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NOVEMBER 2001

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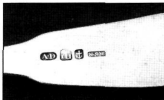
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Cover Adelaide gold ingots and sovereigns 1852, private collection.



Plate 1. The *Glenfield*, Throsby, lum chest of drawers, c. 1822. Constructed entirely of cedar, the top edge is cross-banded to the sides and front, as is the plinth above the legs. The drawer fronts are veneered with finely figured cedar, and cock-beaded, the centre lum hat drawer is centred by a raised double bead. The four drawers either side of the lum drawer were never fitted with handles. They were opened by keys, and with the loss of the keys and the lock escutcheons, these drawers have suffered mutilation. The chest has the original locks for the bottom three drawers and the lum drawer. The lum drawer-handle is original and the two original handles remaining on the bottom drawers have been copied. The chest stands on four matched, ring-turned, tapered feet. The detail 1a shows the original untouched but sorry state of this item of furniture when purchased. Height 123 cm, width at back 126 cm, maximum depth 63 cm, small drawer width 33 cm, lum drawer 42 cm. J B Hawkins Antiques.

“Quilled on the Cann”

Alexander Hart,
Glaswegian,
Cabinetmaker, Scottish
Radical and Convict

John Hawkins

John Hawkins recounts the story of Scottish Radical Alexander Hart, and suggests that the items from this cabinetmaker’s Sydney workshop may be recognised by the distinctive regional features of furniture from his native Glasgow.

A British Government at war with revolutionary and republican France was fully aware of the dangers of civil unrest among the working classes in Scotland, for Thomas Paine’s republican tract, *The Rights of Man*, was widely read by a particularly literate artisan class. The convict settlement at Botany Bay had already been the recipient of five “Scottish martyrs”: the Reverend Thomas Palmer, William Skirving, Maurice Margarot, Joseph Gerrald and Thomas Muir. They had been tried in 1793 for seeking an independent Scottish republic or democracy, thereby forcing the Scottish Radical movement underground.

The onset of the Industrial Revolution and the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars placed the Scottish weavers, the so called “aristocrats” of labour, in a difficult position, for as demand for cloth slumped their wages plummeted. As a result, in 1819 a series of Radical protest meetings was held in west and central Scotland, where many thousands obeyed the order for a general strike, the first incidence of mass industrial action in Britain. Andrew Hardie, a Glasgow weaver, led a group

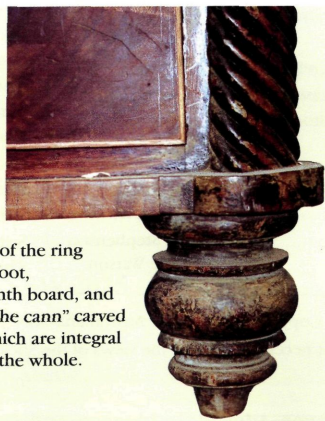


Plate 1a. Detail of the ring turned French foot, crossbanded plinth board, and the “quilled on the cann” carved corner posts, which are integral to the design of the whole.

of 25 Radicals armed with pikes in the direction of the Carron ironworks, in the hope of gaining converts and more powerful weapons. They were joined at Condorrat by another group under John Baird, also a weaver. The British Government employed spies to infiltrate these organisations and, made aware of the Radical armed uprising, British troops intercepted the Radicals at Bonniemuir. After much fighting, 21 Radicals were arrested and imprisoned in Stirling Castle; unusually, they were tried for treason under English law, as opposed to Scottish law. Hardie and Baird were hanged, and when all movement had ceased, decapitated in the Castle square. The remaining 19 Radicals changed their plea to guilty and were transported to Australia. Two of their number, Alexander Hart, (1794-1876)¹ a cabinetmaker, and Andrew White, a bookbinder, play a part in this story.

Sentenced to 14 years transportation and confined in Edinburgh Gaol, Hart wrote at the outset to his brother John, a manufacturer, of 12 Wilson St, Glasgow:²

"Mr Blackie was here this morning, and when I asked him if I would be allowed to take my tool chest along with me, he assured me that I would. And as I am informed by a lad here who is a cabinet maker, and who was there says that our tools are not only bad there, but are costly and that although we may be under Bondage for a short time, yet even in that state we will be allowed to work a good deal for our ourselves ... in order that I may be able to send home something to you and Margaret for what you have already done or may do for me I should be very happy to have my own tools along with me you can cause Peter to pack them in the best manner he can, and if you send them I would [ask] Peter to put three corner clasps on each corner and a barr across each ... if you choose to put in the violin you



Plate 1b. A view with the top of the chest removed to show the construction of the corner columns. It is impossible to turn this shape which is asymmetric when seen from above.

A STRAIGHT FRONTED CHEST OF DRAWERS, L. S. D.			
Three feet six inches long, thirty-two inches and a half high in gables, all solid,		1	1 7/8
<i>EXTRA.</i>			
If fronts veneered,		0	1 1/2
Veneering gables,		0	1 5/8
Each joint in top or gables, if deal,		0	0 0/8
Ditto, if solid top or gables,		0	0 2
Veneering top,		0	1 0
Clamping ditto,		0	1 2/8
French brackets for ditto,		0	1 5/8
Moulder in drawer bottoms, each		0	0 4
Slipping and ploughing each drawer,		0	0 2
Each inch more in length,		0	0 6
Ditto ditto, less,		0	0 3
Straining fronts, or other extras—See Table.			

A CIRCULAR FRONTED CHEST OF DRAWERS, L. S. D.			
Three feet six inches long, thirty-two and a half high in gables, four long drawers, top drawer divided,		1	9 6
<i>EXTRA.</i>			
Each inch more in length,		0	0 8
Ditto, ditto, less,		0	0 4
Three drawers above, in place of long drawer,		0	3 11
French brackets for ditto,		0	1 5/8
French feet and base,		0	5 10/8
If edges of shelves cross banded—See Table.			
On all drawers each inch above the start in height, extra,		0	0 3

A COMMODE FRONTED CHEST OF DRAWERS, L. S. D.			
Three feet six inches long, thirty-two and a half high in gables, finished the same as circular drawers,		1	14 5
<i>EXTRA.</i>			
Each inch more in length		0	0 8
Ditto, ditto, less,		0	0 4
Plain canted corners,		0	3 11
If corners rounded, extra,		0	0 6
For French feet and base,		0	6 7/8
If hollowed across, in front, ends, and cant, to be extra from common			
French base and feet,		0	1 8/8
If plain turned columns,		0	1 5/8

Plate 1c. The *Cabinet Makers Glasgow Book of Prices* for 1806.

A Straight Fronted Chest of Drawers

A Circular Fronted Chest of Drawers

A Commode Fronted Chest of Drawers

Reading between the lines, if this chest had been invoiced by Hart, based on the *Cabinet Makers Book of Prices*, the invoice would read:

A Straight Fronted Chest of Drawers 49 and 1/2 inches long and 48 and 1/2 inches high; the front veneered; the top drawer divided 3 drawers above in place of long drawer; the edges of shelves cross-banded; corners rounded; plain turned column then quilled on the cann; on plain French feet. The drawers with moulters slipped and ploughed; all in best Australian cedar.



Plate 2. The Douglass (?) lum chest of drawers. The description is the same as for Plate 1, except that the small drawers have their original handles, hence the survival of the key escutcheons. The drawer fronts to this chest are not veneered. The chest is marginally lower; this has not been caused by alterations to the French feet. It is therefore not a pair to Plate 1. Height 118 cm, width at back 128 cm, depth 61.5 cm, small drawer width 32.7 cm, lum drawer width 48 cm. J B Hawkins Antiques.



Plate 3. A Glasgow lum chest in mahogany on French feet, c. 1820. The drawers with ash sides and pine bottoms; the brass handles would not have been available in the colony. Surmounted by a Glasgow mahogany toilet mirror for a lum chest of drawers, c. 1820. This item of furniture stood on the chest of drawers and matched the “quilled on the cann” decoration of the remaining bedroom furniture. J. B. Hawkins Antiques.

may. Blackie says he will call upon you next week at least he said he was going to Glasgow and I told him he might call if he choosed there is some tools that I am deficient that I would like to take along ... I can purchase in Edinburgh what is different in tools and I'll have them better ... I am just well thank God your affectionate B Alexander Hart.”

Hart wrote again to his brother from on board the convict ship *Speke* near Sheerness:³

“I now write you from the convict ship which I entered yesterday ... I have no money now not so much as [to] procure the least necessary. I wrote for my drawing papers in a letter that I sent to my shop mates and that some of them would accommodate me with a few more now if I get none of these drawings I'll consider myself greatly disappointed for there is some of them would be essentially necessary to me if ever I go to that country that I am sentenced to go to ... I am anxious about my drawings and at present I cannot command a sixpence we will be here above a fortnight ...”

During the voyage to Australia, Hart and White were befriended by the Irish, Dublin University educated Dr Henry Grattan Douglass (1790-1865)⁴ and his wife who were passengers and free settlers on the *Speke*. On the ship's arrival⁵ in May 1821, Douglass applied to the New South Wales Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn, to have Hart and White assigned to him⁶ and delivered to Parramatta.⁷ They were to remain with Douglass for the next three years.⁸ At some time in 1825 Hart was transferred to John Macarthur at *Camden Park* for he appears in the *Camden Park Estate* daybook 1823-1828⁹ where it is noted that their previous foreman, Duncan McFarlane, on an annual salary of £100 payable in advance, terminated his employment on 31 December 1825, to be replaced by Alexander Hart. Hart was paid £12-15-0 on 6 January 1826, drawn upon the Parramatta account, presumably for work at *Elizabeth Farm*, until then the headquarters of the Macarthur's farming operations.

The Rev. Thomas Hassall married Hart and the illiterate Irish convict Bridget O'Hara at St John's Church, Parramatta, on 14 May 1822.¹⁰ His fellow Radical, Andrew White, was Best Man. Bridget signed her name with a cross, as did her witness Ann Fitzgerald. As Bridget's ticket of leave states her year of birth as 1785, she had understated her age on the register by five years.

In the 1828 Census she is listed as “housekeeper” to Alexander Hart but as she was illiterate he would have filled out the Census form; he was following his trade as a cabinetmaker in Macquarie Street, Sydney; they had no children.

Hart was disfigured and had been given up for dead by the cut of a sabre blade across his forehead during the Bonniemuir uprising and this may have had an effect on his working life. He owned property in Pitt Street and moved his workshop to Lower Castlereagh Street where he worked until 1837, remaining as a working cabinetmaker until at least 1850. Hart died on 28 March 1876 at his house in Elgin St, Glebe, and his death certificate¹¹ states that he was 82 years old, parents unknown. The Reverend Dr John Dunmore Lang¹² annotated the church register against Hart's name “The last of the Bonnie Muir Radicals of 1820.”¹³ His fame among his fellow Scots followed him to the grave.

The Scottish Radicals arrived at the conclusion of Major General Lachlan Macquarie's long reign as Governor of New South Wales in 1821. The centre of Macquarie's world had been Government House, Sydney. This was to change with the arrival of Governor Sir Thomas Brisbane, who brought with him James Robertson, his Scottish clock maker, and John Dunlop his Scottish astronomer. Brisbane built, at his own expense, a private observatory equipped with regulators

by Breguet and Hardy to the rear of Government House Parramatta,¹⁴ as a result, the seat of Government moved west.

