood tried to make a speech on his behalf, only to be greeted with groans and hisses.

Henry Hall was hissed at when he spoke on Forster's behalf, but Forster himself was present at the nomination and gave a lengthy address (*Gldn Age*, Sat 15 Dec 1860, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30630884>]). Forster was not present at the declaration of the poll.

5. On page 109 in *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett states

Charles Campbell, in 1869, was the first parliamentary candidate to hold a meeting at Gundaroo. As a squatter he had no support from Affleck, but he received 27 of the local votes while the other 28 went to William Forster, the successful candidate.

As with the false account that William Affleck only became "practically" involved in elections in 1874, this is strikingly incorrect. Candidates had held meetings in Gundaroo as part of their canvas for every election since at least 1856, when Forster toured there, probably because of the Afflecks who had arrived there the year before. As noted above, the Afflecks had played a leading role in Forster's return in the 1858, 1859 and 1860 elections and in the move against him in 1860, when he failed to support the 'free selection before survey' clause. As part of the 1860 canvas, Forster held a meeting in Gundaroo on 7 December, 1860, at Edgar's Inn (*Gldn Age*, Sat 1 Dec 1860, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30630849>] & Sat 8 Dec 1860, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30630863>]; *Emp* Sat 15 Dec 1860, p4 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article60503490>]). For the next election in 1864, a meeting was held in Gundaroo, chaired by Arthur Affleck, when both Charles Campbell and Leopold Fane De Salis addressed the electorate in an important and fiery meeting when De Salis challenged Campbell to a duel (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 15 Dec 1864, p3 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30635368>]).

Arthur Affleck was impartial in his introductions and stated "Mr De Salis was the second candidate, whom he (Mr. Affleck) had known for several years, and a more honest man he seldom met with". The Afflecks supported De Salis in the election. In *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett barely mentions the 1864 election and in *Gundaroo* there is no mention of it at all, but the more complete information puts the error to Lea-Scarlett's contention in *Gundaroo* that the Afflecks and Leopold Fane De Salis were supposedly "old foes". They fought over certain matters but were never in a general state of "feud".

6. Pages 141- 42 (*D & P*) The 1869 election. Among other contentious comments, on page 141 Lea-Scarlett states

When O'Neill decided to contest the election himself he found much support among small proprietors in the Bungendore district. His platform was one of unstinted support for free selection, state aid for denominational schools, and free trade. The last point, given lowest priority, was later to prove an important factor in the growth of the party political structure in New South Wales...
...O'Neill was still unpopular in many places and it was hinted that his campaign against Campbell was personal rather than political...
...That O'Neill was acting as the tool of a political group in Sydney is obvious from the diaries of Hugh McTernan...

- a. O'Neill had more than support from proprietors in Bungendore - he had the pledge of every free selector in the Queanbeyan district, with a second requisition alone containing 176 signatures.
- b. The reference to education contains a subtle, but pivotally important, difference. O'Neill's stated second plank was

2. I am in favour of the general system of education. I should advocate equal justice to both public and denominational schools.
- *Goulburn Herald*, Wednesday 15 December 1869, p1

O'Neill was a consistent supporter of Parkes' 1866 *Public Education Act*. He spoke passionately in favour of it in 1866 and prior to the introduction of public schools O'Neill supported all schools, as he embraced any effort at education, regardless of denomination. He himself established private schools in his own cottage, one of which was to become the first National School in the town and then the Queanbeyan Public School. As he explained in his 1872 election nomination speech

On the matter of education, no money could be voted on a more important object. Good teachers and sound teaching were the most efficient police force...
- *Queanbeyan Age*, Tuesday 5 March 1872, p2

- c. Free trade was a matter of great importance to O'Neill. It was the reason he nominated J. B. Thompson in 1880 against "avowed protectionist", Percy Clement Hodgkinson. The O'Neills' *Times* was a free-trade/labour paper.
- d. O'Neill's popularity in this election was one of its characterising features. The necessity for O'Neill to appeal to voters in this election was minimal as this was a rare instance of when a large number of the electorate campaigned a candidate to enter an election, instead of the candidate having to campaign for their votes. O'Neill entered the election on a public petition, twice, first with a guaranteed 153 votes and then 176, and the pledge that every free selector in the district would vote for him. He was the generally acknowledged favourite in the election and had the show of hands at the nomination (*SMH*, Tues 21 Sep 1869). However, O'Neill had early stated his intention to step aside for any member of the Robertson ministry should they be in danger. At one point he withdrew from the election, but at Campbell's first address in Queanbeyan he drilled Campbell with questions of such precision and intensity Sindel stepped in to "rescue" Campbell, stating that "such examination was enough to knock the wind out of the candidate" (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 2 Dec 1869, p2). A second public requisition was made to O'Neill, this time carrying 176 signatures. De Salis withdrew so as not to split the vote against his class, and O'Neill, standing very popularly in the interests of free selectors against Campbell, was set to win a landmark election until the Premier, John Robertson, and Member for Shoalhaven, Thomas Garrett, asked him to step aside for William Forster, Minister for Lands at the time, who was in danger of being unseated. On consultation with his proposer, Hugh McTernan, and seconder, Michael Sheedy, O'Neill stepped aside for Forster.
- e. The reference to "still unpopular" is unqualified. O'Neill had never stood in an election in Queanbeyan prior to 1869 and there is no event relative to O'Neill that would substantiate this concept. It is correct that support in Gundaroo was for Campbell (*Glbh Hld*, 22 Dec 1869, p4), but O'Neill was considered the overall favourite, set to win with a significant majority until at the last minute he gave the seat to Forster.
- f. Along with other absurd comments as to O'Neill's character and history in the district, Lea-Scarlett's contention that O'Neill may have been "abashed, somewhat, at the prospect of making speeches" is ridiculous. The comment is not sourced, however, it is at odds with everything known about O'Neill, who was a gregarious and practiced speech-writer, known for his "wit and humour", often called on to make speeches, lead testimonials, to act as a delegate for many organisations and, importantly, to lead election campaigns for many people, including Thomas Garrett, Daniel Egan, William Forster, James Hart and Leopold William Fane De Salis.
- g. The reference to Hugh McTernan's private diaries as the source of information gives odd connotation to Robertson and Garretts' telegrams to O'Neill asking him to step aside for Forster. The information was public knowledge. The connotation that it is 'evidence' that O'Neill was acting as "a political tool" is Lea-Scarlett's. O'Neill's decision was stated by O'Neill in public election speeches and by Forster in a post-election speech. It was made with the full consultation of his proposer, McTernan, and his seconder, Sheedy, and McTernan himself seconded Forster's nomination. Although at the nomination, a certain amount of mystery surrounded telegrams being bandied about, with both O'Neill and Campbell referring cryptically to telegrams and one letter writer to the

Age disliked O'Neill's support for Robertson, the reason for O'Neill's withdrawal and support for Forster was, in reality, well understood. O'Neill had already withdrawn and re-entered on popular requisition when he withdrew the second time to support Forster. O'Neill's purpose was entirely to secure the return of the Robertson Ministry, a decision that was publicly expressed and understood by Forster. During his first speech in Queanbeyan following the election, Forster stated that he "understood, however, that he owed his return to the fact of his being a member of the present Government and this was no disparagement to himself individually" (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 20 Jan 1870, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30580110>]). According to the *Age* this comment was met with loud applause.

There was nothing 'hidden' about the plan by the free selection camp under Sir John Robertson for the 1869 election and it was standard election practice, and an odd deflection considering O'Sullivan's reputation. As noted by O'Sullivan's biographer, Mansfield, O'Sullivan's Protectionist Party was recognised as the most strategically organised party in NSW politics and in 1885, two years before the party system in NSW was formalised, they were already planning their strategies based on the sole aim of getting seats in the House for Protection. The 1885 election had been entirely pre-planned for several months and O'Sullivan on his own statement entered the election "as the chosen candidate of the Sydney Protectionists". O'Sullivan himself made reference to legitimate electioneering tactics and 1869 was nothing compared with the merry waltz of the 1885 election, when both Gale and O'Sullivan stood in electorates in which they had no interests, solely for the purpose of getting seats in the House for protection in a campaign organised many months in advance by people who at the time already considered themselves the "Protectionist Party" and who offered Hodgkinson money to stand for Monaro instead of Queanbeyan so as not to split the vote against O'Sullivan. Hodgkinson's refusal essentially caused him to be side-lined as a rogue by what was at the time still a camp.

