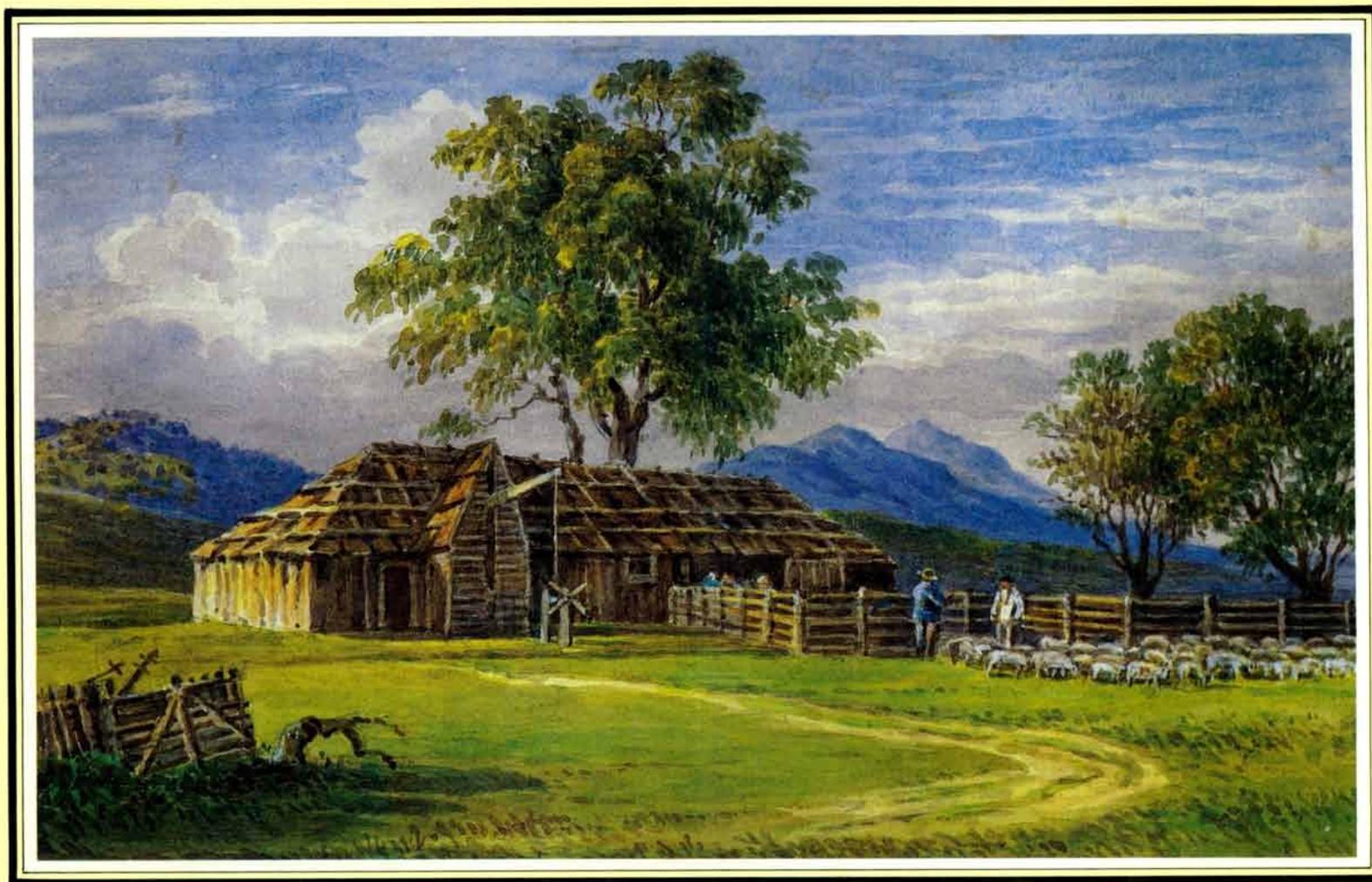


The
Challicum Sketch Book
1842-53

and Supplementary Paintings by
Duncan Elphinstone Cooper



Philip L. Brown

The nineteenth century squatter and painter Duncan Elphinstone Cooper spent about thirteen years of his life in the Western District of Victoria where he painted the fifty-four pictures presented in this volume. Most of these are from Cooper's *The Challicum Sketch Book*, now a treasured part of the collections of the National Library of Australia; the paintings deal almost exclusively with the grazing property of that name – from tent to house and beyond.

Cooper was the son of a Bengal Army officer and his wife, from Little Chart, Kent, and came to Australia in 1841. He became a partner in Challicum Station in the Fiery Creek district, north-west of Geelong, and later owner of the southern third of the run, at that time licensed separately as Warrapinjoe. With his Challicum partners, George and Harry Thomson, he bred sound sheep for their wool, and also cattle, running Warrapinjoe in conjunction with the main station until he sold out late in 1853. He then returned to Britain, where he occupied rooms in London's West End until his death in 1904, but made the Oriental Club his social address.

Philip L. Brown has described Cooper as 'a part-time artist who was continually painting'. It is apparent that Cooper regarded himself as an artist of inferior skill: in his will he suggested that several of his sketches were 'of no monetary value being amateur work'. The noted Australian art historian Bernard Smith took a more objective view when he described Cooper's paintings as those of 'an amateur of some accomplishment' and praised his style as 'pleasant . . . things have been well observed'. One of Cooper's Challicum paintings was, he wrote, 'quite irresistible'.

Cooper used sepia wash and watercolours in painting scenic views and properties in the Western District, and also was responsible for drawings and watercolours of Sydney Harbour and King George Sound (in Western Australia). He also painted in Tasmania.

Although he was modest about his artistic abilities Cooper's work reveals that he had a strong command of landscape and paid meticulous attention to botanical detail. His 360-degree cyclorama of Challicum Station, reproduced in this volume, is a fine achievement. His depictions of buildings of a

(continued back flap)

THE CHALLICUM SKETCH BOOK



Lake Borambeet – 'The Stockman' Inscribed, 'For the Hon. Robert Simson'
R6874 abn83-75817 Watercolour 27.7 x 45cm

Perhaps a south-easterly view from the Mount Ross dependency of Langi Kal Kal across Lake Burrumbeet towards Mounts Warrenheip and Buninyong, past Ballarat. Simson was MLC, Victoria, and so officially honourable, 1869-78, 1880-82. His informative Carngham journal, 1843-7, recovered from Scottish relatives, was recently given to the State Library of Victoria by his Australian kinsman, David Kincaid Russell.

The
Challicum Sketch Book
1842-53

and Supplementary Paintings by
Duncan Elphinstone Cooper

Reproduced from the originals held by
the National Library of Australia

Introduced and edited by
Philip L. Brown

National Library of Australia
Canberra 1987

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CALCULATION EQUIVALENTS

Currency

240d.(pence) – 20s. (shillings) – 1 (pound) : 200c. – \$2

Distance

100 links – 1 chain – 22 yards : 19 metres

80 chains – 1 mile : 1.61 km

Area

10 square chains – 1 acre : 0.4 ha

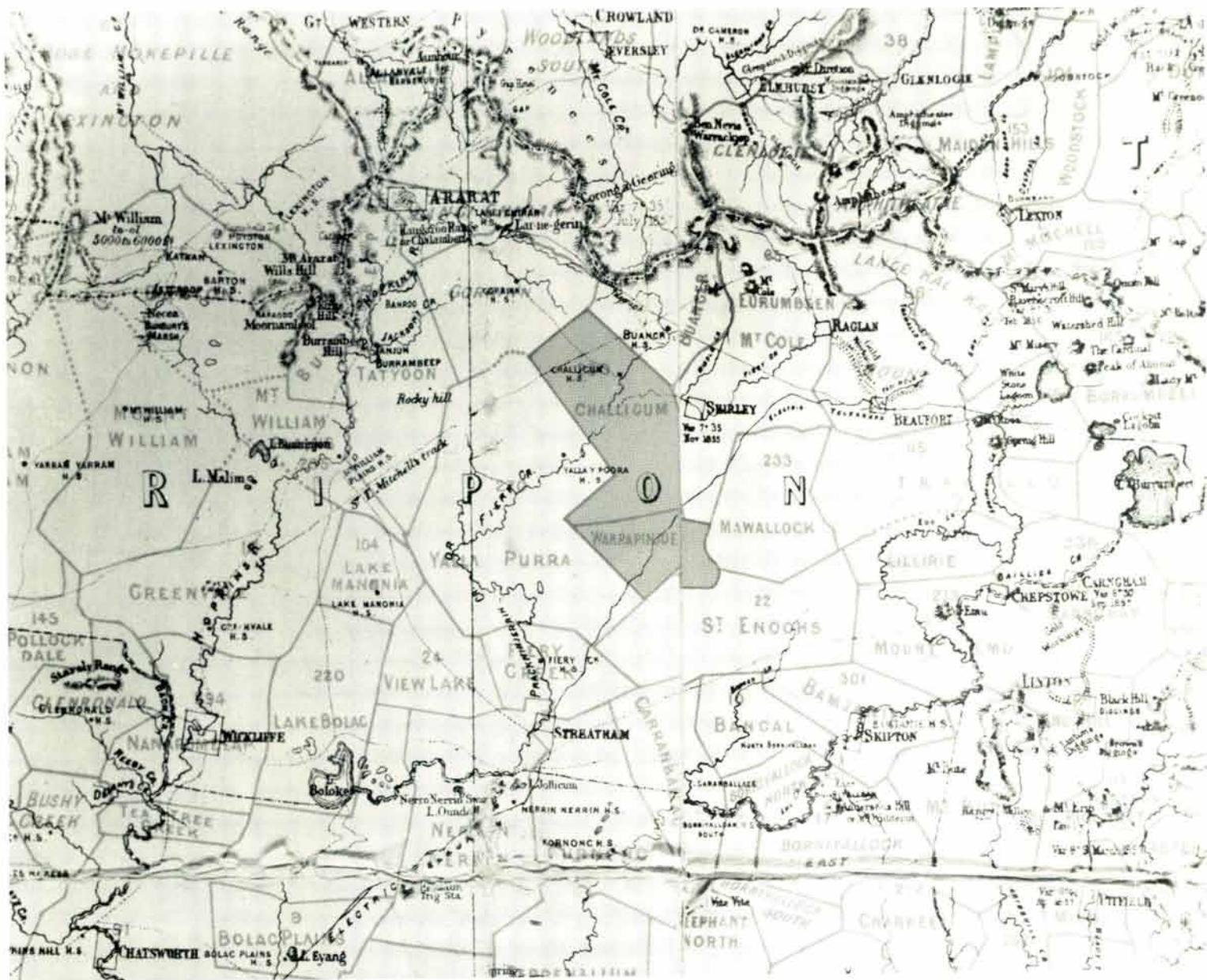
640 acres – 1 square mile – 1 standard crown section : 259 ha

Weight

2240 lb. (pounds) – 20 cwt. (hundredweight) – 1 ton : 1.02 tonnes

Capacity

64 pints – 32 quarts – 8 gallons – 1 bushel : 36.4 litres



Part of a Map of the Pastoral Runs (L791, Sheet 2), by Andrew Robertson, published at the Public Lands Office, Melbourne, January 1865, scale 8 miles = 1 inch. (Normal compass bearings, Challicum runs shaded.)

PREFACE

This volume presents examples of the work of an early British-Australian squatter-artist, Duncan Elphinstone Cooper, whose productions were little known until comparatively recently, and are still conjectural in number and range. The National Library of Australia holds twenty-six specimens of Cooper's work from the collection of the late Sir Rex Nan Kivell (1899-1977), of the Redfern Gallery, London: seven watercolours, eighteen sepia wash sketches and one pen and ink diagram. It also holds nine other of this artist's watercolours, and two of his sepia wash drawings, obtained independently. But the most significant of his works in the National Library is the field album (10 x 16 in., 25.4 x 40.6 cm) which he named *The Chalicum Sketch Book*. Its thirty-four watercolours depict his Australian surroundings and form the basis of this book.

The accession numbers in the series R299-332 quoted in the list of contents show the album order of these pictures, and distinguish their reproductions from those of the fifteen related sketches now combined with them. Four other views by Cooper held by the National Library illustrate the introduction. The frontispiece makes a total of fifty-four Coopers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Upwards of three score people helped to arrange and annotate Cooper's book. Some are named where their knowledge was applied, but several should be mentioned separately. The late Miss Lorna Banfield, Ararat's renowned veteran journalist-historian, provided useful clues and followed them up. Mr T.A. Richardson, grandson of the effective founder of Gorrinn Station, discussed and demonstrated local topography. The late John Randell digressed from his own historical enterprise to explain the working of the Challicum woolpress, not guided merely by deductions from Cooper's drawings, but combining with them his extensive pastoral experience, backed by first-hand accounts of the old lever press destroyed when the woolshed on his now submerged station, Kimbolton, was burnt in the 1890s. Mr R.C. Sharman and other librarians, especially Patricia Reynolds (Mrs J.E. Wilkie), anthropological staff at the Museum of Victoria, Mrs Joan McClelland, Messrs M.W. Callow and J.M. Muntz, descendants of John Miles, and the late W.H. Bailey, were also generous. Mr R.R. Aitken and the late K.W. Kernot, with confirmation from Mrs Beatrix Gigic, helped near the final stage, as did Dr Peter Balmford.

But the indispensable helpers were Messrs J.E.B. White and H.W. Hopkins, owners of modern Challicum in succession, and Mrs H.C. Bowden (Dr Alice Marion Kaye, grand-daughter of H.P. Thomson, one of Cooper's partners), contact with whom was made through a letter which Mr White had kept for a generation.

Unhappily, all three died before the harvest. But no editor could have expected greater practical interest and sounder aid

than Mr and Mrs Hopkins, with their son Mr D.A. Hopkins (the present managing owner), Mr and Mrs White, and Mr and Mrs Bowden, in that chronological order, consistently showed and gave.

It was rivalled only by the care and consideration of Mr A.T. Bolton, director of National Library publications, and his staff, who were responsible for the introductory note to the plates and for the technical details which describe each one. They ensured that the index conformed to National Library standards.

My interest in Cooper began when the two sketches mentioned in the first paragraph on p. 24 presented themselves at Golfhill for reproduction in George Russell's autobiography. When years later I saw the National Library's holding of other Cooper originals, I was heartened by the welcome of the first National Librarian, then on the eve of retirement, now Sir Harold White, with whom I had been in touch on other matters in 1939 and 1950.

Philip L. Brown

ABBREVIATIONS IN REFERENCES

A.A. Review	Austral-Asiatic Review, Hobart Town
ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> , Melb., 1966 –
AO	Archives Office
<i>Australian Families</i>	<i>Henderson's Australian Families</i> , Melb., 1941
Banfield	Lorna Banfield, <i>Like the Ark</i> , Melb., 1955-6
BCG	<i>Burke's Colonial Gentry</i> , 2 vols, London, 1891, 1895
Bib. Aust.	J.A. Ferguson, <i>Bibliography of Australia</i> , 7 vols, Sydney, 1941-69
BLG	<i>Burke's Landed Gentry</i> , London
Boys	R.D. Boys, <i>First Years at Port Phillip</i> , Melb., 1935
Bride	See LVP
Brough Smyth	R. Brough Smyth, <i>The Aborigines of Victoria</i> , 2 vols, Melb., 1878
CCL	Commissioner of Crown Lands
CCP	P.L. Brown (ed.), <i>Clyde Company Papers</i> , 7 vols, Oxford, 1941-71
CSR	Colonial Secretary's Records
DNB	<i>The Dictionary of National Biography</i> , London
GA	<i>Geelong Advertiser</i>
GGSQ	<i>Geelong Grammar School Quarterly</i>
Ham	<i>The Illustrated Australian Magazine</i> , Ham Bros., Melb., 1850-2
Henderson	See <i>Australian Families</i> , <i>Pioneer Families</i>
Hodson	V.C.P. Hodson, <i>List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834</i>

1 HRA	1st series, <i>Historical Records of Australia</i> , 26 vols, Sydney, 1914-25
HTC	<i>Hobart Town Courier or Courier</i> , Hobart
Kerr	W. Kerr, <i>Kerr's Melbourne Almanac</i> , 1841, 1842
LVP	T.F. Bride (ed.), <i>Letters from Victorian Pioneers</i> , Melb., 1898
Mitchell	T.L. Mitchell, <i>Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia</i> , London, 1838
NSW	New South Wales
Old MM	R. Boldrewood (T.A. Browne), <i>Old Melbourne Memories</i> , Melb., 1884
Pioneer Families	A. Henderson, <i>Early Pioneer Families of Victoria and Riverina</i> , Melb., 1936
PPGG	<i>Port Phillip Government Gazette</i>
PPP	<i>Port Phillip Patriot</i>
PRO	<i>Public Record Office</i>
Robinson	G.A. Robinson, <i>Report of an Expedition to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Western Interior . . . 1841</i>
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
Vic.	<i>Victoria</i>
VGG	<i>Victoria Government Gazette</i>
VHM	<i>Victorian Historical Magazine</i> , now <i>Journal</i>
WA	<i>Western Australia</i>
Waugh	<i>Three Years' Practical Experience of a Settler in New South Wales</i> , Edinburgh, 1838 (Letters from David L. Waugh, edited and published anonymously by his father, with preface to the first of the eight editions dated 24 March)

THE MAJOR'S LINE

NORTH-EAST FROM PORTLAND BAY TO THE MURRAY RIVER
30 August to 17 October, 1836

SEPT. 22 — *This day's journey lay chiefly across open downs with wooded hills occasionally on the left. On the southward these downs extended to the horizon: and several isolated hills at great distances apparently the trap-formation, presented a volcanic outline like Mount Napier. In that direction all the various small rivulets we crossed seemed to flow. Having crossed three of these, we encamped on the right bank of the fourth. The hills on our left were of granite, and as different as possible in appearance as well as quality from the mountains to the westward, which were all of red sandstone. A thunder storm came on in the afternoon, but the sky became again perfectly serene in the evening.*

SEPT. 23 — *This morning a thick fog hung over us; but I had already well reconnoitred the country beyond, and knew that I might travel in a straight line over open ground for several miles. When the fog arose some finely wooded hills appeared on our right, but after travelling seven miles on good firm earth, we again came upon very soft ground, which obliged us to turn, and wind, and pick our way where the earth was most likely to bear us. The fog was succeeded by a fine warm day, and as we proceeded we saw two gins and their children at work separately on a swampy meadow; and quick as the sight of these natives is, we had travelled long within view before they observed us. They were spread over the field much in the manner in which emus and kangaroos*

feed on plains, and we observed them digging in the ground for roots. All carried bags, and when Piper went towards them, they ran with great speed across the vast open plains to the southward...The ground was becoming almost hopelessly soft, when we at length reached a small run of water from the hills, and by keeping along the bank of this, had the good fortune to reach an extremity of the range where the solid granite was as welcome to our feet as a dry beach is to shipwrecked seamen...We were still however to cross the range we had now reached, and which, as I perceived here, not only extended southward, but also broke on the eastern side into bold ravines, being connected with some noble hills or rather mountains, all grassy to their summits, thinly wooded, and consisting wholly of granite rock. They resembled very much some hills of the lower Pyrenees, only that they were more grassy and less acclivitous, and I named this hill Mount Cole...