John Macarthur took his ideas for disciplining the convicts in New South Wales to Brisbane, applying to set up a Parramatta Committee comprising rich free settlers

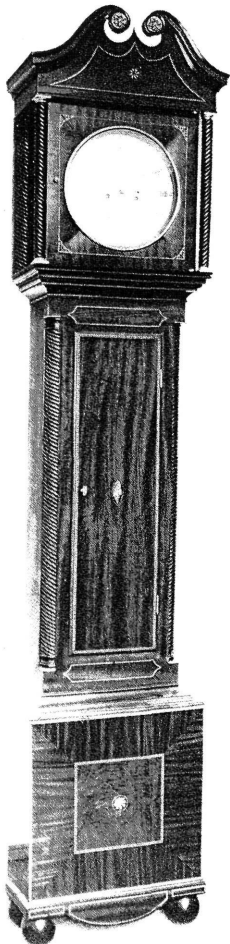


Plate 4. The *Glenfield* Throsby Oatley longcase clock number 15, dated 1822. This clock was presumably cased at about the same time as the Douglass (?) clock, Oatley number 16. I think it is fair to suggest that as Throsby was an existing resident of the colony, his clock was on order, but not yet cased – delivery being taken early in 1822. The opportunity to case it was presented by the arrival of Alexander Hart, then assigned to Dr Douglass. Hart’s problem was that Glasgow clocks of the 1820s had arched dials but James Oatley would not have had access to the materials to make such a complex shape. His thin sheets of engraved copper are therefore of a simple circular format as illustrated in J.B. Hawkins, *19th Century Australian Silver*, vol 1, pl. 20. Working from a design he knew, Hart created a clock case with a swan-neck pediment, which is proportionally unsuited to a circular dial that sits uneasily in this case form. The case is finely veneered, and the trunk door is centred by the not uncommon Glasgow shell motive pattern. The centre-

panel to the plinth of the base is veneered with the grain in the horizontal, a peculiarity of Glasgow clock case making. The “quilled on the cann” columns to the hood stand well proud of the dial door, a Glaswegian clock case trademark. The use of stringing at this early date in Australian furniture, and the decorated diamond-pattern stringing to the door, may well prove trademarks of Alexander Hart’s work. The large ball-feet and the decorated plinth they support appear idiosyncratic and unusual. Collection National Parks and Wildlife Service, NSW, Throsby Park.

such as Throsby, Cox, Howe, Oxley, Marsden and his nephew Hannibal Macarthur, to report to the Governor to ensure the maintenance and employment of the convicts with minimum expense to the Crown. Authority over the convicts would be entrusted to the proprietors of their estates to deter convict servants from disorderly conduct and compel them to work industriously. Macarthur was not however, permitted by Brisbane’s entourage to carry the idea to fruition, in particular Dr Douglass and Colonial Secretary Goulburn took immediate affront to such power being exercised by the ‘Old Proprietors’ over the affairs of the colony.

Some of these gentlemen then conspired to use as a lever the convict girl Ann Rumsby, “a great beauty recently removed from the Female Factory to Douglass’ home,” to bring him down. This celebrated court case in which Marsden, Hannibal Macarthur and others promised indemnity to Rumsby if she provided evidence to convict Douglass of impropriety was to have major reverberations within the colony. Under oath, Rumsby would not incriminate Douglass so the Court convicted her of perjury, sentencing her to hard labour at the convict settlement Port Macquarie, and the case against Douglass was dismissed. Brisbane overturned the sentence against Rumsby and threatened to remove those Parramatta Magistrates refusing to sit with Douglass on the Bench. The main evidence for quashing Rumsby’s conviction was provided by the bookbinder Andrew White, who, as a result, was pardoned by Brisbane and returned with Douglass to Scotland in 1824.

Enclosing a letter from Captain J. Robertson, Hart petitioned the new Governor of New South Wales, a fellow Scot, Sir Thomas Brisbane, formerly of Makerstoun near Largs, southwest of Glasgow, in July 1822, for a conditional pardon. This was not granted,¹⁵ although they may have been acquainted through Dr Douglass and the fitting up of the observatory at Parramatta. He received his ticket of leave¹⁶ on 1 June 1826, enabling him to leave the Macarthurs at *Camden Park* and commence business on his own. This document is annotated on the butt “Granted on the special order of the Governor communicated verbally. Hart’s name is in the list received from the Engineer’s Office in November last for this indulgence.” Across the butt is written, “Torn up 18th December, 1827, on his receiving Certificate of Freedom.” Unusually, Hart and all those surviving Radicals were granted a Royal Pardon by the King on 2 February 1836.¹⁷

In 1821 New South Wales was a very small settlement with under 30,000 British convicts, soldiers and settlers,¹⁸ most of whom were illiterate and so the arrival of 19 literate Scottish artisans was a boost to the skill base. The “Old Proprietors” referred to in the Rumsby trial,



Plate 5a & 5b. The Douglass (?) Oatley clock number 16, dated 1822. We know that Hart arrived on the *Speke* on 18 May 1821. Dr Douglass' furniture requirements would be delayed until a house to accommodate both him and his wife had been constructed or purchased. Throsby, however, had an existing house at *Glenfield* and would have been an eager purchaser of furniture. Hence Oatley no. 15 is the Throsby Clock and Oatley no. 16, the possible Douglass Clock. The base moulding of the plinth appears to have been replaced and may well have had an add-on as with the Throsby clock, the ball feet are original. Private collection.



Plate 6. Oatley clock number 22, dated 1822. The columns are no longer "quilled on the cann" and for reasons of expediency and cost reduction have been turned on the lathe and quartered. The veneering of the plinth below the trunk in the horizontal is peculiar to the Glasgow clock case-making tradition. The stringing, shell decoration and overall design closely correlates but in a slightly simpler form to plates 4 & 5. Photograph courtesy of Graeme Dodd Antiques Pty Ltd.

the Parramatta-based "exclusives" noted in McCulloch's letter, and Douglass' immediate circle which included Governor Brisbane are, to my mind, candidates for the cabinetmaking skills of Alexander Hart. A possible connecting link in Parramatta would appear to be the colonial architect Henry Kitchen (a pupil of the English architect James Wyatt), who died in Sydney on 8 April 1822, aged 29. Kitchen is believed to have finalised the completion of *Glenfield* for Dr Charles Throsby by 1822,¹⁹ and he designed the Home Farm at Camden and the cottage known as *Hambledon* at *Elizabeth Farm*, Parramatta for John Macarthur between 1821-1823. He designed two houses in George Street, Sydney in March 1822 for the Irish-born Sir John Jamison, who laid the foundation stone of his house *Regentville*, near Mulgoa, some 20 miles from Parramatta, on 11 September 1823²⁰ and Kitchen, before his death, may have provided him with the initial designs. It is my opinion that furniture



Plate 6a. A late 18th Century mahogany longcase clock by John Hamilton of Glasgow with silvered dial. The "quilled on the cann" hood pillars are not quite free standing and the arch breaks in a moulded plinth. The base plinth is veneered in the horizontal. Laurence Black Edinburgh.



Plate 6b. An early 19th Century longcase clock, by W. B. Young of Glasgow, with its "quilled on the cann" decorated trunk and free-standing hood columns. The door panel is fitted with a shell, cross-banded and strung to the edges. The arched dial fills the space within the swan-necked pediment, in a far more sympathetic fashion. Private collection Australia.

traceable to this house may prove to be Glaswegian in style and to have originated from the Parramatta workshop of Alexander Hart.

Another possible introduction was to the magistrate and exclusive William Howe, for whom Kitchen stated he designed a house, probably *Glenlee* at Menangle across the Nepean River from *Camden Park*. The Coxes at *Fernbill*, Mulgoa, were to commission Kitchen's successor, John Verge, Sydney's leading architect, to design a house for them in 1842²¹, and Hannibal Macarthur was to build the Colony's finest 19th century house, *The Vineyard*, at Parramatta, to a design by Verge in the mid 1830s. With the death of Kitchen and the rise of Verge it is open to conjecture whether Verge would use the services of Hart, for he was allied to the Sydney cabinet maker Edward Hunt, charging him £100 for plans, estimates, and specifications for his home and offices in Jamison St, Sydney, in November 1831.²²

In my three-part series of articles, "The Art of the Cabinet Maker from First Settlement to 1820",²³ I concluded that three cabinet making workshops in Sydney – those of Laurence Butler,²⁴ Thomas Shaughnessy and Edward Hunt – controlled the Sydney cabinet making trade to 1820. With the arrival of Alexander Hart at the start of a new decade, we can now add a

Parramatta-based cabinetmaker to their number. With Douglass' approval, for he was still an assigned convict, Hart may have worked with the architect Henry Kitchen who on 13 October 1821,²⁵ received authority to procure 20,000ft of cedar²⁶ from the Illawarra area using Thomas Ballard and Thomas Miller as his sawyers.²⁷ It requires a skilled cabinetmaker to assess the quality of timber and cut it from the log for interior fittings and furniture and the cedar used in Hart's furniture seems to be particularly hard and dense. The existing items of furniture are noticeably heavy, suggesting a large volume of timber giving this cabinetmaker a wide range of choice, in terms of timber quality.

In January 2001 I purchased from Miss Del Throsby, then still living at *Throsby Park*, a "lum" chest of drawers²⁸ (**plate 1**) which bears many design similarities to the *Throsby Park* James Oatley clock no. 15, which is signed and dated 1822 (**plate 4**). Both these items originated from the first Throsby house *Glenfield*²⁹, commenced in 1817 situated between Camden and Liverpool

In March 1821 Governor Macquarie made Dr Charles Throsby (1777-1828) a Magistrate on the Argyle Bench. Macquarie placed Douglass in charge of the General Hospital in Parramatta and Superintendent of

Plate 7. The Blackett Bed, c. 1821.

The Blackett Bed has traditionally been associated with Governor Macquarie. It may have been in Douglass' interest to ensure that his skilled man worked privately for the Governor at Parramatta. In an inventory of the contents of Government House Sydney, compiled by Macquarie's A.D.C. Henry Antill in 1821, we find "Governor's bedroom, 1 bedsted [sic], rosewood, carved, no bedding or furniture." The Blackett Bed is rosewood, and carved with "quilled on the cann" decoration. Bedposts of this period appear to be the Australian native timber, *Dysoxylon fraserianum*, known as rosewood because of the smell when freshly cut. Probably turned by Edward Cox, prior to carving. This bed originated from the family of grazier Robert Lowe (1783-1832) of *Birling*, Bringelly. Width 134 cm, length 193 cm, with square tapered backposts. National Trust (NSW) Old Government House, Parramatta.