It was O'Sullivan's aggressive methods, pre-planned and intentional, that was the notable aspect of Queanbeyan politics and which drew criticism, including by Sir Henry Parkes, and which later prompted other parties to act similarly in response. As O'Sullivan's own biographer, Bruce Mansfield, states

O'Sullivan worked unremittingly for the victory of the protectionist cause in the election which soon followed on the formation of the new Ministry. The experience in discipline and organization of the last years made it possible for the protectionists to assemble overnight a smoothy-running electoral machine. Parliamentarians and delegates from city and country worked together within the National Protection Association under the leadership of the joint parliamentary secretaries, O'Sullivan and Ninian Melville. Daily between 4 and 8 o'clock a large and representative committee assembled to consider prospects and deploy resources. All the well-known figures of the protectionist movement could be found busily engaged there. The committee elected a small executive to which was committed the critical business of selecting candidates. In many places the local protectionist bodies provided them with candidates without Sydney's interference. Elsewhere there was a call for help, either to provide a candidate where there was none or to remove one where there were too many. In the latter case where the discarded candidate was recalcitrant, the central committee could intervene in strength. In the end the party threatened with blacklisting for the future all protectionists who insisted on standing against an endorsed candidate. The degree of party discipline in this election, not only among the protectionists but also among their opponents, justifies the view that "modern political organization came to New South Wales, not with the Labour Party in 1891, but with the Protectionist and Fretrade parties, which developing from 1885, achieved their highest state of organization in the election of 1889."

In this sphere O'Sullivan was a pathfinder. As organizer and propagandist he was indefatigable...

- *Australian Democrat: the Career of Edward William O'Sullivan, 1846 - 1910*, Bruce Mansfield, Sydney University Press: Sydney, 1965

- h. The contention that O'Neill's campaign was "personal" is unreferenced and unqualified by Lea-Scarlett, but there is no evidence for it and at a meeting in Bungendore, O'Neill stated that he had high regard for Campbell's character and he acknowledged how Campbell had supported him in his police duties as Chief Constable (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 9 Dec 1869, p2). Along with Thomas Rutledge, Frederick Campbell was one of the Executors and Trustees of O'Neill's Estate when O'Neill died in 1886. In the same election O'Neill campaigned for Daniel Egan's return for the seat of Monaro, supported Thomas Garrett's election for Shoalhaven and then in the 1870 by-election for Monaro, campaigned for James Hart, all for the same reason, O'Neill's stated intention being to ensure the security of the Robertson government which had introduced the pivotal Land Act of 1861. The elections of Garrett, Egan and Forster in Queanbeyan was a triple victory for O'Neill, credited with virtually single-handedly ensuring the return of the Robertson ministry (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Jan 1870, p2 & *Glbn Hld*, Wed 12 Jan 1870, p4). That O'Neill supported three candidates in the 1869 election in three separate electorates, makes it evident that his reason for standing against Campbell was not "personal".

- i. On page 141 (*D & P*) in relation to the same 1869 election, Lea-Scarlett states

Vengeance was sweet for Campbell on more than one score, for O'Neill quite early in the piece had curried favour in an unexpected direction; Father McAuliffe was advising his parishioners to vote for him.¹³

Note "13" cites "Goulburn Herald, 6 November, 1869"

This reads obtusely, but if it is intended to mean that Father McAuliffe supported O'Neill in the election (the *Goulburn Herald* article cited by Lea-Scarlett is a reference to this claim), it is incorrect. Father McAuliffe "pledged his support" to Campbell in the election (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 13 Jan 1870, p2 & *Glbn Hld*, Wed 12 Jan 1870, p4). The idea that Father McAuliffe supported O'Neill was based on a false report that was refuted at the

time, explicitly with a note of annoyance in the *Goulburn Herald* that correspondents should get their information straight before commenting. The *Goulburn Herald* article Lea-Scarlett cites as the source of his information does not mention the name of the candidate Father McAuliffe was rumoured to be supporting. Nor does O'Neill's name appear in the original letter printed in the *Age* from which the *Herald* drew its information. This information appears in the *Age* articles in which the rumour is refuted. The rumour in fact was refuted with such vigour by Father McAuliffe that it gave rise in itself to a debate as to appropriate language from a priest.

At no time did O'Neill and McAuliffe engage in "political intrigue", as stated by Lea-Scarlett. McAuliffe did not advise his parishioners to vote for O'Neill in 1869 and in 1874 he blatantly supported William Forster, personally leading a meeting for Forster in Bungendore – the reason being to address sectarian hostilities invoked by J. J. Wright earlier that year.

7. The 1874 election. Of J. J. Wright, Lea-Scarlett states

...The extension of his stores into a total of thirteen branches during the local gold rushes ruled him out in the days when he was pushing William Redman, although he had a trusted manager in his brother-in-law, Matthewman Twentyman. Twentyman left town, however, in 1862 and long before 1870 Wright's commercial empire had contracted to the one flourishing store at Queanbeyan. This continued well, and even expanded, while he was in Parliament, but de Salis saw it as a 'peculiar, complicated store', which could be managed by no one but the proprietor.^{18...}

...In Parliament, true to his promises, Wright put the interests of the town of first - and, for forgetting about Parkes in doing so, received the label of 'one of those bright ornaments who support whatever party is in power'.²⁰

Note 18 reads "L. F. De Salis to H. Parkes, 2 October, 1877, quoted in A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Contests in Yass and Queanbeyan in the Seventies and Eighties', J.R.A.H.S. Vol. 45, Part 3, 1957, p.131."

Note 20 reads "L. F. De Salis to H. Parkes, 21 October, 1877, quoted in A.W. Martin, 'Electoral Contests in Yass and Queanbeyan in the Seventies and Eighties', J.R.A.H.S. Vol. 45, Part 3, 1957, p.134."

Lea-Scarlett's "Note 18" and "Note 20" in *D & P* are references to the great historian, A. W. Martin's paper, wherein he quotes letters from De Salis to Parkes.

- a. The De Salis quotes are from the same letter, that of 2 October 1877. Martin's original citations in his paper state the date correctly and his more complete citation for the letter is "L. F. de Salis to Parkes, 2/10/77. (Parkes Correspondence, 882,124." Or "A882,124". Martin was Parkes' biographer and he catalogued Parkes' correspondence for the NSW State Library.
- b. In the same October 2 letter De Salis' comments refer to the 1877 election only, which Martin identifies, with no bearing on the 1874 election.
- c. No impression should be gained by the quote of a quote, that Lea-Scarlett is representing Martin in general in his original 1957 paper. Lea-Scarlett's invocation of the great historian, Professor A. W. Martin, is questionable in places. Although it contains a couple of minor errors and Martin over-states sectarianism, Martin's 1957 paper is a very incisive work on politics in Queanbeyan, little indication of the substance of which can be gained from Lea-Scarlett's references. In his paper, Martin refers to the significant role both William Affleck and De Salis played in Parkes' political career, which although citing Martin's paper in *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett belies in his entire omission of Affleck from any mention in the politics of Queanbeyan and in his contentious and incorrect representations in *Gundaroo*. Affleck was a fellow free trade supporter and Lea-Scarlett's significantly incorrect statement that William Affleck only showed interest in an election in 1874, belies the significance of Affleck's relationships with such figures as Bernie Ringrose Wise from the 1860s and the importance of his relationship with Parkes from the 1880s. Martin also relates how it was O'Sullivan who was inclined to drown out speakers, which despite a reference to O'Sullivan and Parkes' 1887 Queanbeyan encounter, Lea-Scarlett inverts in his account of the 1898 debate between O'Sullivan and Billy Hughes at Captain's Flat.
- d. It was William Affleck who first nominated William Redman for election in 1858, pivotal to the 1860 election in Queanbeyan in which he replaced Forster as the Afflecks' candidate, a significance which cannot be ascertained from Lea-Scarlett's only reference to Redman's nomination in this section being that Wright was the man "pushing for Redman".

8. The 1874 election. On page 144 (*D & P*) Lea-Scarlett states

A sinister sectarian element had slowly emerged in colonial society and politicians made it into a serviceable tool...J. J. Wright denied a charge that he was supported by the Orange Lodge in his win in the 1874 election, but the mere suggestion decided the minds of many electors. Only atheists and pagans could be neutral.

There was nothing “neutral” about Wright’s attitude to the Catholics and while he denied he was a Member of the Lodge, his association with it was not a “mere suggestion” by ‘unscrupulous politicians’. Barely five months earlier Wright had taken an active part in the 12 July Orange demonstration and made a speech at the Lodge meeting so aggressive to Catholicism it prompted the Catholics to vote against him in the election, even preferring William Forster, who wanted to withdraw all state funding from Catholic schools (*Qbn Age*, Wed 15 July 1874, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30596328>]).

