May 2019 vol 41 no 2

Australiana

RESEARCHING, PRESERVING AND COLLECTING AUSTRALIA'S HERITAGE

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COVER
Bookcase, made of River Red Gum and Baltic pine. Design attributed to George Strickland Kingston (1807–1880), maker probably Thomas Bell (1810–1871), possibly commissioned by the Corporation of the City of Adelaide c 1841.
Photograph: Sam Noonan

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THOMAS GRIFFITHS Book box, Queensland and exotic specimen timbers,
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fitted with velvet lined drawer with makers ink stamp, 20cm high
$2,000–3,000

Lamborn and Wagner (attributed) yellow gold brooch
kangaroo, emu, possum and bird, 19th century
no makers marks visible, 4 x 4.5cm, 12.6 grams
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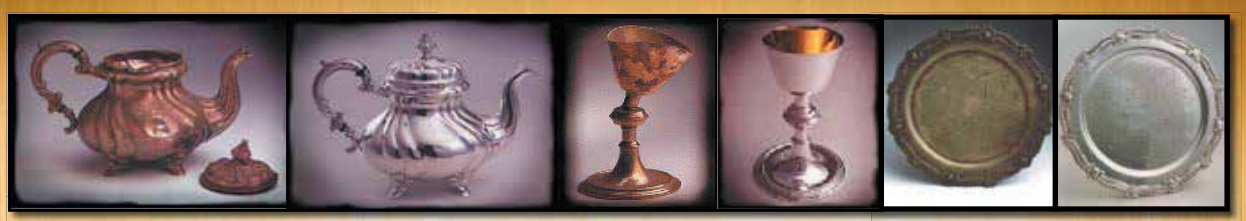

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Kingston's vision:
South Australia's earliest and most enigmatic piece of colonial furniture

Three South Australian researchers explore the possible genesis and history of a massive red gum bookcase which came up at an Adelaide auction in 2017. Using a variety of evidence, sources and methods, they identify the bookcase as a very early piece of South Australian furniture and mount a case for who commissioned it, who designed it and who made it, when and why.

JUSTIN GARE,
PETER SCAMMELL AND
ANDREW KLENKE

In 2017 a large, four-door bookcase made of River Red Gum appeared at an Adelaide auction, presented as an important piece of furniture in the Regency Gothic style, made c 1845 (**plate 1**).[1] It is the first major piece of Australian colonial furniture made almost entirely out of Red Gum known to have survived.

Clearly the piece was built as a major statement and at considerable cost. Its appearance raised many questions. Why was it made of Red Gum, such a difficult timber to work and unsuitable for fine cabinetmaking? When was it made and who designed and built it? Who commissioned it and for what purpose? Why was it never completed? How did such a striking piece disappear, literally without trace, and how did it survive in near perfect, unaltered condition? An objects conservator, estate valuer, and a heritage architect set out to unravel its origin and history.

1.
Breakfront bookcase, made of River Red Gum and Baltic pine, h 3.1 m. Unusually, the sides of the bookcase have been panelled. Photograph: Sam Noonan

2.
The solid panel doors with interlocked grain characteristic of Red Gum. Tri-clustered engaged columns are very rare in Australian colonial furniture. Photograph: Sam Noonan

3.
The original colour of the polished timber seen on the leading edge of the shelf protected from fading, by the stile of the door. Photograph: Sam Noonan

Scammell's auctioned the bookcase on 27 November 2017, lot 186. Tobias Crilly, decorative arts auctioneer, suggested it may have been made for the Adelaide City Council (1840) or the Legislative Council (1843). It had been part of the estate of Manfred and Beverly Stibr at Semaphore, a coastal suburb of Adelaide. Their children and grandchildren are unclear where it was purchased, but think it was most likely bought locally in the late 1970s or early 1980s.

Allan Aughey OAM, Mayor of Clare and Gilbert Valleys Council, generously purchased the bookcase for $58,250 and donated it to the Clare Library provided that it remain in South Australia and be accessible to the public.

Description

The breakfront bookcase is enormous. Standing 301 cm high, 244 cm wide and 73 cm deep, its massive, solid appearance impresses even the most casual observer. It is executed in an overtly architectural style of Gothic Revival.

The bookcase is made almost entirely of River Red Gum, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*[2] (**plate 2**), which has faded to a dark golden brown. Inside, protected from light, the timber retains its rich blood-red colour; the polished edges of the shelves show how striking the bookcase must once have been (**plate 3**). It is in original condition, with no alterations, virtually no damage and very little wear and tear.

Design and construction

The bookcase has two distinctive design elements. The first consists of four sets of tri-clustered engaged columns (that is, a cluster of three columns joined to each other and to the stile of the door, not freestanding) attached to the hinged side of each door stile of both the upper and lower sections (**plate 4**).

Secondly, each of these eight sets of clustered engaged columns is capped with an octagonal block, which forms its own separate breakfront, apparent on the plinth, waist and capital. We shall refer to these as secondary breakfronts. The carcass is constructed with framed end panels, top and bottom, because solid planks of Red Gum are not dimensionally stable.

Evidence that the bookcase is unfinished

The bookcase's entablature does not consist of a projecting cornice, as one might expect, but a crenellated parapet or battlements, as well as several other peculiarities:

- a 330 mm gap in the centre of the apex, which has a sturdy supporting structure behind it (**plate 5**);
- the crenellations are not continuous, but with blank sections directly above the four sets of engaged columns (**plates 5–6**);
- the external mitre of the breakfront is lap-dovetailed leaving end-grain exposed to the front (exposed end grain, particularly to the façade, is the cabinetmaker's cardinal sin) (**plate 6**);
- the semi-octagonal blocks of the upper tri-clustered pilasters support nothing; they terminate in broad semi-octagonal plates. The top sides of these plates retain evidence of pit saw marks from the original milling and hand-plane chatter marks, all of which have been polished over (**plate 6**).

These peculiarities make sense if some ornamental device, such as an armorial crest, sat at the apex of the raking parapet and the octagonal blocks were capped with octagonal turrets or similar, as the Gothic Revival style of the bookcase might suggest (**plate 7**). These additions would continue the strong visual vertical thrust, creating a striking architectural roofscape. The recessed parapet becomes part of a well thought out, sophisticated and balanced profile. The bookcase would no longer appear as heavy or truncated; see the artist's impression (**plate 8**).

This might imply that these decorative elements were removed. However, no screw or nail holes coincide with the locations of possible missing elements, while all the surfaces are polished, with no silhouettes or shadows of missing components. This shows that they were never present (**plate 6**); therefore, we believe the bookcase was never completed.

Adding the likely missing design elements of the Red Gum bookcase would make the bookcase taller (**plate 8**). Considering the vertical emphasis of Gothic design, the missing central motif would probably be taller than it was wide, taking the final height to more than 340 cm.

4.
Detail of primary and secondary breakfront, showing scratch-stock mouldings and the tri-clustered engaged columns supporting an octagonal secondary breakfront. A secondary tri-clustered column forms the moulding to the vertical glazing bars. This terminates at the base with a turned plinth resting on an un-moulded and un-weathered sill.
Photograph: Sam Noonan

5.
Gabled crenellated parapet with a supporting structure behind the truncated apex, contemporary to the bookcase's manufacture.
Photograph: Sam Noonan

6.
External mitre of the parapet with un-crenellated section, forward facing lapped dovetails, abruptly terminated gable moulding and semi-octagonal block with saw and plane marks, all indicating a missing component. The absence of polish marks, screw or nail holes suggests that there was never anything there and that the bookcase was unfinished.
Photograph: Sam Noonan

The designer

How common are Colonial three-metre high bookcases? We surveyed about 70 bookcases illustrated in the reference books *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture*[3] and *Australian Furniture*.[4] The two tallest bookcases, both Gothic and both cedar, are the same height as the Red Gum bookcase, slightly over three metres. The first is housed in Government House, Hobart (**plate 9**).[5,6]

The second bookcase was considered to have been made in NSW c 1880 (**plate 10**).[7] However, we discovered that it bears a singular resemblance to this 1848 newspaper description of a bookcase designed by colonial Adelaide architect, George Strickland Kingston:[8]

7.

James Wyatt designed the well-known Fonthill Abbey, constructed 1796–1813 in Gothic Revival style. Its sale in 1822–23 transfixed the public imagination only for the tower to collapse three years later. Fonthill Abbey's extensive use of crenellated gables, parapets and octagonal turrets were indicative of contemporary thought of how Gothic should appear

> On Tuesday we inspected a piece of furniture, of which the maker may be justly proud, and the future owner contemplate with entire satisfaction, as the perfect realization of his own beautiful design. It is a bookcase of noble dimensions, (fifteen feet in length by eleven feet in height) composed entirely of colonial cedar; and the design, being purely gothic …. The six upper doors, which close upon fifteen book-shelves, and are to be handsomely glazed, will be in perfect keeping with the whole; and each of the panels in the doors of the lower compartments is enriched by heraldic shields in bold relief. Within these doors are thirty cabinet drawers, doubtless intended to be severally furnished by G. S. Kingston Esq., the architect, who has designed this very chaste and handsome piece of furniture for his own use, with the choice specimens of the varied productions of South Australia. Mr. Bell, of Rundle-street, the maker ...

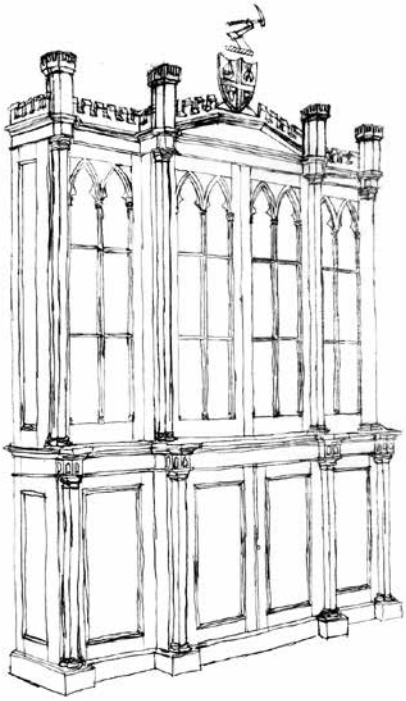
The cedar bookcase now in Sydney matches the one described above, with some of the specimen drawers still intact. Justin Gare examined this bookcase carefully to find many minor alterations. Numerous pieces of evidence, such as the abrupt termination of the faceted half-columns, lacking capitals, on the lower section, point to the possibility that a horizontal section has been removed from the bookcase, most likely a row of drawers. This could not be confirmed without removing the upper section of the bookcase. If this is the case, it may explain the discrepancy between the 11 ft (335 cm) height cited in the newspaper article and the current height of 301 cm. If the bookcase were originally 11 ft or 335 cm, it would be the tallest bookcase, along with the completed Red Gum bookcase.

This cedar bookcase (**plate 11**)– even bearing Thomas Bell's maker's stamp "T. Bell" – is the same South Australian piece described in the 1848 newspaper report cited above. We now know that this cedar bookcase was designed in Adelaide by George Strickland Kingston and made by Thomas Bell in 1848.

The Red Gum bookcase and the Kingston/Bell bookcase share two other peculiarities rarely seen in Australian furniture. The first is the use of tri-clustered engaged columns. We found tri-clustered engaged columns on only one other piece of colonial furniture, a c 1850 bookcase in Government House, Hobart (**plate 9**).[9]

Christies in London sold an 1815 English bookcase which had tri-clustered engaged columns on 16 September 2014, lot 195.[10] This example has similar trefoil plinths and capitals and banded columns. No examples of this detail could be found in the hundreds of cabinets in the *Pictorial Dictionary of British 19th Century Furniture design*.[11] This search is not exhaustive, but it does indicate how rare this detail is.

The second peculiar detail is the use of primary and secondary breakfronts. The primary breakfront refers to the central section of the cabinet that projects forward, creating two wings set back from the central front. The secondary breakfront refers to the four individual projections that either support or cap the engaged columns. These primary and secondary breakfronts occur to both the upper and lower sections, including the waist (**plates 1 & 4**). This creates, in effect, a series of projecting and receding planes on the capital, plinth and waist, as compared to a simple straight moulding. As yet, we are unable to find this combination of primary and secondary breakfronts in any other Australian colonial furniture. This detail of primary and secondary breakfronts is found, in various forms, in a relatively small number of British examples, shown in the *Pictorial Dictionary of British 19th Century Furniture design*,[12] possibly because it complicates opening the doors. On the Hobart cedar bookcase



8.
Artist's impression of the completed bookcase design with octagonal turrets and crest. Drawing: Justin Gare

9.
Gothic bookcase in Government House, Hobart, stamped with a broad arrow and King's Yard mark "K Y", indicating a date of no later than about 1836. The bookcase has tri-clustered engaged columns and is over 3 m tall. Photograph: Peter Hughes

10.
Cedar bookcase designed by Kingston and made by Bell for Kingston, in 1848. It appears to have had a section removed from above the lower doors, probably a row of drawers, reducing its original height of 11 ft to 10 ft. This may explain the un-capped columns to the lower section. This and the completed red gum bookcase, appear to be Australia's tallest 19th-century bookcases. Collection: St Aloysius' College, Sydney

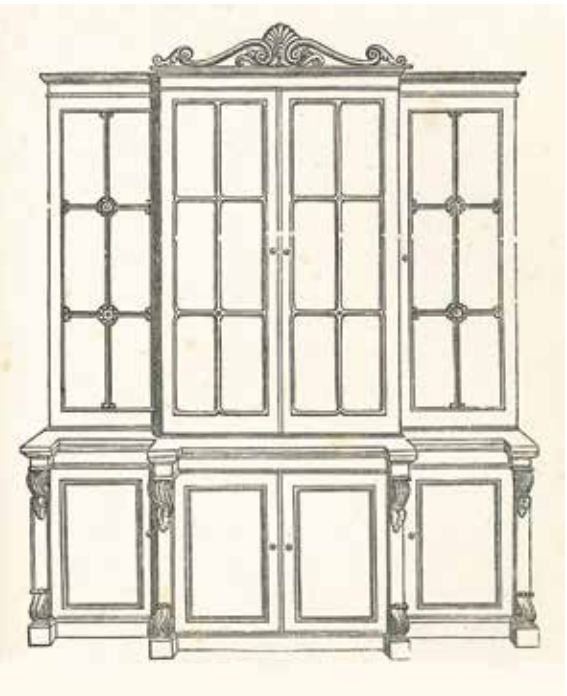
(plate 9), the columns touch the door when it is opened but on the red gum and Kingston/Bell bookcases, the columns are engaged to the door stile and the door swings freely. The individual doors are asymmetric to accommodate the extra width of the columns.

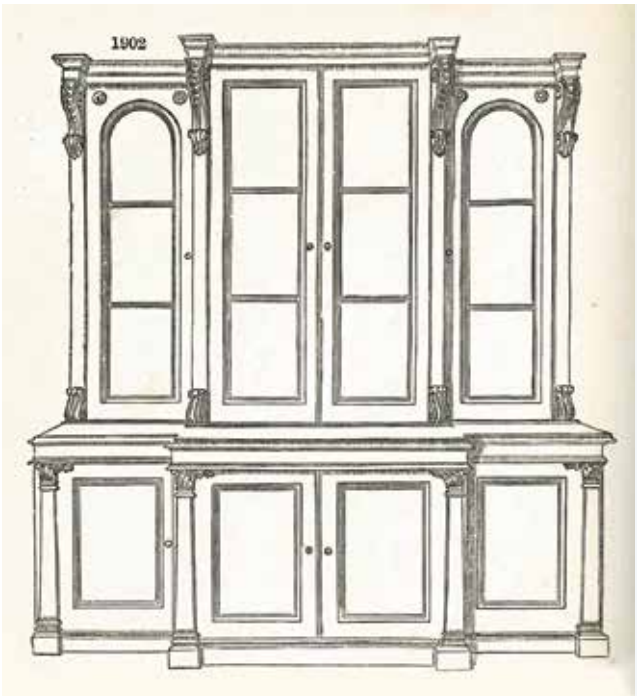
Loudon's popular 1833 pattern book, *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture,* contains two examples most reminiscent of the red gum bookcase in regard to their proportion and the primary and secondary breakfronts, though neither pattern shows the detail to all levels (**plates 12a–b**).[13] In South Australia, Kingston had access to a copy of Loudon's book, which is a likely source for the basic carcass design for the Red Gum bookcase.[14,15]

Overt architectural detailing distinguishes both bookcases from other 19th-century Australian colonial furniture. Both are of massive scale, a prominently recurring characteristic of much of Kingston's architectural work, as Donald Langmead noted.[16]

Based on the use of numerous unusual details discussed above, common to both Kingston's 1848 cedar bookcase and the Red Gum bookcase, we attribute the design of the Red Gum bookcase to South Australia's colonial architect George Strickland Kingston.

11.
Maker's stamp of Thomas Bell on the 1848 cedar bookcase, designed by Kingston. Collection: St Aloysius' College, Sydney





12a-b.
Two patterns for breakfront bookcases, from J. C. Loudon's *Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture*, 1833. The Red Gum bookcase is possibly an adaptation of these precedents, fitted with columns rather than brackets for decoration

South Australia and Kingston's vision

Kingston was and still is a controversial character with no shortage of detractors. He has been unfairly cast as the villain in most historical accounts of the early years of settlement. However, we need to understand Kingston to understand his work. Donald Johnson, who is well acquainted with the controversy that Kingston's name can incite, advocates remembering Kingston's character as analysed by Langmead:[17]

> … his honesty and forthrightness, often tactless, bordered upon aggressiveness; certainly, it won him few friends. Perhaps he was naïve enough to believe that others would respond with honesty for honesty. There is little doubt that Kingston was arrogant, and when he found himself in positions of authority, he seems to have been incapable of exercising that authority graciously … But his quick temper and superciliousness must not be equated with a lack of personal integrity.

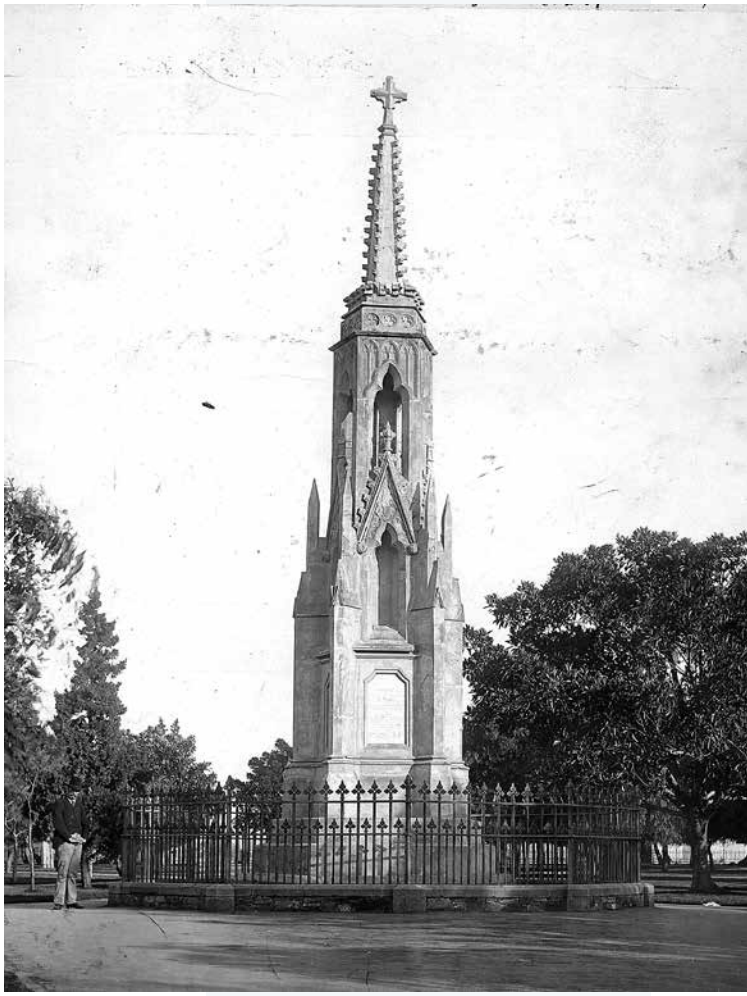
George Strickland Kingston (1807–80) was born in Ireland (**plates 13 & 15**). His early career appears to have been of a practical and ordinary nature, providing him with a good grounding as a civil engineer and possibly, to a lesser extent, in the related fields of planning and construction.