Major (Sir) T.L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General: *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*, London, T. & W. Boone, 1838, ii, 271-2.

INTRODUCTION

In March 1836, as Governor of New South Wales, Major-General Sir Richard Bourke sent Major Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General, to complete his exploration of the Darling River, and to trace the Murray above its junction with the Murrumbidgee, where Captain Charles Sturt had entered it in January 1830. When Mitchell started on this, his third expedition, nineteen measured counties based upon Sydney were the legal limits of private occupation. But flocks and herds had long spread far beyond them, and Bourke had been forced to proclaim the rights of the Crown against unauthorised settlers, particularly those at Port Phillip.¹ He had already decided that pastoral expansion was of common benefit; that it might be controlled, but could not be prevented. When reporting Mitchell's departure to the Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg, he mentioned the probable discovery of useful grazing districts, and of conclusive details about the south-east of the colony. Within a month Glenelg conceded the logic of the views which Bourke had been pressing for more than two years: that the prevailing policy of concentration ought not to block advancement, which under existing conditions depended upon wool production, which required space.²

Mitchell allowed the inviting country south of the Murray, at what he named Swan Hill, to turn him towards the coast at the close of June. At the beginning of September he set out with his regimented convicts and black guides by a north-eastern slant from Portland Bay, where he had found the Hentys becoming established as farmers among the seasonal whalers of Bass Strait. By this time the colonial term 'squatter' was already largely trans-

ferred from criminals and battlers beyond the boundaries to men of unquestioned standing who, in increasing numbers, ignored the law by becoming stockholders there. Mitchell's rapturous account of Australia Felix, as he called south-western Victoria, attracted this emerging race. The ruts of his drays in the soft untrampled soil of that rainy spring remained as 'the Major's Line' to guide both the Henty clan and a succession of Sydney-side overlanders into Australia's best setting for pastoral development. Preceding the overlanders, 'Vandiemonian' arrivals from Tasmania spread out from the beginnings of Geelong and Melbourne. Fashion rapidly changed from squatting by overseer to squatting in person with permanent intent. In 1838, David Waugh's pocket paperback, *Three Years' Practical Experience of a Settler in New South Wales*, ran to eight editions, although it was soon rivalled by Mitchell's two illustrated octavos (olive-green spines adorned by his gold-leaf sketches of kangaroos, emus, and Aboriginal weapons). There was, by this time, a notable flow of squatters direct from Britain. John Adamson, from Glasgow, mapping the Port Phillip district early in 1839, plotted nearly one hundred stations south and east of 'Major Mitchell's Track'.³

Control of the squatting phenomenon was based upon Bourke's Act of Council, 7 Wm.IV, No.4, a stop-gap which operated from 1 January 1837.⁴ Through a licence system supervised by commissioners, it checked the deliberate trespasser. But Sir George Gipps, Major R.E., replaced Bourke in February 1838, and achieved more effective legislation with an amending Act, 2 Vic., No.27, which operated from 1 July 1839, under regulations dated 21 May.⁵ The annual leasehold fee of £10 for each separate run or station was supplemented by a graduated tax on livestock (sheep, cattle, and horses) designed to meet the cost of a border police. Port Phillip was proclaimed one of nine administrative regions, and on 1 July 1840 was divided at the Werribee River into the Portland Bay and Western Port pastoral districts, with Captain

Foster Fyans, late 4th Foot Regiment, as commissioner for the former, his jurisdiction stretching to South Australia.⁶

Excepting 'the fertile land of Australia Felix, which would surely have been reached by the ordinary advance of our graziers',⁷ Gipps discounted Mitchell's discoveries. Although it cannot be determined what proportion of the 'young men of good family and connexions in England, officers of the Army and Navy, graduates of Oxford and Cambridge', whom the Governor reported as numerous among the pastoralists of 1840, had been attracted by the surveyor's performance,⁸ squatters' runs covered Victoria's Western District ten years before their shepherds found gold.

Such stations have been described; sketches of typical homesteads, scenes, and events survive. But very few pastoral tenants of the Crown (to quote their proper title) left any comprehensive pictorial record. One is *The Chalicum Sketch Book*, produced through the personal experience, vision, determination, system, and technical skill of Duncan Elphinstone Cooper.

Cooper's family background was Anglo-Indian. His father, and his father's sister, like their parents named George and Elizabeth, were baptised as the children of a Gravesend surgeon, and left for the promising Orient from that home port of the East India Company. In 1799, having passed the Company's testing Addiscombe course, George reached India as an ensign who would become a general in the Bengal army. Elizabeth Cooper preceded him in time to be married at Calcutta the previous year to Duncan Campbell (1771-1840), Bengal civil service.

Military records indicate that Major-General George Cooper (1780-1847) was hardly out of India after his first arrival, except when on furlough, 1809-11, and perhaps between postings. His eldest son, Major George Lewis Cooper, killed at the first relief of Lucknow (1857), was born in London on 2 February 1812; but Duncan Cooper's birthplace at present remains unknown. His infancy antedated registration, but his certificate of death shows that he must have been born about 1813-14, eight or nine years

before the death of his mother, born Jane Munn (1778-?1823), of Little Chart, Kent.⁹

The name 'Elphinstone' suggests a link between D.E. Cooper's father and Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779-1859), Governor of Bombay and formerly in the Bengal civil service, an administrator whose Indian experience dated from 1796, when he landed at Calcutta as 'a clever but not particularly studious youth, full of energy and high spirits, fond of desultory reading', who soon began to absorb both Indian literature and its setting, shortly becoming known as an erudite sporting scholar and astute diplomatic agent of liberal principles and remarkable verve.¹⁰ If such a link existed, it may have influenced Duncan Cooper's development, but at present, apart from his parentage, nothing is known of Cooper prior to his arrival at Melbourne.

He came as a cabin passenger from London in the barque *Diamond* (572 tons), which left Cork on 23 July 1841 with more than 250 assisted emigrants, and reached Port Phillip on 4 November.¹¹ Two Thomson brothers were with him, and became his partners.¹² They were evidently armed with a letter to the infant firm Bells & Buchanan, mercantile agents for J. & A. Dennistoun, Glasgow, to whose squatting representative, George Russell, manager for the Clyde Company, at Golfhill, near Geelong, William Montgomerie Bell, aged 28, wrote on 15 November:

'This will be handed you by our friends Messrs George & Harry Thomson, who have lately arrived in this colony from Scotland, & for whom we are anxious to obtain the best advice as to the investment of their capital, & accordingly draw on your kindness & will be obliged by your giving them information regarding any sheep or cattle in your neighbourhood which you think it would be advisable for them to see. Both Messrs A. & C. Campbell & Messrs Donalds & Hamilton have sheep for sale, & we have given them letters to these parties; but we wish them first of all to visit your station. Our Mr Buchanan returned from Sydney yesterday p. "Sea Horse", & he gives a most lamentable account

of that place, both as to its present state & prospects for some time: failures are of daily occurrence, & the pressure on the money market is very great'¹³

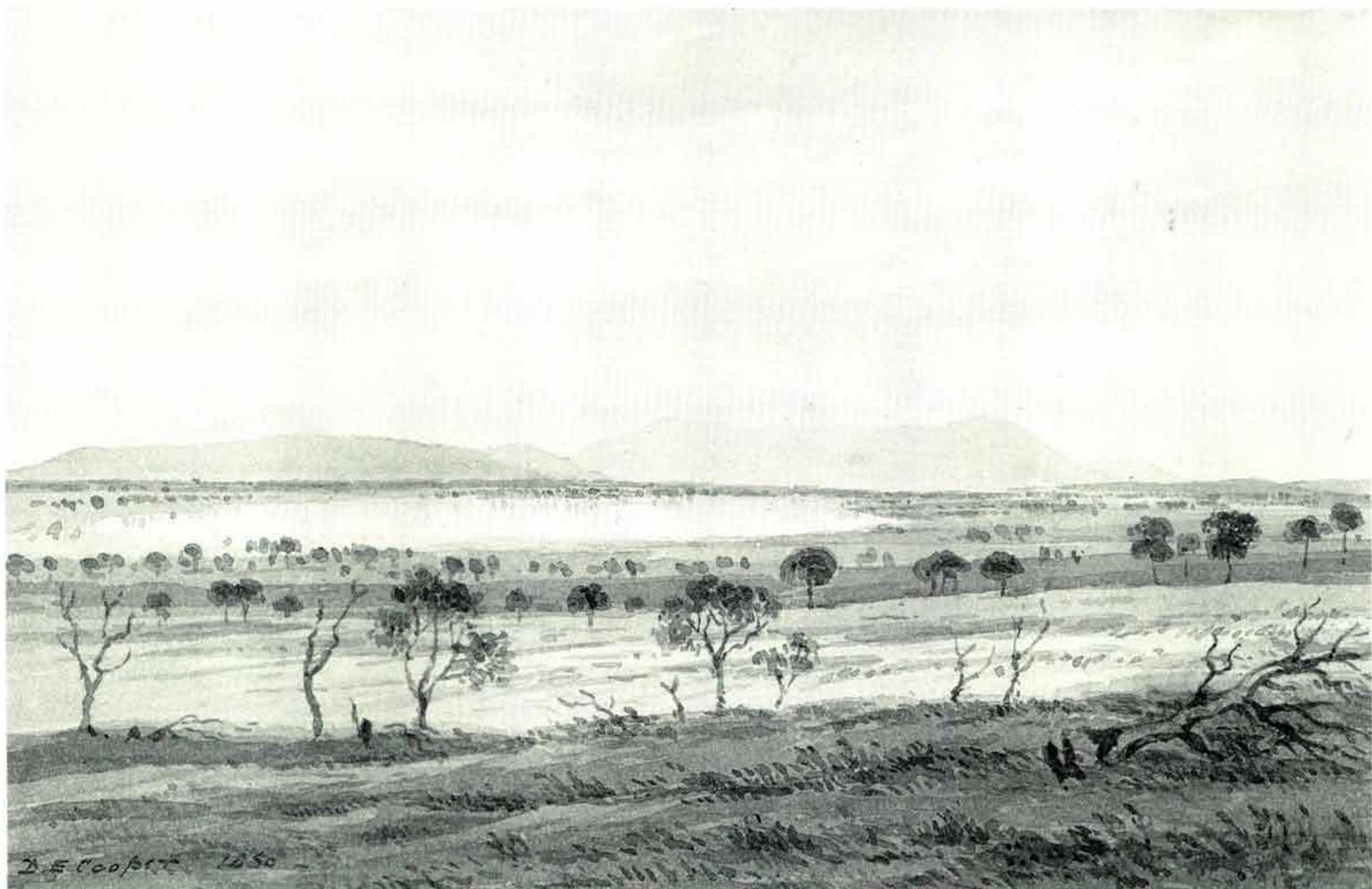
W.M. Bell's intimation that the Thomsons came from Scotland was inaccurate. The brothers had Scottish descent through a succession of forefathers who from at latest 1609 until about 1750 had been tenants in Grange, near Alloa, at the head of the Forth, north side. But their great grandfather, John Thomson, relinquished Grange, and his second son, George (1732-1804), abandoned active farming, and went to sea. In 1759 he captained the East India Company's ship *Calcutta*, under command of Commodore George Willson, whose sister Elizabeth married him. But in 1769 Elizabeth Thomson died, leaving two sons — another George, and William. This George was born at 15 Hatton Street, Holborn, London, 19 June 1764, married Laetitia Seabrook of 'Charleywood', Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, 2 November 1810, and died 27 December 1839, survived by his widow (d.1860) and four children, all born at Rickmansworth: Jane Laetitia (16 June 1813), George Wingfield (8 January 1815), William Stephen (10 March 1817), who became an Anglican clergyman, and Harry Preston (18 June 1818).¹⁴

But Bell's letter set the scene. Within two months, Thomsons & Cooper, squatters, had moved through Geelong to about eighty miles north-west, and had their homestead on a Fiery Creek affluent, eight miles south-west of Mount Cole, in a slight hollow of the plains, two miles to the south of Mitchell's line of march.

British neighbours, mostly from Scotland, surrounded them, each group with its adventurous story and special problems. Overlanders from the Murray had already pierced the range which reminded Mitchell of the backdrop to the Peninsular war. Between its southern flank and the newcomers, the Campbell brothers held their Buangor and Eurambeen runs of lightly timbered slopes extending eastward. Adjoining Eurambeen, the Donald brothers (James, John, and William) had settled with W.B.

Hamilton at Langi Kal Kal ('the place for the cicada')¹⁵ and Mount Ross, on the headwaters of the Mount Emu Creek. Next to them, lower down, was Adolphus Goldsmith's station, Trawalla ('much rain'), founded in 1839 by the family firm of Kirkland & Hamiltons, whom illness had ousted, but not before Mrs Kirkland had the outlines of her vivid verbal picture, *Notes of a Residence in the Bush, by a Lady*.¹⁶

Trawalla's south-east border met part of the boundary of Carngham station, a run taken up by the brothers J.D. and Thomas Baillie, who sailed to Geelong from Launceston with the Kirklands and the senior Donalds & Hamilton partners, all needing colonial experience to realise their hopes.¹⁷ In August 1841, when G.A. Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines, visited Carngham, he praised its racial relations, noting black shepherds and bullockies under a native overseer.¹⁸ Lillerie, west of Carngham, and also adjoining Trawalla, had Mount Emu station next to it on the south. Both runs were formed in 1838-9: Lillerie by J.W. Gottreaux, whose partners and early successors were the young Macredie brothers, George and John, settlers of 1840 by the *Culdee*; Mount Emu by George Urquhart and his manager, Christopher Glendinning. This pair, according to Robinson, made their station 'the only one that paid its expenses with the wool', and had always worked in harmony with the native inhabitants.¹⁹ Robinson also commended the treatment of Aborigines by Philip Black and Thomas Steel, Scotsmen whose run on the lightly timbered levels, west of the shaggy slopes marking Trawalla, Lillerie, and Mount Emu, was worked from the outlying cone which he recorded as 'Bowerwil', but which, as he indicated, was called Stockyard Hill by the settlers because of the gate-like gap in its broken crater.²⁰ In 1841, Black & Steel – from Greenock to Hobart Town, 3 October 1838 to 29 January 1839, in the barque *Potentate* – commanded some 33,000 acres, which six years later became their distinct St Enochs and Mawallock stations. Their joint northern and western boundaries chiefly coincided with the



Looking towards Stockyard Hill, from Blacks Lake, 1850 NK10163/15 abn83-75630 Sepia wash drawing 14.7 x 21.8cm

southern and southward-thrusting eastern limits of the Campbell brothers' run, which was then known as Mount Cole, but approached subdivision into the separately licensed Buangor, Eurambeen, and Challicum stations, the last with its own southern appendage, later the self-sufficient Warrapinjoe (official spelling) holding. File SLV Arch 41/2047, PRO Vic., shows that when documenting the second half (20 April to 22 June 1841) of his first itin-

erary, begun 25 July to 19 September 1840, Fyans as Commissioner of Crown Lands recorded 'Mr Vicary, Walapingoe'. This was T.W. Vicary (CCP iii), who evidently secured for A. & C. Campbell the perennial spring which still serves the locality.

It seems certain that D.E. Cooper moved to Geelong with the Thomsons and accompanied them up country. Geelong was the natural point of departure for Golfhill. It was also, in its own estimation, and perhaps for a time in reality, the 'commercial pivot' of the Port Phillip District, because it was the main port for the fundamental wool-growing industry.²¹ The firm of Thomsons & Cooper could count on it for equipment and perhaps for essential labour. But, by whichever bush track the partners reached Golfhill, twenty-five miles off, when they forded the seasonal shallows, toiled up the western side of the deep, well-timbered Leigh valley, and emerged on the bare knife-edge of the shimmering plain beyond, they probably doubted. Summer was fully come, following a dry local winter and abortive spring. Sheep-grazing had not yet thickened the island-tussocks of wispy grass which offered little keep for bullocks and horses. There was still no regular track beyond the river, although within a year Surveyor Hoddle conceded that 'the present road by the Clyde Company's head station may be considered as a permanent line'.²² This soon became the main route to Portland Bay, avoiding Lake Corangamite and the Stony Rises south of it.