Inconsistently, in the *ADB* Lea-Scarlett explicitly refers to Wright as an “Orangeman” [<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wright-john-james-4893>]. The latter is more correct.

9. The 1874 election. In *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett compares the results for Wright and W. G. O’Neill, stating that O’Neill polled only five per cent of the votes, followed by the comment, “The judgement of Gundaroo was sound.” However, this makes no sense as

- a. the result Lea-Scarlett refers to is that for the whole of Queanbeyan, not for Gundaroo
- b. while Lea-Scarlett refers to W. G. O’Neill as Wright’s “opponent”, this was not a contest between Wright and O’Neill. Not mentioned in *Gundaroo* is that Forster entered the 1874 election and therefore the election cannot be interpreted in terms of Wright and O’Neill standing against each other.
- c. J. J. Wright won in Gundaroo by only two votes, 39, to Forster’s 37 (*Qbn Age*, Thurs 24 Dec 1874, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article30597308>]).
- d. The poll took place amid much confusion as to Forster’s last minute entry, with a false report circulated the day before the poll that O’Neill had withdrawn in favour of Forster as he had in 1869 and that he had put his support behind him. It may be therefore that O’Neill’s votes went to Forster.
- e. Wright did not gain 95 per cent of the poll as might be inferred, either in Gundaroo or Queanbeyan overall. Wright polled 53% of the total vote for Queanbeyan to Forster’s 42% (*ibid.*).

10. The 1874 election. On page 110 in *Gundaroo* Lea-Scarlett states

...only one of them, J J Wright, seemed to come within the range of Affleck’s approval. But Wright although a storekeeper and a self-made man, was Irish, bad-tempered, autocratic and contemptuous of anyone but himself; his only friend, Dr Morton, was probably the only one who aroused support from his fellow Scot in Gundaroo for the candidature of the Irish storekeeper from Queanbeyan but Wright during his single term in parliament from 1874 to 1877 said little about anything and nothing at all about Gundaroo.

In the *ADB* he states

But he was arrogant, choleric and spiteful, and his popularity began to wane after his eviction of the public school from his rented premises in September 1875, and his prosecution of Rev. A. D. Soares in January 1876 for the return of four pigeons which had nested in the church spire.

- a. The depiction of Wright in *Gundaroo* is incorrect, too extensively so for brief correction in this paper.
- b. There is inconsistency between Lea-Scarlett’s accounts of the 1874 election, noticeably in relation to Wright’s character, popularity and achievements. Far from the false comparison between O’Neill and Wright in the 1874 election in *D & P*, with a portrait of Wright as a suave, popular, working man’s hero and O’Neill as supposedly being “unpopular” and having no personality, in *Gundaroo* and in the *ADB*, Lea Scarlett gives a precisely opposite depiction of Wright, describing him as being one of the most “unpopular”, and even ‘hated’, men in Queanbeyan.

11. The 1880 election. Page 146 (*D & P*). Lea-Scarlett correctly notes that O’Neill supported Thompson in the 1880 election, but he also states that Thompson’s win

gave O’Neill cause for personal and political glee for...Hodgkinson was the most despised of his enemies a snivelling Englishman advocating entry of Chinese into the country and bringing in irrelevancies such as hereditary titles...
...“lethargic election and only about half of the electors bothered to vote.”

- a. This reads ambiguously and the intention as to informative content is uncertain, but for purposes of clarification, O’Neill was a leading figure in defending the Chinese in Queanbeyan from persecution and Hodgkinson was an “avowed protectionist”. Lea-Scarlett may be mistaking W. G. O’Neill for William O’Neill of the Dubbo Farmer’s Association, who spoke against the Chinese at a joint meeting in Sydney of the Protection Reform League and the Land and Industrial Industrial Alliance, of which John Gale was President. Although one does not, other newspaper articles specify O’Neill of Dubbo as the man in question. W.G. O’Neill’s defence of the Chinese in

Queanbeyan was well documented at the time. The most prominent Chinese store-keeper in Queanbeyan, Ah Way, ran his store from inside O'Neill's "Colonnade" building, under O'Neill's protection.

- b. Lea-Scarlett's comment that Hodgkinson was supposedly in favour of Chinese immigration is not qualified or referenced, but no evidence for this seems to exist in any of Hodgkinson's published election speeches as they were reported. It was positively stated by the *Age*, however, that Hodgkinson was opposed to assisted immigration.
- c. The turnout was not necessarily unusual although it was low, but the 1880 election was prefaced by some of the most violent disputes in Queanbeyan's electoral history over a year and a half.

12. The 1881 by-election. As correctly stated by Lea-Scarlett, Thompson resigned his seat to take a government position and Thomas Rutledge stood in the by-election for the seat. Lea-Scarlett states that a factor in Rutledge's win was that he was rumoured to be "handing out bribes of grog" with a spurious citation.

- a. Even though Lea-Scarlett singles out Rutledge in relation to grog bribe rumours, this was a common accusation at elections in Queanbeyan. Rutledge in fact won popularly and convincingly against Hodgkinson and John Gale.
- b. The citation for this is not a primary source or any direct information from the time but a reflection published in 1967, nearly ninety years after the 1881 by-election.

13. Page 146 (*D & P*). The 1882 election. On page 146 Lea-Scarlett states

The election of 1882 was the first one in which the overt operations of a local pressure group were admitted. The newly formed Queanbeyan Roads and Lands Association secured the election of its nominee George De Salis, son of Leopold Fane De Salis, and the second member of the family to represent Queanbeyan. Capitalising on the distinction already drawn by his father between the old squatters and the new, he convinced a rowdy nomination meeting outside O'Neill's Colonnade building in Monaro-Street that he would be preferable to Hodgkinson and Wright, who were both again on the hustings. A proposed further land reform had precipitated the dissolution of parliament. This reform was to give increased local control over free selection. De Salis won with flying colours against a gushing Hodgkinson and a vituperative and solely heckled Wright.

- a. George Fane De Salis was not the "second of the family" to represent Queanbeyan - he was the third and this gives altered context to the election. Leopold Fane de Dalis, snr, was Member for Queanbeyan from 1864 to 1869. His son, Leopold William Fane de Salis, was Member from 1872 to 1874 and his second son, George De Salis, brother of William, was elected in 1882.
- b. On page 110 in *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett correctly states that Affleck supported the election of George De Salis in 1882, but his claims as to Affleck's motives are contentious and based on incorrect factual information. There was nothing obscure in Affleck's motives for his support for George De Salis. In this election George Fane De Salis stood as the representative of the Roads and Lands Association. Also, one of the contenders in this election against De Salis was Hodgkinson. A focal issue, as always for Affleck, was land, but one of Affleck's main objections to Hodgkinson was that he was a protectionist.

Lea-Scarlett's contention that Affleck supported De Salis because he was "popular and successful", as well as because it agreed with his principles, is his own interpretation only, based on much significantly incorrect factual information as to Affleck's political career in general, including the startlingly incorrect statement that Affleck first became involved in elections in 1874. When Affleck proposed Redman in 1858 for King and Georgiana, Redman was a complete unknown and did not even have a seconder. Popularity and success were never priorities for Affleck. Affleck had been taking an active interest in politics for nearly twenty years before the 1874 election and during all that time and throughout his political career, one of the well-known characteristics of Affleck, as noted by Prime Minister, Billy Hughes, was that his principles were his priority, specifically referring to him as "a man of his own mind" in his 1950 *Policies and Potentates*.

14. The 1885 election. In *Gundaroo* Lea-Scarlett states that in his 1885 election address "Affleck said nothing O'Sullivan hadn't".

- a. Affleck differed from O'Sullivan in a pivotally significant way - Affleck was a free trade supporter and in his electoral address he mandated opposition to O'Sullivan's "indiscriminate Protection" (*GEPP*, Tues 3 Nov 1885, p5).
- b. In *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett states that O'Sullivan won with "one-third of the vote". In *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett states that O'Sullivan won the 1885 election in Queanbeyan "with an overwhelming majority".

A significant aspect of the 1885 election was that an election was won with only 30% of the vote. In the overall count, O'Sullivan gained less than a third of the electorate and this result in Queanbeyan in 1885 was one of the reasons that electoral regulations were later changed so that a candidate had to poll at least fifty per cent of the total votes available to secure an election, even if on preferences.