In March 1834, aged 27, he moved to London and volunteered his services in various capacities to the South Australian Association at Adelphi Terrace for a period of two years. Langmead suggests that he was initially motivated by ambition but became a "firm and idealistic supporter of The Idea (of a South Australian colony) within a few months …"[18] and he became a "preacher of civil, religious and political liberty".[19]

Dickensian England in the 1830s was a firmament sparkling with social reformers such as Jeremy Bentham, Robert Owen, John Loudon, John Roebuck, James and John Stuart Mill, who were ardent proponents of the utilitarian movement.[20] This movement found traction in Edward Gibbon Wakefield's proposals for systematic colonisation, which prompted Robert Gouger to form the South Australian Association. The Association became a practical focus for numerous energetic and enthusiastic men, such as Kingston. "He stood out among his peers in the establishment as committed to the idea of the colony of South Australia. That was not true of many others, including his immediate superior" [Colonel William Light].[21]

The energetic Irishman believed in and was eager to contribute to the Utopian vision and he rose to the occasion in many capacities. He actively lobbied parliamentarians in the long and protracted negotiations to pass the *South Australian Act* 1834 in the House of Commons. Then as head of the Survey Department for the South Australian Association, Kingston became "(t)he principal practical planner of the expedition to settle the South" Australian colony.[22] He was responsible for "preparing plans for permanent and temporary buildings and, most importantly, in charge of designing the 'plan of Town'"[23] and preparing strategies for "the survey of the coast of the colony with a view to ascertaining the proper site for the town." These strategies became the basis of the Colonial Commissioners' instructions to Colonel Light.[24]

In August 1834, Kingston was instrumental in forming the South Australian Literary Association, soon to become the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association. The association



collected books from over 150 donors, which eventually formed the basis of the South Australian State Library.[25]

Arriving in South Australia a month after Light on 11 September 1836, Kingston spent most of the next two months exploring and assessing the Adelaide plains as Deputy Surveyor under Colonel Light. During this time, he discovered the site for Adelaide, "studied its qualities, determined its suitability, and then successfully argued for its adoption."[26] In 1838, without formal training, he began his architectural career with a commission to design Government House. Other major early works were the Wesleyan Chapel (1838), Public Offices in Victoria Square (1839), Congregational Chapel (1839) and Adelaide Gaol (1840).

In November 1840, he was appointed the town surveyor for the newly formed Adelaide City Council. Sometime before May 1842, he designed a Gothic monument to Colonel Light, who had died of tuberculosis on 6 October 1839 (**plate 14**).[27]

Kingston's altruism became increasingly evident as the colony progressed. He maintained an active interest in the progress of setting up the British Empire's first free public botanic garden in Adelaide, in 1839.[28] He fought against foreign investment in Burra's 'monster' copper mine, such that the profits would stay and benefit the state. Even after Kingston had established his own financial security so that he need not have worked again, he became a politician identifying "with every movement to advance the colonial interest … and reformer of the highest school";[29] perhaps most notable were his efforts to secure universal male suffrage, the first Australian colony to do so (well before Britain) and one of the first Australian colonies to introduce the secret ballot. Even Pike

13.
S. T. Gill (1818–1880), *George Strickland Kingston*, a drawing from *Heads of the People*, 1849. Kingston had by this time become quite wealthy, despite his battered old hat. Collection: State Library of South Australia B350

14.
Colonel Light Monument designed by Kingston in 1842, demolished in 1905, Kingston's most architecturally complex building. Collection: State Library of South Australia PRG 280/1/17/88

15a.
Charles Hill (Australia, 1824–1915), *The Proclamation of South Australia 1836,* c 1856–76, Adelaide, oil on canvas, 133.3 x 274.3 cm. Collection: Morgan Thomas Bequest Fund 1936, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide. Thomas Bell can be seen on the far left holding up his child, next to his wife Margaret. George Kingston is shown in profile behind the two boys next to the drum in the centre

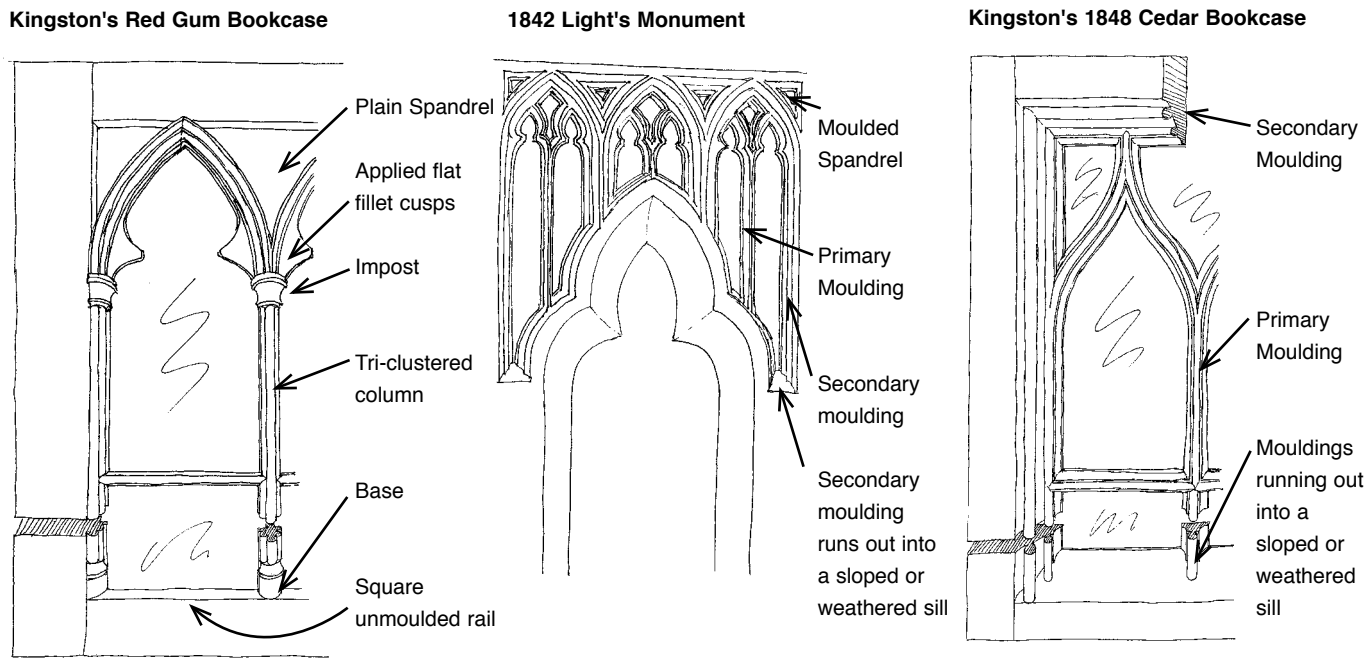
15b.
Charles Hill (Australia, 1824–1915), *The Proclamation of South Australia 1836,* c 1856–76, Adelaide, oil on canvas, 133.3 x 274.3 cm. Collection: Morgan Thomas Bequest Fund 1936, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide. Detail showing Thomas and Margaret Bell

concedes, after presenting a damning description of Kingston, that "as a champion of civil and religious liberty he was almost unsurpassed."[30] He was knighted in 1870.

The cabinetmaker

Between 1839 and 1843, almanacs and trade directories list 13 cabinetmakers advertising in Adelaide.[31] Most of these advertisements are notices of starting up their trade upon their arrival in the colony. None of these cabinetmakers distinguished themselves within their field, with the notable exception of Thomas Bell. Several of Bell's specific works are noted in Adelaide newspapers of the late 1840s.

Bell (1810–1871) had trained as a cabinetmaker in London and had established a "reputation as an accomplished cabinet-maker."[32] Bell and his family sailed to South Australia with Kingston on the *Cygnet*. He was apparently considered a person of desirable character and skill to be accepted into the employment of Colonel William Light as a carpenter for his survey party, under Kingston's supervision. Bell completed his work on Colonel Light's survey team in



September 1837 before establishing his own cabinetmaking business.

During this period of 16 months, on board the *Cygnet* and then working together, it is likely that Kingston had become well acquainted with Bell's character and workmanship. Bell's cabinetmaking business attracted both private and government work, including fitting-out the government infirmary and dispensary.[33] Bell probably continued a professional relationship with Kingston, who supervised the construction of many private and government buildings.

Bell completed commissions for the Colonial Secretary, Robert Gouger in August 1839[34] and another bookcase of "colossal dimensions", possibly also designed by Kingston, for Edward Stephens, the manager of the South Australian Banking Company.[35] Bell family descendants maintain that Thomas Bell made all the furniture for Adelaide's Government House, although no documentary evidence exists to support this claim.[36]

Perhaps an indication of Bell's standing in the community is the fact that 20 years after Proclamation, Bell and his family are curiously prominent in Charles Hill's painting of the event (**plate 15 a–b**).

After he arrived in May 1841, Governor Grey cancelled many government contracts. The ensuing recession forced Bell to sail to Hobart in July 1841 in search of work. Bell returned to Adelaide five years later, in June 1846.

In 1848 when Kingston designed the cedar bookcase now in Sydney, he chose Thomas Bell as cabinetmaker. This would seem an obvious choice for Kingston, because of their long and close acquaintance, Bell's reputation and experience as a cabinetmaker and the apparent absence of any competing cabinetmaker of his calibre. For the same reasons, we assume that Kingston turned to Thomas Bell to make the red gum bookcase.

Bell eventually left for Melbourne in 1852 and had a long and remarkable career as a cabinetmaker in Victoria, his work being "warmly commended" by HRH the Duke of Edinburgh.[37]

Use of Red Gum

Expert in wood identification Dr Jugo Ilic determined that a sample of timber taken from one of the shelves of the bookcase is River Red Gum, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*. The sample is the same timber as the rest of the cabinet, except the linings to the back and the internal parts of the drawers.

16.
Seriation of Kingston's Gothic arches, with a detail of the arch from Light's monument drawn from a photograph taken in c 1890. Collection: State Library of South Australia PRG 280/1/17/88

17.
The Gothic arch of the Red Gum bookcase contains five distinct components, trefoil columns, turned capitals and plinths, single radius arch and a flat fillet that forms a cusp. Photograph: Sam Noonan

18a.
Detail of Kingston's 1848 cedar bookcase, showing the ogee Gothic arch formed from a single primary moulding that forms the glazing bar. Collection: St Aloysius' College, Sydney

18b.
The primary moulding of the glazing bars is framed by a secondary moulding which forms a frame and a central mullion. The glazing bars terminate at the bottom with a heavily sloped (weathered) sill. These details owe more to architectural design than conventional cabinetmaking design. Collection: St Aloysius' College, Sydney

The earliest reference to exporting Red Gum as a furniture timber was in August 1843. This was from Adelaide. Trial exports of Red Gum in the form of "furniture logs" were about to be sent to England where it was fetching prices similar to that of common Honduras mahogany,[38] inferring that earlier shipments had already been made, presumably from Adelaide.

The first reference to a piece of furniture made of red gum was also in Adelaide, in January 1844, a pair of Red Gum cabinets made by "Mr Allchin" for Governor Grey's wife and delivered to Government House.[39] It describes the Red Gum "folding doors and other parts of the exterior" with the mouldings cut in Blackwood.[40] The idea that Red Gum was actively marketed for export from South Australia as a cabinet-making timber is strengthened by numerous articles appearing only in Adelaide newspapers, following the debate over tariffs on furniture timbers in Britain. The first appeared in August 1845,[41] another in April 1846[42] and finally in 1847, which reported that the Board of Customs in Great Britain had exempted Australian Red Gum from duty because it "properly comes under the denomination of furniture wood".[43]

After Adelaide began its trial exports "very large shipments of red gum for furniture began to be exported from Port Phillip."[44] This export industry from both Adelaide and Melbourne appears to have been short lived.

The second reference to the use of Red Gum was in 1845, when a cabinet maker in Melbourne worked up some of it (Red Gum) into a loo table.[45] An 1849 reference to the same table explains that Lewis Kalz of Little Bourke Street made this "regular triumph of colonial art" over several years, from many samples of different timbers.[46]

In 1852, auction notices in Melbourne list a curious cluster of Red Gum pieces, such as drawing room chairs[47] and a couch, both made by Thwaites of Melbourne.[48] The Red Gum was a decorative component and not necessarily part of the upholstered structure. Another 1852 auction notice lists a bookcase simply as a "unique red gum book-case".[49] The fact that these pieces were from household auctions suggest that they were pieces made at an earlier date and were from deceased estates or pieces being sold to upgrade to more fashionable styles of furniture. The whereabouts of these examples are unknown.

The evidence suggests that the use of Red Gum as a fine cabinetmaking timber originated in Adelaide and was confined to the decade of the 1840s.

Date of construction

On the premise that Kingston designed the Adelaide bookcase which was most likely made by Bell, we have attempted to date it by its style, the hardware used and by the tools used in its construction.

Style

We seriated the Red Gum bookcase with two other Gothic works by Kingston in an attempt to date its construction.

Kingston's first known Gothic work was his monument to Colonel Light (**plate 14**) designed between late 1841 and May 1842. His second known Gothic work was the Sydney cedar bookcase, made in 1848 (**plate 10**). We can seriate the three Gothic examples, despite the differing media, because all three have strong architectural references in common. Kingston is known to have supplied the "detailed working drawings" of the Light monument to the stone mason as work progressed[50] that allows a degree of confidence that we are viewing Kingston's actual details, not those of the stone masons.

The 1842 and 1848 examples share similarities in the arches that are absent from the Red Gum bookcase (**plate 16**). The series of low relief arches in the blind tracery of the 1842 monument and the 1848 arched glazing bars show the use of primary and secondary mouldings that merge into a horizontal weathered sill (**plate 18 a–b**).

The Red Gum arch (**plate 17**) has no continuous moulding either primary or secondary and no weathered or sloped sill, but an unmoulded square rail (**plate 4**). Instead the sinuous Gothic lines are replaced with five distinct components: engaged columns; turned capitals (or imposts) and plinths; a single radius moulded arch; and an awkward flat fillet that forms the cusp of the arch, in silhouette only. The details of the arch are disproportionately small, unnecessarily complicated and aesthetically incoherent. Additionally, the triangular spandrel formed above and between the arches, is simply left as a blank un-moulded recess (**plate 17**).

This contrasts with the arches in low relief that decorate the space above the central Gothic aperture of the 1842 monument. The spandrels above the arches are moulded and bear some aesthetic relationship with the adjacent tracery. The cusped arches are formed with the use of a single continuous primary moulding, enclosed in a larger secondary moulding (**plate 16**).

In the 1848 design, Kingston has chosen a simple ogee arch with a continuous primary moulding. The ogee of the arch is formed from circular segments of the same radius that, when put together, form a series of arches that reproduce an inverted arch of the same shape above. The whole tracery or glazing bars are then also framed in a larger secondary moulding. The result is a simple coherent aesthetic that is uncluttered and elegant (**plate 18 a–b**).

The three Kingston Gothic works show a clear evolution of ability, the Red Gum bookcase displaying the least proficiency of design. We conclude that the design of the Red Gum bookcase pre-dates Kingston's 1842 monument.

Langmead had observed that the 1842 monument was the most architecturally complex design Kingston had attempted,[51] "much more finely detailed" and "artistically more ambitious than any of Kingston's own earlier designs."[52] The monument would have significantly exercised and expanded Kingston's Gothic vocabulary. The Red Gum bookcase would have been more nuanced, as evidence of Kingston's progression, if it had been designed after the monument.

19a–b.
The earliest wood screw found in the crenellated parapet of the Red Gum bookcase, with characteristic blunt nose, hand-filed head and hand-cut slot, commonly made prior to 1837. Photograph: Sam Noonan

Hardware

Three types of wood screws are used in the Red Gum bookcase. The first type hasblunt threads (non-gimleted), distinctive longitudinal scoring on the shank, hand-finished heads and hand-cut slots (**plate 19 a–b**). These details are characteristic of a type of screw manufactured prior to 1837, when they were quickly superseded by improvements in machine production.[53]

The second and most abundant type of wood screw has a blunt nose with a parallel thread and root diameter that does not taper, similar to the first type (**plate 20 a–b**). However, the head of the screw shows circular machine marks characteristic of Thomas W Harvey's US patent 148 of 1837.[54,55]

The third type of screw is barely distinguishable from the second, having a slightly pointed thread and a tapering core. Correlating this third type of screw among the many transitional screws of the time as described by Jenkinson is

20a–b.
Harvey patent wood screw of 1837, with characteristic blunt nose, parallel thread, parallel core, concentric machining marks to the head and machine-cut slots. Photograph: Sam Noonan

21.
Transitional screw type found in a Rechabite cabinet made in Adelaide in 1848. Collection: State Library of South Australia SRG 164/137/10

22.
Characteristic marks made by a pit saw on the back of the crenellated gable. Photograph: Sam Noonan

difficult. Jenkinson discusses the complex and convoluted development of the wood screw between 1831–1850 at length, concluding that "the blunt pointed parallel shank and thread [as predominantly found in the Red Gum bookcase] was the accepted type of screw worldwide, although the tapered root diameter and parallel shank and thread, was becoming popular in the early 1840's."[56]

To test Jenkinson's timeline, we investigated cabinetry of known dates from Adelaide. Only two dated pieces of cabinetmaking from Adelaide could be located: Kingston's cedar bookcase made before May 1848, and a Rechabite cabinet in the State Library of South Australia dated June 1848.[57] The screws from both cabinets have blunt points and parallel threads but tapered cores or "root diameters" (**plate 21**). These 1848 examples of screws are not found in the Red Gum bookcase but do tally with Jenkinson's timeline from the early 1840s to about 1850.

Hence, the wood screws are consistent with the bookcase being made in the early 1840s.

Tools of construction

Pit saw marks are visible on various inconspicuous surfaces of the bookcase, particularly on the wider planks such as the top of the bottom section, and the back of the gabled pediment (**plate 22**). The irregularity of the saw marks corresponds to the slight rocking of the pit saw as it is drawn back and forth (or up and down) by the sawyers. This is distinct from the regular curved pattern of a circular saw.

Pit saw marks indicate a very early period in the developing colony before ready access to circular sawmills and other powered machinery. Colonial Secretary Milner planned to build a sawmill at Hindmarsh, just east of the city in May 1839.[58] However, the oldest sawmill in the colony was believed to have been constructed in 1839.[59] The South Australian Company had a sawmill in August 1841 that had long since lain idle.[60] The increasing availability of sawmills would suggest that the time of manufacture of the Red Gum bookcase was consistent with the early 1840s.

All the above features converge to suggest construction in the early 1840s, most likely before Colonel Light's monument was designed in May 1842.

Adelaide in the early 1840s

The economic development of Adelaide, unlike other Australian capital cities, depended wholly on free settlers. It was not artificially buoyed by convict labour but driven by the labour of the colonists. Consequently, industry was slower to develop. Under Admiral John Hindmarsh (Governor 1836–38), South Australia's economy struggled to gain traction. When Governor Gawler arrived in Adelaide in October 1838 he found "the colony in a state of complete disorganization and stagnation";[61] "four thousand immigrants were still eking out a miserable existence in dilapidated tents and shanties on the fringes of the city limits."[62]

Nathaniel Hailes wrote the most evocative descriptions of this period, published in the *South Australian Register* in 1878. On arriving in March 1839, Hailes delivered the government dispatches to Governor Gawler at Government House, which he described as "… an extraordinary uncouth and repulsive structure. Its walls were of limestone and the roof of thatch …" and resembled a moderate-sized barn.[63]

He describes Adelaide:

23.