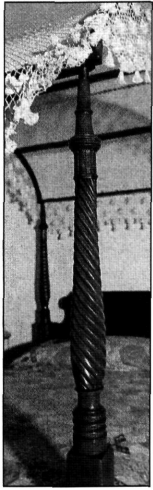


Plate 8. The Whalan Bed, c. 1821. This bed also has rosewood “quilled on the cann” posts. The tester and headboard are replacements. Tradition within the Whalan family is that it belonged to Sergeant Charles Whalan, Governor Macquarie’s Orderly Sergeant, a gift to him on the Governor’s departure from the Colony, hence the tent-shaped military format. Macquarie departed from Sydney on 22 March 1822 for his West Coast of Scotland estate on Mull having been replaced by Sir Thomas Brisbane who had arrived on 10 October 1821. Again this fits in with the arrival of Hart, and the departure of Macquarie, and would suit Dr Douglass admirably. Probably turned by Edward Cox, before carving. Reading between the lines, if this bed had been invoiced by Hart, based on the *Cabinet Makers Book of Prices*, the invoice would read:

A Four Posted Bed, with tent-roof; five bars in roof; double screwed; lath bottom; dovetailed plinths for each post; four posts quilled on the cann of tapered turn work, cut on the cross-way of the wood of three feet at per dozen extra; framed headboard with hollow corners; sunk panels for covering screws; all in best Australian cedar and rosewood.

Width 129 cm, length 128 cm, height 228 cm to the top of the tent. Private collection, on loan to Old Government House, Parramatta.

the Female Factory from whence Ann Rumsby came. With the arrival of Governor Brisbane, Douglass became a regular visitor to Government House Parramatta and soon Throsby’s fellow Magistrate, but on the Parramatta Bench.

The Throsby lum chest and Oatley clock bear, in their structure and design, peculiarities that enable me to place them within the tradition of Glaswegian cabinet making. This form of chest is known in the west of Scotland, and particularly in Glasgow, as a lum chest, the word “lum” being old Scots for a chimney-shaped hat worn by both men and women³⁰, the centre drawer being designed to take this hat. The *Glasgow Cabinet Makers’ Book of Prices* for 1806³¹ (**plate 12**) refers most expressively to the form of spiral-reeded decoration as being “Quilled on the Cann”, [Cam]³² or translated, “reeded³³ on the angle,” a description applied to hand-carved spiral bedposts (**plates 7 & 8**). It is also a form of decoration found on Glasgow furniture, see the lum chest and a toilet mirror (**plate 3**).

Furniture historians have traditionally sourced this spiral twist decoration to Irish cabinetmakers working in the south of Ireland. Cork is often suggested and it appears that Irish 19th century furniture is mainly reeded not fluted. Claudia Kinmonth³⁴ states that twisted rope mouldings [carvings] are frequently used to decorate



Plate 9. Work table, c. 1825. This important work table extends for us the visual boundary’s of Hart’s cabinet making skills. Incorporating the use of cedar both as a carcass timber, and in veneered panels and possibly casuarina, the “Botany Bay wood” of Sheraton’s *Dictionary* in the cross-banding with Australian ebony in the stringing. The “quilled on the cann” legs and corners are Glaswegian trademarks. The design and execution is more sophisticated, as befits drawing room furniture, as distinct from bedroom furniture. Height 75.5 cm, width 49 cm. Private collection Australia.



Plate 10. This doorway in Main Street, Kinsale, Co. Cork provides a contemporary, immovable source of this form of decoration in carved wood, the house c. 1810.

furniture from East Munster and South Leinster. She goes on to illustrate examples, five from Limerick and one each from north Cork and Kilkenny, an area some 50 miles by 20. On a recent visit to Kinsale, Co. Cork, I noticed a doorway c. 1810 that epitomises this decoration (**plate 10**). The Mansion House chair for the Mayor of Cork, c. 1830, is notable for its quilled back (**plate 11**) further confirming the origin of this form of decoration.

The two exporting ports of Dublin and Cork serviced the whole of the west coast of Britain. Cork in particular was famous from Glasgow to Bristol for its export of salted butter, while Glasgow had, by the Provost's estimate, over 10,000 native-born Irishmen in 1803. The census for 1821 saw this increase to over 25,000³⁵ and Irish settlers appear to have soon attached this form of Irish decoration to Glasgow furniture. A similar story by 1820 could be told for the West Coast ports of Lancaster, Liverpool and Bristol where Irish settlers or

the local population employing Irish cabinetmakers soon incorporated quilled decoration into local design repertoires.

The forced migration of Alexander Hart, a Glasgow cabinetmaker, to Australia to serve out his sentence with an Irish doctor, to whom this style of decoration would not be unknown, may provide a reason for immediate local acceptance. I suggest that Hart constructed, for Douglass and his fellow magistrate Throsby, between 1821 and 1822 a lum chest of drawers and the two cases for their consecutively numbered Oatley clocks taking his designs from drawings obtained from his former Glaswegian workshop.

The Blackett (**plate 7**) and Whalan (**plate 8**) beds, the latter with a probable Macquarie provenance, now at *Old Government House*, Parramatta, with their posts "Quilled on the Cann," are fully described and detailed in my article on "The Australian Four-Poster Bed."³⁶ The concept designs, if not the final execution, may now be firmly attributed to Alexander Hart. The posts firstly have to be turned to shape. I suggested in this article that

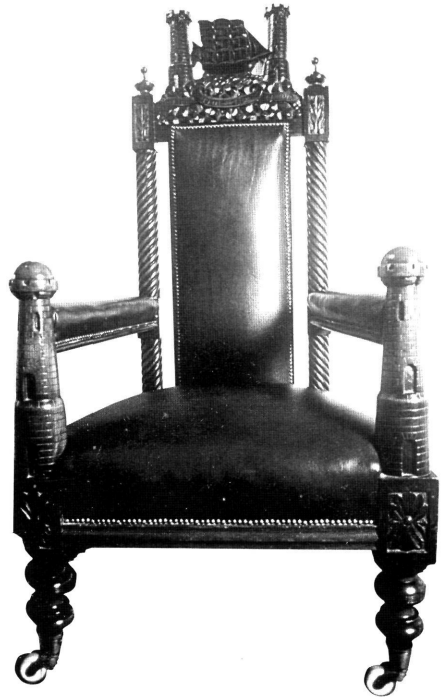


Plate 11. The Cork Mansion House chair, c. 1830. Unfortunately the history of this was lost in the fires of the Troubles.

six feet, by four feet, with five cross bars in roof, - - - - -	0	7	44
EXTRAS.			
Each cross bar more than five in roof, - - - - -	0	0	4
If a long square in the centre of roof with hollow corners, - - - - -	0	0	84
A FOUR POSTED BED,			
Single screwed, with a square roof, and common ogee sweeps, - - - - -	0	11	34
EXTRAS.			
If ditto bed is double screwed, - - - - -	0	4	5
Lath bottom for ditto, - - - - -	0	2	54
Dovetailed plinths, each post, - - - - -	0	0	6
For reeding the foot posts, nine reeds in each post, - - - - -	0	4	11
Each reed more or less, - - - - -	0	0	34
If quilled on the cann—See Table.			
If the posts are octagon, with a triple line in each corner, - - - - -	0	4	11
Ditto octagon and reeded, with twenty-four reeds in each, - - - - -	0	7	104
Each reed more or less, - - - - -	0	0	2
For a framed foot board, with hollow corners, a long way slip on the flat, and banded on the edge, - - - - -	0	4	11
Sunk panels for covering screws, each panel, - - - - -	0	0	8
If posts paned above the stocks, with veneers sunk in three panes, and reeded on two sides of each post, - - - - -	0	8	74
For French castors, - - - - -	0	4	10

Plate 12. The entry from *The Cabinet Makers Glasgow Book of Prices of 1806*, for a four-posted bed “Quilled on the Cann”.

41						
The Price of Fluting and Reeding Pilasters, Friezes, and Legs, &c.						
	Cross way of wood.	Long way of wood.	Squares, but tapered.	Round and equal.	Round and tapered.	Inlaid Fluted.
	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.	d.
One inch and a half long, and under, at per doz.	6	3			1	0 54
From one inch and a half to 3 inches, at per doz.	9	34	5	54	6	1 3 34
From three inches to four and a half inches, - - - - -	10	44	54	64	64	1 6 44
From four and a half to six inches, - - - - -	13	64	74	84	84	1 9 64
From 6 inches to 9 inches	15	9	94	94	104	1 9 84
From 9 inches to 1 foot						
2 inches, - - - - -	12	124	13	134		
From 1 foot 2 inches to 1 foot 8 inches, per flute,	14	14	14	14		14
From 1 foot 8 inches to 2 feet 2 inches, per flute,	14	14	14			
From 2 feet 2 inches to 2 feet 8 inches, - - - - -	14	14	14	14		
Each dozen of flutes under one foot two inches, in a sweep them, extra, - - - - -						d. 2
From one foot two inches to two feet two inches, each flute, extra, - - - - -						04
From two feet two inches to three feet, at per doz. extra.						4
In flute and tongue, the tongue to be counted the same as a flute.						
Rounding the top of each, when flute and tongue on outside, each, - - - - -						04
Reeding to be counted the same as fluting.						
When flutes and reeds are tapered, extra per doz. from one foot two inches to two feet two inches, - - - - -						14
Flutes on turned work, extra from square, per doz. - - - - -						14
Fluting on tapered turned work, extra per doz. - - - - -						14

Plate 12a. The entry from *The Cabinet Makers Glasgow Book of Prices of 1806* “The Price of Fluting and Reeding Pilasters, Friezes and Legs etc”.

was possibly the well-known Irish Liberal Protestant Freethinker Henry Grattan (1746-1820), a strong advocate of Catholic emancipation in Ireland.

5 Hart is listed on the convict inventory for the *Speke* as “27/1085 Alexander Hart, convicted Stirling 15th August 1820, sentenced 14 years. Native of Dumbartonshire, cabinetmaker. Age 25, Height 5 ft 8 1/4 in, hair black, eye colour black.”

6 Through a letter from the Radical Thomas McCulloch to his wife dated 12 October 1821, we can trace the disposition of the other Radicals in Sydney and to some extent assess their situation.

“Sydney
New South Wales
October 12, 1821

My Dear Wife,

I send you those few lines, hoping they will find you and the children in good health ... We arrived here on the 18th May, all in good health, after being at sea five months; I was taken off the stores by a Mr. Panton, a native of Scotland, and employed by him as a labourer; but [it] not agreeing with me,

the turner was possibly Edward Cox and drew a design comparison with the pillars of the Oatley clock, noting that they were probably by the same hand: “These spiral posts, Scottish in flavour, are very difficult to turn as can be seen from the detail of the Blackett bed which is so finely turned that the spiral has to be finished by hand.” As to who was responsible for the hand carving of these quills, I am not sure, for Hart was a cabinetmaker not a carver, but sometimes needs must.

Notes

- 1 M.C. and A.D. Macfarlane *The Scottish Radicals*, Wentworth Books, Sydney, 1975. This excellent book lists the 19 transported Radicals and charts their lives in Australia. They note that Hart, a native of Old Kilpatrick near Glasgow, was born on 3 February 1794, the son of Alexander Hart and Rebecca Ker. The file from the family also incorporates an 1860 photograph of the cabinetmaker.
- 2 Letter dated 22 September 1820 Mitchell Library DOC 1940/B.
- 3 Mitchell Library DOC 1940/B.
- 4 The Douglass family was a *plantation* Scottish Protestant family from Co Antrim. The Grattan christian name probably came from his mother’s family, her brother

he was so kind as to transfer me to a Captain Irvin [sic], and I am to be with him as a house-servant, and I am going to remove about 40 miles up the country.