Affleck had the show of hands at the nomination and despite having the vote of the railway workers to a man, none locals of Queanbeyan, and being the only Catholic candidate in the election, O'Sullivan gained only 301 of the 936 votes available. This was not a victory in its own right by any interpretation and 20 percent shy of 50 percent of the votes, he did not represent the majority of the electorate. The general observation of this election was that a candidate was able to gain an election with less than 30% of the vote because several other candidates of popular local support stood in that election and the resultant split in the vote had a candidate returned who represented less than a third of the voters.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* stated that

Mr. WILLIAM O'SULLIVAN after having sustained a defeat at South Sydney, has secured a seat at Queanbeyan. He got in in consequence of two or three popular local men having contested the election. Had Mr. Wright retired in favour of Mr. Affleck, who had the show of hands at the poll, Mr. O'Sullivan would have had no chance of being returned.

- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 24 October 1885, p9

The *Melbourne Argus* stated that O'Sullivan

got in by a fluke at Queanbeyan, there being too many local candidates who split the votes.

- *Argus*, Tues 27 Oct 1885, p

The *Sydney Morning Herald* repeated that

At the Queanbeyan election 936 votes were polled. Mr. E. W. O'Sullivan polled only 301 of these votes, and yet he has been returned; he is, therefore, the representative of less than one-third of the electors in the district.

- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday 26 October 1885

and its November 3 editorial stated

The return of Mr. O'SULLIVAN for Queanbeyan calls for no comment, except as indicating once more how the chances of a candidate with the support of only a minority may rise in a divided electorate.

At the final count O'Sullivan polled 301 votes, with the rest mostly split between Hodgkinson (209), Affleck (193) and Wright (164).

The reflection of the *Evening News* was

Representation of Minorities.

Mr. E. W. O'Sullivan has been fighting hard for some years to become one of the representatives of the people, and he has at last secured a seat for Queanbeyan. The protectionists and full local option people will, of course, claim his return as a victory for their principles; but if they will look past the bare fact of his election, they will find that more than two-thirds of the electors who voted are opposed to Mr. O'Sullivan and the political doctrines he preached. Queanbeyan has only one member, and there were five candidates for the seat. There were nine hundred and thirty six polled altogether, out of which Mr. O'Sullivan received 304, so that less than one-third of the electors who exercised the franchise considered him a fit and proper person to have a seat in the Assembly; the number of those who held the contrary opinion being 632 against the 304 who will be represented in the Assembly. There are some prominent politicians who are in favor of turning the whole colony into single constituencies, and this miscarriage of political justice at Queanbeyan should convince them of their folly. Some years ago there were a large number of single constituencies in Victoria, and at the general election, which took place before the passing of the Electoral Act now in force in that colony, the greater proportion of the single electorates returned a member who represented a minority of the electors, and the same disfranchisement of the majorities would no doubt occur in New South Wales were it divided into electoral districts with one member each. Mr. O'Sullivan has to thank the Electoral Act, and not the electorate of Queanbeyan for his seat; but it is rather rough upon the general body of the electors to be misrepresented in the Assembly by a gentleman to whom they are opposed.

- *Evening News*, Monday 26 October 1885, p4

This outstanding fact prompted Affleck to challenge O'Sullivan to a re-contest 'mano-e-mano', which O'Sullivan declined, but saying he would do so – in three years' time. The closest Affleck and O'Sullivan came to standing against each other again was in 1894, when O'Sullivan led Thomas Colls' campaign for Yass due to Colls being ill. Affleck won and retained his seat as Member for Yass until 1904.

- c. The reference cited by Lea-Scarlett for his comment in *Gundaroo* is not, as it reads, for the comment that O'Sullivan won this election supposedly with an "overwhelming majority". This is Lea-Scarlett's interpretation only and, as noted above, the perspective about that was not the observation of the time. The reference cited by Lea-Scarlett is to the comment made by Arthur Affleck, William Affleck's father, "They've done for Wully", not that it was an overwhelming victory for O'Sullivan, as it may read due to its placement in the text. It should be noted also that this supposed quote of Arthur Affleck is not a direct reference to a primary source. The source

cited for this information is the well-known journalist and socialist Labour Party politician and native of Gundaroo, Leslie Clement Haylen. However, it dates from 1970. Haylen himself was born in 1898, thirteen years after the 1885 election, and the source for his information is unspecified. Haylen's bona fides, however, are beyond reproach and Arthur Affleck's comment is almost certainly reliable, the source perhaps being Haylen's father, Tom Haylen, who still lived in Gundaroo until 1908, before moving to Sydney. However, Lea-Scarlett's citation is not to the interpretation of the election as an "overwhelming victory" for O'Sullivan. This is significant as this was not the recognised interpretation of the 1885 election and it most certainly was not William Affleck's.

15. In *D & P*, p147, Lea-Scarlett states that "like so many of his predecessors [O'Sullivan] was supported by John Gale, himself an ardent protectionist..."

- a. While from 1885, Gale was an ardent protectionist and supporter of O'Sullivan, he opposed several of the preceding representatives of the district, including Forster, Redman and Rutledge, or was non-committed. He despised William Forster, disliked William Redman, who replaced Forster in 1860, in 1869 O'Neill gave his seat to Foster, who Gale despised. Gale did occasionally support J. J. Wright and J. B. Thompson, including in 1880, when O'Neill, Wright, Affleck and Gale united to have Thompson elected against Hodgkinson. However, in 1881, Gale himself stood, gaining only 79 votes, coming third even to Hodgkinson against Thomas Rutledge, who Gale had been slathering with unashamed hatred over the railway route and at the Hospital since 1878.
- b. While after 1885, John Gale and the *Queanbeyan Age*, whether in Gale's hands or not, were pivotal to O'Sullivan's success until 1904, prior to that there were far more significant people to elections in Queanbeyan than Gale.
- c. *D & P*, Lea-Scarlett states that the 1885 election was the first in which free trade versus protection was an issue in Queanbeyan, however this is incorrect. In 1864 both Campbell and Levy stated they were in favour of "free trade" and in the 1880 election, a main basis of O'Neill's objection to Percy Clement Hodgkinson was that Hodgkinson was a Protectionist. Gale, too, in the 1881 by-election, stated himself as supportive of free trade, when Hodgkinson, protectionist, was again an opponent in the election.

16. Page 148 (*D & P*). The 1887 election. Lea-Scarlett states

Sir Henry Parkes interfered in a Queanbeyan election for the second time in 1887, on this occasion quite directly. He came on a vote-catching campaign for the local Free Trade candidate, George Tomsitt...After being re-elected O'Sullivan censured Parkes in parliament for his interferences in Queanbeyan politics.

- a. Although Lea-Scarlett later notes that the censure motion was defeated, strictly speaking, O'Sullivan did not "censure" Parkes. It is more correct to state that O'Sullivan attempted to bring a censure motion, but this was rejected 50 to 6 in the House, considered ridiculous by even O'Sullivan's fellow Protectionists.
- b. That Parkes was in Queanbeyan supporting Tomsitt was not the basis of the censure motion, as is implied by Lea-Scarlett's reference to a "second time" that Parkes was supposedly "interfering" in Queanbeyan politics, the "first" presumably the reference to Parkes' association with Wright in 1874, as no qualification is stated for this.
- c. In 1887, O'Sullivan was not objecting to Parkes being in Queanbeyan to campaign for Tomsitt. It was not this that he considered "interfering" in an election. Then as now it was perfectly legitimate for party prominents to support local candidates. Protection leaders frequently visited Queanbeyan to support O'Sullivan during elections, including Thomas Heydon, who visited Queanbeyan with the express purpose of supporting O'Sullivan in the 1885 election, and John Norton, who campaigned for O'Sullivan in 1901. O'Sullivan's objection was to a comment made by Parkes relating to the effectuality of himself and other protectionist candidates in the coming parliament. Parkes said that if the people elected O'Sullivan as the member for Queanbeyan they would be returning a "blank", who would have no influence in parliament for the three years of his term. At the time, elections were not all held on the same day and at the time of the polling in the Queanbeyan electorate many seats had already been won by the free trade supporters and lost by protectionist candidates. Therefore, at the time of the Queanbeyan poll, free trade supporters already had the majority. It was this that O'Sullivan raised in the House as the subject of a censure motion on Tuesday, 29 March.
- d. Lea-Scarlett refers to how Tomsitt stated that the motion of the "miserable six" did not reflect the "intelligence" of Queanbeyan with a play on the word "intelligence." However, the reference that Lea-Scarlett provides for this is not for Tomsitt's comment, but an editorial that was written about it in the *Age*. Consequently, the information derived from this can only be impression based on the *Age*'s very biased pro-O'Sullivan interpretation. That the

motion was ridiculed, even by Cameron, and defeated fifty to six, makes it evident that the *Age's* interpretation of the defeat of the motion was not the shared or general view.