Martha Berkeley (Australia, 1813–1899), *North Terrace, view taken looking east,* 1839, Adelaide, watercolour on paper, 34.2 x 45.0 cm. Collection:, Art Gallery of South Australia, Adelaide, South Australian Government Grant 1935. Adelaide in 1839 before the tree stumps had been removed from the streets, the town consisting of a collection of ramshackle, mostly single story timber buildings

> At that time it resembled an extensive gipsy encampment. Not the semblance of a street existed on the land, although all the main streets had been duly laid down on the plan. It was in fact an extensive woodland, with here a solitary tent and there clusters of erratic habitations. There were canvas tents, calico tents, tarpaulin tents, wurleys made of branches, log huts, packing case villas, and a few veritable wooden cottages, amid which here and there appeared some good houses …[64]
> … It was easy to lose oneself in the heavily wooded city even in the daytime and at night it was scarcely possible to avoid doing so." Some months later when they began to remove trees and their stumps where the streets were to be, "(t)here were pitfalls and man-traps in all directions …[65]

Hailes obtained accommodation in a cottage that was previously the Bank of South Australia on North Terrace. He describes the building as a timber-shingled, three-roomed weatherboard building, evidently with no ceiling.[66] Other government buildings "consisted mainly of weatherboards, scattered over different parts of the forest, as though some special advantage were obtainable through their being widely separated."[67]

Hailes' observations correlate well with Martha Berkeley's watercolour of North Terrace c 1839 (**plate 23**) and J Hitchens lithograph of Adelaide looking southeast from North Terrace c 1841 (**plate 24**).

To stimulate the economy, Gawler borrowed funds for government building projects: primarily Government House, Victoria Square public offices and the Adelaide Gaol, all designed by Kingston. This in turn prompted the building of many private buildings, including the Congregational and Wesleyan Chapels, also designed by Kingston. Hailes observes that 1839 and 1840 were the years when official squabbles gave way to productive energy, public buildings were constructed from brick and stone, and houses built of two stories instead of one. They even built a 28-foot, 9-ton cutter, the *O. G.* at Glenelg.[68]

By October 1840, South Australia had accrued a large debt, and funding was withheld. Addresses to Governor Gawler expressing anxiety that bills were no longer being honoured began to appear in the papers from 26 February 1841. Thomas Bell and George Kingston were among 1,478 colonists who signed a letter seeking assurance that their bills might be paid, published on the front page of *The South Australian* on 23 March 1841(**plate 25**). Governor Gawler was recalled.

The new governor, Captain George Grey, arrived in Adelaide on 10 May 1841 and quickly imposed stringent economies, cutting the government's wages bill and cancelling contracts, inducing a severe depression. Grey notoriously refused to pay 2/6 for a pane of glass and 8 pence to an office boy to sharpen pencils.[69]

A sixth of the population became unemployed. By 1842, 642 out of 1,915 houses in Adelaide were abandoned.[70] Hailes observed that all were living beyond their means when the recession hit like a "torpedo".[71] "The economy was

24.

J. Hitchen after a painting by Edward Opie, *View of Adelaide, North Terrace looking South East, 1841*, lithograph. Collection: State Library of South Australia. B7070. Adelaide in 1841 was still essentially only a village amid a forest

insolvent. The panic was universal."[72] Hailes describes the exodus of the colonists of Adelaide to the country, to grow their own food, having no money to pay for it. It was not unusual to see a well-to-do person labouring in his "Bond street wellingtons and his waist encircled by a richly ornamented vest" unable to afford proper working attire.[73] Governor Grey's draconian measures lasted until his departure in 1845.

A grand Red Gum bookcase was more likely to be constructed before May 1841, when Governor Gawler was spending extravagantly, than in the following era of severe depression presided over by Governor Grey.

Origin of the commission

We do not know who commissioned the Red Gum bookcase. It is unlikely that an invoice or record of payment exists, as the bookcase was never completed. We could find no mention of its construction in any newspapers of the time, despite many other articles referring to noteworthy pieces of furniture constructed by local cabinetmakers.

Considering the early stage of development of the colony, the possible options for its origins are limited. The bookcase's overwhelming size, Gothic style and choice of difficult but highly figured timber suggests that it may have been an aspirational piece for a large house or corporation.

Commissioning of the bookcase is most likely associated with an architectural commission of Kingston's between 1839 and 1845. Based on Langmead's list of Kingston's work, the extravagant architectural commissions for which a bookcase of this nature would seem appropriate are:

- Government House, March 1839
- Cummins House, 1842
- Seacombe House, 1842
- Kingston's Grote street residence, 1842
- The Corporation of the City of Adelaide (CCA), January 1841

Kingston's other architectural work of this period was of low cost and utilitarian, particularly after 1840.[74]

1. Government House

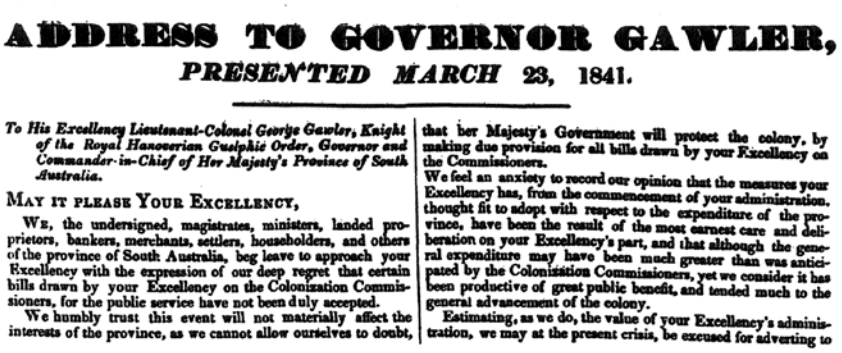
In October 1838, Governor Gawler commissioned Kingston to design a governor's residence; its east wing was completed in 1840. Gawler's verbal contract with Kingston was described as "makeshift and irregular".[75] "Gawler and his officers were too ready to rely on verbal contracts, to accept tenders of their friends … and to ignore even the most casual supervision of public work."[76] Each of his departments had questionable practices such as purchasing luxury items at exorbitant prices, vague receipts for large sums and duplicate payments for the same items.[77] If Kingston's commission included a bookcase, it may not have been recorded. Descendants of Thomas Bell claim that he made all the furniture for Government House, but are unable to cite any source, or identify the commissioning Governor.[78]

By May 1841, Gawler was recalled to England, replaced by Governor Grey whose austere rule led to cancelling many government contracts. If Gawler had commissioned the bookcase either personally or as Governor, his unexpected recall may explain its incomplete state, as he left South Australia before it was finished. It is unlikely that Kingston would have designed a Neo-Classical building and not pursued the same style for its furniture.

The provision for a coat of arms or crest is difficult to justify. If it were destined for Government House, the bookcase may have displayed the royal

25.

Front page of *The South Australian*, 23 March 1841, accompanied with over 1,478 colonists' names requesting assurances from the Governor that their bills would be honoured



ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR GAWLER,

PRESENTED MARCH 23, 1841.

To His Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler, Knight of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Province of South Australia.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

WE, the undersigned, magistrates, ministers, landed proprietors, bankers, merchants, settlers, householders, and others of the province of South Australia, beg leave to approach your Excellency with the expression of our deep regret that certain bills drawn by your Excellency on the Colonization Commissioners, for the public service have not been duly accepted.

We humbly trust this event will not materially affect the interests of the province, as we cannot allow ourselves to doubt, that her Majesty's Government will protect the colony, by making due provision for all bills drawn by your Excellency on the Commissioners.

We feel an anxiety to record our opinion that the measures your Excellency has, from the commencement of your administration, thought fit to adopt with respect to the expenditure of the province, have been the result of the most earnest care and deliberation on your Excellency's part, and that although the general expenditure may have been much greater than was anticipated by the Colonisation Commissioners, yet we consider it has been productive of great public benefit, and tended much to the general advancement of the colony.

Estimating, as we do, the value of your Excellency's administration, we may at the present crisis, be excused for adverting to

coat of arms which would probably still be in its possession. A sense of propriety would have restrained Governor Gawler from displaying his own (unofficial) coat of arms.

2. Cummins House

Although Langmead states that the architect remains unknown for John Morphett's Cummins House,[79] it was very likely Kingston. Kingston and Morphett were acquainted in London, sailed on the *Cygnet* to South Australia and explored the Adelaide plains together. Their professional lives continued to entwine, both being founding members of the Freemason's Lodge of Friendship and both knighted in 1870 after long careers in politics. Kingston and Morphett were good friends and it would seem reasonable that Morphett would have chosen Kingston as architect for Cummins House, particularly, as Langmead concedes, Kingston was the best architect available and the only one with credible architectural pretensions.[80]

Cummins House, built in 1842, was a large, lofty-ceilinged, five-room cottage well able to display the tall bookcase, but the house is reserved almost to the point of being plain. It is difficult to imagine the overtly Gothic bookcase sitting comfortably in this setting.

If Morphett had commissioned Kingston to design the bookcase to coincide with the building of Cummins House, it could not have been made by Thomas Bell who had relocated to Hobart in 1841. It would also be difficult to explain why it was unfinished.

3. Seacombe House

Kingston designed Seacombe House for the manager of the South Australian Banking Co, Edward Stephens, in October 1842. An arched colonnade spanned the entire front façade of this elegant summer house. In 1848, Stephens had Thomas Bell make him a "colossal bookcase", which had semicircular panels to the doors, and which presented the "appearance of a series of Saxon arches."[81] Its "colossal" size and architectural references suggest Kingston designed it as well as the house.

If Stephens had commissioned Kingston to design the Red Gum bookcase, why was it stylistically incongruous and why was it unfinished? When Seacombe House was built, Thomas Bell was working in Tasmania.

4. Kingston's Grote Street residence

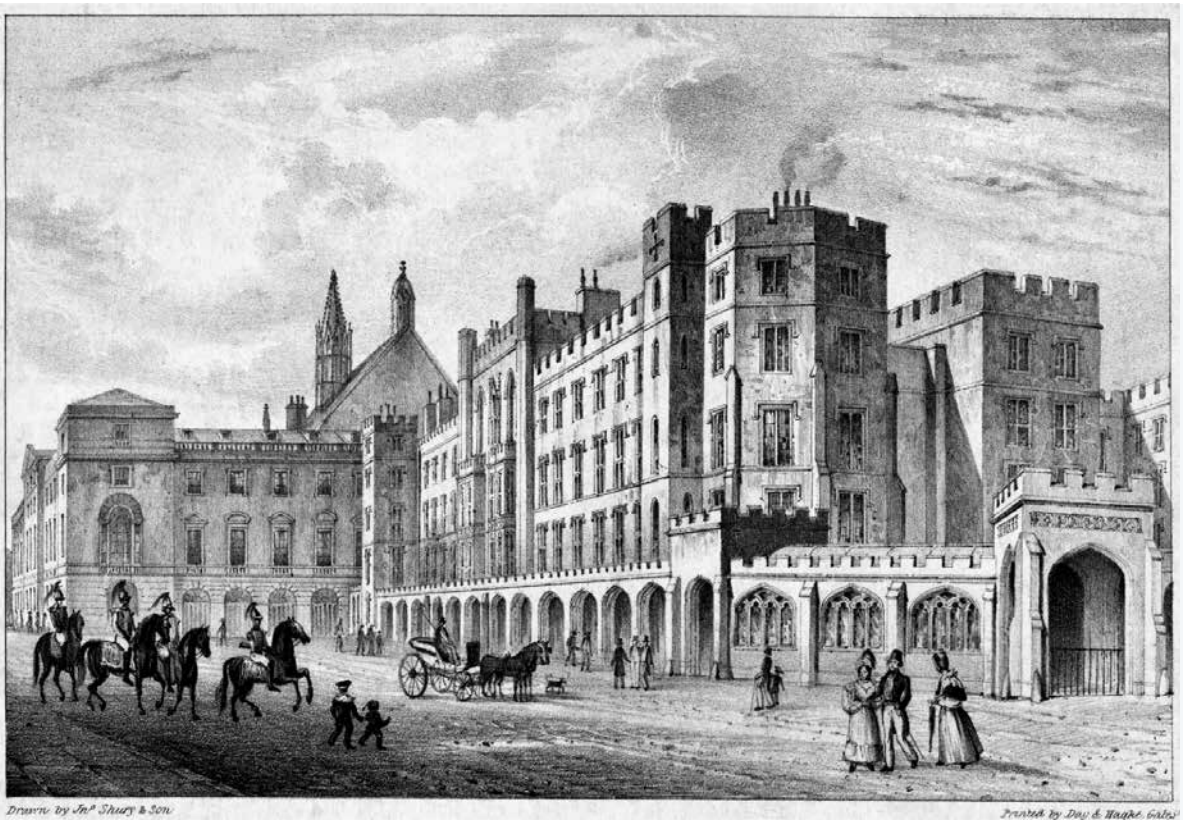
Kingston may have designed the bookcase for himself. As Kingston began to receive large amounts of money from his shares in the Burra copper mine, he commissioned Thomas Bell to make the cedar bookcase in 1848. Past behaviour is the best predictor of future behaviour, so it may have been that Kingston's 1848 commission had a precursor in the Red Gum bookcase attributed to Bell.

Kingston's behavioural inclinations suggest that he was predisposed to commissioning such a statement bookcase. Kingston borrowed large sums of capital even before he left London, to establish himself in South Australia. Once in South Australia his "financial position would be precarious for years to come."[82] Despite this Kingston still maintained grand pretentions and, according to the William Wyatt entry in the list of old colonists of South Australia, brought with him a 22-foot mahogany extension table, perhaps the first hint of his penchant for large pieces of furniture.

In November 1840 Kingston was appointed the town surveyor for the Corporation of the City of Adelaide (CCA) on a salary of £400 a year. Langmead describes Kingston as "still so down at heel" at this point.[83] The CCA minutes reveal that he was required to pay a £500 bond for this position; Kingston had to borrow this from his friends Charles Mann and John Brown.[84] The promise of a reliable salary may have prompted him to commission the Red Gum bookcase.

At this time, Kingston was living in Grote Street in a prefabricated 'Manning house'.[85] His 1842 extension was probably large enough to accommodate the Red Gum bookcase, considering Langmead cited the house as an example of Kingston's characteristic use of "massive scale".[86] However this coincides with his rapidly diminishing income. Kingston's income from the CCA was cut in half to £200 by October 1841.[87] As the CCA's financial troubles compounded, this was slashed to £100 just eight months later.[88]

The depression bit hard into Kingston's private work, reducing his architectural commissions. He received only seven commissions in 1841–2.[89] In 1843 he had only two commissions, his



26.
Drawn by J. Shury & Son, printed by Day & Haghe, *Houses of Parliament* in London where Kingston lobbied for the passing of the *South Australian Act* 1834

wage from the CCA was still unpaid, and he was surviving from only a small income from the Assurance Company.[90] Although Kingston was not averse to the risks of living on credit, it seems unlikely that he would have been able to pay for the bookcase, despite his readiness to borrow money.

5. The Corporation of the City of Adelaide

The Corporation of the City of Adelaide (CCA), now Adelaide City Council, offers the best circumstantial evidence for the origins of the unfinished Red Gum bookcase.

The CCA was formed in October 1840 in rented premises in Hindley Street, following a period when "colonists were carried away in a flood of extravagance" supported by government spending.[91] The Corporation began in the same optimistic spirit "swelling with pride"[92] in its achievement of forming the first municipal authority in the British Empire.[93]

The CCA started spending borrowed funds, despite not yet having an income. Generous wages were allocated to council staff, including £400 salary for Kingston. In December 1840 a subcommittee was established to furnish the council rooms with a budget of £250 of more borrowings.[94] Considering the average weekly wage for a cabinetmaker was £1.10s, the council's furnishing budget was generous if not extravagant.

In early January 1841 Kingston drafted plans and specifications for the new Council rooms. Only the specifications survive from which Langmead concludes "the sumptuousness it described exposed the Corporation's clear if overblown image of its importance."[95] Langmead recounts the elaborate details of the CCA brick building with an arcaded verandah with plastered ceiling and freestone paving. "The prestige intended in the accommodation was indicated by such details as the skirting boards, fourteen inches high – the highest used in any of Kingston's contemporary designs. The architraves of the doors and windows, at eleven inches wide were also the most expansive he had ever specified."[96] These specifications should be taken in the context that 22 months earlier Adelaide was described as a "gipsy encampment". Even 15 years later when Kingston designed Ayers House – arguably Adelaide's finest house at the time, built for Sir Henry Ayers, probably Adelaide's wealthiest man – the architraves were a mere nine inches wide.

In January 1841 the Council purchased furniture worth £153.[97] This furniture does not appear to include the bookcase as it was not listed in the auction notices of the CCA furniture,[98] suggesting that no bookcase was ever delivered. By 26 February 1841 many Government bills were not being honoured and the extravagance and optimism quickly disappeared. This was succeeded by Governor Grey's slash-and-burn fiscal policy. Consequently, the new Council rooms were never built.

Kingston had been used to verbal contracts such as those of Government House and the casual, if not absent, supervisory environment of the construction of the Adelaide Gaol. With Council money allocated for furniture for the new offices he was designing, Kingston may have taken it upon himself to engage a cabinetmaker to make the bookcase, before the building

of the new Council rooms was cancelled. This would have allowed enough time for the bookcase to be partially constructed before the economic climate turned. Fiscal restraints were a novelty to Kingston and work on the cabinet may have been suspended in anticipation of the Council's finances improving.

Bell, who had largely undertaken government contracts, found his sources of income evaporate almost overnight. He sailed for Hobart in July 1841, establishing a cabinetmaking workshop in Brisbane Street.[99] The bookcase may have remained in his Adelaide workshop until he returned five years later to find that the CCA no longer existed, and the unfinished bookcase was no longer required. A new chapter in Adelaide's economy was unfolding, bringing large sums of money to be spent on more fashionable items.

Other evidence supports the Council hypothesis. Listed among an audit of CCA assets in 1841 is a drawing of a coat of arms costing £5, which may have been intended to be carved and set on top of the bookcase.[100]

The only surviving records from the first CCA are the handwritten Council minutes, covering the entire period of its existence 1840–43. Characteristically, with few exceptions, the minutes omit details of the actions taken by the various Council committees. Contractors' names are recorded only when a contract was finalised and the contractors paid.

What of the Red Gum bookcase?

Had the bookcase been a commission for a domestic setting its story may have ended here. But there are many enigmatic qualities to the bookcase that deserve explanation. What inspired Kingston to design what may have been his first piece of furniture? Why in Gothic, a style he had never worked in? Why such a colossal piece built so early in the colony? Why was it made of Red Gum?

Kingston, who was less restrained by architectural influences of a formal training, may have referenced or emulated the deeply ritualised and symbolic world of the Freemasons for his design for the Council rooms. He was a founding member and Senior Warden of the Lodge of Friendship in London, later became the first Master of the Lodge in Adelaide and would have certainly understood the solemn use of symbolism. If the bookcase were intended for the Council rooms, its sheer size might suggest that it was most likely to be a statement piece. But what statement would Kingston have wanted to make?

27.
Unknown artist, *The Palace of Westminster on Fire,* 1834. Collection U. K. Parliament Art Collection WOA 1978. The turreted gable is the House of Commons where Kingston had lobbied parliamentarians only months before the fire

Kingston certainly had reason to be proud of his many contributions to the settlement of South Australia and later he was to express great pride in his achievements.[101] He was an ardent disciple of Wakefield's principles and understood that the conclusion of systematic colonisation was self-government. This may have been foremost in his mind when he pulled out all stops to design the 'sumptuous' new Council rooms, the seat of the first democratic local authority in the British Empire in Australasia. Possibly this was to be his grand statement, perhaps even an ideological expression heralding the concluding stage of Wakefield's plan and the crowning achievement of the men of reform back in England and the utopia that they planned and worked so hard to set in motion, himself included.