If you think of coming here, there shall be nothing wanting on my part to bring you, as I have every encouragement from several Gentlemen that can enable me to do so, as your presence here will free me from bondage; as any man’s wife that comes out here as a free settler, can take her husband from Government employment or being a servant to any man. Captain Irvin [sic] has promised to do every thing for us to make us comfortable. ...

Sir Thomas Brisbane arrived here two days ago; he is to be our new Governor and the Governor can pardon any man he thinks proper; a great many have obtained their liberty since we arrived here; Captain Irvin, Mr. Wyeems [sic], C ommissary-General, and other Gentlemen, have promised to befriend us; and the whole of our party is much respected here by the most respectable people in this country, and if you will only come out, a steady man and woman can do very well, as they are very rare articles to be found here.

Andrew Dawson, James Cleland, John McMillan, and Allan Murchie, are kept in Government employment, on account of their being blacksmiths, who are very valuable in this part of the world; W. Clarkson and John Anderson is with Mr Lord, a respectable Gentleman, who much esteems them. Alex. Johnson is principal servant to the

NEXT ISSUE

In our next issue in February 2002, John Hawkins contributes a ground-breaking article identifying the origin of the c. 1840 furniture at the Archer family estate *Woolmers* at Longford in Tasmania.

- Commissary-General; Thomas McFarlane and Thomas Pink are with the Barrack Master; James Wright is shopman to a Dr. Phillips; Benjamin Moir, John Barr, and David Thomson is with Sir John Jameson [sic] Andrew White, Bookbinder and Alex Hart, cabinet-maker, are in Parramatta with Dr. Douglas [sic]; Wm. Smith is also at Parramatta with Mr. Marsden; Robt. Gray and Alex. Lattimer, is in Van Diemens [sic] Land with Mr Mulgrave ..."
- 7 Letter to Colonial Secretary's Office 21 May 1821, Society of Australian Genealogists reel 6008; 4/3504 pp. 46-47. Parramatta was the inland farming settlement some 12 miles up the Parramatta River from Sydney.
 - 8 The alphabetical list of convicts in the employment of Dr Douglass for the years 1823-1825, Society of Australian Genealogists microfiche 3129; 4/1841B no. 224 p. 457, proves Hart was employed by Douglass to 1824.
 - 9 Mitchell Library A4176 unpaginated.
 - 10 St John's Church Parramatta; church marriage register entry no. 880.
 - 11 Archives Office V1876/1020/102.
 - 12 John Dunmore Lang *Reminiscences of My Life and Times in Australia for Upwards of Fifty Years* p. 36. Lang arrived in Sydney from Leith on 14 October 1822 to be Presbyterian Minister of the Church of Scotland in Sydney. His brother George preceded him, his mother and father followed, having sold their farm at Largs adjoining Brisbane's ancestral estate for over £3,000. Lang immediately crossed swords with "Dr. Douglas, a gentleman exceedingly unpopular and universally disliked."
 - 13 R.G.O., Register of Presbyterian Burials 1874-76 no. 1020, vol. 102.
 - 14 John Hawkins "Observatories in Australia, 1780-1830", *Australasian Antique Collector* 19, 1979, pp. 98-104. Sir Thomas Brisbane's private observatory in Parramatta was completed on 22 May 1822.
 - 15 Society of Australian Genealogists, microfiche 3218; 4-1965 p.105.
 - 16 Archives Office 4/4060.
 - 17 Archives Office 26/186 reel 890.
 - 18 1822 Muster.
 - 19 James Broadbent *The Australian Colonial House Architecture and Society in New South Wales 1788 - 1842*, Hordern House, Sydney 1997, p. 102.
 - 20 *Ibid*, pp. 95 and 112.
 - 21 James Broadbent *ibid* p. 218 says its architect was most likely Mortimer Lewis.
 - 22 Will Graves Verge *John Verge, Early Australian Architect, his Ledger and his Clients*, Wentworth Books, Sydney, 1962. Hunt was also a trustee of the Baptist Chapel designed by Verge in 1835 and partially funded by himself.
 - 23 *The Australian Antique Collector* nos 25-27; Part 1, Jan - June 1983, Part 2 July - Dec. 1983, Part 3 Jan - June 1984.
 - 24 Laurence Butler was himself an Irish political convict, transported from Cork on the *Atlas* in 1802 apparently without trial, rising through the Lumberyard to be Sydney's leading cabinetmaker by 1815.
 - 25 Archives Office Colonial Secretary's Letter Book 1821, p. 418.
 - 26 Cedar is an Australian timber, much like mahogany. From 1820, it was used throughout an item of furniture, the finest cuts for veneering, secondary cuts for drawer linings, and timber with little or no figure for carcass work.
 - 27 On 25 May 1821, Edward Hunt received permission to cut 5,000ft, again using Thomas Miller as his sawyer (Archives Office Colonial Secretary's Letter Book 1821, p. 51). On 10 July, Laurence Butler's widow received permission to cut a further 20,000ft of cedar in the same area. (Archives Office Colonial Secretary's Letter Book 1821, p. 153).
 - 28 I am most grateful to David Jones for providing me with a photocopy of "*The Cabinet Makers Glasgow Book of Prices for 1806*" and for the benefit of his learned discussions on the subject of Scottish regional furniture. Particular attention is drawn to his article "Scotch Chests", *Regional Furniture History Society Journal*, 1988.
 - 29 Rachel Roxburgh, *Throsby Park, An account of the Throsby Family in Australia*, NPWS of NSW, Sydney, 1989, pp. 136-7, "the house is literally furnished by its excellent joinery".
 - 30 Iseabail Macleod, Ruth Martin and Pauline Cairns (eds) *The Pocket Scots Dictionary*, Scottish National Dictionary Association, Edinburgh 1988, discusses the Ancient Scots language and defines lum as "a chimney"; and lum Hat as "a tall silk hat, or top hat".
 - 31 David Jones "*The Edinburgh Cabinet and Chair Makers Book of Prices 1805-1825*" Kirk Wynd Press, Cupar, 2000 p. 11.
 - 32 *The Pocket Scots Dictionary*, cam "the tilt, or angle given to a furrow as it falls over from the ploughshare adjusted by the setting of the coulter". The typesetter faced with a copper plate m presumably set it as a double n, being unfamiliar with cabinetmaking jargon.
 - 33 A distinction should be drawn between fluted or concave decoration, and reeded or convex decoration. It appears that from about 1800, fluted decoration began to give way to reeded; this may be confirmed by the table of prices in Glasgow 1806 where the emphasis is still on fluted decoration (see plate 16b). Information kindly supplied by Susan Stuart.
 - 34 C. Kinmonth, *Irish Country Furniture 1700-1950*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1993, p. 14 and fig. 17. This form of decoration may have a much older tradition in this part of Ireland: H.S. Crawford in *Irish Carved Ornament*, reprint, Mercier Press, 1980, illustrates the North and South Crosses at Ahenny, Co. Tipperary with their rope twist borders reputed to date to c. 850 AD, see also plates I and II, detail plate XVIII, Nos. 14 and 15.
 - 35 E.W. McFarland *Ireland and Scotland in the Age of Revolution*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh p. 227.
 - 36 J.B. Hawkins "The Australian Four-Poster Bed 1810-1850", *Australian Connoisseur and Collector*, 1983.

Brisbane's Mayoral Regalia

Ruth Dwyer



The Poulsen Studio, Brisbane, *John Crase* (1837-1919), Mayor of Brisbane 1906, wearing the gold Mayoral Chain designed and made by Charles Allen Brown, Jnr in 1901. Silver gelatin print mounted on card, private collection.

The informative article by Sue Air (*Australiana*, vol. 23. no. 3 pp. 72-79) concerning the involvement of Charles Allen Brown, silversmith, and his family, in particular his son, Charles Allen Brown, Jnr, in the cultural life of Queensland prompts this note.

Some of the locals in this area of Melbourne, notable and otherwise, occasionally frequent the district Trash and Treasure Market very early on cold, damp Sunday mornings. Even old photographs from Queensland can be found in such places. The one in question illustrated here shows Mayor John Crase in full ceremonial regalia and wearing the gold civic chain of Brisbane City Council in 1906. This, of course, was made by Charles Allen Brown Jnr, as described in Note 25 of Sue's article, citing a letter of 10 March 1959 from the *Courier-Mail* "his son, also C. A. Brown ... designed and made the mayoral chain of office" which is now in the Brisbane City Hall Collection.

The photograph carries the impressed mark lower right *The Poulsen Studio, Brisbane*, noted for their portraiture. Poul Christensen Poulsen was born in Tohede, Denmark in 1857 and arrived in Australia in 1876. In 1884, he bought out the Gore & Allen store in Brisbane and established a fine business. He gained Vice-Regal patronage, as can be seen on the impressed mark, and in Queensland was also Consul for Denmark. Poulsen died in Brisbane in 1925.

John Crase was born in Redruth, Cornwall in 1837, and immigrated to Victoria aboard the clipper *Red Jacket* in 1858. After spending time on the Ballarat diggings, he returned to Melbourne to take up his old trade of metal pattern maker with the firm of Angus McLean. He became foreman of this foundry, then similarly at Fletcher Brothers Foundry in Park Street, Sydney, before establishing John Crase & Co., Architectural and General Ironfounders, Warren-street, Fortitude Valley, Brisbane, in 1885.

Crase was an Alderman of Brisbane City Council from 1904 to the time of his death in 1919. He served only one term as Mayor. Although he served on a great many committees, he is best remembered for his expertise in financial matters and his deep concern for the well-being of the city of Brisbane, often expressed in letters to the press.

Perhaps this short note opens an opportunity for a further contribution to *Australiana* in that John Crase & Co., as well as manufacturing utilitarian products, cast decorative ironwork such as friezes for verandahs and balconies, cast iron spandrels, cast iron columns and so forth. Surely examples of the foundry's output still grace many residences in Brisbane today.

Was Dick Guilty?

John Houstone

26 May 1829 Alexander Dick and Thomas Jasper were put on trial for receiving twelve dessert spoons.³

The principal Crown witness was Alexander Robertson. He gave evidence that on Christmas Day 1826 he had been approached by Thomas Jasper, assigned servant of one Henry Myers (since deceased), saying that Myers had some silver to dispose of and asking whether Dick would be interested. Robertson alleged that Dick was interested and he returned to Jasper to purchase 16 or 17 ounces of scrap silver made up of fork prongs for four shillings and sixpence an ounce. Robertson claimed that as he left Jasper followed him and asked if Dick would also want twelve dessert spoons. Robertson returned to Dick who said he did want twelve dessert spoons as it would save him the trouble of making them for a job on hand, and he agreed to pay five shillings an ounce.

Robertson went back to Jasper and bought the spoons. Jasper said he hoped the spoons would be melted down. "He did not say why nor did I tell Dick anything about that conversation". According to Robertson, Jasper told him that a crest, engraving and shell decoration on the spoons had been removed.

Robertson claimed that on seeing the spoons Dick said "This is McLeay's plate". When Robertson asked him how he knew Dick said he had received a paper "desiring him to stop the property if offered for sale". The paper said there were eleven spoons, but those purchased were twelve. Robertson claimed that Dick remarked that there had been a shell decoration, but that it had been taken off.