- e. The aggressiveness indicated in O'Sullivan's diary entry as cited by Lea-Scarlett is an accurate reflection of his attitude and methods, as was O'Sullivan's own comments about the incident in the House (*SMH*, Sat 19 Mar 1887, p2). However, to say that O'Sullivan completed the "humiliation" of Parkes by offering to quell his rowdy supporters on his behalf, is excessive. Parkes was familiar with O'Sullivan's methods and it was a basis of his personal dislike of O'Sullivan. In his address in Bungendore on the way to Queanbeyan he anticipated the heckling engaged in by O'Sullivan's supporters that night with reference to his undemocratic disruption of free trade meetings in Sydney.
- f. There was nothing "foolish" about Tomsitt's perceptions that O'Sullivan was at times fighting for his chances in Queanbeyan. Tomsitt had the show of hands at the 1887 nomination and O'Sullivan, nominated by J. J. Wright and Sam Southwell, was ridiculed during his speech. O'Sullivan did win the 1887 election, 57 to 43 per cent, but with a turn-out of just over 48 per cent, one of the lowest turn-outs for an election in Queanbeyan. On pages 110-111 of *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett omits any reference to the 1887 election, which in the overall analysis gives an incorrect impression of Gundaroo in terms of its free trade/labour support. In the 1887 election, although O'Sullivan won the Queanbeyan district overall, in Gundaroo he was outpolled by George Tomsitt, 53 to 24 (*SMH*, 28 Feb 1887), gaining 68 per cent of the vote there. O'Sullivan himself was a reasonably astute campaigner and he stated that false confidence in his supporters had resulted in him polling lower on occasions than might otherwise have been. Since his election as Mayor in 1889, by the time of his death in 1892, Tomsitt was considered a major threat to O'Sullivan.

17. *Gundaroo* (pages 111-112). This contains several issues in relation to the politics of William Affleck and O'Sullivan, the depiction of free trade versus protection in the 19th century, the references to direct taxation, O'Sullivan's position on income tax and the relationships between Affleck and the unions and the Labour Party and between O'Sullivan and the unions and the Labour Party.

Lea-Scarlett states

To E. W. O'Sullivan, an ardent Protectionist, Affleck was the embodiment of his political enemies, "store-keepers, newspaper proprietors and others who lived by the custom of the farmers."¹³ In answer to those who were viewed as the exploiters of the small man, some protectionists at first supported a policy of land nationalisation devised by the American, Henry George, and first expounded in Gundaroo and Queanbeyan by a visiting lecturer in 1888...At that stage it was not fully realised that the single tax concept was opposed by O'Sullivan who believed that income tax, which would hit the wealthy urban dwellers, was far preferable. The oppositional forces were given their doctrinal grounding at the same time by Queanbeyan solicitor Nicholas B Downing who with William Affleck represented the Queanbeyan electorate at a conference of the Free Trade and Liberal Association in Sydney in August 1889...

...the initial confusion in Gundaroo over the true association of Single Tax was removed with formation of a 'Free Trade and Liberal Association and Single Tax League', in which under the presidency of Johannes Jacob Lees, Affleck accepted office with Thomas Coleman and other selectors, but the experience of the great strike that year when fifty thousand workers in New South Wales laid down their tools quickly revealed the real basis of affiliations and Gundaroo sent its own delegate Charles Darby, onto the committee of the militant Australian Shearers' Union although he was also on the committee of the new league in the village. Between Affleck and the shearers there was no sympathy. When he tried to pose as a friend of labour, offering Sam Southwell the choice between being "a working man amongst working men, or a monopolist with Mr E. W. O'Sullivan as your leader", he received a curt reply from the Gininderra shearers that "if he appeared there they would soon let him know what they thought of him."¹⁷

On page 149 (*D & P*). Lea-Scarlett states

Although the Labor movement was formed during his parliamentary career and as veteran trades unionist, he shared many of its attitudes, O'Sullivan held out until just before his death. The conditions of his elections for Queanbeyan pre-supposed working class principles but he preferred not to submerge his particular brand of radicalism in a new one born of out of strikes, drought and depression.

The errors in these passages are too prolific and significant to address in detail in this paper. However, very briefly -

- a. Henry George's Land Tax principle was known of in Queanbeyan well before 1888 and had been a topic of much discussion. One example is that in 1886, the *Qbn Age* printed an exchange between O'Sullivan and Parkes in parliament whereby O'Sullivan, who at the time opposed George, answered a speech by Parkes on the topic (*Qbn Age*, Tues 10 Aug 1886, p2). In an incredible turn, one of many for which he was to become notorious, by 1887 O'Sullivan was stating himself as an admirer of George, in an August, 1887, speech in Queanbeyan, propounding application of George's principle as a necessary reform to the land laws (*Qbn Age*, Wed 10 Aug 1887, p2). Subsequently, at that time, O'Sullivan gained John Farrell's approval as a budding politician, with Farrell writing to the *Age*, which itself at the time was printing articles in favour of George's concept, e.g. in June, 1887, an article on the "Manifesto of Land Nationalisation Association of NSW" (*Qbn Age*, Wed 15 Jun 1887, p4).

However, in another startling turn, O'Sullivan then reversed his position on George, bizarrely referring to him as a nobody no-one had ever heard of and denouncing the land nationalisation concept as 'stupid' and 'evil', leaving people to wonder what to think of his former speeches justifying the concept and on which basis he had previously convinced electors to vote for him. O'Sullivan frequently declared that next to his religion he was a protectionist and his latter turn on George was thought to be influenced by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Rerem novarem*, published in 1891, interpreted as being opposed to George. That and many other inexcusable actions by O'Sullivan led to Farrell, who helped lead George's visit to Sydney in 1890, and the workers' movement becoming fierce enemies of O'Sullivan in a long-lasting mutual enmity. The general commentary was that O'Sullivan's understanding of George's concept was superficial and his speeches merely vote-getting exercises.

- b. O'Sullivan acted against the unions during the NSW shearers' strike in 1890, and in 1891, Affleck ran for the seat of Yass with the support of the Labour Electoral League. Throughout his political career Affleck was a semi-Labour candidate and always had the support of the unions and the Labour Party. Conversely, one of the characteristics of O'Sullivan for which he became notorious, was that despite his earlier involvement with the Trades and Labour Council, after his election in 1885, for more than fifteen years of O'Sullivan's term in parliament, his relationship with the unions and the Labour Party was one of mutual and absolute enmity. It was O'Sullivan who was specifically described by the unions and the Labour Party as "posing as a friend of labour", and 'poser' was the kindest of the names the unions and the Labour Party applied to O'Sullivan. It was O'Sullivan the Shearer's Union rejected and who McInerney accused of "imposing a bastardised unionism." During the election campaign of 1894, McInerney, the secretary of the Goulburn branch of the Australian Shearer's Union, later prominent with the Australian Workers Union and Labor candidate for Queanbeyan, denounced O'Sullivan for "posing as a friend of labour" with acute invocation of the Broken Hill strike and O'Sullivan's option to vote against the Labor Party and put protection above all else. About McInerney's position on O'Sullivan there could be no mistake and the exchanges between O'Sullivan and McInerney were unequivocal (*Qbn Age*, Sat 10 Mar 1894).
- c. The issue between Southwell and Affleck was that Southwell was a fervent protectionist and supporter of O'Sullivan, nominating him for Queanbeyan in several elections and Affleck was, and always had been, a devout free trader.
- d. O'Sullivan was opposed to income tax and Affleck had been actively campaigning for the introduction of direct taxation as opposed to duties and tariffs since the 1860s, when he had become a friend of future Attorney-General and at the time free trade supporter, Bernie Ringrose Wise. It was Wise who endorsed Affleck into the free trade movement. When O'Sullivan gained a reputation for inconsistency on almost everything else, from his protectionist stance he never veered in practice. In *Gundaroo*, Lea-Scarlett repeats his non-sequitur cut to O'Sullivan's 1887 speech in Ginninderra wherein he refers to the supposed "enemies of protection" as "store-keepers, newspaper proprietors and others who lived off the custom of the farmers". In this instance it is not in obscure and incorrect relation to the Queanbeyan School of Arts, but somehow related to William Affleck as a parliamentarian. The statement about William Affleck inferred by this is incorrect.

18. Lea-Scarlett makes a contentious comment as to economic theory in relation to indirect taxation and its effect on the working classes and the indirect means by which protection operated. The definition of free trade and protection as provided by Lea-Scarlett contains two critical flaws and most pertinently to this paper, belies the politics of both Affleck and O'Sullivan, specifically.