The brief to design the new Council rooms would presumably have come from the elected council. Four members of this Council – mayor James Hurtle Fisher, treasurer John Morphett and councillors Charles Mann and John Brown – were all zealous advocates of Wakefield's plan and the South Australian Association in England with Kingston. They would have understood

the significance of the new Council and their part in its foundation and would likely have supported Kingston's desire to make a grand statement. So despite the fact that Adelaide was not much more than a "gipsy encampment" and the streets were barely recognisable as such, Kingston designed what was probably the largest bookcase in the country at that time (possibly the 19th century), as a statement, anticipating the final chapter of Wakefield's vision, self-government.

Kingston, for his first piece of furniture, chose Gothic, a style he had not previously used. Kingston's design *modus operandi* was to sample previous work and rework them into his own designs; therefore they had an outdated quality about them. For example, Langmead and Johnson present a case that Kingston reworked a 17th-century Cantaneo town plan while incorporating the current reformist views to produce an internationally unique design.[102] Although the Adelaide plan was progressive, Langmead comments time and again "a decade out of date",[103] "choice of an obsolescent style" and "Kingston chose the Regency style long after it was *passé* in Britain."[104] This appears to be the case with his Red Gum bookcase, if indeed he based it on the two Neo-classical bookcases from Loudon's 1833 pattern book (**plate 12a-b**). Even though he reworked the designs almost beyond recognition, the bookcase retains a dated Regency appearance, not entirely explained by colonial naivety.

Kingston's novel choice of Gothic may simply have been because it had been declared the style appropriate for London's new democratic institution, the Palace of Westminster (Houses of Parliament). Kingston would have been aware of the deeply rooted English emotional connection with the Gothic style, as Loudon described in 1833:

> Towers, battlements, buttresses, pointed windows, mullions, and porches have been, from infancy, before the eyes of everyone who has been in the habit of attending his parish church; and, when-ever they occur in other buildings, they recall a thousand images connected with the place of our birth, the scenes of our youth, the home of our parents, and the abodes of our friends.[105]

This inherent quality of Gothic was not just of the people, but also of their governing institutions. This would have been ingrained in Kingston, who lobbied for the *South Australian Act* 1834 on visits to the archaic Gothic building, the old House of Commons (**plate 26**). Shortly afterwards he witnessed the catastrophic fire that destroyed the building in October 1834 (**plate 27**). Public debate quickly began about which style the Parliament should be rebuilt in, Neo-Classical or Gothic Revival. The "most conspicuous and politically important architectural commission of the century"[106] was awarded in February 1836 to the Gothic Revival design by Charles Barry and A. W. N. Pugin.

A month later, Kingston sailed for South Australia. The construction of the new Houses of Parliament begun in 1840, the year CCA was founded. Characteristically, Kingston did not choose the new and fashionable Puginesque style of Gothic Revival but chose instead the "obsolescent" archaic Gothic like that of the old Westminster Palace (**plate 26**). The Gothic of Kingston's bookcase could well be referencing this building not just because it was the centre of democracy but also because this is, in an official sense, where South Australia was first founded with the passing of the *South Australian Act* 1834.

We can only conjecture how Kingston arrived at the design of the bookcase and what precedents he used. It would be well within Kingston's ability as an architect to take the quintessential elements of the Gothic of the old Parliament and apply them to Loudon's patterns (**plate 12 a-b**). Langmead lists five architectural books Kingston was known to have owned before 1841, including *Illustrations of the public buildings of London* by Augustus Pugin and John Britton.[107] This book contains a chapter devoted to Westminster Hall complete with an illustration of its gable between two crenellated turrets. Kingston's lodgings in London were such that he would likely have passed the striking skyline of the Palace of Westminster every day to attend his work at the South Australian Association on Adelphi Terrace. The image of its burnt-out silhouette may have lain dormant in Kingston's mind until he first chose to try his hand at the Gothic style.

Red Gum appears to be a conscious choice of timber. The earliest recorded use of Red Gum as a cabinetmaking timber was January 1844. Kingston knew the timber was not particularly suitable for cabinetmaking, having observed as early as 1837 that South Australian timber was "very heavy, hard and difficult to work".[108] He may have stipulated the use of Red Gum not because of its suitability, but because it was representative of South Australia. Australian cedar, which is an attractive and easily wrought timber and readily available in Adelaide as early as 1838, would have been a more pragmatic choice, but it would have been seen as an import from NSW. Similarly, blackwood, another favoured furniture timber, would have been seen to be a Tasmanian timber.

Conclusion

The discovery of George Strickland Kingston's 1848 cedar bookcase facilitated a confident attribution of the Red Gum bookcase to Kingston and its place of origin and manufacture as Adelaide. This attribution is based on three very unusual if not unique details in Australian furniture that are common to both bookcases. These characteristics are the use of primary and secondary breakfronts, tri-clustered engaged columns and a height well over three metres.

Numerous means of dating were used to establish the likely date of construction to the early 1840s, most likely during the period of economic expansion associated with Governor Gawler (1838 to May 1841).

The Red Gum bookcase was presumed to be associated with one of Kingston's early architectural commissions. Of the possibilities, the City Council of Adelaide conforms to the circumstantial evidence most seamlessly by providing:

1. *the means for it to be made* - £250 of borrowed capital for furniture and furnishing in late December 1840;
2. *the occasion for the commission* – plans for the new Council rooms;
3. *the reason for such a statement piece* - the first municipal authority in Australia;
4. *the reason for the use of Red Gum* (and not cedar) - symbolic of place i.e. South Australia;
5. *the reason for the incomplete state of the bookcase* – the collapse of the colony's economy and moribund finances of the Council; and
6. *the reason for a crest or coat of arms* – the Council had purchased a drawing of a coat of arms sometime prior to 14 August 1841.

Thomas Bell was most likely the cabinet-maker of the Red Gum bookcase, because of his reputation as a prominent cabinetmaker and his known association with Kingston.

The Red Gum bookcase predates the earliest documented piece of furniture made in Red Gum and is the only piece known to survive from the early colonial period. If our dating is correct, it is the earliest piece of furniture made in South Australia known to have survived. It represents a hitherto unknown facet of Kingston's design *oeuvre* – furniture. As such it is an early essay in his conception of furniture for specific architectural settings.

We suggest that the Red Gum bookcase was Kingston's first foray into the Gothic Revival style. It referenced the archaic Gothic style of the Old Westminster Palace, London, seat of democracy and the place where South Australia, with its promise of democracy, was founded on 15 August 1834. This symbolism is nuanced with the use of Red Gum, emblematic of South Australia.

Little of Kingston's work survives intact today. Of Kingston's 69 architectural projects, 28 were houses, of which "only eight remain and all have been altered, some almost beyond recognition".[109] Significantly, the Red Gum bookcase in its unaltered but incomplete state, along with Kingston's 1848 cedar bookcase, provide an expansion of Kingston's body of work from which he may be critiqued.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We thank John Videon for his insights, direction and ability to read 19th century copperplate. Tobias Crilly, Helen Weidenhofer, Richard McCarthy, Richard Phillips, Brian Woodlands, Peter Lane, Cameron Stuart, Peter Hughes, Kristin Phillips, John Hawkins and, of course, Donald Johnson contributed research, observations and insights.

NOTES

1. https://auctions.scammellauctions.com.au/lots/view/1-KGWT9/colonial-breakfront-bookcase, accessed 10 Feb 2019.
2. The auctioneers commissioned Dr Jugo Ilic to identify the timber.
3. Kevin Fahy, Christina Simpson & Andrew Simpson, *Nineteenth Century Australian Furniture,* David Ell Press, Sydney 1985.
4. Kevin Fahy & Andrew Simpson, *Australian Furniture*, Casuarina Press, Sydney 1998.
5. K Fahy, C Simpson & Simpson, *op cit* p 284.
6. John Hawkins proposes a possible attribution to the architect J L Archer as the designer and maker J W Woolley; *Australiana* 31 no 3 Aug 2009 p 21.
7. K Fahy, C Simpson & A Simpson, *op cit* p 307.
8. *South Australian Register* 13 May 1848 p 2.
9. K Fahy, C Simpson & A Simpson *op cit* p 284. John Hawkins *op cit* pp 21 & 25 suggests J. A. Archer as possible designer, inferring a date of manufacture prior to 1837 when he was still in charge of the King's Yard where the piece was made.
10. https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-regency-kingwood-banded-satinwood-library-bookcase-almost-5825442-details.aspx.
11. Edward Joy (introduction by), *Pictorial Dictionary of British 19th Century Furniture Design* Antique Collectors' Club, Woodbridge 1977.
12. E Joy, *Pictorial Dictionary of British 19th Century Furniture Design* shows examples of high cabinets with the use of both primary and secondary breakfronts beginning to be more common after the 1850s, although not necessarily to all of

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Justin Gare has an abiding love for old buildings and furniture. He began his working life as a carpenter and joiner and is currently a Senior Objects Conservator for the Government of South Australia (Artlab Australia). Justin is keen to hear from anyone about the provenance of the Red Gum bookcase prior to 1980 as well as the Kingston cedar bookcase after its sale at auction in 1924[110] and can be contacted at jgare@internode.on.net.

the upper, lower and waist levels of the cabinets (pp 92 to 99). Prior to the 1850s, the dictionary shows only two examples (pp 90-91) both of which have no secondary breakfronts at the waist level.

13. J C Loudon, *Cottage, Farm, and villa Architecture and Furniture,* Campden Press 1833 p 1053 & 1054.
14. Donald Leslie Johnson, *Anticipating Municipal Parks*, Wakefield Press 2013 p 31 & 156.
15. The broad influence of Loudon's *Encyclopedia* as a pattern book for furniture is discussed in detail in K Fahy, C Simpson & A Simpson o*p cit* pp 215-218) including a citation from an 1840 letter by Lady Franklin complaining of the absence of reference books (in Tasmania) except for her own copy of Loudon's *Encyclopedia*.
16. Donald Langmead, *An Accidental Architect*, Crossing Press 1994 p 168.
17. D L Johnson *op cit* pp 73f.
18. D Langmead *op cit* p 22.
19. *Ibid* p 181.
20. Donald Leslie Johnson & Donald Langmead. *The Adelaide City Plan, Fiction and Fact.* 1986. Wakefield Press. Johnson & Langmead discusses the influences of these reformers on Kingston and his circle throughout most of their book, specifically in chapter 5.
21. D Langmead *op cit* p 32.
22. D L Johnson *op cit* p 72.
23. *Ibid* p 95.
24. D Langmead *op cit* p 30.
25. D L Johnson *op cit* p 74 & 75.
26. *Ibid* p 93.
27. The monument to Light, towering over his grave at 45 feet high, is another example of Kingston's penchant for massive scale.
28. D L Johnson *op cit* p 157.
29. D L Johnson *op cit* p 73.
30. Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, Melbourne University Press 1957 p 109.
31. K Fahy, C Simpson & A Simpson, *op cit* p 102.
32. Jeannie U White, *Thomas Bell Cabinet Maker, 1810–1871, The Story of a Pioneer Craftsman*, self-published 1991 p 4.
33. E Hasenohr, *W H Gray a pioneer colonist of South Australia*, self-published 1977 p 58f.
34. J U White, *op cit* p 10.
35. *South Australian Register* 9 Dec 1848 p 3. This bookcase is presumed to be by Kingston on the basis of its size and architectural nature. The article describes the doors as having an "appearance of a series of Saxon arches" uncannily similar to the colonnade of arches that Kingston incorporated into the design of Stephen's Seacombe House, 1842.
36. Personal communication with Maureen Bell, widow of Phillip Bell, descendant of Thomas Bell. Phillip's genealogical notes had several statements claiming that Thomas Bell had made "all" the furniture for Government House but provided no source for this information.
37. J U White, *op cit* p 25.
38. *Adelaide Observer* 26 Aug 1843 p 5.
39. The Greys took their furniture to NZ when he became governor there, but it may have been lost in a fire at Government House.
40. *Adelaide Observer* 27 Jan 1844 p 5.
41. *Adelaide Observer* 2 Aug 1845 p 3.
42. *South Australian Register* 25 April 1846 p 3.
43. *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* 20 Mar 1847 p 4.
44. *Adelaide Observer* 1 Feb 1845 p 3.
45. *Adelaide Observer* 1 Feb 1845 p 3.
46. *Argus* 19 Sep 1849 p 2. The article refers to a "table recently transmitted from South Australia as a present to Her Majesty the Queen" by the colonists of South Australia. This did not happen: a sample circular table inlaid with South Australian and New Zealand timbers was made by Mr Mason (*Adelaide Times* 4 Jun 1849 p 3) but subscriptions of 1s to pay for the gift to the Queen were insufficient for its completion (*Adelaide Times* 6 Aug 1849 p 3).
47. *Argus* 18 Nov 1852 p 6.
48. *Argus* 6 Jul 1852 p 1. On Thwaites, see R La Nauze, *Made to Order. George Thwaites and sons, colonial cabinet makers.* NewSouth, Sydney 2017.
49. *Argus* 24 Jun 1852 p 1. The "unique red gum book-case' belonged to J H N Cassell, who was the "Collector of Customs" in Melbourne. The auction notice lists Cassell's furniture, which contains several pieces of furniture by Hobart cabinet makers. This might suggest that Cassell was in the habit of taking furniture with him from state to state, as he had started in the customs department in Hobart. Curiously, Cassell was sent to Adelaide to investigate the customs department there from October 1848 to April 1849, where he could possibly have purchased the Kingston red gum bookcase and taken it back to Melbourne. If this is the case, why did the auctioneers not refer to its enormous size or overt gothic style? The fact that the auctioneers list describes other furniture in some detail might suggest that the bookcase was nondescript other than it was uniquely made of Red Gum.
50. Donald Langmead, *George Strickland Kingston Pioneer and Architect*. Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, School of Humanities, Flinders University of South Australia 1983 p 566.
51. D Langmead. *An Accidental Architect* 1994 p 192.
52. *Ibid* p 561.
53. Christopher White, *Observations on the Development of Wood Screws in North America* http://www.wag-aic.org/Am_Wood_Screws.pdf (p 4).
54. *Ibid* pp 7 & 14).
55. G G Jenkinson. *Metal Wood Screws: the evolution and history,* 1999 p 60.
56. *Ibid* pp 59–64.
57. Southern Star Tent No 5, SRG 164/137/10
58. *South Australian Gazette* 1 Jun 1839 p 2.
59. *South Australian* 21 Mar 1843 p 2.
60. *South Australian* 13 Aug 1841 p 2.
61. Archibald Grenfell Price, *The Centenary History of South Australia* 1936 p 63.
62. J U White, *op cit* p10.
63. *Ibid* p 60.
64. Allan L Peters (editor), *Recollections. Nathaniel Hailes' adventurous life in colonial South Australia,* Wakefield Press 1998 p 11.
65. *Ibid* p 12.
66. *Ibid* p 14 & 15.
67. *Ibid* p 19.
68. *Ibid* p 195 & 177.
69. Douglas Pike (general editor).'Grey, Sir George (1812–1898)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/grey-sir-george-2125/text2691, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 20 December 2017 (J. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, London, 1961)
70. A G Price, *op cit* p 68.
71. A L Peters (editor), *op cit* p 103.
72. *Ibid* p 104.
73. *Ibid* p 106.
74. D Langmead 1994 pp 241–7.
75. *Ibid* p 118.
76. Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, Melbourne University Press 1957 p 237-239.
77. *Ibid* p 239.
78. Personal communication with Maureen Bell, widow of Phillip Bell, descendant of Thomas Bell. Phillip's genealogical notes had several statements claiming that Thomas Bell had made "all" the furniture for Government House but provided no source for this information.
79. *Ibid* p 184f.
80. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 182.
81. *South Australian Register*, 9 Dec 1848 p 3.
82. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 112.
83. *Ibid* p 134.
84. Minute book of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Adelaide 31 October 1840 – 1 June 1843, Adelaide City Council Archives p 34.
85. D Langmead 1983 *op cit* p 676.
86. D Langmea*d* 1994 *op cit* p 168.
87. *Ibid* p 37.
88. *Ibid* p 39.
89. *Ibid* p 135.
90. *Ibid* p 140.
91. Douglas Pike 1957 *op cit* p 231.
92. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 135.
93. Thomas Worsnop, *The History of City of Adelaide* 1878 J Williams, Adelaide, preface.
94. *Minute book of the Mayor and Corporation of the City of Adelaide*. 31st October 1840 – 1st June 1843, Adelaide City Council Archives p 18.
95. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 135f.
96. D Langmead 1983 *op cit* p 469.
97. *South Australian* 10 Sep 1841 p 2.
98. *South Australian* 8 May 1846 p 2.
99. *Colonial Times* (Hobart) 19 October 1841 p 1.
100. *South Australian* 10 Sep 1841 p 3.
101. D Langmead 1983 *op cit* p 148.
102. D L Johnson & D Langmead 1986 *op cit.*
103. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 191.
104. *Ibid* p 189.
105. J C Loudon *op cit* p 773.
106. Peter N. Lindfield, *Georgian Gothic: Medievalist Architecture, Furniture and Interiors, 1730–1840*. Boydell & Brewer 2016 p 225.
107. D Langmead 1994 *op cit* p 263 & 264.
108. *Ibid* p 114.
109. *Ibid* p 183.
110. *Register* 11 Nov 1924 p 13.

The 2018 Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award: Judge's Report

Since 1999, Peter Walker Fine Art of Walkerville, South Australia has generously sponsored the prestigious annual Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award for the best article published in *Australiana* magazine. This is the tenth time Elizabeth Ellis has agreed to take on the onerous task of choosing the best article from a splendid crop published in *Australiana* volume 40, 2018.

ELIZABETH ELLIS

For 20 years now, the annual Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award has encouraged authors to write for *Australiana*. Peter Walker is a valued member and longstanding supporter of the Australiana Society, and we are most grateful for his continued interest in its activities, and in *Australiana* in particular.

The 2018 articles in *Australiana* encompass a wide range of subjects which add considerably to our knowledge and appreciation of Australian decorative arts. The contributors, who all submit their work in a private and honorary capacity, are all to be congratulated for their dedication, commitment and pursuit of excellence in undertaking the research and compilation of their articles. Under the expert guidance of of our editor John Wade and designer Kylie Kennedy, the editorial and design standards of the journal continue to be of the highest quality.

My previous reports for the Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award have noted the critical role of contributors to *Australiana* who give willingly of their time and efforts to ensure that the journal is a pleasure to read, informative and enduring in its relevance. In all the articles published in *Australiana* in 2018, the dedication and enthusiasm of the contributors in producing research and writing of substance and significance is self-evident. Authors, collectors and most institutions generously provide high quality images that make the pages visually attractive as well as educational. I am sure that all readers of *Australiana* appreciate that their journal consistently improves upon its already very high standards in every aspect of its production.

As always, selecting one article for the Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award from so many of such quality is a challenging task. The articles I have selected for special commendation are:

In the February 2018 issue, Robert La Nauze's investigation of the work of wood and stone carver Lewis John Godfrey in Australia has restored this previously neglected master craftsman to the prominence he deserves.

In the May 2018 issue, Robert La Nauze continues his focus on Godfrey with his article "Banks: the inside story" in which he provides a meticulous account of the design and manufacture of a significant writing desk by Godfrey for the Bank of New Zealand, Dunedin (1879–83), while John Hawkins explores the use of Queensland opals in jewellery made for, and promoted by, some colourful characters from that state.