Robertson's evidence continued that next day the spoons were "smooth filed, scraped, annealed and pickled" after which Robertson



Arthur Hill, jewellery box and watch labels for Alexander Dick, George Street, pre-1837, Mitchell Library.

In 1829, much-admired Sydney silversmith Alexander Dick was tried and found guilty of receiving 12 silver spoons stolen from the Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay, and sentenced to seven years imprisonment on Norfolk Island. Retired solicitor John Houstone reviews the evidence 172 years later.

Alexander Dick is the best known and most celebrated of the early Sydney silversmiths. A native of Edinburgh born in the 1790s, he arrived free on 16 October 1824 and probably took employment before commencing his own business, which is first advertised in April 1826.¹ Seven weeks later, on 2 June he married Charlotte Hutchinson at the Scots Church, Sydney.

Alexander Robertson, a convict silversmith, was assigned as servant

to Dick. He had arrived in 1822 under sentence for life for forging hallmarks, and had earlier been assigned to another Scots-born silversmith and watchmaker, James Robertson.

In November or December 1826 the home of the Colonial Secretary Alexander McLeay in Bridge Street² was burgled and a quantity of silver, including dessert spoons, stolen. The thief was never identified. Two and a half years after the theft, on

took them to the burnishers. He said "Dick also destroyed the identity of the English hall mark by striking his own mark and initials into it". About a fortnight later he bought four ounces of silver filings from Jasper for Dick, paying four shillings an ounce. He claimed Jasper said: "They came off the spoons."

Cross-examined by Dr Robert Wardell, who appeared with William Charles Wentworth for Dick, Robertson agreed that in October 1828, about two months before he reported Dick to the police, he had been flogged at Dick's instance. He admitted: "I certainly had no very kindly feelings towards Dick". He said that the reason he did not

report the matter for more than two years was "fear the matter would be hushed up by Dick and I would get into trouble for the accusation" while "it was not the flogging in October last that refreshed my memory and induced me to inform."

Robertson agreed that he had been transported for forging hallmarks and agreed that five shillings an ounce was a fair price for old silver. He admitted that he did not tell Dick of his suspicion "that Jasper had not come properly by the silver", nor did he tell McLeay.

Alexander McLeay gave evidence of his being burgled, losing a quantity of plate including forks, table and

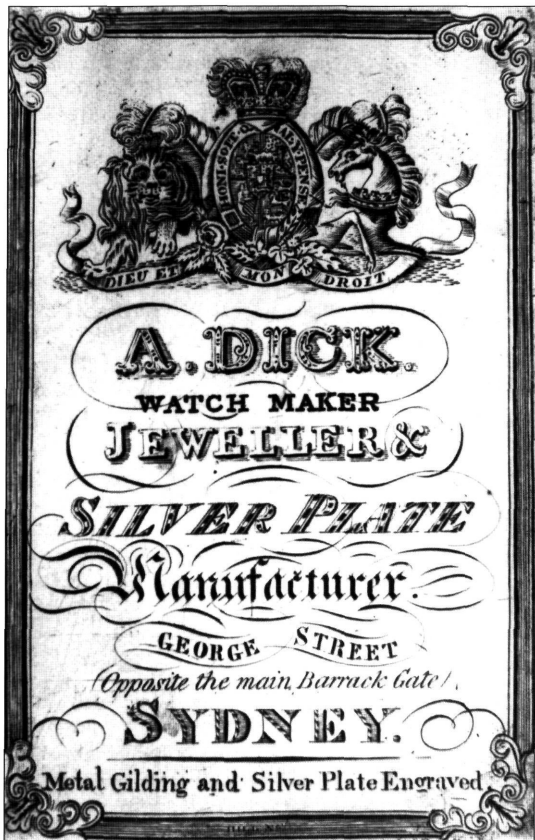
dessert spoons, in late 1826. The spoons were engraved with both his family crest – a stag's head – and motto "Spes anchora vitae". He identified the dessert spoons shown to him as being his property. The initials AD were stamped over the maker's initials RP, but on some spoons the RP was still discernible.⁴ The handles were beaten out somewhat broader than they had been. He agreed that at the time of the theft he may have told the police he had lost eleven spoons. He could not recollect.

Thomas Hyndes, a timber merchant of Sussex Street, gave evidence that he bought from Dick in December 1826 "a dozen tablespoons, a dozen dessert spoons, some forks, and other articles". He paid eight shillings and sixpence an ounce for the dessert spoons.

In cross-examination he identified Dick's account for the silver which corresponded with Dick's day book. He agreed with Dr Wardell that he had previously purchased a teapot from Dick; some time afterwards Robertson called on him and asked, "whether he would prosecute a man who had defrauded him". Hyndes replied that it depended on the circumstances. Robertson then told him the spout and feet of the teapot were loaded with copper. On the following day Dick called on him and said he had heard Robertson had been with him, and asked to see the teapot. He filed the surface and found copper where Robertson had claimed. Dick told Hyndes that Robertson had made the teapot and was attempting to injure Dick in revenge for Dick having previously sent him to the treadmill for misconduct.

The Crown then called Jeremy Garfield, a constable with Sydney Police, but previously a silversmith, who had also been transported for forging hallmarks. He believed the

Arthur Hill, trade plate for Alexander Dick, George Street "Opposite the main Barrack Gate", his premises after 21 February 1837, Mitchell Library.





Alexander Dick, dessert spoon with fiddle and shell pattern c. 1826, private collection.

spoons were made in England but the handles had been softened by a process of annealing and burnished, while the bowls were neither annealed nor burnished.

Samuel Clayton, silversmith, jeweller and engraver of Pitt Street gave evidence that the spoons were wholly burnished. He would give seven shillings an ounce for them if purchasing and would expect nine shillings an ounce if selling. He had always considered Dick an honest man. He considered it improper to overstamp a maker's initials.

The last Crown witness was Andrew Milligan. Dick had employed him occasionally in November or December 1826 in gilding and making watchcases.⁵ He remembered Dick telling him he was making up a large order of silver for Mr Hyndes. "I observed Dick conceal some work from me as I was passing the anvil at which he worked. I thought he was concealing it from me in consequence of something Robertson had previously told me. I observed the same thing twice as I passed. I think it was some spoons he was hammering".

Before looking at the case for the defence it is helpful to consider the law applicable in a criminal trial in New South Wales in 1829. The common law of England was adopted and applied from first settlement in 1788.

Up to the mid-19th century an accused was not permitted to give evidence at the hearing of a criminal charge against him. This rule was based firstly on the proposition that his interest in the outcome of the proceedings rendered him untrustworthy. Secondly it was a corollary to the ancient rule that an accused should not be forced to answer questions which may incriminate him; in return he should not be allowed to give evidence of self-exculpation. This could work to an accused's advantage if he were guilty. The jury may believe he had a complete defence which he was prevented from presenting. But it left an innocent accused, in the absence of witnesses able to give exculpating evidence, in a parlous situation.⁶

By legislation passed in each Australian colony in the 1890s the law was altered to permit the accused to go into the witness box and give sworn evidence. It should be added that prior to this legislation the accused was allowed a limited right to make an unsworn statement from the dock. Jasper availed himself of this, saying "I never had any dealings with Robertson". Dick left his defence to his counsel.

The essential elements of the charge of receiving which the Crown must prove are:

1. the goods were stolen, *and*
2. the accused had them in his possession, *and*
3. the accused had knowledge or belief that they were stolen when he obtained possession.

McLeay identified the spoons as his stolen property, though how he could do so when the applied shells, crest and motto had been removed is questionable. However the still visible "RP" on several spoons indicated that they were possibly part of the stolen silver.

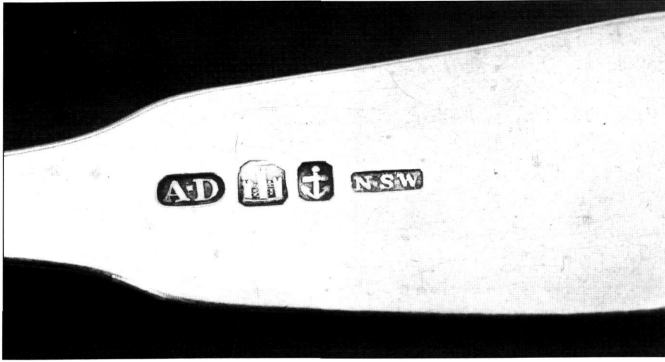
There is no doubt Dick had received possession of the spoons, though how and from whom is in doubt, relying solely on Robertson's evidence.

But did Dick know or suspect they were stolen? The only evidence was:

1. his alleged statement to Robertson "This is McLeay's plate" and his alleged connecting the spoons to "the paper" he had received about the theft.
2. the evidence of Milligan that he "observed Dick conceal some work from me as I was passing the anvil".

How would Dick know the dessert spoons he bought were McLeay's? The crest and motto had gone. It is manifestly improbable that the police circular about the robbery would have shown the maker's initials "RP". Further, the circular referred to eleven spoons, whereas Dick had bought twelve.

There seems no doubt Dick bought the spoons for five shillings an ounce; on the evidence a fair price for old silver. A receiver or fence almost invariably pays a heavily discounted price for stolen goods. If Dick knew the spoons were "hot" would he have paid a normal trade price?



Alexander Dick, punched marks on dessert spoon with fiddle and shell pattern c. 1826, private collection.

Once again, there is no doubt that Dick overstamped RP with his initials AD. If he was intending to disguise a crime would he not have ensured that the RP initials were totally obliterated? – a simple task for a skilled silversmith. It seems much more likely that as the spoons were part of a canteen he was delivering to Hyndes, he was simply putting on his own punch for uniformity.

Spoons exist where the initials AD have been overstruck JR. It has always been assumed that these were made by Dick, overstruck and retailed by James Robertson. Clayton's suggesting in his evidence that overstamping was "improper" is nonsense in the context of 1826 Sydney.

Now let us consider Milligan's evidence that he observed Dick "conceal some work from me as I was passing". He said Dick was hammering spoons and he knew he was making up a large order for Hyndes. How do you conceal a spoon on an anvil? The spoons had lost all identification except possibly the maker's mark. What was there to conceal?

The defence, unable to call Dick or Jasper, and Henry Myers having died, could only call witnesses to

discredit Robertson and to show Dick to be of good character.

Henry Aiken, a constable, gave evidence that Robertson offered him a bribe to let him out of Hyde Park Barracks "to see a person in order to settle Dick, who had used him badly".

John Malcolm, an apothecary, gave evidence that Robertson told him Dick had got him punished and "he would be revenged of him and

do everything in his power to get him lagged". Malcolm would not believe Robertson on his oath. He thinks Robertson would swear the moon was made of green cheese.

Bernard Fitzpatrick, a constable, gave evidence that he prepared "the paper" which was left at all silversmiths, including Dick. It specified that among the articles listed as stolen were eleven dessert spoons. In cross-examination by the Crown he said he could not recollect where he got the information. He may have been told twelve and by mistake written eleven.

David Myers, a watchmaker and jeweller gave evidence that four or five months earlier Robertson had told him that Dick had got him 25 lashes and that if it ever lay in his power, even if it was in five years, he would be revenged. Robertson had said to him: "as I have been the cause of making Mr Dick comfortable, I shall be the means of making him miserable".