Lea-Scarlett's defines the difference between protection and free trade as

...the one arguing for strict tariffs to support colonial industries and encourage better working conditions, the other espousing a system of free enterprise which, whatever its final glowing objectives, was bound in the short-term to depress its working class victims in the name of liberalism.

There is too much issue with Lea-Scarlett's references to free trade and protection in *D & P* and on pages 111 – 112 in *Gundaroo* and of William Affleck's politics on pages 110 – 112 of *Gundaroo* for superficial correction. However, *very briefly*,

- a. Free trade/labour had nothing to do with "free enterprise" in the 20th century context of the term. This was prior to the introduction of wage regulation and equitable pay-as-you-earn direct taxation. Protection more closely resembled a system of indirect economic determination by free market forces, with government revenue relying solely on sales duties and import tariffs. This was the system in force in Victoria as opposed to NSW. The "liberalism" of the free trade and labour movements in NSW was precisely as was intended.
- b. It was not free trade, but protection, that depressed the working class. The recognised and defining feature of indirect taxation in the form of tariffs, duties and goods taxes, is that, being regressive, their biggest impact is on the middle and lower income classes. The purpose of the introduction of direct taxation in the form of land and/or

income tax and abolition of sales duties and import tariffs by the Free Trade party with the support of the Labour Party for the first time in 1895, was to make taxation more equitable and to ensure more equal distribution of wealth. As such it was dismissed and originally opposed as a “socialist” ideal, at a time when, in the 19th century, the concept of direct taxation was considered “radical”.

- c. Protection was not designed to protect the worker, it was designed to protect native industries with the extension that this would ensure job security. This was supposed to be achieved through the imposition of tariffs on imported goods and sales duties on local products, the illogical character of which, was one basis of criticism of protection. Initially, protectionists such as O’Sullivan sounded promising to the labour movement. However, in practice, protection necessitated the favouring of big business, and that, along with the high cost of living associated with sales taxes and import duties, were among the several reasons the workers’ movement very soon denounced O’Sullivan, specifically, among a few others, as having completely failed to represent workers in the House. Subsequently, in 1891, they chose to send in their own candidates, being roughly how the Labour Party was formed.
- d. Few would agree with the depiction of the Labor Party as a form of radicalism “born out of drought, strikes and depression”, but to say that O’Sullivan “held out” from joining it until shortly before his death gives no indication of the character of the relationship that existed between O’Sullivan and the Labor Party, which was one of absolute and mutual enmity. More than just not joining the Labor Party until 1909, one of O’Sullivan’s main aims was to fight it, in which he was joined by his protectionist backers at the *Age*. At one point O’Sullivan declared his opposition to the Labour Party to the extent that he “rejected its entire platform”. Although O’Sullivan originally had been involved with the unions and at one point was president of the Trades and Labour Council, after he entered parliament in 1885, O’Sullivan was considered a traitor to labour and the unions, labelled a “fraud” and a “sham, “posing as a friend of labour”, voting against labour principles in the interests of protection, his dominating philosophy “next to his religion”. The *Worker* denounced O’Sullivan as “a wretched failure”, and that he, along with Cameron and Garrard, had “failed to champion in parliament the cause of the wage earners” (Sat 28 Jul 1894). It stated that O’Sullivan “succeeded in getting into Parliament indirectly through the influence of the Trades and Labour Council” but then “proved as great a failure as the other two, and in later years he has settled down to the tricks of the old politicians” (*ibid.*). In 1893, the *Worker* described him as a politician who “ran with the hare and hunted with the hounds” (Sat 26 Aug, p3).

As the Labor Party emerged as a distinctive entity in its own right, it was the Labor Party the Protection Party fought and from whom they sought to blackleg the votes of the working man. At a meeting of the National Protection Union in 1897 O’Sullivan proposed engaging a ‘professional’ for that very purpose (*SMH*, Thurs 22 Apr 1897). In the 1898 election, the *Age* stated that as with a split Protectionist vote the “free trade labour supporter” would probably be returned, and that as “labor policy is opposed to Protection” and the “labor candidate” would do well in certain parts of the electorate, their “united strength must be exerted to bring about his defeat.” O’Sullivan denounced the Labor Party and fought against them in all elections until the party system changed after the 1908 “fusion” and he joined the altered Labor Party in 1909, the year before his death.

One of the outstanding characteristics of Willie Affleck’s political career was that he was very near to resembling a labour candidate and was fully recognised as such. Willie Affleck was fully recognised for his Labour principles and affiliations and in 1891 he was the Labour Electoral League’s official candidate. (The LEL was the fore-runner to the Labour Party.) There was no “posing” about Affleck’s position on working conditions or the relationship between the Reid Free Trade Government and the Labor Party. Entering parliament in 1894 with his friend, labour leader Billy Hughes, the real alliance was between the Reid Free Trade government and the Labor Party, during one of the most productive terms of government NSW ever saw, and under which, as is generally recognised, some of the most important reforms were introduced, such as direct taxation, and around which the best that can be said of O’Sullivan at the time is that he made a lot of noise. During this time, outside of O’Sullivan’s enclave, NSW was a Free Trade colony and from 1894 to 1899, while O’Sullivan was in opposition, Affleck was in government.

While O’Sullivan and the Labor Party were opposed, in 1899, the working man, and importantly, woman, put their weight behind Willie Affleck. While the trades unions and the Labor Party were calling O’Sullivan a ‘turncoat’ and a “fraud”, they were fully standing behind Affleck as a man standing for both men and women workers’ rights in the House, as depicted by Billy Hughes in an article in the *Worker* (Brisbane *Worker*, Sat 2 Dec 1899, p6 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article70928301>]), as did Louisa Lawson’s *Dawn*, referring to his *Bill* to enforce women workers’ rights in a context that went to the heart of attitudes to women (*The Dawn*, Fri 1 Dec 1899, p8 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article76966256>]).

It was the unions, the Labor Party and the Reid Free Trade government, specifically, the 1894 parliament, who were the champions of workers’ rights, which even O’Sullivan acknowledged to some extent (*Barrier Miner*, Thurs 3 May 1900, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article44255636>]).

19. Page 278 (*D & P*). The debate between Billy Hughes and Edward O'Sullivan at Captain's Flat.

The 1898 election is entirely omitted from *D & P*, but in 1898, O'Sullivan came his closest to losing an election in Queanbeyan after he was defeated by labour leader, Billy Hughes, in a debate at Captain's Flat. In 1898, O'Sullivan invited Hughes to engage in a debate with him in the mining town of Captain's Flat on the action of the government in relation to the Lucknow miners' strike. Lea-Scarlett refers to the debate in *D & P* in the chapter on *Mineral Wealth* with no mention of the 1898 election. Lea-Scarlett's account contains a misquotation of note in his brief account which states

The rough-and-tumble manners of the miners asserted themselves in an unforgettable meeting in Goggin's Hall, before an audience of hundreds, between E. W. O'Sullivan and the Labor leader, W. M. Hughes. On that occasion the miners turned against their champion's arguments, but not his person, to side with Hughes who was attacking the Government for its intervention in a miners' dispute at Lucknow. The victor later claimed that the uproar prevented O'Sullivan even from speaking.²⁰

On page 278 note "20" cites "W. M. Hughes, *Policies and Potentates*, quoted in B. E. Mansfield, *Australian Democrat*, p.133." However, this passage in Mansfield's book actually states

Finally, Goggin's Hall, was "packed to suffocation", with apparently every inhabitant of the little mining township. "The principals in the Homeric contest", Hughes recalls, "were expected to do their best; there was to be no pulling of punches. On the other hand, both were assured of fair play and a quiet hearing. This was assured by the Chairman - a Goliath of a man, over six feet high and as strong as a bull - who warned all and sundry that interjectors would be summarily ejected."

The audience heard the two speakers traverse the Lucknow affair and offer very different interpretations of the actions of all the parties involved. Both were attentively listened to and impartially applauded, but when it came to a vote, O'Sullivan could muster only 45 votes to his opponent's 300. "Queanbeyan", concluded the *Worker*, "has been misrepresented long enough."

The great victory at Goggin's Hall nourished hopes of overturning O'Sullivan with a Labour victory at the next elections, but the *Australian Star* saw more truly that, if the audience was against O'Sullivan's arguments it was not against his person.

Mansfield's quotation is from Hughes' *Policies and Potentates* (Sydney, 1950) and is essentially correct.