The August 2018 issue presents two fascinating articles on very different subjects but both notable for their excellent and exhaustive research. David Bedford's "Moreton Bay pearls in Australian jewellery" offers an intriguing study of the use of Moreton Bay pearls by some of the best-known colonial Sydney and Brisbane jewellers in the second half of the 19th century. Once again, the 2017 Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award winner, Robert Stevens has given us an excellent piece of authoritative research on the artist Edmund Edgar alias Bult whose identity, life story and artistic output has hitherto been obscure.

From the November 2018 issue I would particularly like to single out two fine accounts of differing practitioners of decorative arts in South Australia: Andrew Montana's very thorough survey of important commissions in Adelaide of the professional art decorator William Joseph Williams; and Jodie Vandepeer's account of the remarkable self-taught woodcarver Alice Maud Golley, who grew up on remote Wedge Island near the entrance to Spencer Gulf.

Through her new research, Jodie not only added to the information known about Golley, but expanded her known oeuvre from a single piece to half a dozen.

From this stellar array of all the outstanding articles in last year's issues of *Australiana*, I have chosen David Bedford's "Moreton Bay pearls in Australian jewellery" for his very well-researched and elegantly written work as the Peter Walker Fine Art Writing Award winner for 2018.

Elizabeth Ellis OAM is Emeritus Curator of the Mitchell Library at the State Library of NSW, and author of several notable books. She divides her time between Sydney and Tasmania.

William Lamborn,
gold rush jeweller in colonial Melbourne and his associations with Henry Leopold Wagner and Samuel Peck Woollett

Jillian Dwyer unravels the facts surrounding the place of William Lamborn in the triumvirate of Woollett, Wagner and Lamborn as Victorian gold rush jewellers, refines the dates of their operations, maps the emergence of Lamborn & Wagner as "one of the earliest firms of manufacturing jewellers in Australia,"[1] and analyses their works stylistically.

JILLIAN DWYER

The impetus for this article was three-fold: family history research unwrapping the largely forgotten life of an ancestor, William Lamborn; secondly, a newly found interest in his function as a jeweller and goldsmith in colonial Melbourne following the 1851 gold rushes and in the jewellery made under the Lamborn & Wagner name (**plate 1a-b**); and thirdly, Michel Reymond's 2014 article in *Australiana* on the jewellery firms of Wagner & Woollett as well as Lamborn & Wagner in Melbourne, and Woollett & Hewitt in Dunedin, New Zealand.[2]

In their landmark book, Cavill, Cocks and Grace dated the establishment of Lamborn & Wagner to 1858.[3] Schofield and Fahy suggested that the business was active 1861–85.[4] Reymond and following him Trevor Hancock, in the catalogue for the 2016 exhibition *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* gave their period of activity as 1856 to 1884.[5]

While Lamborn & Wagner definitely commenced business as manufacturing jewellers in January 1856, William Lamborn had interacted with Wagner and Woollett from at least mid-1854, to become the continuous thread and

1a–b
William Lamborn (1826–1905) and Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–1897), *Gold tassel brooch with pink pastes*, c 1875, Melbourne, lyre-shaped frame supporting three vine leaves each set with two pink pastes and gold beads, pendant tassel fringe, stamped "Star/L&W/Star", with accompanying earrings of conforming design set with garnets, unmarked, all in a fitted case with illegible label. Private collection

2.
Field Lane, Saffron Hill, London, c 1840, n d, unsigned, wood engraving, from Walter Thornbury (1828–76), *Old and New London: a Narrative of Its People, and Its Places,* Cassell, Petter & Galpin, London, 1873

3.
St Andrew's Parochial Schools, Hatton Garden, c 1920. Collection: London Metropolitan Archives, Collage 72575. Dating from 1696, this charity school taught both boys and girls, represented by the pair of figures flanking the doorway. Boys were prepared for apprenticeship to a trade, girls for domestic service. Building reputedly designed by Christopher Wren

the driving force behind the creation of Lamborn & Wagner.

In many respects, William Lamborn (1826–1905) epitomised the post-goldrush colonial man. He was raised in deprived circumstances but, combining an aspiration for self-improvement with the determination to succeed, he obtained for himself and his family a level of financial security and social mobility that was inconceivable had he remained in his birthplace of Holborn, in the slums of Victorian London.

William Lamborn: humble beginnings in London 1826–52

In the 1851 England Census, William Lamborn was noted as a "Working jeweller", living at Leather Lane, St Andrew Holborn, London, close by the Clerkenwell and Hatton Garden districts, which were known as centres for the jewellery trade.

Leather Lane was in a decrepit and desperately overcrowded part of Victorian London, west of the more salubrious and substantial Hatton Garden situated around Hatton Road, which in turn abutted on the east the notorious Saffron Hill area (**plate 2**), popularised by Charles Dickens in novels such as *Oliver Twist* and *Little Dorrit*.[6]

William Lamborn was born on 5 September 1826 around the corner from Leather Lane in a small courtyard off Baldwin's Gardens. The 1841 Census shows he was still living there when he was 14 years old.[7] Despite its name, the laneway known as Baldwin's Gardens was far from rustic, just one of a maze of backstreets, alleys and small yards housing some of the poorest people in the city.

William's father, Robert, was variously described as "Smith", "Printer's smith" and "Printer", his trade implying employment in Clerkenwell's long-established printing workshops, or possibly in the burgeoning publishing industry around Fleet Street.[8] His mother, Ann, was illiterate, at her marriage signing her name with an "X". The move from Baldwin's Gardens to Leather Lane may have followed Robert Lamborn's death in 1843.

The 1851 Census listed Ann Lamborn as head of a household comprising William and his older sister. Ann's occupation was given as "Charwoman", a domestic worker usually employed on a casual basis for a meagre and unreliable return. Her son's wage as a working jeweller would have provided a small but welcome contribution to the family's income, reducing somewhat the poverty of their circumstances. As a young apprentice his earnings would have been negligible but more substantial in his final two or three years, when he could receive the "half pay", that is a proportion of the wage paid to a qualified tradesman. As a fully trained craftsman, Lamborn would have earned twice the wage of a common labourer;

4.
S. T. Gill (1818–1880), *Provident diggers in Melbourne*, 1869, in *Victorian Goldfields 1852-3*, watercolour, 48 x 37 cm. Collection: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne H86.7/36

5.
S. T. Gill (1818–1880), *Collins Street (looking west from Russel St.)*, 1853, from the original lithograph, printed and published by Macartney & Galbraith, 30 Collins St, Melbourne. Collection: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne H83.363/4

nevertheless, this amounted to little more than 30 shillings for working a six-day week of 10 hours per day.[9]

Given his financially deprived childhood and youth, William Lamborn's accession to an apprenticeship as a jeweller may seem surprising. His later success indicated that he had at least a basic level of education, supplemented by an innate practical intelligence and the ambition to improve his way of life. He may have attended one of the local charity schools, such as the National Society's Central School, which was situated only metres from his home in Baldwin's Gardens; or perhaps had the better fortune to obtain a place in the St Andrew's Parochial Schools (also known as St Andrew's Charity School) (**plate 3**) just a block away in Hatton Garden. St Andrew's catered specifically for children of the worthy poor, providing a systematic education in numeracy and literacy followed by placement in an apprenticeship for a trade.[10]

Lamborn would have commenced an apprenticeship at about age 13–14 and completed the required seven-year term around 1847–48. No ready evidence shows where he trained or worked, except that his continued residence in and around Leather Lane indicates that he was apprenticed to a jeweller-goldsmith in the Clerkenwell area, traditionally a centre for the jewellery, watch- and clock-making trades.

William Lamborn: early days in Melbourne 1852–53

The sensationally publicised discoveries of gold on the Victorian fields in 1851 lured many thousands of young men to try their luck in the new colony. It seems to have taken William a further year to accumulate sufficient money and organise his affairs to sail from London to Melbourne as an unassisted migrant in steerage.

He left London on 4 August 1852, sailing from Plymouth on the ship *Marlborough.* In the ship's register, he was noted as English, age 26 and a jeweller.[11] He chose well, with the *Marlborough* regarded as one of the finest immigrant ships, described by the Geelong correspondent of *The Argus* as offering its passengers "a comfort and convenience" which was second to none.[12] He arrived in Melbourne three months later on 4 November, one of 14,000 immigrants to disembark at Port Phillip that November and one of the 94,000 people who arrived in Victoria that year.[13]

If Lamborn went to the goldfields, he did not stay long. Like many enterprising new arrivals, he soon realised the profitability of practising his trade in the city, where commerce

6.

Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–1897) & Samuel Peck Woollett (1829–1909), *Ballarat gentleman's signet ring*, 1854, Melbourne, cast band and hand engraved shield at front with "Ballarat" over crossed pick and shovel and cradle, marked "W&W". Private collection. Photograph courtesy *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat

7.

Attributed to Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–1897) or Samuel Peck Woollett (1829–1909), *Gold vine leaf brooch*, mid-19th century, Melbourne, frame supporting a single vine leaf with raised decoration of flower and small leaves, the leaf hinged to reveal a miniature glazed compartment, marked "Wheat sheaf/W/Lion passant". Mossgreen Auctions, 11 Dec 2017, lot 858. Photograph courtesy Leski Auctions

flourished on the wealth generated by gold (**plate 4**). He would have been in Melbourne around April 1853 when his soon-to-be wife, Eliza Dennis, arrived from London with her mother and sister.[14] On 24 August, he and Eliza were married at the Cathedral Church of St James, at that time centrally located near the corner of Collins and William Streets. On the marriage certificate he registered his occupation as "Jeweller" and his residence as Great Collins-street (**plate 5**).

His wife, not quite 17 and nearly ten years his junior, provided a clearly written signature; her occupation is difficult to decipher, possibly "Doily maker" or "Dress maker". Her address was given as Little Collins-street . William provided Hatton Garden as his place of birth and Eliza the more general location of St Andrew, London, a glossing of the truth, which indicated a shared desire to put their humble origins behind them.

Eliza Dennis was born in Portpool Lane, which ran off Leather Lane parallel to Baldwin's Gardens, just one block away. Her family later moved to Jerusalem Passage, Clerkenwell, on the Saffron Hill side of Hatton Garden where, in addition to his trade as a painter, her father Charles Dennis ran a temperance coffee house. Financial difficulties saw him gaoled in the London and Middlesex Debtor's Prison in 1843, and he died in the Clerkenwell Workhouse the following year, when Eliza was seven years old. If they could not get other accommodation, his family also may have had to live in the workhouse.

Before the 1851 Census, Eliza's mother had remarried and relocated the family to Lambeth to live with her new husband. Her decision to leave the relative security this offered and bring her two daughters to Australia is puzzling. She was uneducated and illiterate; and her occupation as a "picker" (unpicking old rope to make oakum or caulking) was lowly, ill paid and usually associated with workhouse labour. Yet the family travelled as unassisted migrants, so must have been sponsored in some way. William Lamborn may have provided them with financial support, which he did for others on at least two more occasions.

Assistance could also have come from relatives. Eliza Dennis's half-sister, Mary Ann Clarke (née Welsford) was the wife of William Joseph Sayers Clarke, licensee of the Waterman's Arms, 8 Little Collins Street west. A hotel of good repute, it was probably where Eliza Dennis resided with her mother and sister until her marriage to William Lamborn.

One of the witnesses to the Lamborn marriage was a "William Clarke", most likely the same William Joseph Sayers Clarke.[15] When Lamborn died in 1905, an obituary in the *Sydney Morning Herald* named Alderman G T Clarke and three further "Messrs." Clarke as "nephews of the deceased".[16] Lamborn had no direct relatives by the name of Clarke. However, Alderman George Thomas Clarke and two of the other "Messrs. Clarke" were the sons of William Clarke of the Waterman's Arms; and Lamborn, by dint of marriage to Eliza Dennis, acquired that familial relationship.[17] When Lamborn's first son

8.
William Lamborn (1826–1905), *Bendigo gentleman's signet ring,* n d, Melbourne, decorative band and shield at front engraved with "Bendigo" over pick, miner's bucket and shovel, marked "Eagle/WL/Crown". Private collection. Photograph courtesy *The Courier* (Ballarat)

9.
Attributed to William Lamborn (1826-1905), *Australia gentleman's signet ring,* c 1890, Melbourne, decorative band and shield at front engraved with "Australia" over a hanging sheep, crossed pick and shovel, windlass and cradle, marked "Crown/WL/Crown". Collection: Trevor Kennedy. Photograph courtesy *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat, Vic.

10.
William Lamborn (1826-1905), *Gold miner's brooch*, c 1856, Melbourne, with miners' tools including pan, bucket and spade suspended on an oval frame with foliate decoration, marked "WL". Private collection. Photograph courtesy *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat, Vic.

was born in 1854, he was named William Joseph, which may indicate a more personal connection between the two men. Lamborn later named another son Arthur Leopold, a token of affection and respect for his business partner, Leopold Wagner.

Less likely as the witness but possibly an associate at the time was the gold broker William Clarke senior, or his son William Clarke junior, who was Lamborn's age. The Clarkes were already established at 67 Collins Street, Melbourne and advertising regularly in *The Argus* under the trademark slogan "Gold! Gold!! Gold!!!", promising the purchase of gold "in any quantity and at the highest price".[18] As William Clarke & Sons, the business became a prominent commercial enterprise.

One son, Charles Ernest Clarke, may have been the Charles E Clarke who joined the firm of Lamborn & Wagner around 1865–67, when it was known for a short time as Lamborn, Wagner & Clarke. If this were so, what role he might have undertaken in the firm can only be conjectured, perhaps as a valuer and purchaser of gold. As "Chas. E. Clarke", in 1867 he became the Ballarat agent for the newly formed firm of Clarke & Company, bullion merchants, which was set up by his brother Alfred following the death of their father, William Clarke senior.[19] Melbourne Directories indicate that Lamborn and Wagner also employed a goldsmith,

11.
Charles Nettleton (1826–1902), photographer, *Melbourne from Bourke Street looking NE*, 1860, Melbourne (detail). Collection: State Library of Victoria, Melbourne H23929. The roof of Queen's Arcade spans the distance between Little Bourke Street and Lonsdale Street, with its elaborate entrance visible on Little Bourke Street, bottom right. Lamborn & Wagner was situated in one of the houses opposite the northern end of the Arcade, at 19 Lonsdale Street east. The imposing State Library and Melbourne Hospital buildings are in the background

12a-b.
William Lamborn (1826-1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826-97), *Gold ring with plain band and gemstone,* possibly carnelian, n d, Melbourne, marked "Lion passant/L&W/Crown". Private collection. Photograph found on-line at *prospectingaustralia.com.au*

C E Clarke, in 1863-64, before the name Charles E Clarke appeared as part of the firm for the period 1865–67.[20] No prior or subsequent information about goldsmith C E Clarke has been found.

Another witness to the Lamborn marriage was Anne Brentani, the wife of the jeweller and watchmaker, Charles (Carlo) Brentani. Born into a wealthy Italian family, Brentani was apprenticed as a silversmith and watchmaker in Sheffield, England. In 1834, he was convicted of receiving stolen property and, the following year, sentenced to be transported to Van Diemen's Land for seven years.[21] In late 1845, he settled in Melbourne with his wife, Anne, and established a business first in Collins Lane and subsequently at 25 Collins Street west advertising as "C. BRENTANI, (From Italy), Barometer. Thermometer, Looking-glass Maker, and Gilder."[22]

In 1849, Brentani was associated with the 'first' discovery of gold in Victoria, although circumstances surrounding the find were controversial and it eventually came to nothing.[23] His reputation as a prominent businessman and citizen (he was naturalised in 1849) remained unsullied by his convict past, which he managed to conceal. At his premature death on 21 October 1853 aged just 36, not only had he achieved remarkable commercial success, he had accumulated substantial wealth as a land and property owner.

By the time Lamborn arrived in Melbourne in November 1852, Brentani had sold his jewellery and watch-making business and diversified into general trading, which included operating as a gold broker,[24] so it is unlikely that Lamborn worked for Brentani. The two men were certainly associates, close enough for Brentani's wife to be a witness at Lamborn's marriage. Both men had addresses in Collins Street, as did gold broker William Clarke, while publican William Joseph Clarke was nearby in Little Collins Street (**plate 5**).

Lamborn, Brentani and gold broker Clarke were also connected by their common interest in gold, and publican Clarke's hotel was a popular meeting place and centre for exchange of news from the goldfields. The newly arrived William Lamborn had the good fortune to find himself within an active local community, which could offer a support network of social and business connections. The entrepreneurial vigour, financial success and social respectability of these men would not just have been enviable; it must have been inspirational.

Little is known of Lamborn's business activities during 1853 and early 1854, although his obituary in the *Sydney Morning Herald* indicated that he first commenced business as a manufacturing jeweller in Queen Street; and on another occasion he was referred to as "jeweller of Queen-street, Melbourne".[25] He was already a man of some worth, either on the basis of savings brought with him from England (possibly); or money made on the goldfields (not known); or as a working jeweller (likely, since wages were high while labour was short, and a goldsmith's skills were in high demand); or a combination of these.[26]

He was astute in managing his financial affairs. After the release of Crown Land in Caulfield in 1854, he

13a-b.
William Lamborn (1826-1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold brooch of floral and foliate design*, n d, Melbourne, with two small flowers and two leaves set over a single vine leaf, all supported on a twisted branch frame, marked "Crown/L&W/Crown". Private collection.

purchased 16 acres of elevated land in Kooyong Road, between Glen Eira and Glen Huntly Roads. Later, in 1860, he built his first family home there, Glenairy House, a spacious two storey dwelling of eight rooms.[27] By this time, he had also acquired investment property in St Kilda.[28]

Wagner & Woollett 1854

Henry Leopold Wagner and Samuel Peck Woollett were very likely acquainted before they came to Melbourne.[29] Woollett was born in 1829 near Norwich in Norfolk, the son of butcher John Woollett and Mary Remington. By 1841, he was living in a house at Whiskin Street, Clerkenwell; Jemima Remington, probably his grandmother, was head of the household. He was 12 at the time, an appropriate age for finding work or securing an apprenticeship, and in Clerkenwell this would probably be as a jeweller, watchmaker or in related trades. In December 1841, his older sister Mary married John Henry Sackett, whose occupation was a jeweller; and later, in the 1861 Census, Sackett was listed as a chain maker, so he was in a position to take on Woollett as an apprentice. An "uncle" in Montreal, Canada, has also been mentioned, although this seems less likely.[30]

Woollett's affiliation with Henry Leopold Wagner was personal as much as the practical one of business. When Wagner married Auguste Pfennig (also referred to as Augusta Hennig) on 20 April 1855 at St James Clerkenwell, Samuel Woollett signed as a witness, as did his sister Mary Sackett (née Woollett). Wagner was listed as a "Jeweller". No occupation was given for Auguste; but her father was described as a "Merchant". Both Wagner and Auguste Pfennig provided the same address at 55 Spencer St, Clerkenwell.[31] Spencer Street was situated at Clerkenwell's northern end, an open space until developed early in the 19th century. The street was relatively wide, with solidly built dwellings, and located close to the pleasant Northampton Square, which was well known for its clockmakers, jewellers, silversmiths and other fine craftsmen.

Wagner's certificate of naturalisation in 1856 shows he was born Heinrich Leopold Wagner in Prussia in 1826, and his marriage certificate notes that his father John Wagner was a clergyman. At some point, he relocated to England and, given his Clerkenwell connections, he may have served his apprenticeship in one of the Clerkenwell workshops.[32]

A "Mr Wagner" arrived in Melbourne on 25 April 1854 on board the *Marmion*, one of a handful of people travelling on the passengers' deck, all designated as British. The embarkation port was given as Calcutta, probably a loading and unloading point for the *Marmion* on a longer voyage from England, as it was for the return voyage of the *Marlborough*.[33]

Just two days after "Mr Wagner's" arrival, "Wagner & Woollett, Jewellers" advertised for "…a well-finished three-roomed verandah Cottage, handsomely furnished", with the furniture to be bought or hired.[34] Presumably, this cottage would be their residential accommodation, since Woollett already had set up trade premises at the rear of 73 Chancery Lane (Little Collins Street), between Queen and William Streets. Facilities there included a stone workshop sufficient for 11 men, a forge at the back and a substantial yard.[35] By 8 June, Wagner & Woollett was advertising for a "Working jeweller".[36] Collectively, these facts show that the partners had planned their joint business well in advance of Wagner's arrival.