Alexander Dick, half-pint mug initialled TCH for Thomas Hyndes and his wife Charlotte Hyndes, c. 1826. This was possibly one of the "other articles" bought by Hyndes from Dick with the flatware, private collection.

James Robertson, a watchmaker of George Street gave evidence that Alexander Robertson had been his assigned servant and he would not believe him on his oath. He had always considered Dick an honest man.

Jeweller William Roberts, Alexander Kinghorne J.P., store-keeper Matthew Gibbons, and prominent merchants Thomas Barker and Samuel Terry all gave evidence of Dick's good character.

Mr Justice Dowling summed up, and after a 15-minute retirement the jury found both Dick and Jasper guilty. Each was sentenced to seven years transportation to Norfolk Island.

There are weighty conventions in the criminal law against convicting on the evidence of an accomplice (which on any view Robertson was) without substantial corroboration. To his credit the judge so directed the jury. The corroboration of Robertson's evidence was minimal. Looking at the whole of the evidence it seems highly probable, to use a modern term, that Dick and Jasper were "fitted up".

Why would the leading silversmith in the town, with a thriving business and excellent social and business connections, risk buying a dozen spoons at full market price if he knew or suspected they were stolen?

Robertson failed to report Dick's alleged crime for more than two years. It was only after he had been punished with 25 lashes at Dick's instigation that his memory and/or conscience were stimulated.

Robertson's desire to damage Dick is clear on the evidence. Firstly there is Robertson's approach to Hyndes regarding the teapot with the plated spout and feet. Secondly there are Robertson's statements to Aiken, Malcolm and Myers that he "would be revenged". Perhaps Jasper's statement from the dock that he had never had any dealings with Robertson was true. Had Robertson, knowing the spoons to be stolen, arranged for them to be purchased otherwise by Dick, and then two years later, after the convenient death of Jasper's master Henry Myers, invented the story of Jasper's involvement to settle some other score?

Pity the unfortunate Jasper: a convict charged with a criminal offence, unable to afford legal representation and not allowed by the system to give evidence on his own behalf. Even on Robertson's story he was only the messenger between Myers and Robertson. He received no silver, no money and a sentence of seven years!

A memorial to Governor Darling seeking relief for Dick from his sentence of transportation was signed by more than 40 prominent Sydney citizens, including Alexander McLeay. Perhaps McLeay had misgivings about the trial.

In February 1833, nearly four years after his conviction, Dick was granted a free pardon by Governor Bourke, who stated that "some favourable circumstances have been represented to me on his behalf".⁷ Had questions about Dick's guilt reached the Governor?

Dick returned to Sydney and continued in his trade profitably until his death after a long illness on 15 February 1843.

Notes

- 1 *Sydney Gazette* 14 April 1826.
- 2 Illustrated in Scott Carlin, *Elizabeth Bay House – A History and Guide*, p. 3.
- 3 "Supreme Criminal Court Tuesday, May 26" *Sydney Gazette and NSW Advertiser*, 28 May 1829; *The Australian* 30 May 1829.
- 4 Jeremy Garfield thought "RP" was Richard Pearce, but is more probably Robert Peppin.
- 5 In the 1828 Census, Dick was employing two silversmiths, two jewellers and a servant girl.
- 6 *Cross on Evidence*, 2nd Australian Edition, Butterworths 1979 p. 161.
- 7 Kevin Fahy, "Alexander Dick – Silversmith", *Descent* vol. 6 part 2, 1973, pp. 49-56; Kevin Fahy, "Alexander Dick – Silversmith", *Australiana* vol. 9 no. 4, November 1987, pp. 110-116; J. B. Hawkins, *Nineteenth Century Australian Silver* vol. 1 pp. 58-82.



Alexander Dick, punched marks on the half-pint mug initialled TCH for Thomas Hyndes and his wife Charlotte Hyndes, c. 1826, private collection.

President's Report

2000-01

Highlight of this year was our first conference, a two-day event at Government House Sydney opened by the NSW Governor, Her Excellency Professor Marie Bashir AC, organised jointly with the Historic Houses Trust of NSW. Over 100 delegates heard a series of well-researched papers in the newly re-decorated Ballroom, and participated in collectors' workshops. We enjoyed the magnificent house and luxuriant gardens overlooking the shining waters of Sydney Harbour under tranquil autumn skies.

Last year I said that we must keep growing to fulfil our aims of seeking and sharing knowledge about Australiana, produce our magazine *Australiana* at a high standard, and restrain fees. This is still true. We always need to lure back former Members, seek new ones, and create balanced programs with something for all our Members. We have to find other sources of income. Most importantly, we must appeal to a younger audience if the Society is not to become extinct.

Members have been exceptionally loyal. The outstanding renewal rate of 92% suggests that we are achieving most of our goals. Membership has grown to over 300 – by 70% over two years – through a broad-based marketing program of direct mail, widespread brochure distribution, incentive offers such as giving copies of the beautiful catalogue *This Other Eden* to Members introducing others, and gift memberships. Even better, we have lifted our national profile, and raised the proportion of Members from other states and the ACT by 5%.

We have modified our Constitution, been listed on the Register of Cultural Organisations, and should soon be recognised as a Deductible Gift Recipient by the Australian Taxation Office. Gifts to the Society will then be tax deductible.

Our new website www.australiana.org lets us post news about the Society and its activities to a much bigger audience. We will improve the site as we learn more about what Members and others want. Over 100 Members have email and can now contact the Society at

info@australiana.org. Greg Johansson has been responsible for this achievement.

Our event program provides a variety of informative talks and excursions that are better attended than before. At the July meeting we introduced simple, low-cost food as well as refreshments. For the first time, at this AGM Dalia Stanley of Stanley & Co. Auctioneers is sponsoring refreshments.

After last September's AGM, Len Barton, Caressa Crouch and James Broadbent gave three different perspectives on collecting. In November, Ken Cavill and I spoke about Australian Gold. Stephen Scheduling tantalised us with his research for a new book on Benjamin Duterreau's National Picture at our Australia Day lunch, while Ian Rumsey organised a successful auction and raffle that fund refreshments at our events, with a surplus for general purposes.

In March, Josef Lebovic surveyed Australian photography and demonstrated what good prospects this field offers in comparison with international values. Ann Steven and Anne Watson revealed how they developed the Lucien Henri exhibition at the Powerhouse Museum, and guided us through it in May. Who could forget Megan Martin's magisterial performance in the Library at Elizabeth Bay House describing the Augusto Lorenzini exhibition in July? Then in August, Sotheby's hosted a private viewing of their Australiana auction.

The National Trust of Australia (NSW), Powerhouse Museum and Historic Houses Trust of NSW generously lent us their facilities. The Historic Houses Trust, especially Ann Toy and her staff at Government House, ensured our conference was well promoted in the media and well run. Dealers and auctioneers Stephen Archer, Christie's, Hordern House, John Hawkins, Josef Lebovic Gallery, Lawson's, Tim McCormick Rare Books, Peter R Walker Fine Art, Phillips International Auctioneers, Simpson's Antiques, Sotheby's and Stanley & Co. all supported the Society.

Australiana magazine remains our flagship – the major achievement of the Society and main benefit of membership. The quality of articles, illustrations and design is exemplary for a Society of our size and resources. I hope that all Members share my excitement on seeing each new issue, and marvel at our authors' devotion to advancing knowledge, as well as their generosity in sharing their research.

We have re-built a solid platform on which the Society can grow. In 2002 the Committee is planning a series of entertaining, informative events and at some stage another Conference. Our biggest challenges will be to continue to attract new Members, to introduce programs that interest young people, and to develop activities outside Sydney so that we can grow significantly across Australia. Next year, both Victoria and the ACT will be targeted for events.

Voluntary contributions of the Committee, Members, speakers, authors and sponsors make The Australiana Society a lively organisation. I would like to single out the work of our Treasurer Caressa Crouch, our retiring Secretary Dr Jim Bertouch, and my co-editor Kevin Fahy for special mention.

We have much to be proud of in this International Year of the Volunteer. Being a Member is not a decision influenced by economic benefits, but an emotional and philosophical one taken unselfishly to show commitment to our aims. I pay tribute to all those associated with this Society, from its inception in 1978, who have kept our ideals alive for 23 years.

Our financial position remains strong, despite increased costs due to a larger, part-colour magazine and bigger mailouts. We incur substantial overheads in publishing *Australiana* that we can overcome by maintaining growth. Please continue to do whatever you can to attract new Members.

Once again I thank everyone for your continuous contributions, support, advice, encouragement, criticism and suggestions.

John Wade, President
6 September 2001

Treasurer's Report

2000

The Australiana Society Inc.

Income & Expenditure Statement

for the six months 1 July 2000 to 31 December 2000

Income

Subscriptions	1,055.00
Back issues	9.09
Donations	10.00
Advertising	1,580.00
Interest	85.06
Total	2,739.15

Expenses

Bank fees	15.69
Magazine production	7,329.00
General Meeting expenses	439.01
Corporate Affairs fee	11.36
Postage & stationery	1,290.06
Postage	1,002.13
Total	10,087.25
Nett Surplus/(Deficit)	(7,348.10)

Note: The deficit is due to major income from subscriptions being received in the prior year while two magazines are produced in this six month period.



My report is for the six months to 31 December 2000 because we changed our financial year to a calendar basis, coinciding with our membership year, to give a clearer picture of our financial operations. This necessitated preparing accounts for six months from our last set of accounts at 30 June to 31 December 2000.

I am pleased to report that the Australiana Society continues to be in sound financial health. We have continued to expand our membership, from 269 at 30 June to 304 at 31 December 2000, and we are providing more member benefits within our financial budgets. Our financial management policy is just to meet journal production and operating expenses from membership and event fees. We have achieved all these things in the six months to 31 December 2000.

The income statement reports that we incurred a deficit of \$7,438 for the period but this is only a "paper loss" because subscriptions paid in the prior year actually covered this deficit which relates mainly to the cost of magazine production. In the calendar year

The Australiana Society Inc.

Balance Sheet

for the six months 1 July 2000 to 31 December 2000

ASSETS

Current Assets	
Australia Day Lunch Deposit	363.64
Cash at Bank & Deposit	11,156.85
Debtors	1,031.50
ATO - GST Refund	426.99
Total	12,978.98

LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities	
Advance Subscriptions	712.50

NETT ASSETS 12,266.48
represented by

Retained earnings	19,614.58
deficit for 6 months	(7,348.10)
Total	12,266.48

ending 31 December 2001, membership fees and the costs of magazine production will match and coincide in the same year! So I won't have to confuse you with accounting periods different from the membership year.

In the six months and for the future we have to focus on:

- coping with the GST paperwork
- continuing to grow to finance our expanding services (web page, higher magazine and postage costs)
- strengthening our event program to be useful and attractive to members and financially contributing.

I would like to thank our Vice-President Greg Johansson for the help given to me in compiling this report. It has been a real privilege to serve as Treasurer over such a buoyant, successful and optimistic period which is due to the support given by our members, sponsors and advertisers.