But forty miles beyond 'The Leigh' (now Shelford), Thomsons & Cooper, in order to reach their goal, had to deviate north immediately after crossing the Mount Emu Creek's focal ford, which induced the official foundation of the aptly named village of Skipton (Sheep Town) in 1852. Passing the contiguous cones since mapped as Monmot and Nanimia, they probably followed a line some four miles west of Mount Emu and twelve miles west of the timbered Carngham hills.

'This portion of the district,' G.A. Robinson had reported, 'is well suited for agricultural or pastoral purposes. It is undulating,

and thinly wooded with the banksia and acacia.²³ The decreed boundaries of St Enochs (including Mawallock), Trawalla, and Lillerie stations centred upon a large freshwater lake, not always full, which after 1850 was known as Lake Goldsmith, from Goldsmith of Trawalla, although previously named Black's Lake from Black of St Enochs. From its banks Mount Cole was visible, fifteen miles north-north-west, with its supporting range buttressed by Mount Langi Ghiran, 'the place for the black cockatoo'.²⁴

'Both Messrs A. & C. Campbell & Messrs Donalds & Hamilton have sheep for sale', wrote W.M. Bell from Melbourne. Since sheep without pasturage would be useless in a sparsely populated but theoretically fully occupied up-country district, this statement implied the transfer of ground as well. No doubt advised by George Russell, Thomsons & Cooper trusted it. Like their future western neighbour, Alfred Taddy Thomson, of Yalla-y-poorra station on the Fiery Creek (which apparently gained that name because in 1841 it 'was dry for 20 miles, the bed of the creek smoking as if on fire'),²⁵ they were helped by a prevailing aversion to the open plains, as well as by the Campbell brothers' mistaken preference for cattle.

These brothers, Alexander and Colin, sailed in the barque *Appoline* from London to Hobart Town, 11 November 1838 to 12 March 1839.²⁶ They were reported to have £8000, and after various setbacks explored for a mainland run, and 'with the usual equipment' reached the base of Mount Cole in March 1840.²⁷ Forced by their predecessors past the greater natural shelter of the district afterwards centred on Beaufort township, they pitched at Eurambeen, soon expanded west to Buangor, then claimed the downstream plains stretching for fifteen miles to Black & Steel's station.

Colin, a sixth son, a Glaswegian Anglican and Oxford graduate (1838) with West Indian affiliations, was enticed by his elder brother Alexander into an Australian enterprise which proved his superior endurance and versatility.²⁸ In 1853,

responding to Governor La Trobe's valedictory request for historical information, he wrote that when Alexander and he took up the Mount Cole run, the immediate west was vacant; that they 'tenanted a large tract of country, as it was the fashion then for squatters to occupy the best spots as stations, without much regard to their distance from each other'; that within a few months, however, their dimensions were shorn, when 'stock began to pass down from the Sydney side by the Major's Line, which was then deeply furrowed with dray tracks'. Captain Fyans, he implied, as commissioner imposed new boundaries; 'but the plains to the south-west remained unoccupied, the prevailing feeling among settlers at that time being that they were too bare and uncomfortable for either man or beast'.²⁹

A.T. Thomson of Yalla-y-poorra confirmed Colin Campbell's statement. Answering La Trobe's circular as spokesman for Stevens & Thomson, he reported that when their station was acquired, in May 1841, 'a strong prejudice existed against plains as runs for sheep. It was generally supposed that the want of shelter, both from the rays of the sun in summer and the biting blasts in winter, would soon break down their constitutions, and consequently many persons had passed over this Fiery Creek District, and proceeded many miles further from their markets to occupy much worse runs, and thus, though surrounded by stations, we found it most opportunely at our disposal'.³⁰

Campbell, taking all blame from his brother, who had left Australia, informed La Trobe that about a year after Mount Cole was taken up, when Alexander and he began to feel settled and had subdued the scab which had plagued their flocks since the first was bought in Tasmania, 'I was induced, however, very foolishly to sell the greater part of my sheep and run, from an idea that horses and cattle could be managed at much less expense. So they were,' he continued, 'but produced a still smaller income, owing to the great depression which took place about 1843, and continued for some five years from that time. Wool alone, I may

observe, was independent of this change, and the returns derived from this source from England alone enabled the squatters to weather the storm, and the merchants and shopkeepers to carry on their business. Many of the original squatters, however, went down in my neighbourhood, and others took their place, buying stations in some cases at little more than a year's income.³¹

In March 1843, George Russell's cousins, Robert Simson and young Philip Russell, lately from Scotland, bought Carngham from Baillie Brothers for £950. But Thomsons & Cooper had their own slice of good fortune fifteen months earlier, obtaining sheep and ground despite encircling stations. Evidently they bought their foundation flock from the Campbells, with right of run, subject to endorsement by Captain Fyans and perhaps to payment for improvements and plant.

The original Challicum run had present Mount Challicum just beyond its north-west corner. The ordnance survey map plots 'Challicum Creek' from this hill to the Fiery Creek at ten miles north of Streatham. But the Billy Billy creek, flowing south through Buangor, and joined by the 'Charleycombe' double-headed creek before it enters the Fiery Creek twelve miles higher than the stream from Mount Challicum, is known as Challicum Creek within the old station boundaries. Confusion is curiously coupled. George Wingfield Thomson, who died at Challicum homestead in 1897 as its sole owner, became a fabled figure within his own lifetime: sea captain sprung from English shires and squires, although the genuine sailor was apparently his paternal grandfather, to whom arms were granted at Edinburgh in 1766. Through Captain George Thomson's marriage to Elizabeth Willson, their elder son, George (G.W. Thomson's father) became heir to Jane Willson, Commodore George Willson's widow, of Chorleywood (or 'Charleywood') House, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire. That county boasts no combes, no place name like Devon's 'Challacombe'; but its nineteenth century people commonly wrote and spoke 'Chorley' as 'Charley'.³² Their contemporaries in

Victoria's Riponshire, faced with the challenge of 'Challicum', pronounced it 'Charllicum'.

Brough Smyth's painstaking study of Aboriginal speech produced few examples of sounds which could be written as 'cum', but many of 'chal' as a prefix of arguable intonation: 'Charle', 'Tchallee', and 'Chalie', from Hamilton, Glenorchy, and Daylesford; 'Chal-inuke, Chally, Chalinook, Chalin-yook, Chal-lee', all meaning 'tongue', from Balmoral, Horsham, Gunbower, Kulkynne, and Franklindford.³³ Smyth also recorded 'Challeepepin, the hill with the steep escarpment on the south side of Mount Lang-i-gherin'. His individual spelling of the last name, when contact with untutored tribes was still possible, shows the barrier blocking phonetic reproduction. It also suggests that 'Challicum' is more likely to be a twisted native term than a corruption of popular legend's nostalgic 'Charley combe'. Could 'tongue' double as 'spur'? Canon E.S. Hughes, when handing over Challicum Station in 1934, wrote to Sir Brudenell White: 'Challicum, I believe, is the aboriginal name for the prickly cockspur that grows about the homestead.' In 1981, Mr Peter Kininmonth of Mount Hesse Station, near Winchelsea, Victoria, wrote: 'None of the back country at Mount Hesse . . . had been top-dressed before the Soldier Settlement in 1954. The pasture in those days consisted mainly of wallaby grass, a little kangaroo grass, and a lot of blue devil or challicum, which was very hard on the dogs' feet. The Spur and Old Horse paddocks have never been top-dressed, and are used for emptying sheep out before shearing.'³⁴

Cooper's pictures, chiefly recording Challicum and its setting, caused Thomson tradition to term him 'the artist friend', without remembrance of much else about him. He was certainly more than artist. His contemporary, G.H. Wathen, 'mining engineer', wrote that on 23 November 1850, after an early start by dog-cart and tandem, through Burnbank (Lexton) via Mount Cole, he and his driver-friend reached Challicum about sunset, and found Cooper 'fresh from his woolshed, where they were shearing; his dress

bore marks of dirty work. The squatters usually', he added, 'are the active and energetic directors of their own establishments, and hence their success.'³⁵ Six months later, when Katherine Officer, then aged 22, left the Hobart house of her famous medical father, later Sir Robert, to cross Bass Strait with her bridegroom Robert Simson, 'Poor Mr Cooper', she wrote, 'has made a dreadful void in Campbell St. He has, by his gentle manners and countless virtues, wound himself round the hearts of every member of our family. To use a Byron expression, "He became to them a necessary part of sight". Papa was quite overcome when the dreadful word goodbye was tolled, while poor Willie shed torrents of tears. All feel alike deeply the loss of their dear amiable friend.'

Aboard the steamer, though: 'Contrary winds put out all their strength to blow us back, and almost succeeded... The Captain's inattention quite shocked the petted and much loved Mr Cooper. On the morning of our arrival in the Melbourne Bay he rose, looking exquisitely pale and interesting, and full of expectation of receiving the whole Ship's sympathy. The Captain was the first to meet him, as he staggered forth almost fainting from his cabin; but instead of the gentle and sympathetic greeting he had calculated upon, the barbarous creature exclaimed, "Ah! Good morning Sir! I'll trouble you for your *passage money*." Poor Solomon! He was tempted to wish himself in some vast wilderness, where man's inhumanity to man might never reach him more.'

Although Kate and Robert Simson, after pausing in Melbourne, travelled to Carngham station, the boundary of which was within twenty miles of Chalicum's, 'Mr Cooper only remained a day or two with us. He felt very anxious to get home and meet his dogs and partner again. Both testified infinite satisfaction: the former jumped about him half mad, the latter exclaimed, "Well old boy, I'm ashamed to see you back a bachelor, after saying so much of the Tasmanian Ladies!" I believe old Cooper hung his head and looked *really* ashamed.'

A year later, Kate wrote again to her Tasmanian mentor, Jane

Reid, Mrs William Williams: 'Our visit to Challicum . . . you will have heard of . . . Cooper's hospitalities quite delighted us all. He is an Encyclopedia to me: when I wish to know the derivation of a word I appeal to Cooper; How to season a pudding or manufacture a sauce – to Cooper; . . . And still to Cooper is the appeal whether in doubt or ignorance. He is a Prince. I wish in return I could give him *confidence*, or self esteem, or something of that sort.'³⁶

These are impressions of a part-time artist who was continually painting, chiefly in watercolour. In 1851, Cooper's picture of Lake Burrumbeet was engraved for the December number of *Ham's Illustrated Australian Magazine*, perhaps with an alteration not his, nor approved by him. An apparent original suggests the transformation of a settler's dinghy, with shipped oars, into the bark canoe, with trailing spears, described in the note on natives stalking duck – a note which ends: 'We are indebted to D.E. Cooper, Esq., a squatter in the neighbourhood, for the use of the drawing from which our plate is taken, and we shall feel great pleasure in engraving, from time to time, any suitable views with which our squatting friends may favour us.'³⁷ Another suggestion is that this painting was published unaltered, and that the Melbourne-held parallel, showing dinghy-borne town-clad squatter, gun in hand, may be a Cooper comment on time's revenges! Whatever its history, the latter was acquired by the State Library of Victoria in 1983. The Picture Librarian there, Christine Downer, discovered soon afterwards that a similar wood engraving entitled 'Lake Burrumbeet, Victoria', without signature or attribution, occurs in the *Illustrated Australian News*, 23 December 1865.

D.E. Cooper's talent functioned at different levels. Two or three Golfhill scenes, and other sepia drawings or coloured sketches, have an interest as much historical, topographical or botanical as artistic. When the sympathetic but perceptive and open-minded Kate Simson reported the call at Carngham of 'two noisy, rattling



Forest with native camp and mia mias, 1851 R4718 abn83-76008 Sepia wash drawing 15.6 x 23.7cm

Irish-men, who were making many inquiries after yr rebels', she added without comment: 'One of them had lately visited Rome, Paris, &c; had seen all the paintings of the ancient and modern Fathers of the Art; and on Mr Mitchel's sketch of the "Falls" being presented to him, rapturously declared it perfect and as superior to Mr Cooper's as sun-light to candle-light.'³⁸ Faced with the

obvious prejudice in rebel John Mitchel's favour, she may have judged comment needless. On the other hand, it is possible that Cooper withheld his best work. By nature he was modest, or perhaps he simply liked to be inconspicuous. His disembarkation as one of three prospective squatting partners was ignored in the immediately consequent correspondence.

Although from 1848 Cooper held a separate licence for the southern third of Challicum, distinguished in the official description of Mawallock (formerly Steel's share of St. Enochs) station by its surveyor's reference to 'the dray track leading from Mount Cole to Messrs Thomson and Cooper's out-station of Warrapinjoe',³⁹ variously spelt, he did not live there. Certainly Cooper's known pictures, and slight references in correspondence, suggest that he became mobile. During 1850 he made two or three sketches at Golfhill, several around Banyenong, about eighty miles north of Challicum, at least one as far west, near Coleraine, and apparently at least one in Sydney.

Unlike the Thomsons, Duncan Cooper dabbled in Geelong and district allotments, but only to the extent of an urban 29 perches fronting the western beach, a suburban 2 acres 29 perches 'South-West of the Pontoon Bridge' across the Barwon, and 68 perches in the outlying township of Portarlington – all bought by 1854.⁴⁰ The tenuous, straining threads of far-stretched settlement criss-cross the following letter from Cooper to J.F. Strachan, of 'Lunan', Geelong:

Fiery Creek
Nov 15, 1851

My dear Sir,

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th inst, in which you request permission to put my name on the Committee of the Geelong Benevolent asylum. I fear country gentlemen will have quite enough to

do next year to mind their own business. Still if you think I can be of service to the Institution in any way, I am sure you may command my humble endeavours. I will do the best I can with the Subscription list you forwarded, but think more money will be got out of the gold diggers than the Inhabitants of the Bush generally.

I am

Yours very truly

DUNCAN E. COOPER

James Ford Strachan Esquire, M.L.C.⁴¹

There is no record that Cooper joined this committee. But 'Challicum', 1853-6, and 'Charleycomb', 1857-8, is the listed address of subscribers G. & H. Thomson, 1853, and of subscribers 'Geo. Thompson' or his subordinates (R. Howard, J. Miles, W.R. Scott), 1854-8.

Harry Thomson dropped out of the Challicum partnership officially in December 1853, the month when George Russell reported William Lewis's purchase of Warrapinjoe: '6,500 Sheep on it, at 25/- each. He does not intend to reside on it.'⁴² Warrapinjoe leasehold, however, soon became Stoneleigh station, gradually converted to freehold, and the site of Lewis's family homestead, built in 1864, and still, in the wording of agents, 'charming and spacious' in its 'lovely old world garden', when sold with 5146 acres by auction in Geelong on 25 November 1977, at only three real removes from Cooper.⁴³

G.W. Thomson became sole resident owner of Challicum following the retirement of his brother and Cooper, who apparently left Melbourne together on 4 May 1854, in the steam packet *London*, for Sydney. Judging from his 'Sydney Harbour, 1850' (NL T19 10163/5), Cooper already knew the town well. His 'North Shore, Sydney, 1854' (NL R217) almost certainly has contemporaries in his signed but undated watercolours 'King George Sound,



Carngham, 1852 R4717 abn83-76002 Sepia wash drawing 17 x 25.7cm

Western Australia' (NL T17 10163/3) and 'Princess Royal Harbour' (Albany, Western Australia – NL 37016). The funnelled vessel shown in each of the Western Australian pictures suggests at least a link in time with the P. & O. steamer *Madras*, cleared at Sydney on 20 September 1854, which carried a Mr Cooper bound for Southampton via Melbourne as a cabin passenger, and also '1 second class passenger for King George's Sound' itself.⁴⁴

Cooper returned to Britain, evidently with a competence sufficient for his needs as a confirmed bachelor. No doubt sheep paid for his months on the grouse moors of Scotland in 1855; but he was not concerned to wring the fleece dry. In 1856 he agreed 'to allow £4,000 of his money to lie on Warrinpingoe for another 3 years from 1 January next'. When informing George Russell of this, William Lewis added: 'Altho I have only paid him interest at the end of two years, Cooper gives me praise for my punctuality and mentions that he allows me to retain the money at 7 p.cent. on that a/c. Some of his friends in Victoria he says are not so punctual.'⁴⁵

In 1862 Cooper was still the official licensee of 'Warrapingoe', and Lewis was officially his superintendent. But the scales were weighted in Lewis's favour, because by that time, as well as 8120 sheep, 51 head of cattle, and 4 horses, on summer grazing, he had 8478 freehold acres, and only 5522 acres of Crown land. The same official return shows that George Thomson at Challicum, running 16,937 sheep, 153 head of cattle, and 20 horses, had 12,086 freehold acres (14 cultivated), and 16,000 acres of Crown land.⁴⁶

When Cooper and Harry Thomson left Australia, the pioneering phase of western Victorian squatting had almost passed. John Aitken's Saxon sheep and Thomas Shaw senior's evolving 'Australian merino' had become models for progressive pastoralists. In 1851, before the first news of antipodean gold reached England, Challicum wool was considered – with clips from Ercildoun, Langi Kal Kal, Mount Aitken, Yalla-y-poorā, and one or two other stations – 'the best of the lots from P. Phillip, or even from Australia', in the London May sales.⁴⁷

In 1863, the last year of Cooper's official involvement with Warrapinjoe, and the year before George Thomson became the first president of Ararat Shire, Lewis wrote of a visit he had had from 'a brother of D.E. Cooper's, who is secretary to Ballarat Benevolent Asylum'.⁴⁸

This seems to have been Samuel Cooper, who apparently was

little more than a visitor to Australia. But Duncan Cooper maintained the colonial contact. In or about 1860 he contributed to a fund in aid of Emily Wood, the widow of John Wood, bullock-driver on Golfhill, who died from snake-bite in the Mount Mercer forest. In October 1862 the Reverend Robert Russell, of Evandale, Tasmania, after visiting the Simsons (Robert and Kate) at the house they had taken in Elie, Scotland (all three being birds of passage), wrote to George Russell, his brother at Golfhill: 'Your old friend Duncan Cooper was staying with them, as particular & fussy as ever.' In June 1892, when whether compliment or condemnation meant little to those who remained, Lewis wrote from Stoneleigh to Mrs Williams (Jane Reid) across Bass Strait: 'Ever since I told Cooper of my visit to you he has been referring in his letters to the happy times while he stayed at Dennistoun.'⁴⁹

Did this mean forty years earlier, or quite recently? The question arises because, late in 1981, a picture signed by Cooper, and endorsed 'Stoneleigh, New House at Warrapingo, drawn for William Lewis, Beaufort, 1887', was auctioned in Melbourne. The building and its setting seem authentic; but inquiries have found no trace of Cooper's presence in either Tasmania or Victoria at that time. A former wool traveller's recollections suggest that this picture hung at Stoneleigh until the Lewis family sold out to Messrs A. & J. Barber in 1932. A Lewis grand-daughter remembered several Cooper pictures there, and sent an extract from the *Australian Home Beautiful*, Melbourne, 1 August 1929:

Turning back to the drawing room, attention is attracted by a series of water-colour drawings of Stoneleigh and the surrounding country, painted by Mr Cooper, the artist owner of the property in the late 'forties. Some of these are painted from memory, with the aid of photographs sent from Australia, and their faithful rendering shows how great his regard for his adopted country must have been.