Their enterprise was apparently successful. Ludwig Becker chose them to manufacture several brooches he designed, shown at the first Melbourne Exhibition held in October 1854. Becker, renowned as a naturalist, geologist and artist, tried his luck on the Bendigo goldfields between 1852–4. Unsuccessful as a digger, he spent his time positively, making meteorological observations, collecting geological specimens and putting together a sizable portfolio of landscapes and scenes of goldfields life.[37] After returning to Melbourne early in 1854, he won the commission to design the prize medal and certificate commemorating the construction of the Melbourne Exhibition building in William Street.[38]

This exhibition gave pride of place to Victoria's mineral wealth, while displaying exhibits ranging across natural history, colonial commerce and the fine arts. The brooches by Wagner and Woollett appeared in the section covering "Machinery, Manufactured Articles, and Models, Colonial and Imported" as item 203, as part of a collection of objects submitted by Ludwig Becker:

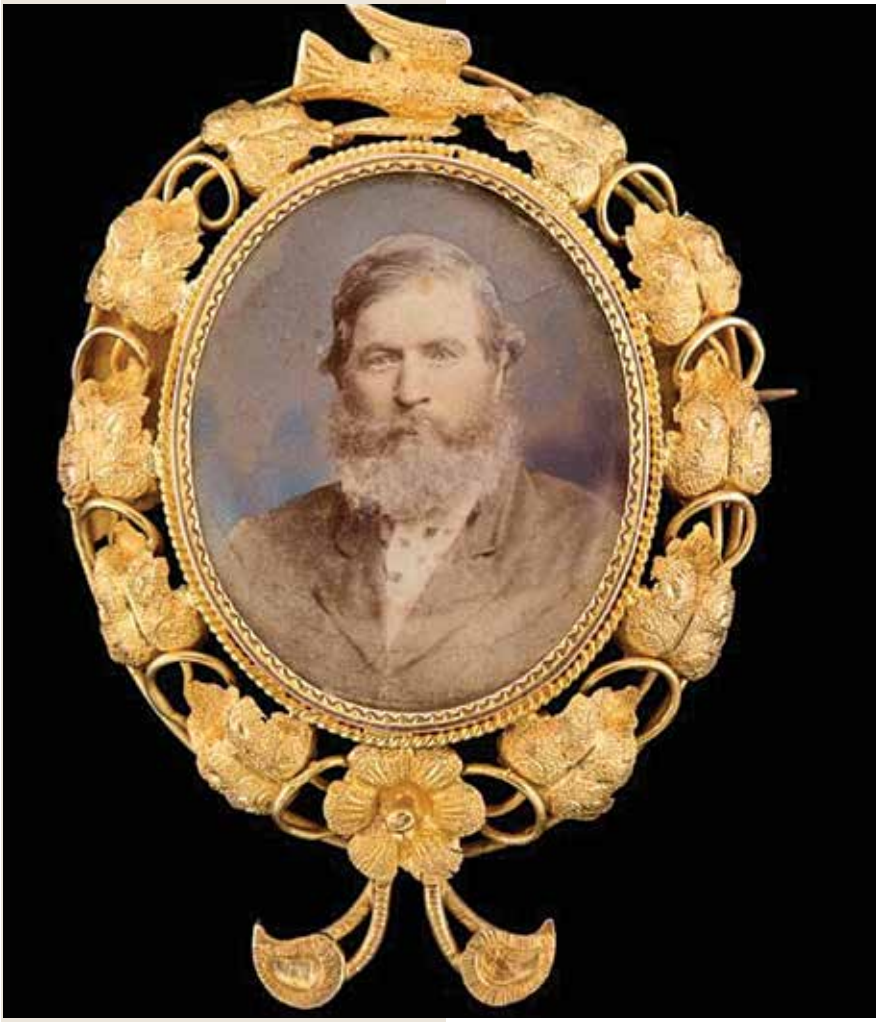
> Becker, Ludwig, Melbourne, Artist. – Curiosities from Bendigo:- 1. A number of small Gold Specimens worked into brooches, &c., designed by exhibitor, and executed by Wagner and Woollett, Melbourne: 2. Specimens of Gold and Stones worked into fanciful patterns.[39]

Exhibitors at the 1854 Melbourne Exhibition had the opportunity to send items to the Exposition Universelle de Paris, to be held in May 1855. Few did so and the exhibits that travelled to Paris were predominantly mineral specimens, along with examples of native flora and fauna. Ultimately, just 30 Victorian exhibits were listed.[40]

None of the Wagner & Woollett "Curiosities from Bendigo" are known to have survived. An example of an identified work made by Wagner & Woollett is a gold signet ring, such as those worn by miners keen to flaunt their success on the goldfields (**plate 6**). The shield is incised with a sketchy and rather naive representation of a miner's tools – a crossed pick and shovel and rocker cradle – surmounted by a banner with the inscription "BALLARAT". The heavy cast band has a deep and decorative

14.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold foliate brooch with tassel drop,* n d, Melbourne, with twisted branch frame supporting leaves and a single flower with stone centre, tassel drop composed of bow, fringe and dove mounted on miniature frame, stamped "Crown/L&W/Crown". Mossgreen Auctions, 19 May 2015, lot 515. Photograph courtesy Leski Auctions

15.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold brooch with chased belt and buckle motif*, c 1880, Melbourne, belt flanked by two flowers with garnets and supported on an oval frame, marked "Crown/L&W/Crown". Bonhams, the Collection of the Late Graham and Elizabeth Cocks, Part 1, Sydney, 18 Nov 2012, lot 288. Photograph courtesy Bonhams 1793 Ltd. Illustrated in K. Cavill, G. Cocks and J. Grace, *Australian Jewellers, Gold & Silversmiths – Makers & Marks*, 1992, plate 164.



16.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold portrait brooch with hand painted portrait of a bearded gentleman*, n d, Melbourne, foliate frame with dove at crest and flower and pair of stylised leaves at the base, marked "Star/L&W/Star". Mossgreen Auctions, 19 May 2015, lot 514. Photograph courtesy Leski Auctions

17.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold locket brooch*, c 1870, Melbourne, with oval frame supporting three ivy leaves with green pastes, small flower and a dove, opening to reveal a glazed locket with hair, marked for Lamborn & Wagner, 15 carat yellow gold. Leonard Joel Pty Ltd, Catalogue April 2009, ref 090420JOME. Photograph courtesy Leonard Joel Pty Ltd

pattern of scrolling leaves and, on the inside, carries the punch mark "W&W". Attributed to Wagner & Woollett, it would most likely have been produced in the six months of the firm's duration between June and December 1854.

Recently, a locket brooch came on the market stamped with a single "W" flanked by a wheat sheaf on the left and lion passant on the right, described as "possibly for Henry Leopold Wagner or Samuel Peck Woollett" (**plate 7**). Stylistically it resembles the small brooches made by Lamborn & Wagner, with its outer frame in the form of inter-connected branches, which support the broad vine leaf that covers the locket compartment beneath. Three more small leaves and a single tubular flower are suspended on coiling gold tendrils for a three-dimensional effect. Its attribution to Leopold Wagner seems problematic, since at this time he worked only in partnership with Woollett and later with Lamborn, unless within these partnerships he did occasionally produce work in his own right. Nothing is known of Wagner's later production, in Melbourne in the mid- to late 1880s and then in Western Australia.

Woollett possibly worked independently up to mid-1854 and certainly after he returned to Melbourne in 1857; but there are no other identified pieces by his hand with which this brooch can be compared. More generally, it can be argued that both men brought with them a mode of practice that reflected their training in Clerkenwell workshops; and that stylistically they adopted the sort of designs that were popular both locally and internationally.

In less than a year of operation, Wagner & Woollett was profitable. When the two proprietors vacated the workshop in Chancery Lane at the end of 1854 to return to London, the premises were advertised for rent. As an enticement to future tenants, a statement of earnings was included, although whether the figure represented turnover or net profit was not made clear:

> Working Jewellers. Wagner and Woollett made £3,000 in eleven months, at the above business, at those central Premises, rear of 73 Chancery Lane … The rent is nominal; no goodwill. Apply at Thomson's Offices, 73 Chancery Lane.[41]

An estimate in current day terms, based on the retail price index, equates £3,000 to $220,000, not a fortune but a substantial sum.[42] This was generated in 11 months, suggesting that the business was a going concern for most of 1854 and that Woollett operated at the Chancery Lane address in advance of Wagner's arrival.

William Lamborn joins Wagner & Woollett 1854

William Lamborn may already have known Samuel Woollett. As young men, both lived within the narrow perimeters of the Clerkenwell neighbourhood and both were apprenticed in the same trade in Clerkenwell or nearby. Both arrived in Melbourne in 1852, Woollett in July, only four months before Lamborn, and both worked in the vicinity of Queen Street and Little Collins Street.

Lamborn definitely worked with Wagner & Woollett during 1854, perhaps responding to the advertisement for a working jeweller in *The Argus* of 8 June, or with Woollett even earlier in the year. When the partners vacated the Chancery Lane workshop in December, Lamborn placed a series of advertisements for working jewellers, which described him as "*late* of Wagner & Woollett".[43] The contact given was "W. Lamborn" at 73 Chancery Lane. So, by late December 1854, Lamborn had assumed sole responsibility for the business.

Why Wagner and Woollett chose to quit their short-lived venture and return to London can only be surmised, although marriage was a likely motive since both men would ultimately return with a wife. They sailed together on the *Blackwall*, leaving on 2 January 1855 and arriving in England at the end of March. Just weeks later, on 20 April, Wagner married Auguste Pfennig, so presumably Wagner was already committed to marriage before his departure in 1854. His recent financial success may well have been a positive recommendation in the eyes of his prospective "merchant" father-in-law.

Woollett remained in England for a short time, moving on to New York, where he married Jane Collis. Wagner and his new wife also sailed to New York, perhaps to attend the wedding, leaving from there on the *Metropolis* to arrive in Melbourne on 4 December 1855. The couple was registered as "Mr & Mrs Wagner" and were listed not as British but as "Foreigners".[44]

Woollett stayed in North America for another year – perhaps this was when he worked with an "uncle" in Montreal. He

18.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold botanical brooch set with orange citrine*, c 1875, Melbourne, central gemstone surrounded by inner garland of small flowers and outer garland of leaves attaching to an oval frame. Private collection. Photograph courtesy *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat, Vic.

19.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold portrait brooch with photographic print of a gentleman*, c 1860, Melbourne, photograph set within a frame of vine leaves with added motifs of grapes, emu, kangaroo and dove, reverse with photographic print of a young girl, twice marked "L&W", fitted case, glass cracked, 18 carat yellow gold. Bonhams, The Collection of the Late Graham & Elizabeth Cocks, Part 1, Sydney, 18 Nov 2012, lot 308. Photograph courtesy Bonhams 1793 Ltd. Illustrated in K. Cavill, G. Cocks and J. Grace, *Australian Jewellers, Gold & Silversmiths – Makers & Marks*, 1992, plate 164.

20.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold tassel brooch with red pastes*, c 1875, Melbourne, lyre-shaped frame supporting three vine leaves, each set with two red pastes and gold beads, pendant tassel fringe, two tassels deficient, with matching earrings converted to a bar brooch, Mossgreen Auctions, 17 Oct 2016, lot 904. Photograph courtesy Leski Auctions

21.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold suite of tassel brooch and matching earrings,* c 1875, Melbourne, lyre-shaped frame supporting three vine leaves, each set with two green pastes and gold beads, pendant tassel fringe, pendant earrings similarly designed, all marked "Star/L&W/Star". Bonhams, *The Colonial Sale,* 25 Nov 2013. Photograph courtesy Bonhams 1793 Ltd. Illustrated in Anne Schofield and Kevin Fahy, *Australian Jewellery: 19th and Early 20th Century*, p 212

sailed from New York on 8 December 1856 on the *Ariel*, a cargo ship carrying ten passengers. On the passenger list, "Mr Woollett and wife" were noted as "British". They disembarked in Melbourne on 14 March 1857.

Woollett did not join the established partnership of Lamborn & Wagner but instead worked independently at Royal Lane, 98 Bourke Street east. He remained in Melbourne for four years before sailing for New Zealand in 1861, probably drawn there by the Otago gold rushes. In the register of the ship *Eureka*, he was recorded as a "Miner"; but subsequently took up his old profession as a jeweller in association with John Hewitt, under the name of Woollett & Hewitt; later, as Hewitt & Woollett; and finally under his own name. He lived the remainder of his life in New Zealand and died at his daughter's house in Invercargill on 27 September 1909.[45]

Lamborn's, 77 Chancery Lane 1855

On 31 January 1855, in Public Notices in *The Argus*, William Lamborn provided this definitive statement:

> To Jewellers, and the Trade in General, – W. Lamborn, successor to Wagner and Woollett, will, on Monday next, remove to 77 Chancery-lane, next door to the premises now occupied by him. The Trade supplied, without puffery, at the lowest terms. W. Lamborn.[46]

The informality of his subsequent advertisements fulfilled the promise of business "without puffery", with his venture as a sole trader referred to simply as "Lamborn's, 77 Chancery-lane" or, at other times, at "77 Chancery-lane, Little Collins-street". His wares were described as "Colonial Jewellery" and "Colonial Rings", implying a confidence and pride in jewellery designed and produced locally (as distinct from British and European imports) and tooled from Victorian gold, supplied competitively at the cheapest prices.[47]

Fossickers found a heavy gold signet ring in 2013 near Wedderburn, Victoria, stamped inside the band "Eagle/WL/Crown". It was probably made by Lamborn around this time or earlier, in 1853, before he joined Wagner & Woollett (**plate 8**).[48] Stylistically it is similar to the signet ring by Wagner & Woollett (**plate 6**) but varies in the details. The shield carries a banner inscribed "BENDIGO"; and, precisely engraved, a miner's pick and shovel and a

large bucket of the type associated with the use of a windlass in shaft mining. The band at the front is broad and heavily patterned with a foliate design, narrowing at the back with a smooth surface.

A similar man's signet ring is stamped "Crown/WL/Crown" and decorated with the same deeply modelled foliate design and engraved shield at the front (**plate 9**). The banner on this shield is inscribed "AUSTRALIA", with four motifs below, three mining implements and a hanging sheep. This ring has been attributed to William Lamborn and dated c 1890, based on a perceived association between the reference to "Australia" on the banner, the hanging sheep motif and the growing sense of nationhood that developed in the latter years of the century, leading to the federation of the Australian colonies in 1901.[49]

More likely, this ring is from the 1850s or 1860s. Lamborn had retired in 1884 and his sons continued the business as a new entity known as Lamborn Bros. "Australia" had been adopted by the British Admiralty in 1824 as the official name for Terra Australis or New Holland, confirming what was already common usage. In 1831, a national flag known as the Australian Federation Flag was designed, incorporating the Union Jack along with a schematic representation of the Southern Cross. The Eureka Flag raised at the Eureka Stockade in 1854 was supposed to have drawn inspiration from the Southern Cross on the Australian Federation Flag; at the time, the Melbourne press often referred to the Eureka Flag as the "Australian flag".[50] The mining tools on the Australia ring are typical of those used by alluvial miners in the 1850s and would have been less relevant by 1890, when deep lead mining employed more sophisticated technology. The hanging sheep was a familiar symbol in the 1850s, incorporated in the insignia of the Melbourne Town Council from 1843 to represent the wool industry, but also carrying connotations of gold by association with the golden fleece of Greek mythology.

22.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (c 1826–97), *Gold tassel brooch,* c 1875, Melbourne, lyre-shaped frame supporting three vine leaves set with gold beads, pendant tassel fringe, several tassels deficient, with Lamborn & Wagner mark, Mossgreen Auctions, *Australian & Colonial, Antique & Historical,* 6 Nov 2014, lot 438. Photograph courtesy Leski Auctions. Illustrated in Anne Schofield and Kevin Fahy, *Australian Jewellery: 19th and Early 20th Century,* p 212

The stamp "WL" also appears on a small miner's brooch, bearing an array of miner's tools suspended from an oval frame (**plate 10**). Cash Brown suggested a date of 1856 for this brooch.[51] By then, Lamborn was working within the entity of Lamborn & Wagner and would have been more likely to use the "L&W" punch mark. After his arrival in Melbourne at the end of 1852 and prior to 1856, Lamborn appeared to work independently except for the period spent with Wagner & Woollett in 1854; and he was certainly a sole trader at 77 Chancery Lane in 1855. The use of the "WL" stamp would reasonably date the production of this brooch and the two signet rings discussed above to around 1853–55.

Other than the initial advertisements for working jewellers in December 1854, Lamborn did not actively advertise for additional employees until December 1855, when it seemed he was ready to expand. That month, he advertised for a "Boy, to make himself useful"; and immediately beneath placed a second advertisement:

> Wanted Working Jewellers: also a good Jobber. Lamborne's [sic], 77 Chancery-lane, opposite Temple Court[52]

Significantly, Leopold Wagner had arrived back in Melbourne just three weeks before.

Lamborn & Wagner 1856–1884

The partnership of Lamborn & Wagner was probably negotiated in advance of Wagner's return, perhaps even before his departure from Melbourne in January 1855. On 4 January 1856, one month after his return, Lamborn & Wagner, "colonial jewellery manufacturers", advertised for working jewellers.[53] Two weeks later, Lamborn formally announced the formation of the new partnership,

23.
William Lamborn (1826–1905) & Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold brooch* with central flower with rhodalite garnet, nd, Melbourne, marked "Crown/L&W/ Crown". Private collection

along with the move to larger premises at 19 Lonsdale-street east:

> Wanted Wholesale and Retail Jewellers, Watchmakers, Storekeepers, and Dealers in General to know that the business of W. Lamborn, 77 Chancery-lane, has been removed to 19 Lonsdale-street east, opposite the Queen's Arcade, which will be carried on as Lamborn and Wagner. Having taken larger premises, and Mr. Wagner entering into the business, they will be enabled to manufacture on a much larger scale, and with despatch. Good Working Jeweller Wanted.[54]

The new premises not only provided more space – a house with room enough for a workshop, plus accommodation for Lamborn and his family – but also a considerably healthier working environment. In the 1850s, Chancery Lane became the location of Graham's slaughterhouse, described at the time as a "filthy Golgotha", with the stench permeating the surrounding area and offal littering the street.[55]

Lonsdale Street offered a broad stretch of road, accommodating a mixture of small businesses between Elizabeth and Swanston Streets; the location near the corner of Swanston Street had convenience and prestige. Across the road was the Queen's Arcade, opened in 1853 as Australia's first shopping arcade (**plate 11**). On the northeast corner was the Melbourne Hospital and immediately to its north the Public Library, where the first library building opened its doors in February 1856. The new address marked a definite step up in the Melbourne business world.

A further move was made around the mid-1860s to 42 Lonsdale-street west; then, in 1870, having commissioned custom-designed alterations, the firm settled at 16 Little Collins Street west, its final location in the centre of town.