Caressa Crouch
Treasurer

Maritime Memorials Life After Death

Text by **Kieran Hosty**
photographs by **Andrew Frolows**

Erected in cemeteries, on the walls of churches, in parks, gardens and recreation reserves and carved into the solid rock on isolated windswept headlands all types of maritime memorials stand as stark but beautiful testimonials to those who have worked with the sea and its resources.

Sometimes these memorials were built by friends and families, fellow workers, government institutions and private associations to commemorate the loss of a loved one or friend and to assist those who survived with the bereavement process. In other cases they were built for a purely functional purpose but have been turned by time into symbols and commemorations of a particular maritime event. And occasionally the memorial's significance has been lost, its meaning unclear, allowing us to muse about the reasons behind its existence.

Photographer Andrew Frolows has attempted in the photographs to capture the air of mystery and mystique which surrounds some of the many memorials, which dot the coastline of Sydney.



Sydney's namesake – The Bradley's Head Tri-mast

Captain John Hunter named Bradley's Head on 28 January 1788 in honour of Lieutenant William Bradley of HMS *Sirtius* who assisted him in the survey of Port Jackson. Between 1840 and 1853 Bradley's Head was fortified with the placement of six, 24-pounder smooth bore cannon, a rifle redoubt and cannon emplacements. In November 1934 the tri-mast of the first Royal Australian Navy ship to be called HMAS *Sydney* was erected to commemorate the destruction of the German raider *Emden* by HMAS *Sydney* in the first naval action of World War I off Cocos Island on 9 November 1914. On the tri-mast can be read "In glorious memory of Petty Officer T Lynch, Able Seaman A. Hoy, Able Seaman A. Sharpe and Ordinary Seaman R.W. Bell erected on this spot 24 11 1934".

Dunbar

Still remembered after 144 years is the wreck of the *Dunbar* off South Head. On 31 May 1857, *Dunbar* left London on her second voyage to Australia. On board were 121 passengers and crew along with a rich general cargo. Arriving off Sydney Heads on 20 August Captain Green, confident that they were just north of the Heads and unconcerned by the poor weather conditions, ordered the ship to head in. This was a fateful decision, for instead of sailing safely through the entrance, the ship ran into the cliffs below South Head and quickly broke up. There was only one survivor. Many of the victims were buried at Camperdown Cemetery on 24 August 1857. City banks and offices closed and some 20,000 people lined George Street at dusk to watch the funeral procession. In 1910 one of the ship's anchors was raised and placed at the top of "The Gap" to commemorate the loss of the ship and 120 lives.





Woolner's Captain Cook Memorial

Hyde Park in central Sydney is home to many of the city's most famous monuments and memorials including Bruce Dellit's ANZAC Memorial and Francois Sicard's 1927 Archibald Fountain. Among the gum, fig and pine trees can be found a large granite and bronze memorial to Captain James Cook, which was unveiled in 1879 amid incredible pomp and circumstance. Over 100,000 Sydney residents watched the parade and unveiling of Thomas Woolner's statue of the great explorer. The Pre-Raphaelite sculptor had been commissioned by Sir Henry Parkes in 1874 to execute and place the statue in such a manner that it could be seen by ships entering Sydney Harbour. The view of the Heads no longer exists but the statue, commemorating the death of Cook and the European discovery of eastern Australia remains a commanding presence in the park.

MONETARIUM

LEADING DEALERS IN RARE COINS AND BANKNOTES



The 1926 Sydney Sovereign

1926 Sydney Gold Sovereign. King George V Large Head Obverse; St. George & Dragon reverse. Extremely Rare.

THE 1926 SYDNEY SOVEREIGN is something of an enigma to many numismatists, published information on it is almost as rare as the coin itself. Although the official gold sovereign mintage for Sydney in 1926 is 131,050, many senior numismatists believe that 131,000 were shipped to London as payment against debts incurred by the Australian Government in World War I. It is thought that these coins were melted down immediately upon arrival in London, ensuring the extreme rarity of the 1926 Sydney sovereign.

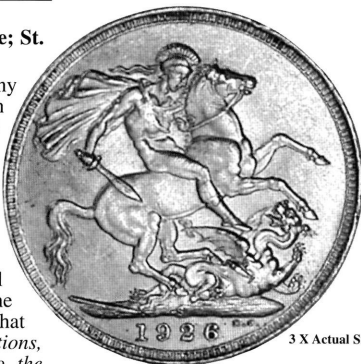
ALTHOUGH THE LAST GOLD DEPOSITS at the Sydney Mint were made on June 30th 1926, the last sovereigns were not actually struck until August 11th. In a description of events relating to the closure of the Sydney Mint., the Deputy Master, Mr A.M. Le Souef, states that *Anything of historic interest has been preserved for public institutions, some gentlemen who had already made valuable presentations to the Museums coming forward to purchase valuable additions to their collections. In this way there will be a permanent memorial in this city of the first overseas branch of the Royal Mint.*

Le Souef's note is clear in telling us that the 1926 Sydney sovereigns we see today had a very auspicious birth. *Each of the last 50 were struck for a senior dignitary as a record of the wealth generated by the Sydney Mint.*

THE RENOWNED DIXSON AUSTRALIANA Collection, now part of the State Library of New South Wales, includes an invoice made out to William Dixon for bullion for the minting of 50 sovereigns, on August 11th, 1926. It also includes a statement describing the minting of the sovereigns, and is signed by Robert C. Dixon. This statement confirms that the last 1926 Sydney sovereigns were struck for public & selected private collections. Very few Australian coins command a heritage as exclusive and auspicious as that of the 1926 Sydney sovereign. Not only is it one of Australia's rarest coins, it is also one of the most desirable to own.

Our research indicates that less than a dozen individual examples of this coin have become available over the past 30 years. Most of these have exhibited cabinet friction to some degree, while the example we offer here remains in absolutely stunning quality - it is easily one of the finest in existence.

Lustrous, satin-like fields and virtually mark-free. An intentionally strong strike is evident in the high rims, as well as on the other key points - the garter of St George, the horse's bridle, and in the fringe of King George V. Clearly this coin is among the finest known examples of one of Australia's true gold coin rarities.



3 X Actual Size



Actual Size



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Neta le Cerf, quilt made of socks, jumpers and other woollen pieces to make a warm lining, which was later covered with tailors' samples, 1930s.

Plain and Fancy



Emma Williams

Quilts from the National Quilt Register

Plain and Fancy: Quilts from the National Quilt Register is a new exhibition at the Powerhouse Museum Sydney until 2002. Developed to celebrate the launch of the National Quilt Register, the exhibition includes quilts and needlework from Australia's pioneering women as well as computer terminals to access the Register.

Highlights of the exhibition are two quilts made by Amelia Brown, who arrived in gold rush Sydney with her husband and seven children in 1857. With one quilt owned by Amelia Brown's descendants and the other in the Powerhouse Museum, the exhibition displays the quilts together for the first time in over 100 years. Dr Kimberley Webber, curator of the exhibition, says this quilt is particularly important for its striking use of an unofficial Australian coat of arms as its centrepiece.

Other quilts demonstrate the ingenuity and thrift of Australian women. Neta le Cerf's quilt, made in the 1930s, shows the care with which she stitched together socks, jumpers and other woollen pieces to make a warm lining, which was later covered with tailor's samples. "The Neta le Cerf quilt is a fine example of how women were required to produce needlework that was both practical and attractive. In those days, a quilt was considered more than a simple bed cover. They incorporated tales of births and death, love and loss, despair, survival, great moments in history as well as the minutiae of daily life," says Dr Webber.

Items in the exhibition include patchwork samplers produced by children learning to sew, a "housewife" or hold-all for needlework tools embroidered by an unknown Aboriginal woman and an 1858 school textbook that details needlework lessons.

The National Quilt Register is available on-line in the exhibition or at www.amol.org.au/nqr. Compiled by the Pioneer Women's Hut in Tumburumba NSW, the Register documents over 1,000 quilts made by Australian women between 1850 and 1965. It includes information on Aboriginal skin cloaks, Greek quilts and caring for quilts at home. Stories and photographs on the website have been collected from museums, historical associations, quilting groups and private collectors by Pioneer Women's Hut volunteers over the past five years.



Amelia Brown, *The "Granny Brown" quilt*, displaying an unofficial Australian coat of arms. This is one of two quilts made by Amelia Brown possibly on her voyage to Australia. Together with her husband John and seven children, Amelia Brown arrived in Sydney on 27 July 1857. The family settled in Bowning, outside Yass. The quilt was later given to Margaret Swann whose family lived at Elizabeth Farm, Parramatta. It was acquired by the Powerhouse Museum in 1990.



Adelaide ingot Type I, obverse, 1852, private collection.



Adelaide ingot Type I, reverse, 1852, private collection.

The Adelaide Gold Pound

Andrew Crellin

Australia's first gold coin is the 1852 Adelaide Pound, minted in response to problems caused by the discovery of gold at Mount Alexander, Victoria in November 1851. It is one of Australia's rarest and most coveted coins, and is seldom seen on the market. The story surrounding its conception, production and withdrawal has several threads that have enduring appeal – the perseverance and foresight of George Tinline; the leadership of Sir Henry Young; the ingenuity of the Assay Office staff and the enterprise of all those that flocked to the goldfields are all stories that strike a chord with Australians in the 21st century.

The woeful state of the South Australian economy before the introduction of the *Bullion Act* is found in a speech made by a member of the South Australian Legislative Assembly in April 1853. George Elder described it as a time “when public and private credit were menaced by imminent and immediate peril – when every man amongst us, however flourishing his previous circumstances and however ample his resources, was threatened with impoverishment, if not with utter ruin – when the honest trader was driven to his wit’s end for

the means of meeting his engagements – when general panic and dismay pervaded all classes throughout the colony”.¹

Just what could have happened to cause such economic distress? Contemporary reports suggest that once the discovery of gold at Mount Alexander became known in Adelaide, over 8,000 men (from a total population of about 50,000) decamped to the goldfields. The impact this gold rush had on those that remained in Adelaide was plain – the main contributors to the local economy simply were not available. “It was with difficulty the harvest was got in. Mining and other productive operations requiring numerous hands were suspended.”²

The crippling effects of this labour drain were compounded further as Adelaide was bled dry of circulating coinage. Prospectors needed to support themselves until they found a payable gold strike (an uncertain event at least weeks if not months away), and took as much hard currency to Mount Alexander as they could get their hands on. This made it nigh impossible to conduct even the simplest daily

transaction and business in Adelaide largely ground to a halt.

Matters did not improve until some of the men began to return to Adelaide in early January 1852, bringing with them some £50,000 worth of gold. Owing to the scarcity of coinage, merchants and bankers were forced to accept gold nuggets and dust in payment for goods. They soon petitioned the Colonial Government to intervene and establish a Mint, an action that would be in direct conflict with the Royal prerogative to issue coinage.

A memorial to this effect was put to the Lieutenant Governor on 9 January 1852. The gentleman in question was Sir Henry Young, a 48-year-old with legal training and a man who would have clearly understood the precarious position he was placed in. If he permitted the minting of coins he would contravene the Royal prerogative, while if he disallowed it he would undoubtedly earn the ire of Adelaide's merchants and bankers. Not only would approval be required from London before any such plan could be brought to fruition, but legislation would also have to be passed. This potential delay was obviously exacerbated by the time taken to travel between London and Adelaide, around 90 days in itself. Each of these factors would have weighed heavily on Young's mind, particularly since the fledgling colony was gripped by economic depression and drought.