Hughes' original passage in *Policies and Potentates* reads

In due course the minister turned up, and at the appointed hour every living soul in the Flat crowded into the hall, which was packed to suffocation. A typical miner took the Chair, and announced the terms and conditions of the fateful debate. Sully and I drew for places - each had twenty minutes for his opening speech, then ten minutes to wind up his arguments; after which the audience would give their verdict.

Every man - and every woman too - had packed into the hall and all looked forward to a really enjoyable evening; but all were in deadly earnest. The principals in the Homeric contest were expected to do their best; there was to be no pulling of punches. On the other hand, both were assured of fair play and a quiet hearing. This was assured by the Chairman - a Goliath of a man, over six feet high and as strong as a bull - who warned all and sundry that interjectors would be summarily ejected.

Sully spoke his piece, and was heard in deadly silence, and then I followed. I found the going easy; the overwhelming majority of the people in the hall were for me, and even if Sully had been Demosthenes and Cicero rolled into one he would have failed to win them over. This became so patent to Sully that he threw in the sponge and declined to follow on. Whereupon the Chairman, putting the motion with preternatural solemnity and calling for a show of hands, announced amidst a burst of cheers, a unanimous vote in my favour.

Hughes goes on to describe the *post-debate* raucous demands of the audience to be entertained and how Granville de Laune Ryrrie stepped up and filled the demand to the appreciative gathering.

The debate was well-covered and every account of it that appeared in the papers at the time emphasised the orderliness of the proceedings and the well-behaved manner of the audience. Although O'Sullivan differed with Hughes and the newspapers and claimed that it was Hughes who challenged him to the debate and not the other way around, O'Sullivan himself stated that

It was certainly a very orderly gathering; both speakers were fairly treated, and each side was accorded cheers at the termination - not the labour party alone, as some papers stated. The chairman acted in an impartial manner, the speakers were courteous to each other, and the whole proceedings were such as to reflect credit upon all concerned.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 24 February 1898, p1

20. The 1904 election. Page 112 (*Gundaroo*). In both *D & P* and *Gundaroo* the references to the 1904 election are somewhat unclear. As is mentioned in *D & P*, but not in *Gundaroo*, in 1904 O'Sullivan stood for Belmore for the Progressive Party, the successor to the Protection Party, which all but died out at that election except for Wadell and O'Sullivan. On page 112 of *Gundaroo* Lea-Scarlett states

...it was a coincidence that took all the sting out of local politics that the expiration of the 19th Parliament, followed by a rearrangement of electoral boundaries, not only ended Affleck's political career altogether, but also put a conclusion to his logrolling Irish antagonist's representation of Queanbeyan, for into that electorate there were introduced some 600 hostile voters from the Gunning-Dalton area. In the meantime O'Sullivan's appeal continued to run high...

That O'Sullivan's career in Queanbeyan was concluded in 1904 is correct, but the sweeping impression that "O'Sullivan's appeal continued to run high" and the reason stated for him sitting for Belmore instead of Queanbeyan are not.

It is correct that the boundary change that included Boorowra in the Yass electorate had adverse effect on Affleck. According to O'Sullivan, the boundary changes in Queanbeyan did not directly affect him, as they were re-changed prior to the election. O'Sullivan's explanation for his decision to stand for Belmore was that by the time the boundaries had been re-aligned to his "views", Dr Blackall had already entered for Queanbeyan in his stead and he did not want to stand against his friend. O'Sullivan was described as engaging in a "mad caprice" to find an electorate in the election. He entered for Queanbeyan, withdrew, entered for Phillip, withdrew, and then entered for Belmore. O'Sullivan said that

As to my retirement from Queanbeyan and Phillip being a mad caprice, here are the facts, and your readers can judge for themselves. The old electorate of Queanbeyan was so cut up and altered that it is practically a new constituency. A man with my views could not have won it; therefore I retired on good terms with my supporters. Since then the adverse alterations have been modified but as my chief supporter, Dr. Blackall, is now in the field, I could not think of opposing him. Regarding Phillip I had done nothing more than speak to a number of friends who were enthusiastic for me to stand. When the Labour candidate came out I saw that there would be a dangerous and disagreeable split there, and I then voluntarily withdrew. There was no compulsion whatever in the matter. I was then pressed to stand for Belmore...

Others thought that it was because of the loss of support in Queanbeyan, that liberal support was increasing and because O'Sullivan wanted a city seat. O'Sullivan had already started looking toward a city seat in the previous election and several factors acted to make it unlikely that O'Sullivan would stand for Queanbeyan in 1904. O'Sullivan's support was on the wane in some places in Queanbeyan and in others it was completely reversed. Pivotal, by 1904, John Gale and the *Age* had turned on O'Sullivan. Ownership of the *Age* had been back in the hands of the Gale family since 1901, with Gale's son, Wilfred Ernest Gale, its proprietor, and its once unquestioning, aggressive support for O'Sullivan had changed to outright accusation of corruption. In July, the *Age* published an article that appeared in a few papers at the time accusing the Wadell Ministry of bribery to secure the election and naming O'Sullivan specifically as one of five Ministers engaging in impropriety (*Qbn Age*, Fri 22 Jul 1904). John Gale was Returning Officer in the election and friction between him and James Pike, the secretary of Dr Blackall's party, was recorded in letters to the *Age*. Pike essentially accused Gale of bias in refusing him information due to his sympathy for the Liberal Reform Party in response to which Gale claimed that he had undertaken his duties with propriety, regardless of his political affiliations and that since he had been assigned the role of Returning Officer he had expressed sympathies for neither party (*Qbn Age*, Tues 9 Aug 1904).

21. On page 165 (D & P) Lea-Scarlett states

As the depression of the nineties came on attempts were made to found little industries to aid the farmer, but all failed. One plan dear to the heart of E. W. O'Sullivan was the establishment of creameries.

On page 149 (D & P) Lea-Scarlett states that O'Sullivan's

imaginative proposal for solution of unemployment brought some relief, but his far-sighted objectives in their attempts to stimulate dairying and tourism were lost.

- a. While O'Sullivan did support investment in dairying, he qualified that he supported big creameries *only* as opposed to the butter factories on small farms, believing the big creameries as being more "profitable" (*Qbn Age*, Sat 19 Jan 1895, p3).
- b. Assumedly Lea-Scarlett is referring to O'Sullivan's extravagant public works programmes as Minister for Works, and his raising of the minimum wage for workers on government projects to 7s shillings a day in 1900. If that is the case, it is a rather euphemistic way of saying that O'Sullivan's plan completely gutted the countryside of rural workers, which was a major reason that O'Sullivan lost support in the mainly agricultural district of Queanbeyan.

O'Sullivan, who had pushed for retrenchment in the public service as opposed to direct taxation to balance the books, was now over-borrowing to offer 7 shillings a day to day labourers on government public works projects, at twice the average of 3 or 4 shillings, a wage that no other employer could compete with. The unions had been fighting for the introduction of a minimum wage for some time and O'Sullivan tried to introduce it, along union lines, into the public service. The difficulty was that it was higher than even union recommendations. The plan did help provide employment to some extent in the city, but its greater impact was that it served to outcompete all other industries and led to a gutting of the countryside of agricultural labour. O'Sullivan lost much support in his electorate, partly due to policies that left the agricultural district of Queanbeyan bereft of farm labour.

The plan was basically a revival of Henry Parkes' 1887 Publics Works scheme but with two pivotal differences – it depended on borrowed money to fund it and the wage was too high. Reid's position was that unless it was universal, O'Sullivan's policy would cause general economic harm in its disparity.

As to the 7s a day, I would be delighted if it represented general prosperity but it means a "boom" at the expense largely of the ordinary employments on which the progress and prosperity of the people depend. Unless the 7s a day becomes universal, it is clear that the result will be to draw labour into the ranks of those who wait on the Government and out of work much more urgent and profitable.
- *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 15 September 1900, p9

Of course, every man with a heart wanted to see labouring men getting 7s per day, or 77s but all knew that unsettling labor by tempting men to go to the Government bureau to look for work was not good, seeing the vital industries of the interior were being crippled by the constant drift to Sydney, which was thus produced.
-Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal, Wednesday 5 September 1900, p2

In post-depression NSW, instead of driving up the market, farmers who could not compete were forced to go without labour as workers left the farms and orchards and flocked to Sydney, to a guaranteed job on a guaranteed 7s a day. Farmers and country employers were forced to introduce labour, including foreign workers, to fill the vacuum and O'Sullivan had to keep borrowing overseas money to keep more public works programmes going to support the now swelling urban workforce.

SYDNEY, Dec. 18.