The increased space at Lonsdale Street east allowed for an immediate expansion of the business. In the next few months, advertisements were placed for working jewellers, promising "constant work" and the "highest wages".[56] Similar advertisements followed in 1857, including one for a jeweller's engraver for the diggings, implying a branch or agency on the goldfields.[57]

Wagner was based at Ballarat for a period – his 1856 naturalisation certificate gave his address as "Ballarat"; and, perhaps coincidentally, the District Police Court in 1859 recorded a theft from the residence of "Augusta Wagner at Lake Learmonth".[58] Wagner was back in Melbourne by 1860, with his residential address given as the premises at 19 Lonsdale Street east, Lamborn having moved to his new family home in Caulfield. By 1863, Wagner was at William Street, East St Kilda, a substantial property with an impressive house known as Capua Villa sited on a holding of over seven acres.[59] This move approximately coincides with the relocation of the business to Lonsdale Street west.

This expansion meant that the business, one of the first jewellery manufactories in Melbourne, became one of the most prominent. It was also enduring. Lamborn & Wagner operated as manufacturing jewellers until William Lamborn's retirement in 1884, when the partnership was dissolved. Lamborn's sons, William Joseph and Arthur Leopold, took over the business as Lamborn Bros, in a partnership sustained for a further 40 years.

Leopold Wagner was listed as a jeweller at Crimea Street, St Kilda, until 1888. He moved to Western Australia around

1888–89, dying aged 70 on 19 July 1897 at his residence at Lincoln Street, Highgate Hill, in Perth.[60] William Lamborn died suddenly, aged 79, at his home Currajong in Auburn Road, Hawthorn in Melbourne on 24 December 1905.[61]

Jewellery

Colonial Victoria did not require uniform application of hallmarks as under the British system, so it is difficult to date jewellery precisely. Lamborn & Wagner used punch marks inconsistently, so many works can only be attributed on stylistic grounds. Marks varied from a simple "L&W" to the signature initials with a combination of symbols, usually a star, crown or lion passant (**plate 23**).

Reymond suggests that earlier pieces were generally stamped "L&W" alone or "L&W" with a crown paired with a lion passant, and that these earlier marks were larger than those used later.[62] A simple gold ring set with a red gemstone, discovered in a charity shop, bears the large "L&W" stamp flanked by a lion passant and crown, which places it within this earlier phase of production (**plate 12a-b**).[63]

Reymond observed that later marks tended to be smaller and carry the firm's initials within a matching pair of crowns, lions passant or stars. Lamborn & Wagner may have used the paired crowns or paired lions passant as a substitute for a carat mark, as a sign of gold quality.[64] Another brooch with a small "L&W" punch on the reverse flanked by two crowns (**plates 13a–b**) has been assayed as 18 carat.

This petite brooch nicely illustrates the characteristic Lamborn & Wagner style. The frame, with its rope twist, provides support for the dominant broad vine leaf, which in turn becomes a platform for two exquisitely rendered flowers, one bell-like with three tiny pistils and the other with four miniature petals surrounding a gold bead at its centre. The flowers and two additional small leaves attach back to the frame by means of looped gold wire. The overall effect is sculptural, with a sense of plasticity achieved by the elevation of the vine leaf above the frame; the moulding of the vine leaf to produce a rounded form, which in turn creates an alternation of light and shade; and the placement of the flower heads so they stand clear of the surface beneath them. The leaves carry a tracery of veins and an overall stippling for a textured effect, all finely worked.

This is a refined piece. Lamborn & Wagner was also well known for more elaborate designs. They followed trends fashionable in Victorian England, with a dominant preference for floral and foliate forms mostly produced as brooches, pendants, lockets and earrings (**plates 14–15**). Readily available stones such as garnet, citrine, emerald or coloured glass paste enlivened the centres of flowers (**plate 23**). "Etruscan" fringes of tassels or twisted wire gave movement to brooches and earrings. Around the perimeter, doves with spread wings added a sentimental note. Bows would often finish the outer frame at the base. Sometimes a foliate frame accommodated a cameo, painted miniature portrait or photographic print (**plates 16–17**).

These were conventional design elements. Occasionally, more unusual motifs were used, such as the circlet of flowers in a finely articulated botanical brooch, possibly representing the indigenous Leptospermum or tea-tree (**plate 18**).[65]

Miniature representations of Australian fauna were also used, as in the gold portrait brooch of a gentleman with an emu and kangaroo decorating the frame, beside the more traditional elements of twining vine leaves, dove and bunch of grapes (**plate 19**).

Some brooches combined size with flamboyant decoration for cumulative effect, as in the larger tassel brooches, sometimes matched with earrings in sets known as demi-parures (**plates 1 & 20–22**). These were designed to impress, a material symbol of status and wealth. The large tassel brooches often conformed to a standard design – a symmetrical composition with three large leaves mounted on a lyre-shaped frame, each leaf embellished with gemstones or pastes, gold beads and tiny flowers, and finished beneath with a graduated fringe of tassels. Earrings would repeat these elements in a somewhat simplified form. Substantial and sturdy, stamped tassel brooches appear to carry the "L&W" punch mark flanked by two stars. The brooch in plate 1 assayed at 15 carats.

While maintaining a continuity of motifs and style, Lamborn & Wagner was obviously adaptable, able to modify its designs to accommodate a range of tastes and affordability, successfully maintaining a reputation and serving a broad market – the key to the firm's long-standing success.

Like many fellow immigrants coming to Australia following the discovery of gold, William Lamborn came with high hopes for a better life. He brought with him an eminently marketable skill, that of the jeweller-goldsmith, and the personal determination to succeed. Within eight years of his arrival in Melbourne in 1852, his early life in the London slums was well and truly behind him. He seized the 'golden' opportunities his new country offered – not the instant wealth of a chance discovery on the goldfields, a good fortune experienced by relatively few, but the establishment of a profitable business; a plot of land and a house that he could claim as his own and for the family he would raise there; and the social respectability that came with his position as a businessman and property owner. In every respect, he was the self-made colonial man.

Jillian Dwyer OAM previously worked in education and is now an independent researcher, principally in Australian art history. An ongoing project has been a biography of Constance Jenkins, artist in Melbourne in the early 20th century and subsequently in San Francisco. Her interest in early Australian goldfields jewellers arose recently, as she turned her hand to family history and discovered the fascinating story of her ancestor, William Lamborn, and his partnership as a manufacturing jeweller with Leopold Wagner. She is a voluntary guide at the National Gallery of Victoria.

NOTES

1. Kenneth Cavill, Graham Cocks & Jack Grace, *Australian Jewellers: Gold and Silversmiths, Makers & Marks*, CGC Gold, Roseville NSW 1992 p 143.
2. Michel Reymond, "Gold rush jewellers of Melbourne and Dunedin: Wagner & Woollett, Lamborn & Wagner and Woollett & Hewitt", *Australiana* vol 36 no 4 Nov 2014 pp 4-12.
3. *Op cit*.
4. Anne Schofield & Kevin Fahy, *Australian Jewellery: 19th and Early 20th Century*, David Ell Press, Balmain NSW 1990 p 211.
5. Trevor Hancock, "The 'Little Aussie Battlers' in Australian art", *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat Vic 2016 p 36.
6. Rachel Lichtenstein, *Diamond Street: The Hidden World of Hatton Garden*, Penguin Books, London 2012.
7. Genealogical records for William Lamborn. *Ancestry* database on-line: *England, Select Births and Christenings, 1538–1975*; *1841 England Census*; *1851 England Census*; *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923*; *Australia, Marriage Index 1788–1950. R*elevant entries only are listed. Lamborn was born 5 Sep 1826 and baptised 24 Sep 1826 at St Andrew Holborn, London.
8. Genealogical records for Robert & Ann (née Ripley) Lamborn. *Ancestry* database on-line: *England, Select Births and Christenings 1538-1975*; *London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns 1754–1921; 1841 England Census* (no record for Robert Lamborn); *England & Wales, Civil Registration Death Index 1837–1915*; *1851 England Census*.
9. 'Parish, factory and charity apprenticeships in England', based on Anthony Camp, "Apprenticeship: Part 2: Parish, factory and charity apprentices" *Practical Family History*, n 65 May 2003 pp 5-7, retrieved from https://www.familysearch.org/wiki/en/index.php. Apprentices were occasionally paid a small sum in the early years of an apprenticeship, with more regular payments in the last 2–3 years but below that of a journeyman or working jeweller. See also John Burnett, *The Annals of Labour: Autobiographies of British Working Class People*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington Indiana 1974, for wages for skilled and unskilled workers in mid-1860s England. This reference with information found in G P Landow, "Wages, the cost of living, contemporary equivalents to Victorian money", *The Victorian Web: Literature, History & Culture in the Age of Victoria*, www.victorianweb.org accessed 12 Feb 2018
10. St Andrew Holborn Charity School was founded in 1696, at first for boys and for girls from 1700. It was financed by subscription and endowment, and investments provided ongoing income. Boys were apprenticed to a trade, girls for domestic service.
11. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923.*
12. *Argus* 6 Nov 1852 p 4.
13. Alexander Sutherland, *Victoria and its Metropolis: Past and Present,* McCarron Bird & Co, Melbourne, 1888 vol 1 p 325.
14. Genealogical records for Eliza Dennis, her father Charles Dennis and her mother Ann (née Mitchell), *Ancestry* database on-line: *England, Select Births and Christenings 1538–1975*, (no record for Charles Dennis); *1841 England Census*; *Middlesex, London, Old Bailey Court Records 1674–1913*; *London, England, Church of England Deaths and Burials 1813–1980*; *1851 England Census* (Ann Dennis entered as Ann Warner); *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923; Australia, Marriage Index 1788–1950*.
15. Genealogical records for William Joseph Sayers Clarke, *Ancestry* database on-line: *Ancestry Family Trees*. Further information in Trove. He was born c 1814 in Kent, England, and came to Australia as a free immigrant c 1839. In 1850, he was appointed the provincial Grand Master of the Australian Independent Order of Odd Fellows, a charitable organisation providing assistance to its members in difficult times. He was licensee of the Waterman's Arms, 8 Little Collins St West from 1850–55. After he died in 1855, his wife Mary Ann acted as licensee for one year in 1856, before she married Francis Braithwaite in 1857. Clarke left a family of six young children.
16. *SMH* 27 Dec 1905 p 6. See also "Sydney's Aldermen: George Thomas Clarke", sydneyalderman.com.au, accessed 30 Dec 2017. George Thomas Sayers Clarke, son of William Joseph Sayers Clarke (see n 15), was Lord Mayor of Sydney in 1912; and Mayor of North Sydney in July 1923, when he officiated at the 'turning of the sod' for the construction of Sydney Harbour Bridge. He probably submitted the William Lamborn obituary to the *Sydney Morning Herald* and was certainly the G T Clarke mentioned in it.
17. The other "Messrs. Clarke" mentioned would be John Nutt Sayers Clarke and Joseph James Dunbell Clarke, both sons of William Joseph Sayers Clarke; and (Francis) Augustus Eugene (Braithwaite) Clarke, their half brother and son of Mary Ann Clarke after her remarriage to Francis Braithwaite. He elected to go under the family name of Clarke, as per his marriage and death certificates.
18. *Argus* 14 Feb 1852 p 3; also 15 May, 5 Jun, 8 Jul. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Ancestry Family Trees*, William Snr Clarke 1801-1866. William Clarke (senior), gold broker, was born in Cumberland, England, in 1801 and came to Melbourne in 1841. He carried on business at 67 Collins St originally as a "Stationer, &c", before positioning himself as a gold broker following the gold discoveries of 1851. From 1854, he ran his business as "William Clarke & Sons, Gold Brokers" at 86 and 88 Elizabeth St. When he died in 1866, the business was dissolved and reformed by his son, Alfred Edward, as Clarke & Company.
19. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Australia, City Directories 1845–1948, Melbourne Directory (Sands*). Sands' *Directories* for 1865–67 listed a Charles E Clarke with Lamborn and Wagner as "goldsmiths and jewellers, 42 Lonsdale-street west". This may have been Charles Ernest Clarke, son of William Clarke, gold broker, but the connection is tenuous. In 1867, as Chas E Clarke, he was referred to as the "Ballarat agent" for newly formed Clarke & Co. See *Argus* 28 May 1867 p 3; 28 Dec 1867 p 1; 6 Jun 1868 p 1.
20. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Australia, City Directories, 1845-1948, Melbourne Directory (Sands*). Directories for 1863-64 listed C E Clarke as goldsmith working for Lamborn & Wagner.
21. Douglas Wilkie, *The Deconstruction of a Convict Past: the Stories of Van Diemen's Land Convicts Charles Brentani & Joseph Forrester*, Historia Incognita [print on demand] 2015.
22. *Port Phillip Patriot* 2 Dec 1845 p 3 and subsequently. See also Judith O'Callaghan, "The Flemington Cup", *Art Bulletin of Victoria*, 1986 n 26 pp 22-4.
23. Articles appeared in *The Argus* at various times, registering an ongoing fascination with the story, although differing on points of fact. Anne Brentani furnished her account in *The Argus*, reprinted in the *Maitland Mercury* 3 Jun 1882 p 4; another article appeared following the death of Brentani's son in 1913, *Argus* 31 Jul 1913, also *The Northern Miner* 12 Aug 1913 p 3. An accurately documented account can be found in D Wilkie *op cit* pp 94–99.
24. D Wilkie *op cit* pp 116f.
25. *SMH* 27 Dec 1905 p 6; also *Ancestry* database on-line: *Victoria, Australia, Police Gazettes*, *1855* for Thomas Topfield, journeyman goldsmith noted as previously working for "Mr. Lamborn, jeweller, of Queen-street, Melbourne". Lamborn's first son, William Joseph, was born at Queen Street on 1 Dec 1854 – see *Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria*, birth registration number 6194, 1854.
26. D Wilkie *op cit* p 116 claims Brentani advertised for a working jeweller at £6 per week in the *Melbourne Morning*

Herald 6 Mar 1852, but cannot be confirmed on Trove and is *after* Brentani sold his business to James Tucker. Frederick Sinnett, *An Account of the Colony of South Australia*, prepared for distribution at the International Exhibition of 1862, Adelaide, 1862 a table of wages for the period 1852–1861; skilled tradesmen average around 10 shillings per day in 1852, rising to around 14 shillings per day in 1854.

27. Peter R Murray & John C Wells, *From Sand, Swamp and Heath … A History of Caulfield*, City of Caulfield, Caulfield Vic 1980 p 7, for a diagrammatic map plotting land holdings and house sizes. The 1854 date for the house cannot be right. Crown Land in Caulfield was first released in 1854. In 1860, Lamborn sought tenders for the erection of "an eight-roomed two-storey private dwelling at East St Kilda", *Argus* 7 Jul 1860 p 8. The Lamborn property was situated on the boundary of East St Kilda and Caulfield.
28. *Argus* 5 Dec 1860 p 8, advertisement to let a five-roomed cottage. He advertised another cottage later – *Argus* 22 Jul 1865 p 3.
29. M Reymond's 2014 article "Gold rush jewellers of Melbourne and Dunedin" was the source for most of the information about Samuel Peck Woollett. Genealogical records for Woollett also viewed – see *Ancestry* database on-line: *England, Select Births and Christenings 1538–1975*; Northhamptonshire Record Office, Northampton, England *Norfolk, England, Church of England Births and Baptisms 1813–1915*; *1841 England Census*; *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923*; *Victoria Outward Passenger Lists 1852–1915*.
30. M Reymond *op cit* p 7.
31. *Ancestry* database on-line: *London, England, Church of England Marriages and Banns 1754–1921*.
32. Genealogical records for Henry Leopold Wagner. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923*; marriage certificate as in note 31; *Victoria Outward Passenger Lists, 1852–1915*; *Victoria, Australia, Index to Naturalisation Certificates 1851–1928*.
33. *Geelong Advertiser* 25 Nov 1852 p 2
34. *Argus* 27 Apr 1854 p 2.
35. *Age* 30 Jan 1855 p 1. This description of the Chancery Lane premises is in an advertisement seeking new tenants after the departure of Wagner & Woollett.
36. *Argus* 8 Jun 1854 p 1.
37. Marjorie J Tipping, "Becker, Ludwig (1808-1861)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/becker-ludwig-2961, accessed 12 Mar 2019.
38. *Melbourne Morning Herald* 6 Sep 1854 reprinted in the *Empire* 6 Sep 1854 p 3, with a full description of Becker's medal design.
39. *By Authority of the Commissioners, Official Catalogue of the Melbourne Exhibition, 1854, in connexion with the Paris Exhibition 1855,* F Sinnett and Co, Melbourne 1855.
40. 'The Paris Exhibition' *Argus* 7 Feb 1855 p 6 summarised the Australian exhibits. All British exhibits, including those from the British colonies, were listed together in the following catalogue available at the State Library of Victoria: *Catalogue of the works exhibited in the British section of the exhibition: with notices of the commercial progress of the United Kingdom, under the respective classes, in French and English: together with exhibitors', prospectuses, prices current, &c*, London, Chapman & Hall 1855, Victorian exhibits p 132.
41. *Age* 30 Jan 1855 p 1.
42. Thom Blake Historian, "Historical Money Data for Australia", at www.thomblake.com.au, accessed on-line 27 December 2017. The *Historical Value Calculator* calculates historical money rates for Australia 1850–2015, based on the Retail Price Index using a formula developed by the Australian Bureau of Statistics.
43. These advertisements appeared successively in *Argus*, 23, 27, 30 and 31 Dec 1854.
44. For sources of shipping records, see notes 29 & 32.
45. *Evening Star* 28 Sep 1909 p 4; *Otago Witness* 6 Oct 1909 p 31; *Otago Daily Times* 11 Oct 1909 p 12.
46. *Argus* 31 Jan 1855 p 8.
47. *Argus* 24 & 28 Mar 1855 p 1.
48. William Lamborn (1826-1905) *Bendigo gentlemen's signet ring*, n d, Melbourne. Private collection. Image found on-line at Prospecting Australia, Gold Prospecting and Fossicking Forum > Finds, Identification and Valuation > old gold ring p 1-2, entries by Markgoldhunter, viewed 24 Jan 2018 @ www.prospectingaustralia.com.au See also photograph in C. Cluff, 'Finding some bling in your garden', *Courier* (Ballarat), 29 Jun 2016.
49. 'Gentleman's signet ring', *Bling*: *19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* p 140f.
50. *Age* 28 Nov 1854 p 5; 4 Dec 1854 p 5; 24 Feb 1855 p 5.
51. *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery* p 32.
52. *Argus* 28 Dec 1855 p 1 for both advertisements.
53. *Argus* 4 Jan 1856 p 1.
54. *Argus* 19 Jan 1856 p 7.
55. *e-Melbourne, the City Past and Present - The Encyclopaedia of Melbourne Online*, Andrew Brown-May & Shurlee Swain (eds.), School of Historical & Philosophical Studies, University of Melbourne, 2008. Entry by E. Byrne, "Chancery Lane", accessed at www.emelbourne.net.au 27 Dec 2017. See also: *The Encyclopaedia of Melbourne*, Andrew Brown-May & Shurlee Swain (eds.), Cambridge University Press, New York 2005. Entry by A. Brown-May, "Lanes and alleys" p 400f.
56. *Argus* 4 Jan, 11 Mar, 8 & 17 Apr, 4 Jun 1856, all p 1.
57. *Argus* 11 & 28 Feb 1857, both p 1.
58. *Star* (Ballarat), 27 Dec 1859 p 1.
59. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Australia, City Directories, 1845-1948, Melbourne Directory (Sands*). Directories for 1860-62 listed Wagner at 19 Lonsdale Street east. Wagner was at William Street, St Kilda, 1863-69. *Argus* 15 Oct 1869 p 2, auction advertisement under instruction from Leopold Wagner Esq, describing Capua Villa, William Street, East St Kilda, as "That very comfortable and beautifully-finished brick cemented residence, on blue-stone foundation, slate roof, verandah front and back". The sale coincided with Wagner's intention to visit Europe.
60. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Australia, City Directories, 1845-1948, Melbourne Directory (Sands*). Directories for 1886–88 listed Wagner at Crimea Street, St Kilda. *Ancestry* database on-line: *Australia, Death Index, 1787–1987*, lists his death as 1897 in Western Australia, age 70. See also, *West Australian*, 20 Jul 1897 p 4, for death and burial notices, where his age is given as 71. His age on the Burial Register at Cemetery Hill East Perth was 70 years 10 months, which puts his date of birth firmly at 1826.
61. *Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria*, death registration number 12840, 1905. Age at death was registered as 79 years, place of death "Currajong", Auburn Rd, Hawthorn. See also *Argus* 26 Dec 1905 p 1; 30 Dec 1905 p 9. *Weekly Times* 5 Jan 1906 p 19 - Sydney papers wrongly give his age as 80, *SMH* 27 Dec 1905 p 6; *Daily Telegraph* 27 Dec 1905 p 4; & *Sydney Mail* 3 Jan 1906. Reymond *op cit* p 8f mistakenly cites his death as 1907.
62. M Reymond *op cit* p 10f.
63. William Lamborn (1826-1905) and Henry Leopold Wagner (1826–97), *Gold ring with plain band and gemstone, possibly carnelian*, n d, Melbourne, marked "Lion passant/L&W/Crown". Private collection. Image found on-line at Prospecting Australia, Gold Prospecting and Fossicking Forum > Finds, Identification and Valuation > old gold ring, p 2, entry by Hunter1, viewed 24 Jan 2018 @ www.prospectingaustralia.com.au
64. M Reymond *op cit* p 11.
65. As described in 'Citrine botanical brooch', *Bling: 19th Century Goldfields Jewellery,* Museum of Australian Democracy at Eureka, Ballarat Vic p 75.