As he did not have the benefit of consulting his superiors in London for advice within a timely period, Young discussed the matter with prominent Adelaide bankers of the day. George Tinline, acting Manager of the South Australian Banking Company, was wholehearted in his support for the idea, while the other two banks that were represented were either negative or lukewarm. Despite Tinline's determined petitioning, Sir Henry Young declined the proposal to establish a Mint, stating it to be "either impracticable, ineffectual or imperfect".³ Not taking such a setback as the final word on the matter, the merchant community submitted a second proposal four days later.

With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that committed as Sir Henry Young was to supporting economic development in Adelaide, he could do so legally only if a way could be found through the legislation governing the Colony. Instructions to governors of British colonies on the matter of currency were very clear – they were "prohibited assenting in Her Majesty's name to any bill affecting the currency of the Colony"⁴, and it was this point that prevented Young from establishing a Mint. Fortunately, a proviso to this directive was included, stating "unless urgent necessity exists requiring that such

be brought into immediate operation"⁵. This proviso provided Young with the means to balance both the needs of the Colony and his legal responsibilities. The Executive Council of the Colonial Government met on 22 January to discuss the issue further; proposing that the raw gold arriving in the colony could be converted into a form that would benefit the economy without needing to produce coins.

The following solution was reached. Raw gold could be taken to an assay office, where it would be refined and poured into ingots, stamped to indicate their weight and purity. These ingots could be presented at one of the banks and offered as security against an issue of currency notes to the value of the gold. They reasoned that business would be facilitated through the availability of these currency notes, and the Royal prerogative on the issue of currency would remain unviolated. Sir Henry Young sought advice from his Treasurer; the Advocate General; the Crown Solicitor and two judges, and all were of the opinion that the solution would be acceptable to London.

"A Bill to Provide for the Assay of Uncoined Gold and to Make Banknotes, Under Certain Conditions, A Legal Tender" was put to the Legislative Council on 28 January, and became law as the *Bullion Act* within a staggering two hours. The Adelaide Assay Office opened on 10 February, and on the first day gold to the value of £10,000 was deposited. In his speech to the South Australian Legislative Council in July 1853, Lieutenant Governor Sir Henry Young reported "the scheme surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine, and completely vindicated the prudence and sagacity of its promoters." Young pointed to two facts indicating the success of the *Bullion Act*: the increased numbers of South Australians returning from the goldfields showed a collective confidence in the rejuvenated Adelaide economy, while the "accelerated and augmented" sales of Crown land in South Australia demonstrated that the newfound economic health was surely to prevail for years to come.

Of the many Adelaide ingots produced between 4 March 1852 and late November 1852, just eight remain in existence. Six of the Adelaide Ingots are in public collections around the world, while the only two in private hands hold pride of place in the Quartermaster collection – easily the finest collection of Australian gold coins ever formed. The excessively rare Adelaide Ingots are rightly regarded as being integral to the history Australian numismatics, and are highly coveted by collectors the nation over.

Despite the wealth that the *Bullion Act* brought to the colony, the ingots were criticised for their lack of



Adelaide ingot Type II, obverse, 1852, private collection.

uniformity. Due to the variation in deposits made to the Assay Office, each ingot was unique in shape, colour and purity. Conventional economic theory states that money has several basic characteristics – durability, portability, divisibility, and convenience are among them.⁶ The fact that the ingots were neither divisible nor convenient meant that they were destined to be short-lived.

Not only were the ingots not conducive to circulating as money, but the banks felt quite restricted in their obligation to hold them. Recent research on how the ingots were produced shows that Assay Office staff were not only aware of these concerns, but actually took measures to alleviate them. The eight Ingots that remain in existence are differentiated by numismatists into two distinct categories – Type I and Type II.

Although the Colonial Treasurer intended that the Assay Office ingots were to be “ingots of one ounce, or some other convenient weight,⁷ the Adelaide ingots produced initially (Type I) were each cast in an irregular shape – the size and shape were determined primarily by the amount of gold presented by the miner for assay. Markings as to weight and purity are evident on both sides – just three ingots of this type remain in existence. On 23 January 1852, Mr George Francis (the Assay Office Assayer) notified Lieutenant Governor Young that it would not be possible to produce uniform ingots by casting, and that the only way to achieve this was by rolling or laminating the metal.⁸ Accordingly, the second



Adelaide ingot Type II, reverse, 1852, private collection.

type of ingot was produced in a completely different style – the metal is much thinner than that of the Type I, and each of the five in existence has been rolled flat. Both types of ingot show evidence of trimming, presumably to adjust their weight.

Interestingly, the “fine” weight of the Type II ingots (i.e. the actual gold weight once impurities have been taken into account) comes quite close to that of the Adelaide Pound. The main conclusion that may be drawn from this progression towards uniformity in the Assay Office’s issue is that a clear attempt was made to increase the convenience associated with their use, to increase their acceptability and perhaps to reduce the inconvenience being felt by the banks. Once analysis



Adelaide pound 1852 Type I, obverse, private collection.



Adelaide pound 1852 Type I, reverse, private collection.

of this theory is taken to a deeper level of detail, the story of the Adelaide Assay Office's ingots and pounds will provide an intriguing economic case study in the evolution of money in Australia.

Pressure from the public and the banks resulted in amendments to the *Bullion Act* on 23 November 1852 to allow the issue of gold coins (although technically they were actually tokens) valued at £5; £2; £1 and 10/-. Prevailing thought was that legal tender pieces in the shape of a coin, of uniform weight and purity, would ease the difficulties being experienced with the ingots. This action obviously extended the work of bringing the ingots to a uniform standard. Despite official concern that the production of the Adelaide pounds would be

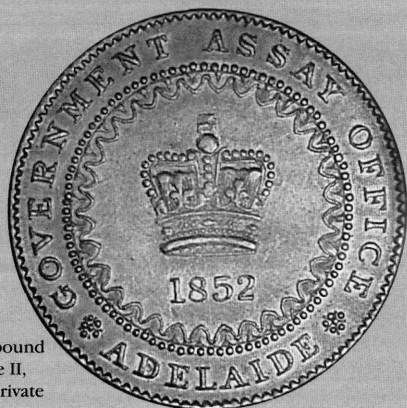
seen by London as a violation of the Royal prerogative to issue coinage, daily business in Adelaide was further expedited by their introduction.

The first Adelaide pounds were struck at the Adelaide Assay Office on 23 September 1852. Production was almost immediately interrupted by problems with the first reverse die, and this led to several varieties of the Adelaide pound of interest to collectors. One interesting observation of official records is that only four Adelaide pounds were actually issued in 1852⁹, and that just 24,648 Adelaide pounds were ever struck – the last produced on 13 February 1853. The £1 token was the only size produced – although dies were prepared for the £5, neither this size nor the £2 or 10/- sizes were struck for circulation.¹⁰

London's first official reaction to the *Bullion Act* arrived in Adelaide (via Despatch # 65) in May 1853¹¹, and was overwhelmingly positive – Lieutenant Governor Young was congratulated for the manner he handled a crisis of "peculiar urgency and danger".¹² This correspondence included a presumption that Adelaide's currency crisis had since been resolved by the export of large amounts of British coinage, indicating perhaps that London did not understand the extent of the problems South Australians faced.

When news of the second round of legislative amendments (permitting the production of the legal tender Adelaide pounds) finally reached London in January 1853 (via Despatch # 85), Young was directed to repeal either the whole *Bullion Act* or at least parts of it.¹³ Ironically, this directive did not arrive in Adelaide until August 1853,¹⁴ yet the *Bullion Act* had already been revoked several months earlier. Clause 4 of the *Bullion Act* stated that if the amount of gold deposited at the Assay Office within one calendar month was less than 4,000 troy ounces, the Lieutenant Governor had the power to revoke the Act and close the Assay Office. Aware that his bold decision in assenting to the *Bullion Act* had more than achieved the aim of reviving the South Australian economy, and that the supply of labour and currency had improved markedly, Young readily cancelled the historic *Bullion Act* on 3 February 1853.¹⁵

When the very first Adelaide pound was struck, Adelaide Assay Office staff became aware of a significant problem – a small crack had appeared between the inner circle and the outer rim at the top of the reverse die (Type I). This indicated that the too great pressure was being used. Assay Office staff took several measures to alleviate the problem. The first step was to produce another reverse die (Type II), while the second was to produce another edge collar; this one with slightly wider edge milling (Type Ib).



Adelaide pound
1852, Type II,
obverse, private
collection.

While the Type II reverse die was being designed and engraved, several more coins were struck with the first set of dies to test the new edge collar. Die pressure was reduced on both sides, the resulting examples being inspected for any further deterioration of the reverse die.

The new (second or Type II) reverse die would not have been put into use until the Assay Office was confident that the new edge collar solved the problem. Numismatic research of the Type Ib (wide edge) Adelaide pounds confirms that the die pressure was indeed reduced for examples struck with the wider milled edge – this is particularly evident in the crown of the obverse, as well as near the “N” of “ONE” on the reverse.

The exact number of Type I Adelaide pounds (including both a and b varieties) struck is not known, although contemporary reports suggest that between 25 and 30 examples of this excessively rare Australian coin were produced.¹⁶



Adelaide pound
1852, Type II,
reverse, private
collection.

Interestingly for such a historically important and rare Australian coin, a good number of the Type I Adelaide pounds that remain in existence have been mounted in a piece of jewellery, exhibit planchet flaws, have contact marks to some degree or are heavily worn. Conservatively, less than ten examples of the Type I Adelaide pound remain in existence in Extremely Fine quality or better. Several of the finest Australian coin collections ever formed (the Marcus Clarke & H.C. Dangar collections for example) included Type Is of this grade, while several other major collections (including Gilbert Heyde’s) included lower quality coins.

Adelaide ingots and pounds remain to this day as solid testament to Australian ingenuity during a period of social and economic turmoil. From an economic perspective, research into the gradual move from gold nuggets and dust being exchanged for goods to the return of sovereigns in daily trade is a unique and intriguing case study of the evolution of money in an Australian context. The appeal of these national heirlooms to historians and collectors is heightened further when their rarity and fragile beauty in superior quality is considered. Very few collectors ever enjoy the opportunity of owning either an Adelaide ingot or pound, and it is hardly surprising that they are keenly sought by collectors the nation over.

Notes

- 1 Thomas Gill, *Coinage and Currency of South Australia*, Adelaide, Vardon & Sons, 1912, p. 50.
- 2 Sir Robert Torrens, *Observations Upon The Working, Present Effects, And Future Tendencies of Act No 1, of 1852, "Making Banknotes Under Certain Circumstances a Legal Tender"*, pamphlet printed by the *Adelaide Observer*, 1852.
- 3 James Hunt Deacon, *The "Ingots" and "Assay Office Pieces" of South Australia*, Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, [1954?] p. 9.
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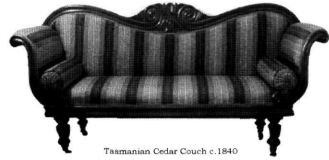
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