Duncan Cooper died of bronchitis on 22 November 1904, aged ninety, at 31 Talbot Road, Paddington, London, quarters belonging to his nephew, Colonel C.D. Cooper, C.B., a serving officer. *The Challicum Sketch Book* was not mentioned in his will, dated 15 January.⁵⁰ The National Library bought it in 1960 from its English owner, Mr G. Witherington, who stated that his father had been Cooper's godson, and that his grandfather, one of Cooper's friends, acquired it as the artist's gift. Cooper's will left 'my gun by Henry free of legacy duty' to the Reverend Charles Townsend Witherington, of Nottingham, but with reference to artistic productions merely directed his executors 'to sell the framed drawings and pictures now at the Baker Street Stores' for the benefit of his residuary estate, which was to pass to Colonel Cooper.

A codicil of 12 July 1904 repaired a deficiency which may have resulted from Cooper's feeling that most of his pictures were 'of no monetary value, being amateur work', and so subject to little if any legacy duty. The *Sketch Book* was again ignored, but detailed instructions suggest the considerable volume of Cooper's other output.

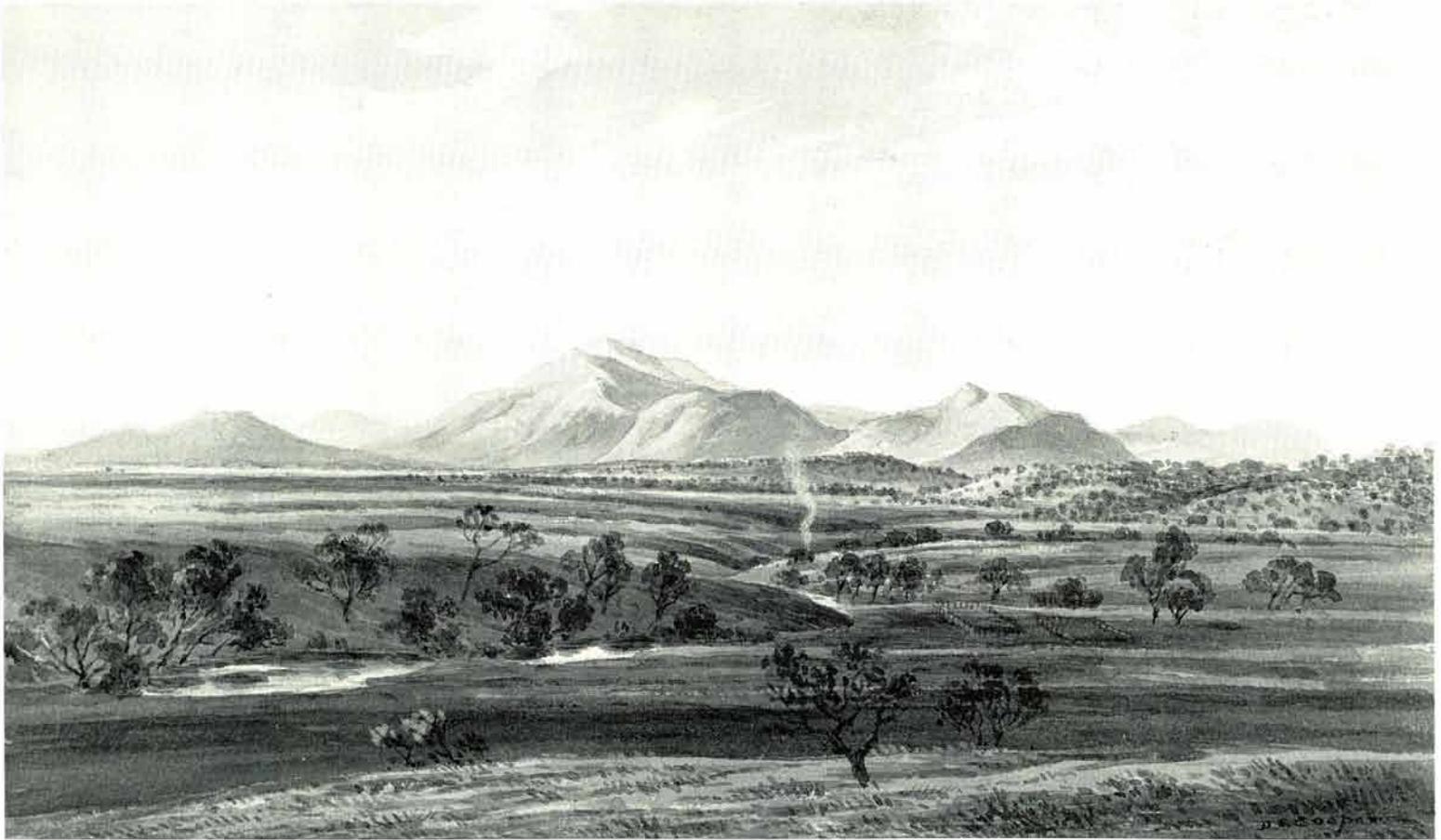
Specifically, through his codicil, Cooper gave to his widowed niece Jane Sarah Browne (born a Sheffield?) 'my miniature of my mother' (not located), 'a portfolio of drawings numbered 267, and my portfolio stand'. To his nephew Colonel Cooper he left, besides a box of books No.221, 'a collection of drawings now at 31 Talbot Road, No.269'. To his cousin Winchester Munn, of Laverstoke, Hampshire, he left 'my portfolio containing a collection of views in Australia numbered 285', and also (or to Munn's son Philip) 'my portrait of our Uncle Lewis Munn No.101', which should be destroyed if not accepted. Since F.H. Puckle, from 28 July 1854, was second in succession to Foster Fyans as Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Portland Bay district, and as his son, afterwards Dr Selwyn H. Puckle, of Church Stoke, Montgomery, Wales, was a Geelong Grammar School prefect, 1876-7, and contributed

a notable 'die biting' (a determination to do or die) leader to the school magazine in 1878, when the Challicum Thomson boys both became pupils of John Bracebridge Wilson,⁵¹ it is interesting to find that Cooper, by his codicil, also gave 'to Miss Hale Puckle, daughter of Frederic Hale Puckle Esquire, of No.5 Dapdune Crescent, Guildford, Surrey, my sketchbook containing Australian Views, No.287'.

The January instruction was amended by Cooper's request that his executors would sell 'all the pictures & drawings now at the Baker St Bazaar Stores excepting the portrait of my uncle Munn, No.101', and by the gift to Samuel Cooper, Duncan's brother, of 'all the framed pictures & drawings not otherwise disposed of now at my apartments at No.31 Talbot Road, Westbourne Park, London, and . . . such of my unframed drawings at 31 Talbot Road as he may select'. There was also the definite instruction, 'I give to the trustees of the British Museum, London, my book of Sketches by John Glover'.⁵² Years earlier, Cooper had sent outstanding art books as gifts to what has become the State Library of Victoria.⁵³ Whatever wealth had been his, at the age of ninety he was not a rich man: gross estate £5484 1s 8d, net personally £5372 16s 10d.

For apparently half a century, Cooper had been far removed from Challicum and the Australian Pyrenees. Yet he possessed their essence. From the first day at Challicum, when all was strange and the arena untried, he had caught his new world in pictures. When the gold discoveries muddied the pastoral pool, he retained typical reflections in watercolours of professional quality. They make, in *The Challicum Sketch Book*, a chronology which proceeds from tent to house, a synopsis of settlement which circles the horizon.

Professional quality? Yes, within limits: in the representation of landscapes, vegetation, buildings, and the generality of station life; but not in detailed portraiture. One might expect a painting of the sheepwash so largely responsible for the ranking of



Mount Lanjireen, Pyrenees & Gorinne NK10163/10 abn83-75505 Sepia wash drawing 15.4 x 25.8cm

Challicum wool with the best Australian, had it not been swept away by the record floods of May 1852. But there is no picture of shearing; no sketch of foot-rotters at work, or of wheelwright action. Cooper's horses are credible at the distance he gave them; so are his cattle and sheep, and some of his humans. But collectively his creatures are best seen 'down at the far end of an avenue' – which in *The Challicum Sketch Book* is always attractive.

Naturally Cooper's talent varied in its effect according to his mood and circumstances. His 'Leigh House, Port Philip', for instance, a sepia wash drawing probably done for friends, lacks the quality of his 'Burying-Ground near the Leigh', executed in the same medium, in the same year (1850), if not on the same day.⁵⁴ His best monotones are both attractive and interesting; but most are excelled by his watercolours.

The thirty-four pictures in Cooper's personal Challicum album are all examples of these. When discussing photographs of them in March 1960, before they were acquired by the National Library, Dr Bernard Smith, emeritus professor of contemporary art, Sydney University, and president of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (1977-80), who was then senior lecturer in fine arts at Melbourne University, suggested that they were painted as a set, around 1853, to make a visual memoir, probably with the aid of earlier drawings. 'The paintings', he wrote, 'are the work of an amateur of some accomplishment. The style is pleasant, and things have been well observed . . . I do not know of any album of the period 1835-51 which shows the stages of hut and cottage construction on a pastoral property quite as well Some of the paintings possess considerable artistic charm, and I find the one illustrating the grave of Titus William Aspinall, aged three, quite irresistible.'⁵⁵

Endnotes

- 1 1 *HRA* xviii, 154.
- 2 1 *HRA* xvii, 271, 468-70; xviii, 356-7, 379ff.
- 3 *LVP*, 180; *CCP* ii, 246, 283, 452.
- 4 1 *HRA* xviii, 538-9.
- 5 1 *HRA* xx, 90; Kerr, 1841, 14-25.
- 6 Kerr, 1841, 107, 161; Boys, 113.
- 7 1 *HRA* xx, 844.
- 8 1 *HRA* xxi, 130.
- 9 Gravesend parish registers (Rev. R.C.L. Pilgrim); prerogative court of Canterbury, will 1798/163; India Office Library, London, Bengal N/1/5/131; *East India Register and Directory*; *BLG* – Campbell of Inverneil; correspondence with Hampshire, Norfolk, and Kent Record Offices. Hodson, p. 381 of Part 1 (1927), stated that Major General George Cooper's first wife, named Jane, 'died 20 Feb. 1823, aged 43'. Hodson's source was probably *E.I. Register* 1825, p. 512 (Colonel P.S. Newton, Ogilby Trust, Aldershot). The baptismal dates of Jane Munn, Mrs George Cooper (19 Dec. 1778), and her niece Jane Cooper Munn (1 May 1822, after her birth in England on 17 March) suggest that the senior died in 1822, in India.
- 10 *DNB*.
- 11 *PRO* Vic., *Shipping Lists of Immigrants* i, 158.
- 12 Port Phillip (Melbourne) press – *Gazette, Herald, Patriot*.
- 13 *CCP* iii, 119.
- 14 Thomson family bible and genealogies (Mrs H.C. Bowden).
- 15 *GGSQ*, Ap 1881, 21.
- 16 *Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, London, 18 June to 16 July 1842.
- 17 *BCG* i, 152. With W.B. Hamilton and the two elder Donalds, the Baillies emigrated in the barque *Sovereign* from Greenock to Hobart Town, 17 August to 5 December 1838. – *HTC*, 7 Dec 1838.
- 18 *Report of an Expedition to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Western Interior . . . 1841*. MS. original copy, 219-20; A.S. Kenyon transcript, *VHM*, March 1928, 165.
- 19 *ADB* 5 – Macredie; Robinson, *Report*, op. cit. MS., 215-16; *VHM*, March 1928, 164.
- 20 Robinson, op.cit. MS., 213.
- 21 See Commentary 2: Pivotal prospects.
- 22 *CCP* iii, 243. Hoddle to Russell and others, 23 Sep. 1842.
- 23 *Report of an Expedition to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Western Interior . . . 1841*. MS. original copy, 213, ? Aug. Compare this official account, abridged by A.S. Kenyon in *VHM* No.47 (1928), with Robinson's parallel private journal, edited in two parts by Gary Presland, and published as Nos. 6 and 11, *Records of the Victorian Archaeological Survey*, 1977 and 1980.
- 24 *GGSQ*, Ap 1881, 21, 'Langi-Gerin'; Robinson 'Lar-ne-jeering' (1841); Cooper 'Lanjirin'; tradition 'Langi Gerren'; Crown plan L791 (1865) 'Lar-ne-gerin'; Brough Smyth (1878) 'Lang-i-gherin'; J.L. Cuthbertson (1880) and ordnance survey 'Langi Ghiran'.
- 25 *LVP*, 237.
- 26 Letter, Marine Board of Hobart, 22 March 1949.
- 27 *CCP* ii, 211.
- 28 *ADB* 3 (1969).
- 29 *LVP*, 223-4.
- 30 *Ibid*; 231-2.
- 31 *Ibid*; 224.
- 32 Information from Mr Godfrey Cornwall, Croxley Green, Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire.
- 33 Brough Smyth ii, 12-13, 69, 71, 158, 213.
- 34 Letter and document lent by the late J.E.B. White and Mr Kininmonth respectively.
- 35 G.H. Wathen, *The Golden Colony, or Victoria in 1854* (*Bib. Aust.* vii, No. 18214).
- 36 *CCP* v, 77-9, 272.
- 37 *Ham*, Dec. 1851, 340 (plate), 344-5.
- 38 *CCP* v, 80. See also iii, 382, and iv, 258, for probable Cooper sketches; *Narrative of George Russell*, 1935, 254, 352, for signed ones.
- 39 *PPGG*, 1849, No.8, supp., 23 Feb, 155. See also Commentary 2, par 4, for Mawallock & Alex. Russell.
- 40 Macdonald & Garrard, *Book of Reference to Map of the Town and District of Geelong*, Heath and Cordell, Geelong, 1854, 40, 56.
- 41 Archives, Geelong Hospital (Dr W.R. Lang). Strachan was one of two treasurers.

- 42 CCP v, 584; vi, 16.
- 43 GA, 15 Oct 1977, p. 47; agents' brochure.
- 44 Passenger lists, PRO Vic; SMH 21 Sep 1854.
- 45 CCP vi, 337, 371-2.
- 46 VGG 1862, 850.
- 47 CCP v, 68.
- 48 W. Lewis to George Russell, 12 Feb 63 (MS).
- 49 CCP vii, 52, 62, 195, 524. Cooper's 'Dennistoun, residence of William Russell, Esq., Bothwell, Tasmania' (George Russell's eldest brother), described as 'sepia wash drawing, 140 x 230 mm, signed and dated 1851; in old maple frame', realised \$220 as lot 640 in the Launceston sale of the Craig Collection, Oct 1975.
- 50 D.E. Cooper: copies of will, codicil, administration certificate, entry of death (procured 13 Ap /15 Dec 1976).
- 51 ADB 6 (1976).
- 52 ADB 1 (1966); Dept. of Prints &c., British Museum, to Sarah M. Brown, 4 March 1982 (PD/PG/37387): 'The sketchbook of drawings by John Glover is in this department (Ref. Case 102* No 29. 1905-1-13-1 . . . 44). It contains numerous pen and grey wash drawings of views in the Lake District of Cumberland, some of which are highly finished. There is also the original letter from Duncan Cooper describing his purchase of the sketchbook, . . . in Tasmania from the executors of the Artist a few "months after his decease in 1850".'
- 53 Examples were named in the catalogue of the State Library's exhibition to mark the 125th anniversary of its opening as the Melbourne Public Library on 11 Feb 1856.
- 54 *The Narrative of George Russell*, 1935, 254, 352.
- 55 Letter to the National Librarian, Canberra, 14 March 1960.

THE PLATES

In the following section, titles of pictures are taken from Cooper's handwritten titles on the mount or on the reverse of the originals. Cooper's not always consistent spellings have been followed as carefully as possible, but liberties have been taken with capitals and with punctuation marks, which are sometimes ambiguous. Attributed titles not derived from his own writing are reproduced in square brackets.