Digitisation for Researchers

At our request, Sydney researcher Yvonne Barber put down some thoughts to help you (and me) improve our knowledge and techniques for researching *Australiana*, using the November 2018 article on Adelaide painter and decorator W J Williams as an example.

YVONNE BARBER

Digitisation is the process of converting analogue signals or information of any form (text, pictures, music etc) into a digital format that can be understood by computer systems or electronic devices. Fortunately, there is no need to understand the process in order to use it. If you think this sounds too technical read on!

Research can now be conducted on a computer at your local library or in your home. Local libraries offer free short information sessions to assist with internet searching and these are useful if you are a beginner. You are never too old to explore even if you are not interested in conducting any serious research. For instance, the State Library of NSW (SLNSW) regularly holds workshops on improving your internet search skills for little cost, while the National Library holds webinars and has helpful hints on its website (search under "family history research").

Access to E-Resources of the State Library of NSW

All residents of NSW are eligible for a library card. Once this has been obtained at the State Library, you can arrange to have access to all their electronic resources on your home computer.

Databases at SLNSW cover inter alia Aboriginal Australia, arts & performing arts, family history, history & biography, newspaper and media, science & technology. Most of my research utilises the newspaper and media or family history databases. Additions are continually being made so check on updates. Access to eResources of the State Library of Victoria (SLVIC) has many online databases to public records in Victoria and elsewhere including Irish genealogy, National Archives Australia and access to Australian and overseas newspapers and other printed material. They began digitising their collections early in 1993. They have digitised more than 500,000 items, including photographs, maps, 19th-century pamphlets, glass plate negatives and rare artworks on paper. To access the digital collections, log on to www.slv.vic.gov.au/search-discover/popular-digitised-collections and add a search term.

JSTOR (www.jstor.org) is an interdisciplinary digital archive of scholarly material in the social sciences and humanities and the sciences. It includes the full text of non-current issues from over 1,000 leading academic journals. SLNSW subscribes to the Arts & Sciences Collections Part I - IX and the Nineteenth Century British Pamphlet collection. Examples include Migration to the New Worlds, The Trench Journals and Women, War and Society relating to World War I.

Search Strategies

Although bibliographic databases vary, the search principles are usually the same.

- Phrase Searching: use quotation marks to search for keywords eg "women painters"
- Boolean Operators: Use to combine keywords for your search:
  - AND- retrieves records which include all keywords searched eg Women AND painters
  - OR- retrieves records with either terms eg. Women OR female
- Truncation: used to search word variants. Most databases use the asterisk symbol (*) eg. paint* will retrieve records with words such as paint, paints and painter.
- Wildcards: are often available in databases to replace one or more characters in a search term. Most use the hashtag (#) and question mark (?) as the wildcard symbol for single character searching eg. In some databases wom#n will retrieve records containing the words woman and women.
- Advanced Search: this is useful for a guided search using multiple keywords and synonyms eg Convicts OR transportation AND Wom#n OR female AND "new south wales" OR australia

Births, Deaths, Marriages (BDM) electronic records

Basic searches are available free for NSW, Queensland and Victoria. There is a charge for a certificate. There are some restrictions, birth details are not available for 100 years and marriage and deaths only up to a certain date.

- NSW: www.bdm.nsw.gov.au
- Victoria: www.bdm.vic.gov.au
- Queensland: www.bdm.qld.gov.au
- Ryerson Index Australia www.ryersonindex.org

The Ryerson Index is a list of deceased persons whose death or funeral notice has been published in an Australian newspaper. It is current and therefore particularly useful when the BDM death records are available only to the 1980s. It can provide an exact date of death, and sometimes age and place of residence, useful to differentiate between persons with identical names.

Family History Electronic Records

- Family Search: free but you need to create an account: www.familysearch.org
- Ancestry: you need to pay an annual membership fee: www.ancestry.com.au

An Example of Research Procedure

As an admirer of the decoration in Ayers House and the Museum of Economic Botany in Adelaide, I was particularly interested in Dr Andrew Montana's ground-breaking article on art decorator W J Williams, in the

November 2018 issue of *Australiana*. This prompted me to do some further research on Williams and his family, some of it inconclusive.

Start a Family Tree

Firstly, I set up a family tree for William Joseph Williams on Ancestry because I have found in the past that a family tree allows you to make associations that otherwise would not be possible.

UK Census Records

In the England census of 1871 an unmarried male age 23 named William Williams was living in Bryanston St, Marylebone London and his occupation was given as 'House Decorator'. He does not appear in the 1881 England census indicating he had left the country or was deceased. William Williams was a very common name although the occupation less so.

Australian Immigration Records

As stated in the Montana article the date of Williams' arrival in Australia is unknown; he commenced advertising his business in Adelaide in 1878.

Victoria, Australia, Assisted and Unassisted Passenger Lists 1839–1923 shows that a William Williams, a single male age 27 arrived in Melbourne 27 November 1877 from Gravesend, Kent, England on board the ship *Northumberland*. His occupation was not noted so there is no way of connecting him to W J Williams.

Australia BDM Records

Around the time when he advertised in the SA newspapers that he was leaving the state with the intention of returning,[1] W J Williams' first child with Eliza Milton, also called William Joseph Williams (1881–1963), was born in Adelaide on 17 October 1881. Williams had resumed advertising 10 days before the child's birth.

The records show that Williams and Eliza Milton did not marry in Adelaide until 4 August 1887. Williams continued his business in Adelaide but there is no evidence to indicate where Eliza and their son were living in the intervening six years. Perhaps the name of their first post-marriage child, Sydney, could be a clue?

Following their 1887 marriage, seven more children were born, all in Adelaide: Sydney (1888–1967), Percy Frederick (1890–1958), Catherine [Kate or Kitty] Elizabeth (1892–1937), Victor (1893–1894), Walter (1895–1972), George Paramor (1899–1931) and Joseph Paramor (1902–1963).

Australian Census Records

The census records for South Australia 1939–1943 indicate that William Jnr was a salesman, Sydney and Percy were painters, Walter was a clerk and Joseph was a radio expert.

Newspapers (Trove)

The National Library of Australia's digital archive Trove https://trove.nla.gov.au has the wonderful ability to add a dash of vitality often missing in public records.

New material is being added to Trove all the time, though most but not all of the newspapers in Trove stop at 1954. You can help improve Trove by making text corrections to the digitised text, or adding comments.

New Zealand has a similar digitised newspaper archive, available at https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz.

At the time of the SA census records 1939–1943, George Williams was already deceased but Trove provides information on his engagement, his family members and his early death. Funeral notices are particularly useful as they often indicate the married names of female family members; in this case Catherine (Kitty) Williams had married Mr D J West and was living in Mypolonga, as these family notices reveal:

> Engagements: HARGRAVES - WILLIAMS, The engagement is announced of Florence Louisa Hargraves, third daughter of Mr and Mrs Thomas Hargraves, of Cabra, Clarence Park to George Paramor Williams, fifth son of the late Mr and of Mrs William Joseph Williams of Ningana Ave, Kings Park. [2]

> WILLIAMS– On the 3 February at Adelaide, George Paramor, dearly beloved son of Mrs E Williams and the late W J Williams, 20 Ningana ave, Kings Park, and loved brother of Kitty (Mrs D J West), Mypolonga, Will (Glenelg), Sydney (Redfern), Wallie, Percy, and Joe Williams (Kings Park), age 31 years.[3]

> WILLIAMS– On the 3 February at Adelaide, George Paramor, dearly beloved husband of Florence Louisa Williams, of 13 Alexandra ave, Cabra, aged 31 years.[4]

The marriage of W J Williams' only daughter Catherine Elizabeth and David Jewell West took place at St Augustine's church in Unley in 1929. She was given away by her brother Mr W. Williams of Quorn. The bride's artistic nature is revealed in this description of the wedding attire.[5]

> She was gowned in ivory georgette over crepe de chine. The skirt was finished with an uneven hemline. The embroidered silk net veil was brought into cap fashion and held in place by satin bands and orange blossom. It was worn over a long train of white tulle edged with silver lace. She carried a pink and white bouquet. Mrs. Williams (mother of the bride) was gowned in black crepe satin relieved with coffee lace. Her hat was of black and coffee tones.
>
> She carried a posy of mauve shades.

The flower girl was her niece Miss Dorothy Williams. Catherine died young, on 4 September 1937, in Murray Bridge.[6]

Thirty-five years after the death of W J Williams, his wife Eliza Williams died in Adelaide 28 March 1953 aged 91. Loving mother of Will, Syd, Perce, Kitty (dec), Victor (dec), Wally, George (dec) and Joe. She also left five grandchildren and six great grandchildren.[7]

Searching for printed material cited in Trove

The following articles found in Trove mentioned two publications, one English and the other Australian.

> The English "Journal of Decorative Art"' for April contains an illustration of a frieze

by S. Williams, son of Mr. W. J. Williams of Grenfell street. It is a conventional design, novel and clever in conception and artistic in execution. The artist who is only 18 years of age, studied at the School of Design and obtained much valuable tuition from his father, who is an expert at this class of work, and who has had several pictures hung at the Society of Arts exhibitions. Young Williams went to England a little over a year ago, and has been studying at the Manchester School of Painting. During the vacation he has been employed with a large firm of decorators in Manchester and has made wonderful progress in his work.[8]

In the April number of "The Australasian Decorator and Painter" there is reproduced an original design for a frieze by Miss Kate Williams, a clever daughter of Mr. W. J. Williams, the well-known Adelaide decorator. Miss Williams, who is only 15 years of age is being trained by her father and occasionally at the School of Design. Mr. Sidney Williams, a son, is with Cantrill and Sons of Manchester, one of the leading firms of decorators in the North of England. In the first instance the young son was trained under Mr. A. E. Bramley, perhaps one of the best teachers of modern decorative design in England.[9]

Copies of the English *Journal of Decorative Art* digital or otherwise are not available in the SLNSW collection. The SLNSW catalogue indicates they hold the *Australasian Painter and Decorator* April 1907 which has a picture of the frieze design by Kate Williams. It is in offsite storage, but can be ordered and viewed at the library. The reference number is TQ 079034 vol 1-2, Oct 1905–Sept 1907.

An online search of the collection of the State Library of Victoria revealed digital images of indexes for *The Australasian Decorator and Painter* which were extremely useful in locating both the articles mentioned above and other relevant material. The specific articles, digitised by SLVIC, can be viewed online.

The Australasian Decorator and Painter was an illustrated technical journal for decorators, painters, sign writers and paperhangers, published between 1905 and 1924. It includes designs for paintwork and wallpaper, with fold-out coloured stencils of friezes.

The relevant volumes and issue numbers are:

- Vol 1 Issue 6 pp 106–7: Manchester School of Decorative Painting – an article about A E Bramley and his teaching methods.
- Vol 1 Issue 9 p 190: An Australian Student in England and p 191 Painting of South Australia Hotel North Terrace Adelaide let to Mr Williams.
- Vol. 1, Issue 10, p 209: photographs of two friezes by Sydney Williams (in England).
- Vol. 2, Issue 5, p 110: photograph of frieze by W J Williams.
- Vol 2 Issue 7 pp 168 & 175: article about Kate Williams (p 168) and photograph of her frieze design (p 175).
- Vol. 5, Issue 9, p 227: photograph of two friezes by W J Williams.
- Vol 13 Issue 6 p 149: death of Mr W J Williams.

The W J Williams obituary and the article on his son Sydney Williams mentioned above are essentially as printed in the Adelaide newspapers.

The precise date Sydney Williams returned to Australia is unknown. He married Linda Phoebe Genevieve Amos, daughter of Thomas Amos in Adelaide in 1927. The online database of passengers leaving UK ports 1890–1960 reports Sydney Williams, age 28, occupation painter left Liverpool England on the ship *Celtic*, bound for New York 20 March 1913 in the company of another painter William Bray age 26. There is no evidence to confirm that this is W J Williams' son.

Concerning the company John Cantrill & Sons, employer of Sydney Williams in Manchester, the *London Gazette* 2 Jan 1931 reports that the partnership of John Hewson Cantrill and William Henry Cantrill carrying on business as Painters and Decorators at 100 Oxford-road, Manchester "JOHN CANTRILL & SONS" dissolved by mutual consent from 31.12.1930.

A search for John Hewson Cantrill found *A History of the British Decorators Association* by Howard W. Binns, published in October 1994 (full document) with mentions of John Cantrill and John Hewson Cantrill (with photographs).

Research Tips

- Always record the source details of any information collected. This is essential as you may find that later searches on Trove, based on the identical search terms, annoyingly fail to yield the information.
- Don't make assumptions, work on facts and find the evidence to support it.
- Discuss your success or difficulty with other researchers.
- Copy precisely any information you intend to quote. The easiest way to do this in Trove is to correct the newspaper text on screen, then copy it into your document.

Conclusion

The State Libraries and other institutions small or large in each state of Australia are the repositories of enormous amounts of newly digitised material. Never before has information been so easy to access, help to unlock it.

Yvonne Barber is a science graduate of the University of Sydney who for many years worked in the pharmaceutical industry in drug development and registration. Her recent Australian research has focused on silversmiths Hugh Savage Clarke, his apprentice William Kerr and Kerr's factory foreman George Brodie.

NOTES

1. *SAR* 3 Aug 1881 p 2.
2. *SAR* 7 Sep 1926 p 8.
3. *SAC* 5 Feb 1931 p 39.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *The Mail* 22 Jun 1929 p 19.
6. *Advertiser* 6 Sep 1937 p 12.
7. *Advertiser* 30 Mar 1953 p 16.
8. *SA Chronicle* 26 May 1906 p 9.
9. *SA Register* 26 Apr 1907 p 5.

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Painted from the S. S. Orient in February 1880 this artwork depicts the very hot and calm summer's day in the true plein-air impressionist method. Staples had developed this modern technique during his artistic studies in Europe, but although the theories of impressionism had reached Australia by word of mouth and in book illustrations at this time it was not until much later in the decade, when Tom Roberts returns from Europe in 1885, that Australia was to see paintings executed in this manner again. This arguably is the first true plein-air painting to be painted in Australia.

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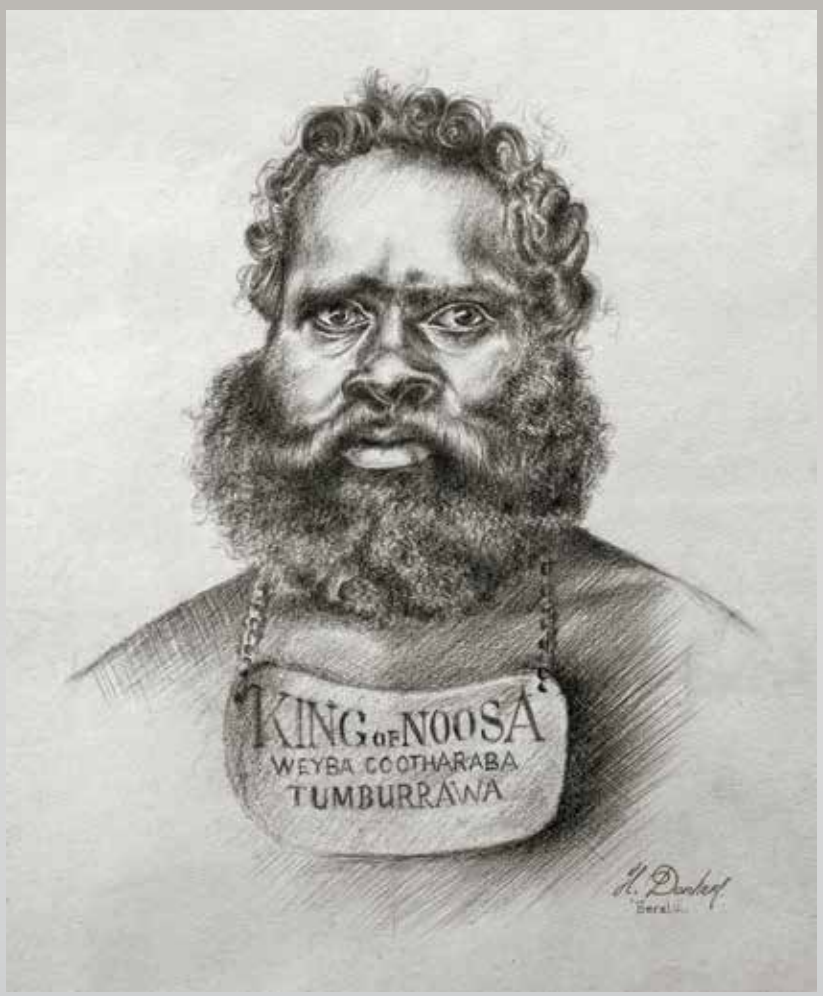

This sensitive and well-drawn pencil portrait is signed "H. Denham / 'Herald'." that is, Captain Henry Mangles Denham RN of HMS *Herald*. A small partially decorated boomerang is screwed to the rear

On 10 November 1858, Captain Henry Denham of HMS *Herald* entered Moreton Bay, 30 miles from what is now Brisbane. He anchored off the west coast of Moreton Island to water and wood the *Herald*, sending his coxswain and a boat upriver for supplies, fresh meat and vegetables. After a brief survey of the entrance to the Bay, Denham departed on 2 December. Two of Denham's crew, Onslow and Hutchinson, unloaded their stereoscopic camera and a tent, setting up near the Aboriginal camp, where they obtained some good images.

The drawing shows Billy Barlow/Crowe wearing a 'badge of distinction' engraved 'King of Noosa/Weyba Cootharaba/Tumburrawa' – Lakes Weyba and Cootharaba flow into the Noosa River. Barlow/Crowe was probably photographed wearing his breastplate, and Denham made the drawing from the photograph. Still in its original frame with an associated boomerang screwed to the rear, the portrait provides an important link with early British settlement in Queensland.

I will suggest in a future article that this man is Billy Barlow, who could speak English and had been surveying with Tom Petrie, who in his *Reminiscences* recorded the gift of brass breastplates to 'Governor Banjo' and 'Jackie'. Tom Petrie was logging from 1854 with his band of 25 Aborigines in the Noosa, Weyba and Tumburrawa areas.

The breastplate is engraved with phonetically-spelt Aboriginal place names in the Noosa district, all of which survive to this day, confirming this as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, surviving white contact images of a Queensland Aborigine wearing a king plate.

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