Who would sweat under a summer's sun in the harvest fields for such wages and fare as the ordinary bush farmer can afford to offer, when he can drop into a soft Government job in Sydney at the O'Sullivan's minimum rate at 7s a day? Who would? No man with any regard for the comforts and conveniences of life surely! And so it is. There is a stampede of the able bodied men from the country to the metropolis eager to take on [?] vernment paint brush, or shovel, or any other tool, familiar to the applicant or the reverse, so long as the result means two guineas a week, proximity to a pub where they sell long beers for 3d, and the certainty of being on the spot to see New Year's Day procession. But what does Mr. Hayseed think of it? His crops are ripe, and the laborers for harvesting have all disappeared. So Mrs. Hayseed and the Misses Hayseed are to be seen in the paddocks, driving reapers and binders, loading up the teams and doing men's work. When The O'Sullivan introduced the minimum wage he didn't foresee the result it would have on the farmers, who have in his electorate always stuck to him to a man. Tinkering with the wage problem, upsetting the laws of supply and demand, is not always an experiment that has a satisfactory result.
- Kalgoorlie Western Argus, Tuesday 1 January 1901

In O'Sullivan's form the plan was seen more as bribery than job-creation and while some roads and bridges projects were completed, as the money ran out others were left as white elephants, including Central Railway Station, NSW was nearly bankrupted and Sydney was left with an army of unemployed men, putting an end to O'Sullivan's only practical term as a Minister as he was shifted from Works to Lands for a few months before leaving the ministry altogether, never again to hold any equivalent position.

22. Page 112 (*Gundaroo*). Billy Hughes on Affleck. Lea-Scarlett states

Scarcely a skilful politician, Affleck was nevertheless an unwaveringly honest one...
 ...In affairs political (he) was as unsophisticated as Alice in Wonderland," wrote William Morris Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia. "The forms of the House, the range of matters discussed and the speeches delivered were to him a never-failing source of wonder. He approached every subject before the House with the zest of unspoilt youth. To watch him listening with rapt attention to Gormly, who although born and bred in Australia, spoke with a most pronounced Irish brogue, was an entertainment that made the highest flights of the Tivoli sound like a penny whistle."²⁰

Note 20 cites Hughes' *Policies and Potentates* as the source of the quotation.

- a. It is correct that part of Affleck's reputation in politics was his honesty, and even a purity of honesty that amused his fellows with its "artless" innocence (Hughes 1950). However, part of William Affleck's reputation and that of his father, Arthur, were that they were considered supreme political analysts. From the 1850s, politicians from Bernie Wise to Henry Parkes sought and exercised their advice, as Martin (1957) partly refers to and as Parkes' formation of the 1872 Ministry partly indicates. This misrepresentation of Affleck again is partly negated by Lea-Scarlett's incorrect information that Affleck only exercised an interest in elections from 1874.
- b. Lea-Scarlett's truncated quote of Billy Hughes on Affleck, extracted from a lengthy section in Hughes' book, is not correct and different context is given by that which is omitted. Hughes devoted an entire section of his book, *Policies and Potentates*, in the Chapter, *Marathon Orators*, to "Wully Affleck", in which he referred to him specifically as "a most remarkable man" and states that would not have "exchanged him for the greatest giant of them all!"

The full quotation of the passage in Hughes' book reads

Wully Affleck, whose speech was marked with a heavy Scottish accent, entered Parliament in late middle life, and in affairs political, was as unsophisticated as Alice in Wonderland. The forms of the House, the range of matters discussed and the speeches delivered were to him a never-failing source of wonder. He approached every subject before the House with the zest of unspoilt youth. To watch him listening with rapt attention to Gormly, who although born and bred in Australia, spoke with a most pronounced Irish brogue, was an entertainment that made the highest flights of the Tivoli sound like a penny whistle. When Gormly was telling the House that Lake Cargellico was one of the foinest lakes in the country, Mr Sphaker, barring the want of a dhrop of wahter," Wully looked around with a strained expression on his face, and as his fellow members roared with laughter, shook his head and sank back in his place, utterly unable to understand what it was all about.

Hughes' commentary on the 1894 Parliament was that it contained "men of their own mind" and he stated

...apart from the Labour Party, the 1894 Parliament stands out in my memory as one of the most notable I have known. Now that Labour had forced its way into the citadel, Parliament could be said to be fairly representative of the country in the stage of development which it had reached. Every section had its spokesman, and many of these were men of character and ability...the 1894 Parliament included many remarkable men. Let me tell you of some more of them...

following which he related anecdotes about a few of its members, among whom Affleck was highlighted.

23. On page 149 (*D & P*) Lea-Scarlett states

The new political theory of Labor was first heard in Queanbeyan in 1890 when E. E. Poley, an English solicitor, lectured on Capital and Labour to a small audience in the Temperance Hall. In the wake of the great strikes of the early nineties the local members of the Shearers' Union and General Labourers' Union formed the Queanbeyan Labour League in 1894, with Isaiah Lazarus as President, Labe Gregory as Secretary and Edwin H. Land as Treasurer.³⁰ Torn between the increasingly socialist leanings of some unionists, particularly in the General Labourers' Union, the League disbanded and James McInerney, secretary of the Goulburn branch of the Australian Shearers' Union stood in 1894 without its backing. At the same time, opposition to O'Sullivan from the Queanbeyan Free Trade and Land Tax Association, acting as a political cell, achieved only inconsiderable results.

On page 152 (*D & P*) Lea-Scarlett states

The first specifically Labor candidate, Henry John Sealy Hungerford, who had married Edward Land's widow, stood in 1906, but was narrowly defeated by Granville de Laune Ryrrie of Michelago.

- a. In 1894, although James McInerney refused to sign the central caucus pledge, within a general breach between the Parliamentary Labour Party/Labour Federation and the Central Committee (*GEPP*, Sat 26 May 1894, p2 [<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article98517165>]), he was the Labour candidate listed by the Labour Electoral Lobby, entering on a modified pledge. The local Leagues rejected what they considered dictatorially restrictive demands of the Central Committee and although this caused confusion as to official representation by the Central Committee, the Queanbeyan Local League, led by Lazarus and Gregory, considered McInerney's pledge sufficient for him to have their support and both Lazarus and Gregory were among those signing the requisition for his nomination. The local League had not disbanded at this point in June, less than two weeks before the election on July 10.

Mr. McInerney and the Pledge.

Mr. McInerney has received a letter from Mr. Gregory, secretary of the Queanbeyan Labour Electoral League, with respect to the caucus pledge. Mr. Gregory says that he has informed the Central Committee that the league had not asked Mr. McInerney to sign the caucus pledge and did not intend to ask him to sign any more pledges, as he had already signed one which was now in his (the writer's) possession. Mr. Gregory pointed out to the Central Committee that they would keep a candidate signing pledges. He condemns the caucus pledge, because it would not allow a candidate to give a direct answer to a direct question, and for other reasons. He also denounces the Central Committee for threatening to declare bogus a league of tried unionists. He thinks that so long as Mr. McInerney pledges himself to the six planks of the platform that is quite sufficient.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Saturday 30 June 1894, p4

A note in the *GEPP* in May stated that the local Trades and Labour Union had disbanded, but that this was not to be confused with the Labour Electoral League.

A meeting of the Queanbeyan Trades and Labour Union was held on Saturday evening at Land's Hotel, when it was decided to disband the union. The funds in hand, about £5, were donated to the Queanbeyan District Brass Band. This union must not be confounded with the Labour Electoral League.

- *Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, Thursday 24 May 1894, p4

The local Labour League disbanded later and opponents to O'Sullivan were sometimes informally referred to as Free Trade/Labour until 1904, before in 1906 Hungerford stood as a specifically Labour candidate.

- b. In 1894, the Free Trade candidate, Alfred Conroy, and Labour candidate, McInerney, between them polled 697 votes to O'Sullivan's 718, as a result of which, again with a split vote against him, O'Sullivan slipped in with barely 51% of the total vote.

The labour party emerged from the movement that was generally sweeping the world in a natural progression toward egalitarianism and equality. The exercising of the democratic right to strike was the result of the labour movement, not the cause of it.

24. On page 152 (*D & P*), Lea-Scarlett states David Morton as an “old O’Sullivanite”. However, the requisitions for 1895 have him listed as nominating Free Trade candidate, W. H. Palmer, against O’Sullivan.

25. On page 126 (*D & P*) Lea-Scarlett states that payment for Members commenced in NSW in 1891. This is not correct. Payment for members was introduced in 1889. The Parliamentary Representatives Allowance Bill was introduced by the Parkes Free Trade Government in June, 1889, and passed on 20 September, 1889, effective from that date.