The 'R' and 'T' numbers following the titles of pictures are National Library of Australia accession numbers under which pictures have been catalogued on the Australian Bibliographic Network database.

Plate

1

FIRST SETTLEMENT AT CHALLICUM, JAN[UAR]Y 1, 1842

R299 abn 83-071274

Watercolour 11.3 x 19.2 cm The Challicum Sketch Book no. 1

When were they first called woolpacks, those majestic vaporous ships which float, day after summer's day, above Victoria? In 1841 the association of slow-sailing sunlit clouds with the annual shearing of fleeces cast on to slatted tables, swiftly skirted, then piled into bins, and baled, had scarcely developed. The grey nimbus of doubtful weather more closely resembled the fibres which often passed for wool among intending squatters. Each one of that mixed crowd faced a future governed by personal variations. But all who took up Crown land began as campers.

On New Year's Day, 1842, Thomsons & Cooper, as prospective buyers, were camped beside a ridge half a mile north of the site of the present Challicum homestead. This ridge, judging from contract surveyor Crawford Mollison's contemporary map,¹ was very near the site of the southernmost of four A. & C. Campbell outstations based on their Mount Cole homestead on the Fiery Creek. Cooper & Thomsons' tent was at the edge of the timbered, unploughable bluestone outcrop afterwards called Ford's paddock. The shelter here depicted resembled the flimsiest in first-year Melbourne – tarpaulins slung across spars supported by forked stakes.

¹ Map of the Prakninjerrin Creek, No.2; Dept. of Lands, Melbourne (Mr Robert Spreadborough)



Plate 1

Plate

2

on mount No. 1 FIRST STATION, CHALLICUM, 1842:
EARLY SUMMER DAY — DECEMBER & JANUARY
on frame No.1 CHALLICUM. FIRST STATION AND HUTS.
JANUARY 1842. EARLY SUMMER

R9050 abn83-075467 Watercolour 18.6 x 28.1 cm

At some stage Harry Thomson acquired four watercolours by Duncan Cooper which slot into *The Challicum Sketch Book* as though intended for it. Through the kindness of Thomson's grand-daughter the late Dr Alice Marion Kaye (Mrs H.C. Bowden), they are now reproduced with it.

There is an obvious lack in the album's introductory views. The first shows a mere camp; the second, only a hut. But fit Harry Thomson's first picture, which like his others is numbered and dated, between them. The camp then becomes the base from which Thomsons & Cooper inspected the flock being held for them on the creekside flat. Cooper, the sheep, and their shepherd all seem to confirm surveyor Mollison's midsummer note of a few weeks later: 'The creek running in holes, the water of which is quite fresh.' Mount Langi Ghiran, beyond the south-western segment of the Challicum (in this slant often called Conical) Hills, is north-north-west of the present Challicum homestead.

Mrs Bowden bequeathed these four pictures to the National Library. In 1976, when she revealed them at Mudgee, New South Wales, their titles were transcribed from their respective frame-backs. But in Canberra, after her death, other titles, all written and signed by Cooper, were found behind the frames, on the mounts. Not knowing whose hand wrote the frame-back titles, one can only suggest that Thomson amended Cooper's to fit his own recollections. So both sets are reproduced.

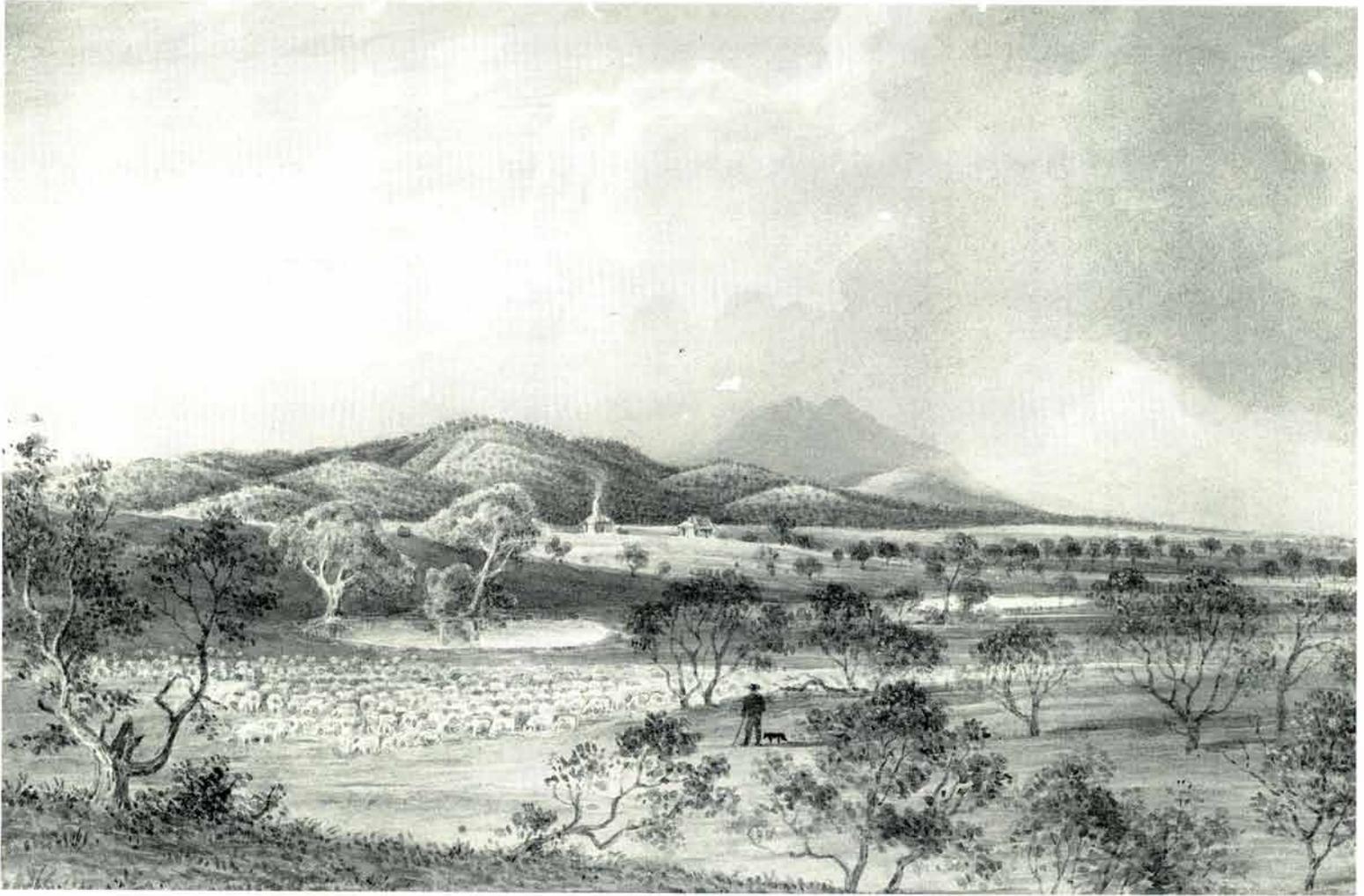


Plate 2

Plate

3

FIRST HUT AT CHALLICUM, 1842

R300 ABN83-071285

WATERCOLOUR 7.4 X 11.5 CM

THE CHALLICUM SKETCH BOOK NO. 2

The prospective pastoral tenant's requirements were enough water and ground, with stock to support the claim to them; then semi-permanent shelter, tangible occupation in the form of a hut or huts. Where suitable timber grew, as in the Pyrenees district, walls were commonly made of split slabs slid vertically at top and bottom into or between grooved or paired plates secured to squared or undressed posts. Where splittable timber was scarce, the horizontal 'drop log' style prevailed. Roofs were usually of bark, supported by sapling rafters, weighted by solid logs under saddle-poles which formed a grid on large buildings, the whole being anchored chiefly by greenhide ropes, iron spikes, and wooden pegs, unless, as possibly at Challicum, up-to-date knowledge, backed by capital, introduced pliable wire, already used in England.¹ Whatever its composition, perhaps of turf with a reed or tussock thatch, the primitive hut had an open fireplace with a protruding chimney, both preferably built of stone or its equivalent, and each, if wooden, needing constant internal plastering.

The roof-peak in this second picture of Cooper's album focuses on the bald rocks conspicuously central in the range between Mount Langi Ghiran and Mount Cole, north of the Western Highway behind the Challicum Hills. Can the hut be accepted as

¹ *Civil Engineers & Architects' Journal*, 1840 (Mr P.F.B. Alsop). Squatting rules and related bush construction were described by Alfred Joyce, one of Cooper's contemporaries, in memoirs forming part of *A Homestead History* (G.F. James, ed.), Melbourne University Press, 1942.

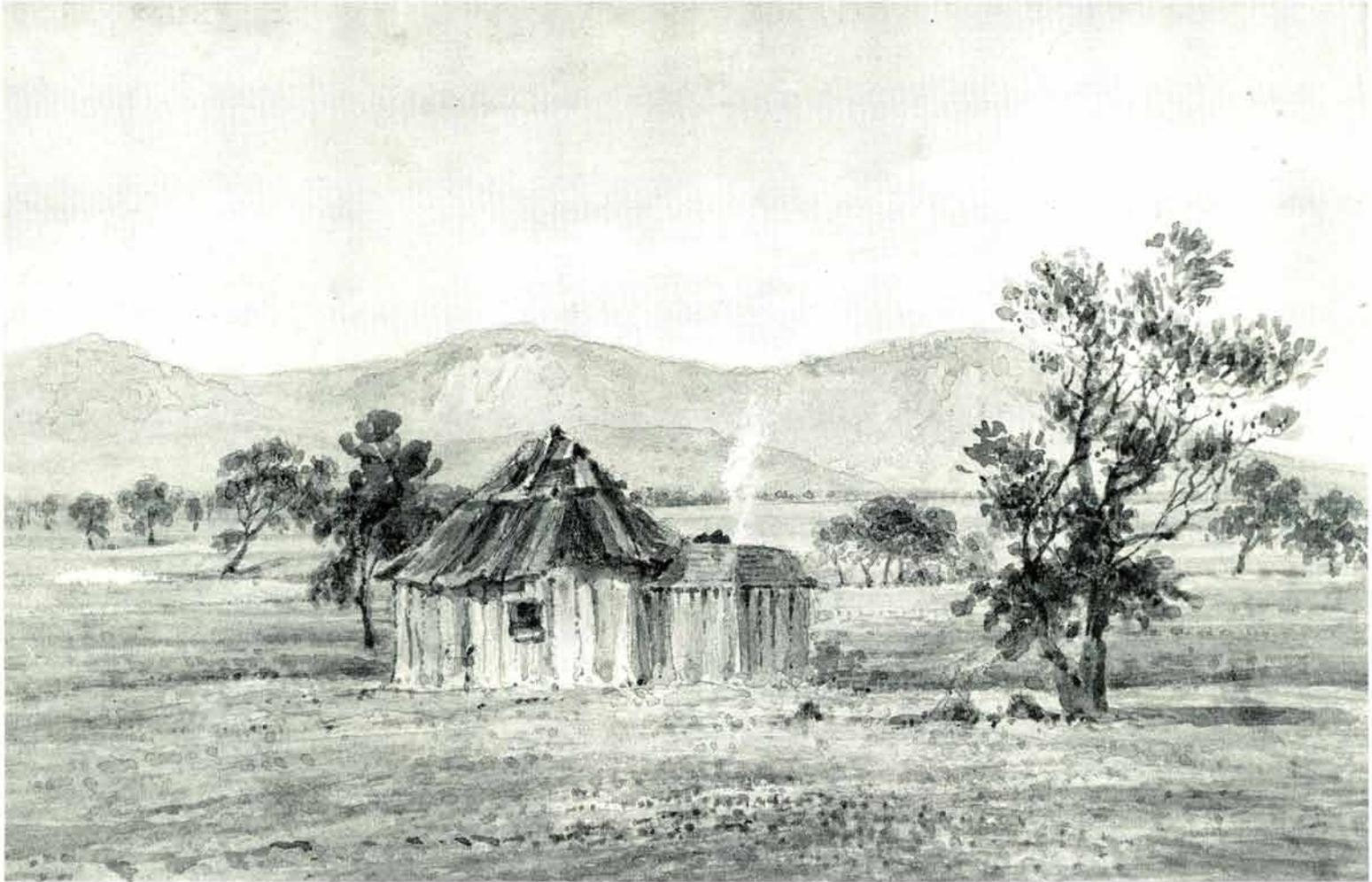


Plate 3

an on-the-spot representation of the first local European-style building? The first two of the four Challicum views which became Harry Thomson's suggest that it may be a product of memory's brush, a stop-gap necessitated by Cooper's generosity.

Plate

4

on mount No. 2 FIRST STATION & HUTS, MOUNT COLE & THE PYRENNEES
IN THE DISTANCE: SPRING, OCTOBER 1842
on frame No. 2 CHALLICUM. FIRST STATION AND HUT, OCTOBER 1842.
SPRING

R9051 abn83-075474 Watercolour 14.3 x 24.8 cm

Acept the previous plate as representing one of the huts shown in the background of H.P. Thomson's first Cooper. This plate makes that background its foreground, and, whether or not from the approximate site of the established Challicum homestead (the point is hard to determine), it gives a complementary view towards the north-east and Mount Cole, past the omnipresent Challicum Hills.

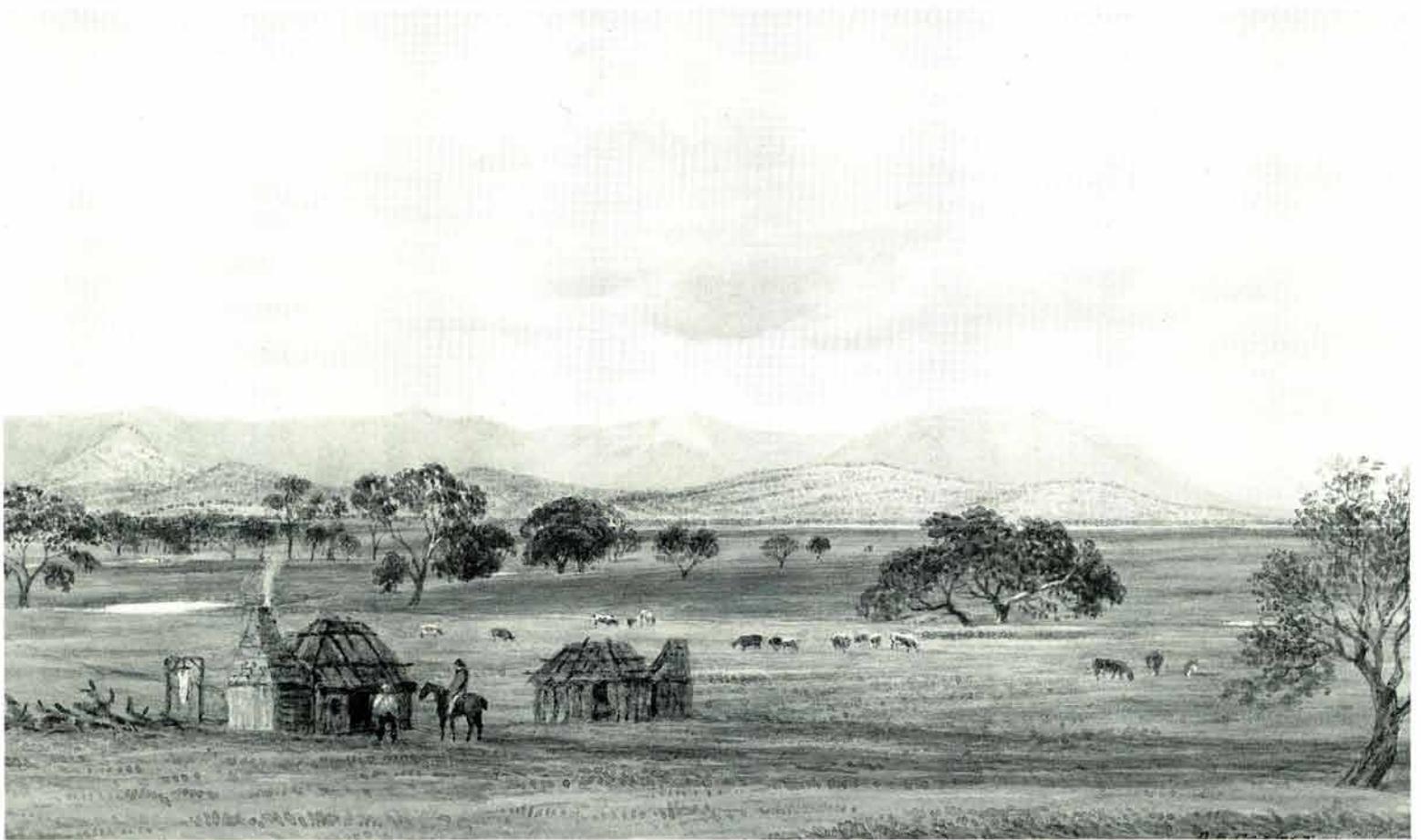


Plate 4

Plate

5

SECOND HUT, CHALLICUM, 1843

R301 ABN83-071293

WATERCOLOUR 11.5 x 17.9 CM

THE CHALLICUM SKETCH BOOK NO. 3

Captain Foster Fyans, ex-military Commissioner of Crown Lands for the vast Portland Bay district, described three classes of squatters – gentlemen, 'shop-boys', and former shepherds. Although many of the last became wealthy, in his opinion the group as a whole made bad masters. As for the second, 'A plain man can barely approach them . . . For seasons a hut would be just the same – on one side of the door you will see an aged tobacco plant; there is no garden – no vegetables, but bones, rotten sheep skins, and filth in plenty. Inside the door there was often a large hole in the mud floor worn by the heels of persons going in, and, if not aware of this, ten to one that you had a chance of upsetting the table, tin dishes, and greasy mutton chops.'¹

Like George Russell of Golfill, who found it necessary to replace his bell-tent and dray headquarters by men's hut, store, manager's hut and then woolshed, as soon as possible, Thomsons & Cooper quickly expanded their homestead. Cooper's third album picture, 'Second hut, Chalicum, 1843', shows three buildings, each with fireplace and chimney. Two are no more than huts, but one might be called a cottage by virtue of its veranda, glazed windows, and shingled roof. The protective palisade is probably constructed on the slat-fence principle, the palings bridging two pairs of strained interlaced wires. Without assurance of freehold, the expense of such development may have seemed foolish. But this building and its palisade stood for optimistic self-reliance.

¹ LVP, 120.



Plate 5

Plate

6

SHEEP STATION ON THE PLAINS, CHALLICUM, 1843

R326 abn83-072967

Watercolour 11.3 x 18 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 27

Marked trees or at best plough furrows defined the early runs; so sheep, to be fed and protected, needed controlled dispersion. The essential financial base was created by stock-deployment designed to discourage rivals by convincing the local commissioner that the ground claimed was held. The solution was the out-station manned by a watchman-hutkeeper and either one or two shepherds. Cooper's paired paintings of 1843, 'Sheep station on the plains' and 'Sheep station in the forest' (Plate 7) – the first apparently by the Fiery Creek, some one and a half miles south of Challicum homestead, the second about the same distance north, towards the Mount Cole range – show the chief features: on the plains, a shepherd, his dog and flock; in the forest, a watchman on domestic duty. Both pictures present the folds of heavy self-standing hurdles, often lashed together, which had to be moved to clean ground every few days. The plains view contains the watch-box used as a bed beside the yards at night, in order to counter dingoes and other marauders. Beside its hut are the gallows for flaying and cleaning sheep – a sign of the passing of the salt junk era.

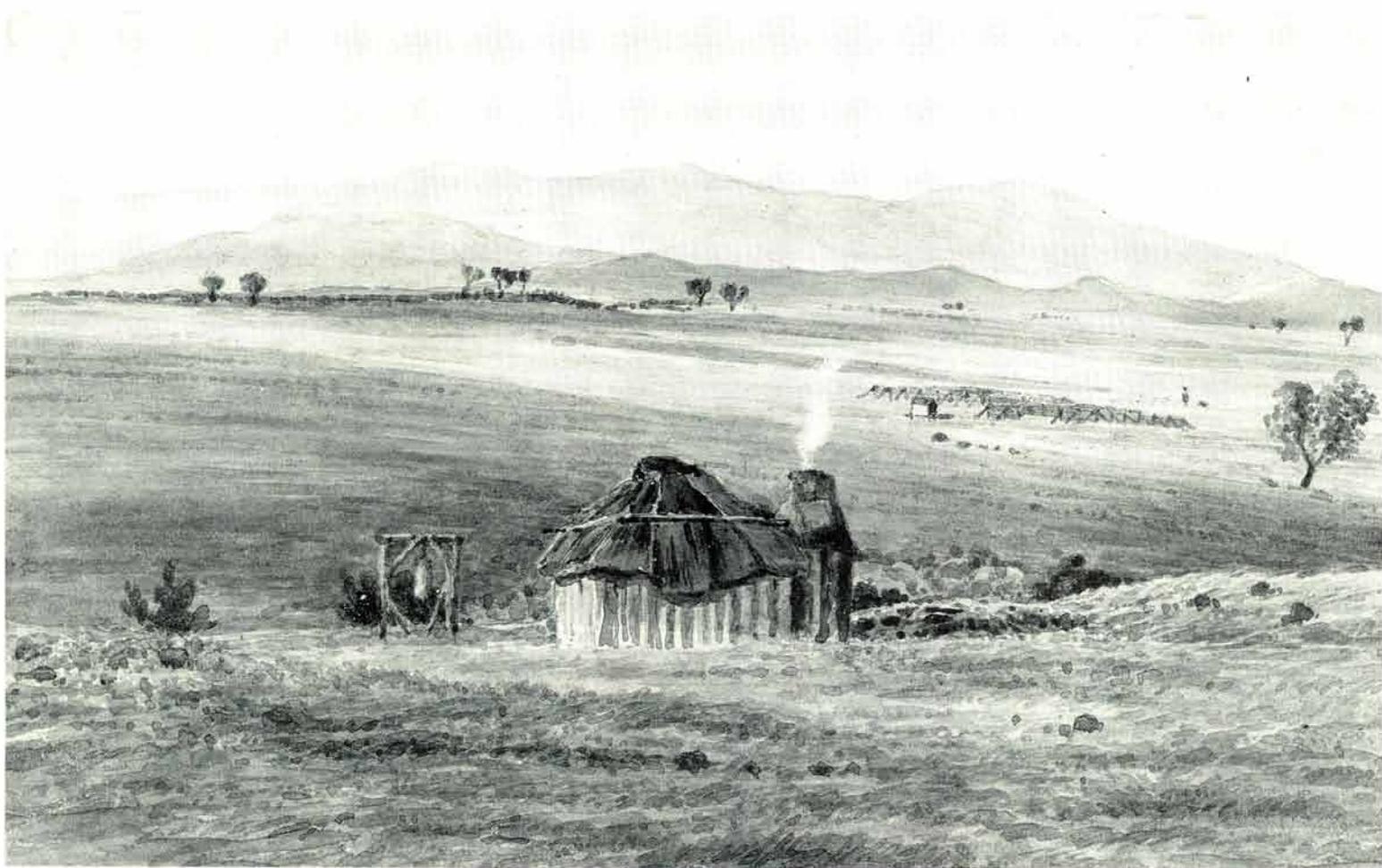


Plate 6

SHEEP STATION IN THE FOREST, CHALLICUM, 1843

R327 abn83-075404

Watercolour 17.2 x 24.8 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 28

The forest hut was probably built beside the Billy Billy, locally 'Challicum', creek. The cloaking red gums (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) formed a screen, probably adding to the introspection of the day-long-lonely watchman-keeper who, according to his temperament and mood, also served as waterboy, woodcutter, cook, rouseabout, and sometimes butcher.

Eliza Kirk, daughter of Rupert Kirk, textile dyer of Sydney, who became Mrs William Rutledge, and died at Farnham Park, Warrnambool, Victoria, 31 August 1888, owned a soft-leather-bound quarto with 'Album' in gold leaf on its brown cover, and spine and edgings to match. Inscribed 'Eliza Rutledge, Port Fairy' on its first page, it contains on its middle pages, in a good clear hand, unlike the diagonal 'Ladies of England' style on an earlier page, and possibly that of a writer careful to transcribe errors, the following composition, reproduced here by leave of one of Mrs Rutledge's great grandsons, Mr David W. Hamilton, Geelong. Even if clever pastiche rather than the work of a semi-literate watchman, the sentiments expressed are no doubt close to the mark.

THE WATCHMAN'S LAMENT

*These Shepherds want a cook that's French,
And on my wages want to trench
And since the day I left St Lukes
I ne'er saw two such stupid brutes;*



Plate 7

*They always grumble at the bread,
As soon as in the hut they tread.
They will not spend one farthing cash,
And always want an Irish hash,
They say that I must purchase extra's
Tea, pickles, mustard & wax vesta's
They say that I must wash their linen
Tis really not a bad beginning,
And tell me not to go to sleep
But carefully to watch they sheep,
And if I've not a good big fire,
It raises up their stupid ire,
Besides two buckets full of water
If not they say that they will slaughter
Both my Dogs and that's no joke
So off I march as quick as smoke
And in, I went to see the master
Who said 'Go back the hut to plaister,
Or no wages will I pay'
If that wont suit then walk away,
And the traps will bring you back,
Put you in limbo in a crack
You'd get three months you may be sure,
Your stupidity I know t'will cure,
If this is not Australian game,
The Australian Watchman's not my name.*

Plate

8

[PANORAMA AT CHALLICUM]

T36 Nk10163/22 abn83-075969
Sepia wash drawing 11.5 x 17.8 cm

The sepia wash drawing called 'Panorama at Challicum' scarcely requires a date. For many years the scene it depicts was typical: an occupied but relatively empty land of pleasant plains and lightly timbered hills, marked but not spoilt by white invaders' tracks, schooled to production by their uncrowded livestock. Cattle browse near the creek. If young Joe Mack, from 1851 of Berrybank, further south, had passed the shepherded sheep during his prime, he could – according to legend – have counted them at a glance, since circling eagles seemed no more observant.

*Oh, spare the native names! 'Twere hard indeed
Were "Tinpot Gully" handed down to fame
As record of an old Australian name.
Does "Murderer's Flat" imagination feed
With aught of noble? Nay, we rather love
Words that possess the murmur musical
Of distant streams that through the forest fall,
Or sound of branches rustling high above:
Best Langi-Ghiran for the Eagle's Land,
Marida-Yallock for the Pleasant Brook,
Corio, Yarra, sounds that well express,
In the strange language of a dusky band
Who caught their lesson from fair Nature's book,
The barbaric beauty of the wilderness.*

J.L. CUTHBERTSON, GGSQ Oct 1880

Possibly this picture, although not part of the *Sketch Book* itself, was the mental basis of D.E. Cooper's remarkable cyclorama of Challicum, nine *Sketch Book* paintings which fit together to give a complete 360-degree view of the station (Plate 41).

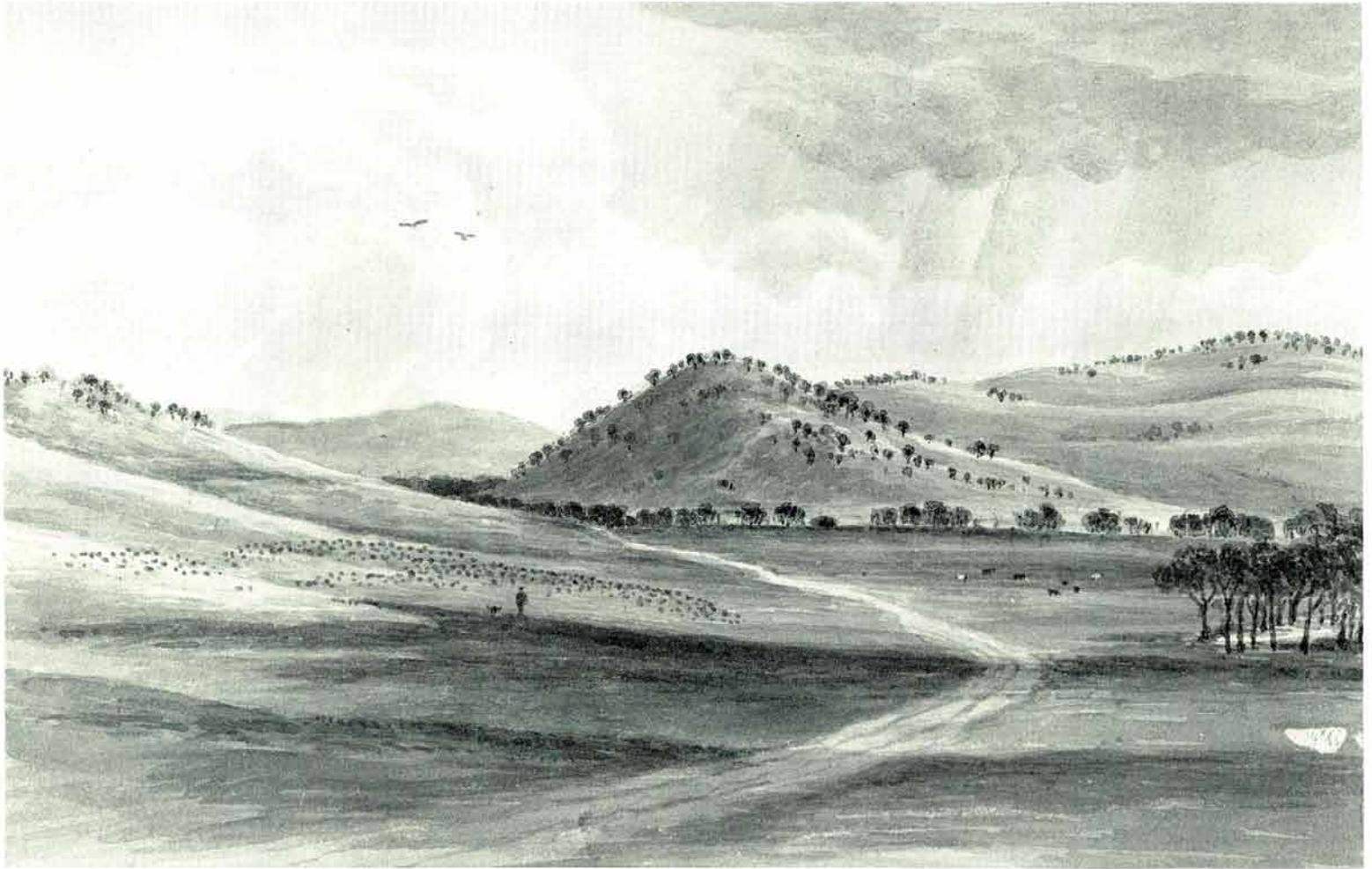


Plate 8

Plate

9

CHALLICUM, 1844

T16 NK10163/2 abn83-075537
Pen and ink drawing 5.2 x 12.4 cm

This drawing, 'Challicum, 1844', is a pen and ink intrusion, a sketch of the home station layout. When it is compared with Plate 5, the chimneys of the partners' cottage (still termed 'hut') and its detached kitchen suggest that Cooper's viewpoint was behind these buildings. The relative positions of woolshed, henhouse, stockyard, and calf pen (evidence of milk production) support this opinion; but if store and carpenter's shop represent Plate 5's left-hand building, as viewed from behind, they seem on the hut's wrong side. This difficulty hints at varying dates or delay in Cooper's completion of his Challicum record, and his partial reliance on memory. 'Turn over' yields nothing more from the original than the shadow-writing apparent in this reproduction.

Challicum, 1844.



Plate 9

Plate

10

[CHALLICUM, 1844]

T15 NK10163/1 abn83-075498

Watercolour 17.3 x 26.4 cm

A livelier scene, against the Mount Cole range, shows a horseman and dog in action – Harry Thomson himself, by evidence of the hunting pink which he is said to have worn until threadbare – retrieving a bolting bullock close to the homestead of 1844. Compare this picture with the pen and ink diagram (Plate 9). Excepting this watercolour's movable sheep-yards and watch-box, the same constructions are visible in both drawings, from stockyard to creek-side woolshed. Perhaps the left-hand building in the 1843 view (Plate 5) was a structure moved or dismantled before Cooper made his 1844 sketches. The mountainous contours of the picture's background may give an impression of constructed boundaries, but few if any then existed beyond home paddocks.

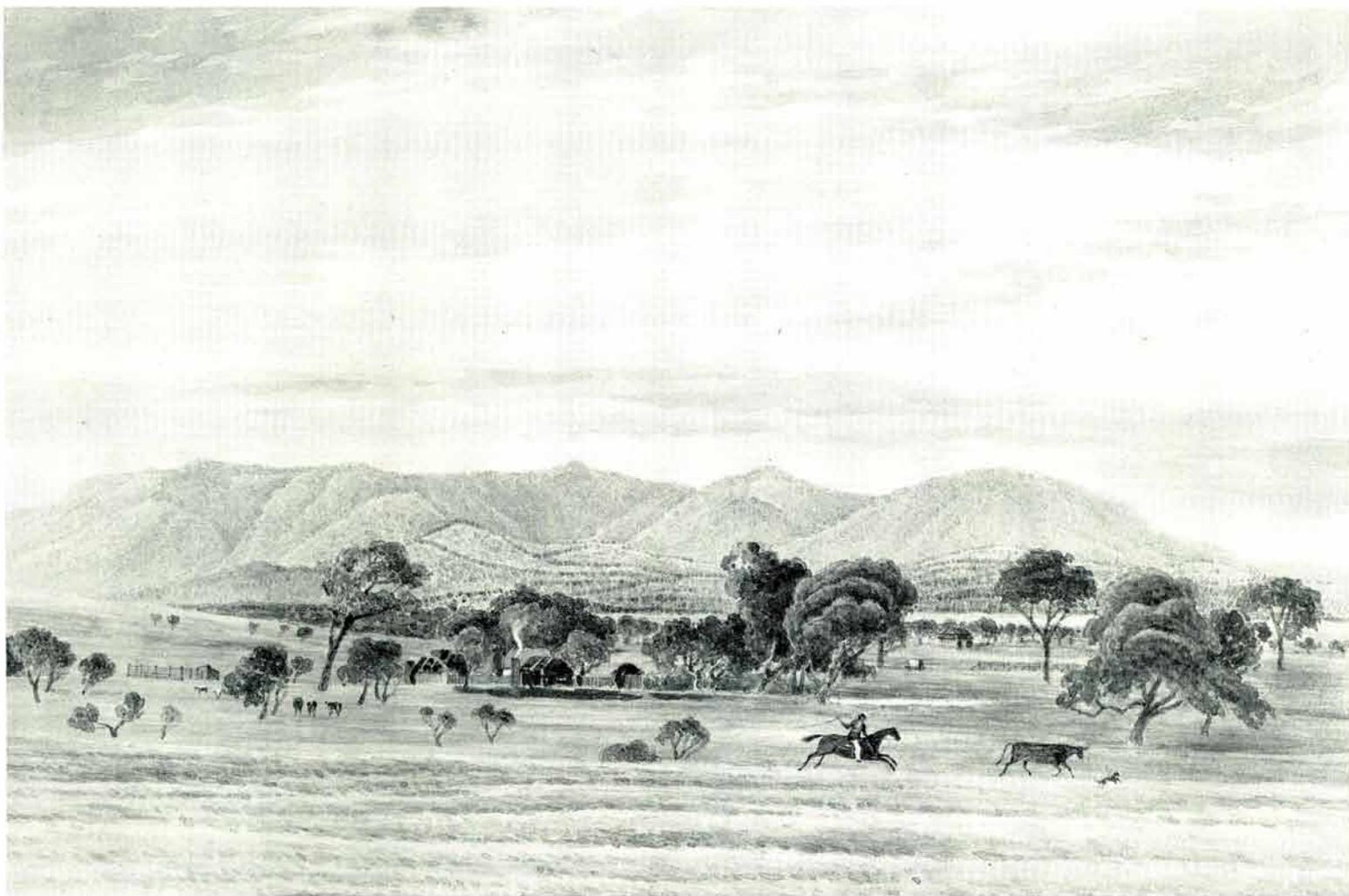


Plate 10

Plate

11

on mount NO. 3 CHALLICUM, 2[N]D HUT, 1845: SUMMER VIEW.
on frame NO. 3 CHALLICUM. SECOND HUT, 1844. AUTUMN, MAY

R9052 abn83-075482
Watercolour 14.5 x 24.8 cm

The third Cooper painting held by Harry Thomson's granddaughter, Mrs Bowden, complements the preceding plate, and could have been meant to match it in Cooper's final arrangement. It shows the same rider, in the same surroundings; but this time he rides north instead of more or less east, and at leisure rather than in haste. To the north-west, beyond the Challicum Hills or Green Hills across the creek, are the peaks of Mount Langi Ghiran.

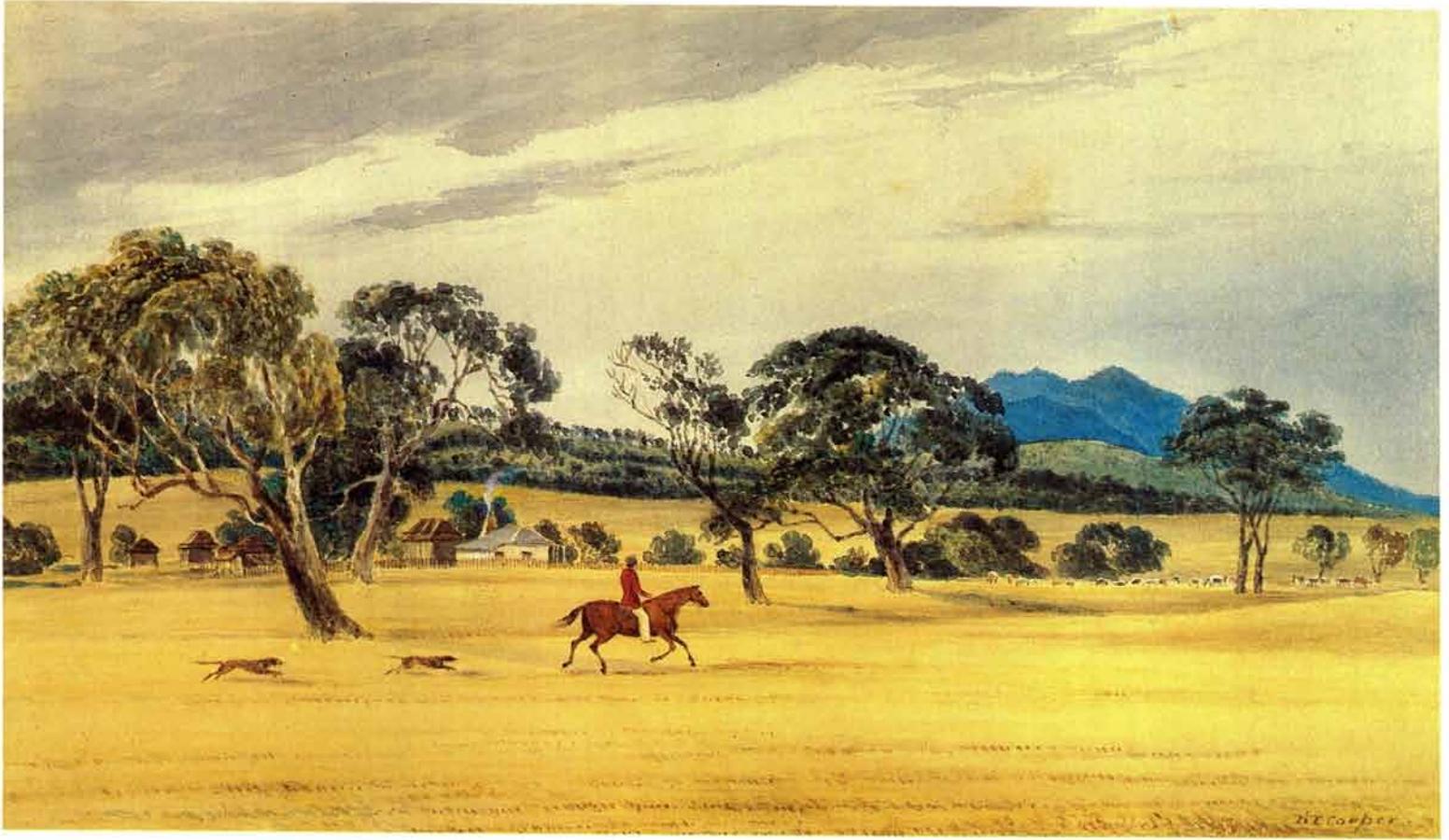


Plate 11

Plate

12

OLD WOOLSHED, CHALLICUM, 1844

R328 abn83-075409

Watercolour 16.3 x 24.3 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 29

The old woolshed, sketched near the approach to the home stead across the creek, was a slab hut writ large. Foster Fyans, as Commissioner of Crown Lands, noted the free use of bark for station roofs, and reported thus in July 1844: 'Having called the notice of His Excellency in all my former Itineraries, I beg leave again to state [that] the destruction of timber by barking to cover huts & sheds is so great that in a short time little of the valuable timber will be left. In most parts of the District it is scarce, & in many parts where there were fine forests there are few good trees left. One wool shed lately erected, no less than 500 trees have been barked and destroyed. In two years this must be done over again. Messrs Stevens & Thomson's station is near this forest. Mr Thomson informed me that he had now to send to a great distance for timber to make hurdles. Some check should be given to this destruction.'¹

The permanent yards look solidly made of split rails and mortised posts, but possibly could not cope with more than the small flock of sheep being pushed up to the shed. Inside, there was probably no flooring for them at first; no shearing 'board' other than disposable reeds or unsatisfactory bagging or tarpaulins; no separate pens. The bad light, British custom, and the portability of blades may have encouraged external shearing, or its concentration near the wide exit to the tally yard. At least, Thomsons & Cooper, no doubt aware of the problems of Stevens

¹ AONSW, X690,20.



Plate 12

& Thomson, could congratulate themselves on holding besides their plains some foothills country which, although rough and in comparison poor, provided timber fit for buildings and fences.

Plate

13

WOOLSHED, CHALLICUM, 1845

R317 abn83-072852

Watercolour 15 x 24.4 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 18

This is the 'old woolshed' of Plate 12 viewed from its south-eastern or opposite aspect with the sheep now being counted out after shearing. The structure was eventually demolished, because the flooding creek periodically floated the wool bales. How those bales were pressed is suggested by the levers with Spanish windlass operation which project from the transepts at the south end. Thanks to the late Mr J.O. Randell's research, the probable operation of this device can now be reconstructed (see Appendix). To the left of the woolshed are the Challicum (or 'Conical') Hills, and to the right Mount Langi Ghiran, known locally as Mount Mistake, possibly through G.A. Robinson's record of 13 and 26 July, 1841, that 'Lar-ne-jeer-ing' was 'the Mount Cole of Mitchell', and that 'it was from this eminence Sir Thomas Mitchell mistook Lake Corangamite for an inlet of the sea', the Aboriginal Cadong.¹

When Captain Fyans, as required by the Act of the New South Wales Legislative Council, 2 Victoria No.27, submitted his return of Cooper & Thomsons' run as at 1 January 1844, he summarised details as follows: Name, Charleycum; estimated extent, 15,000 acres (possibly 2 in cultivation); watered by creeks and springs; . . . stocked by 3 horses, 8 cattle aged more than six months, and 3,500 weaned sheep.²

The stock tax or 'assessment', at 3*d.* for each horse, and 1½*d.* and ½*d.* per head of cattle and sheep respectively, amounted to £7 7*s.* 7*d.*

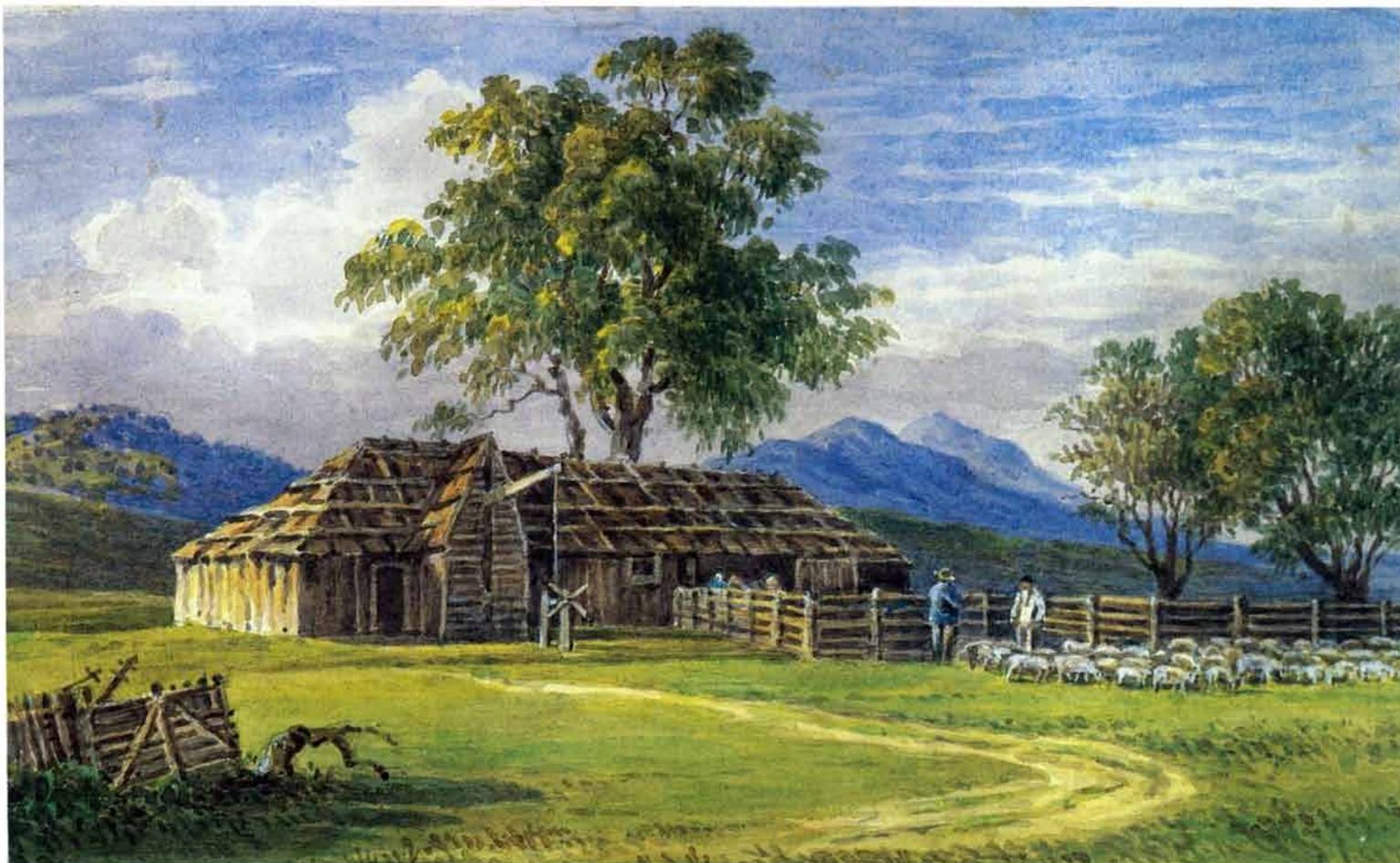


Plate 13

Challicum wool quickly reached a high standard. As early as 1851, George Russell, in London for the mid-year sales, reported that the Challicum fleeces were among 'the finest wools that I saw in the warehouse.'³

1 Robinson MS., 145, 172-3.

2 A0NSW, X690, 1-10.

3 CCP v, 68.

Plate

14

THIRD HUT, CHALLICUM 1845 (THE LAST)

R302 abn83-071301

Watercolour 14.8 x 21.7 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 4

The front view of the completed homestead as Cooper knew – or remembered – it, is presented in this watercolour. The stream coming from Buangor, here called Challicum Creek, curves moat-like around the site, from west to south. The log bridge shown by Cooper seems to have been replaced before 1908 by a railed one still in use around the lower bend; but the garden-guarding glacis of vertical planks or posts can still be traced. The front section of the house was built of pit-sawn redgum weatherboards, and had a shingled roof in Cooper's day. In 1868 the back part was replaced by a bluestone building which, to the casual visitor, seems from its modest proportions to have been the nucleus. During the 1960s, most of the original front was remodelled as a pleasant sitting-room, retaining its northern view, and furnished with bookshelves made from its pristine timber.

The back section of the original homestead (probably Cooper's 'second hut') is shown clearly in the side view (Plate 15) but, except for its chimney protruding to the right, is missing from this front perspective. The deficiency implies that Cooper had to paint this front view after finally leaving Challicum, because H.P. Thomson held the original picture, which, if part of the artist's finished *Sketch Book*, would have extended its range to 1854. This presumed original, the fourth Challicum watercolour inherited by Mrs Bowden, is reproduced in its title's chronological order as Plate 40.

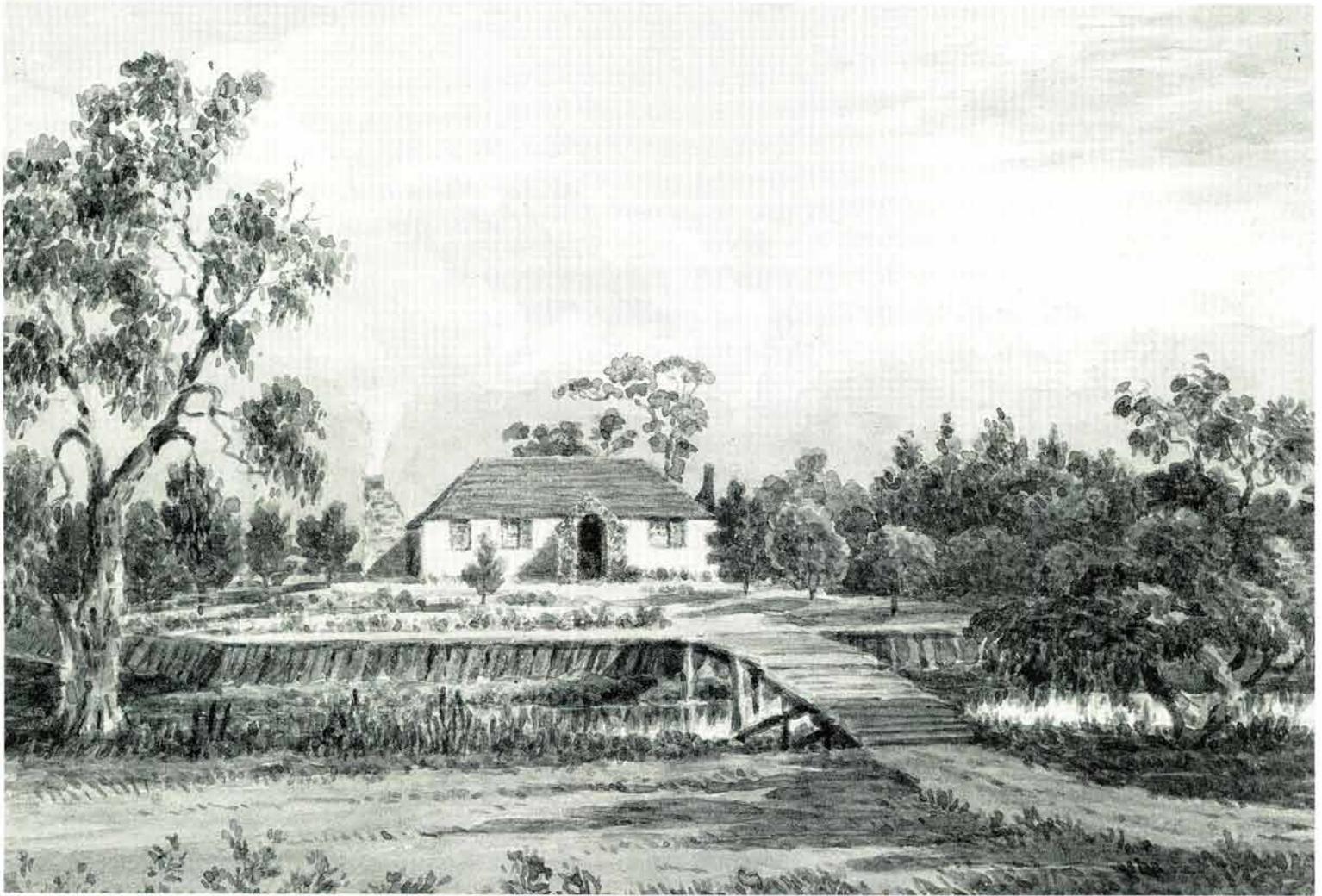


Plate 14

Plate

15

CHALLICUM 3[R]D HUT, SIDE VIEW, 1845

R303 abn83-071308

Watercolour 13.2 x 22.7 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no.4A

This view shows the relationship between the 'second hut' of 1844 and the third hut. In 1845, the front veranda of the second hut was evidently removed, and the timber 'third hut' added on. More trees (including some deciduous) have been planted around and to the side of the homestead, which is apparently enclosed by part of the palisade seen in Plate 5.

Cooper's continued use of the word 'hut' for these reasonably substantial dwellings suggests, perhaps, the perspective of the London clubman he subsequently became rather than that of the active squatter-artist.

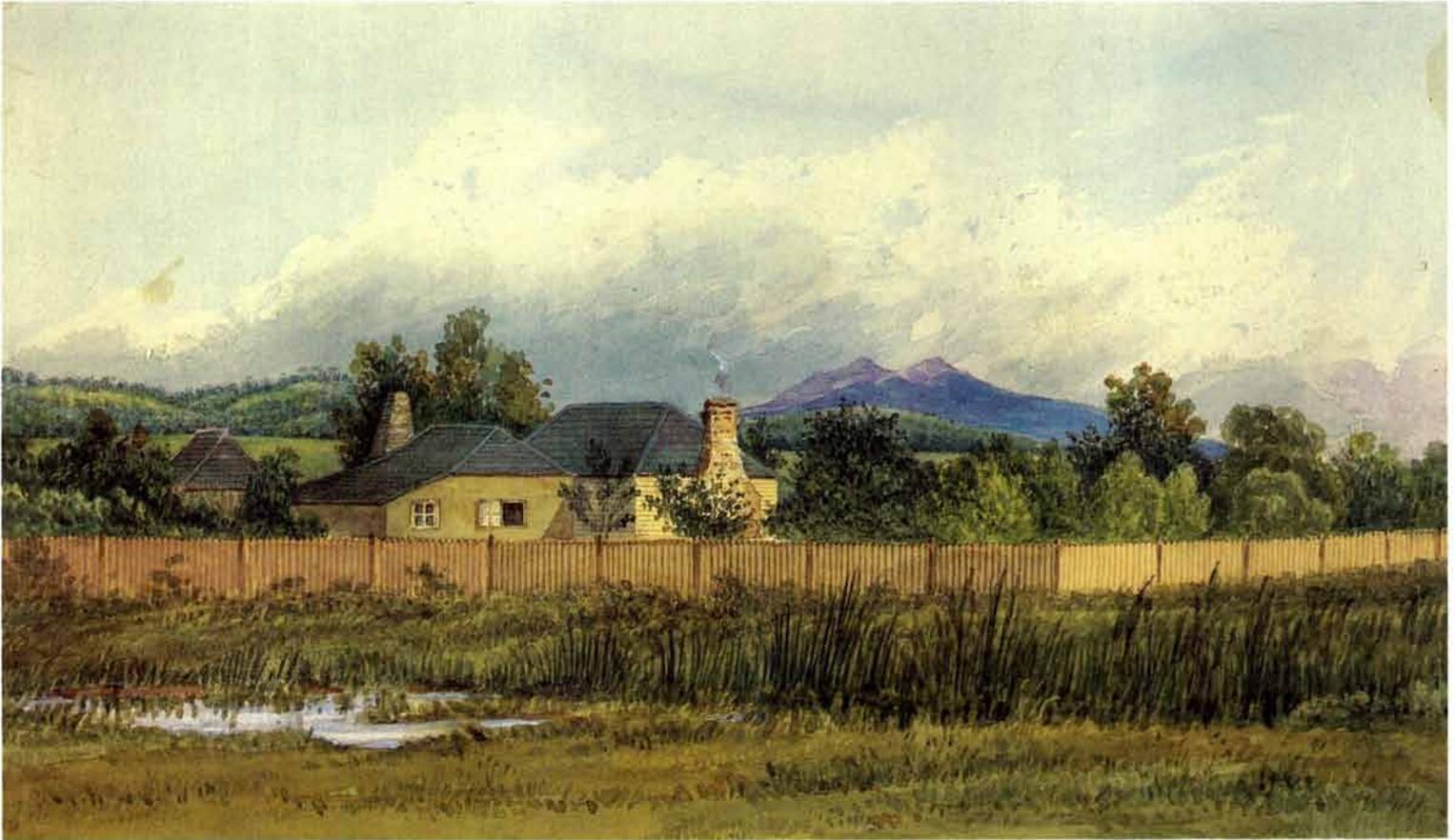


Plate 15

Plate

16

JONES' HILL & SHEEPYARDS, CHALLICUM

R307 abn83-071353

Watercolour 13.1 x 19.9 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 8

Plate

17

JONES' HILL & SHEEPYARDS, CHALLICUM

R331 abn83-075430

Watercolour 11.1 x 17.8 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no.32

Although local remembrance of him survives only in this place-name, it may be assumed that Jones was a long-serving station-hand, perhaps a combination of shepherd and hut-keeper, or a general duties man quartered at 'government house', whose operations when Cooper painted him were centred upon a near north-western rise, later called Look-out Hill from its high fire-spotters' tower, the poles of which, having rotted a generation ago, are now represented by planted bluegums.

One might conclude that Cooper, from close to the homestead, sketched the movable yards, the slope between him and them, the Challicum Hills to his right, and the range beyond, then went

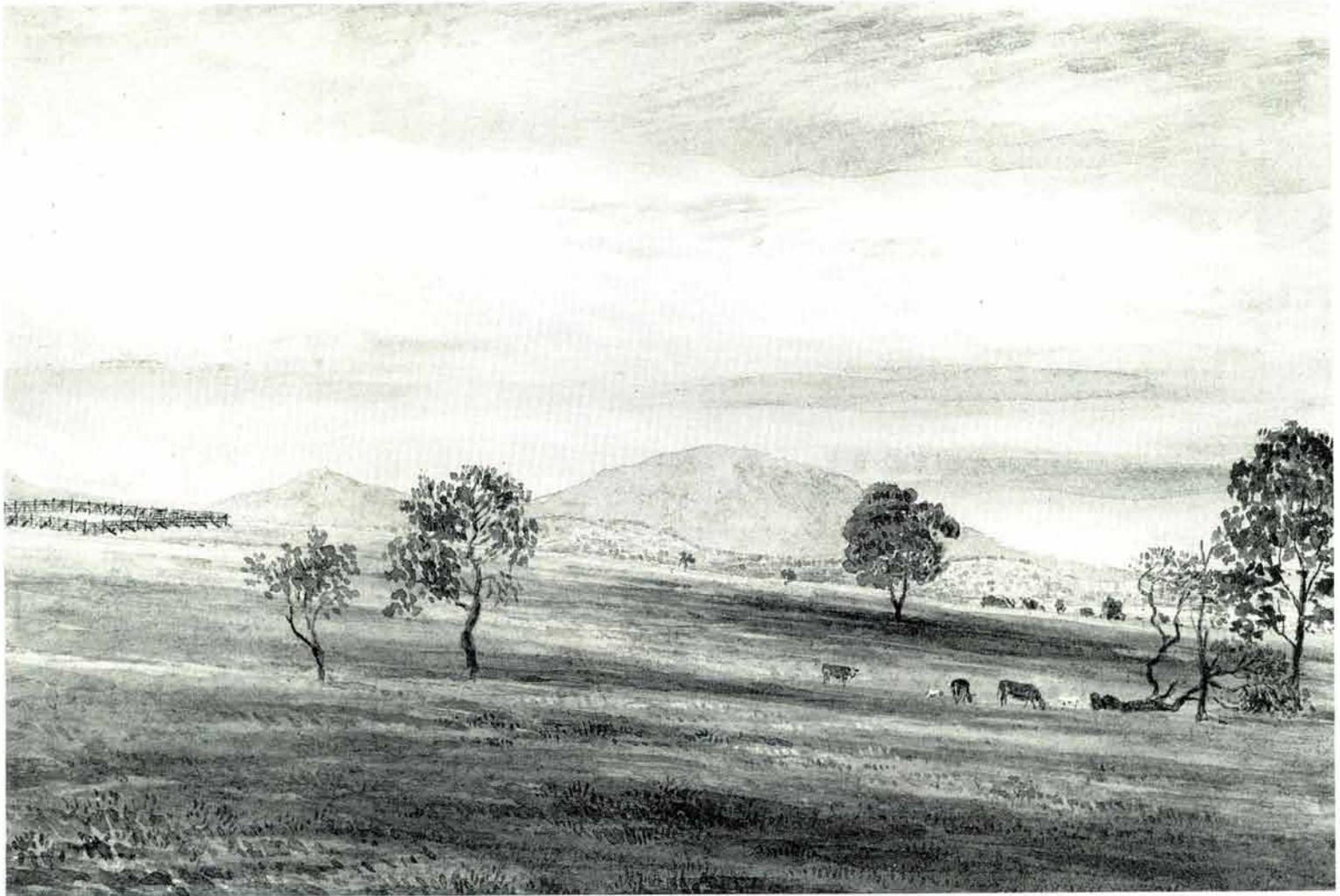


Plate 16

across to the yards and reversed his subject, bringing in Jones, the homestead, the south-easterly plains, Stockyard Hill, and possibly Mount Emu. But twenty-four other paintings between this pair in the original sketchbook deny such co-ordination. In any case, the first view's apparent main feature, Mount Cole in isolation behind the Challicum Hills, seems visible only from near the bluestone building (an intermediate men's hut and shearers' quarters) at the foot of the rise beyond the flat west of the homestead, whence most of the Mount Cole range, towards Ararat, is obscured by the northern horizon.



Plate 17

Plate

18

QUAIL SHOOTING, JONES' HILL, CHALLICUM

R325 abn83-072956
Watercolour 12.6 x 19.1 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.26

In his reminiscences, Captain Fyans mentioned more than once his use of a 'Forsaight', or of a 'Joe Manton'. He meant the type of shotgun resulting from the Rev. A.J. Forsyth's invention in 1807 of the percussion cap,¹ or that manufactured by Manton, who introduced the double-barrelled flintlock in the 1820s. Both types greatly increased the practical speed of game shooting, although large bags to one gun of birds shot flying had to await the appearance of breech-loaders and complete cartridges, about 1854.

Game, as defined by the British Game Act of 1831, included partridges. Fyans, a pioneer in more than one respect, claimed that in January 1833, when he first landed in Australia, he brought from Bombay two dozen survivors of three dozen partridges embarked, and gave them to the Macarthurs of Camden, where — alas! — despite 'the greatest pains and care ... not a bird survived long, we supposed destroyed by the native cat'.²

'Quail shooting, Jones' Hill, Challicum' shows native birds being 'walked up', apparently with pointers, on the low plateau extending from Jones' Hill towards the Challicum Hills and Langi Ghiran. Although the area is now part of 'One Tree Hill' paddock (the tree fenced off), the quarry could have been the 'New Holland partridge', or painted quail, which (also called the bush quail) prefers light forest country to the grass plains and cultivation

¹ *Country Life*, London, 12 Oct 1978, 1094; *DNB*.
² P.L. Brown, *Fyans Memoirs*, Geelong, 1986, p. 85.



Plate 18

frequented by the more numerous, migratory stubble quail. The small brown quail of tussocky flats and swamps was probably not involved.

Plate

19

MIDDLE CREEK, CHALLICUM

R329 abn83-0754515

Watercolour 15.7 x 24.1 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no.30

Cooper's 'Middle Creek, Challicum' has the same general aspect as his 'Quail shooting, Jones' Hill', except that his standpoint seems to have been farther east. The ground shot over in the previous view is apparently between the hills and the tree-lined creek flowing south (left) towards Challicum home-
stead; so 'Towards Middle Creek' might be a better title. Both streams are tributaries of the Fiery Creek and flow parallel to each other, Middle Creek running just east of the original Challicum boundary. Cooper painted a view of this same scene in 1845, although his standpoint was, again, farther east. This picture, purchased at auction by the National Library in 1980, is titled 'Mount Lanjireen, Port Phillip, Australia' (NL R9035).

The well-watered grassy plains dotted with trees are typical of the Challicum countryside. Perhaps the most interesting feature is the depiction of Aboriginals – a man with spears preceding a woman with pickaback child and two or three dogs. Brough Smyth¹ informed readers of the 1870s that the native tribes included the Werrupurrong of Challicum and east of the Fiery Creek. Europeans had found them in general friendly and harmless. Caught helplessly in the tide of pastoral settlement, they and others had drifted to near extinction, sustained mainly in limited freedom by station holders, some of whom represented the Victorian board appointed to protect them. Sons of the pioneer settlers remembered their local tribesmen as companions for whose bush teaching they sometimes wagged formal school.

When G.A. Robinson traversed the district in July and August

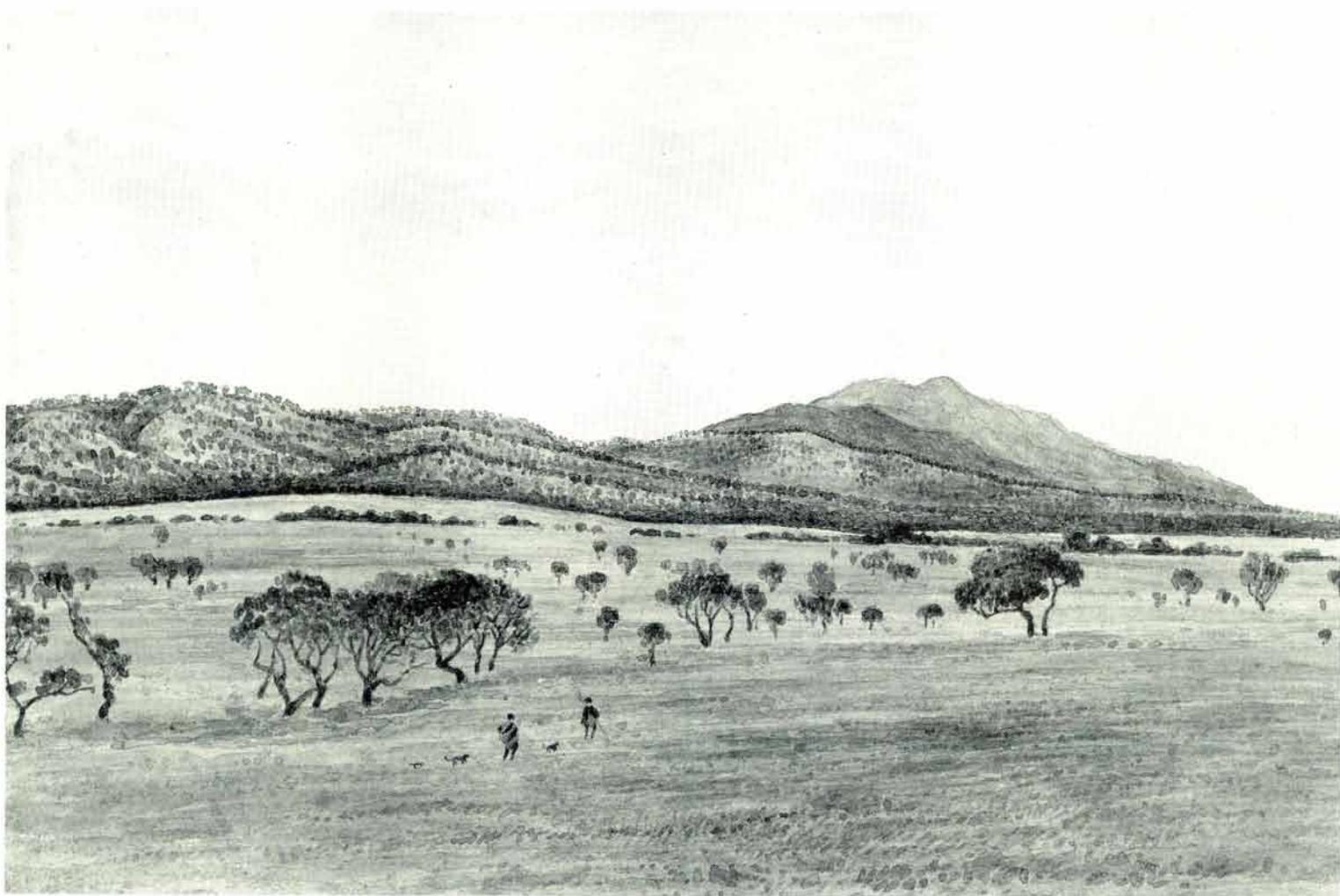


Plate 19

1841, the tribes were already scattered and declining, despite the supportive efforts of exceptional squatters like Urquhart and Glendinning, the Baillies at neighbouring Carngham, and William Blow, north of the site of Ararat. Robinson assured the sixty or so black messengers who gathered at his camp near the Pyrenees that the white administration planned their benefit. But his report continued:

*The Natives complained much of ill usage since the occupancy of their country . . . Long time ago they had plenty of kangaroo, Parm-pun, Tuerer-corn (roots eaten by the Natives), and then they were not hungary, and did not take sheep. Kangaroo all gone; Jumbuc (sheep) eat the roots.*²

¹ Brough Smyth, ii, 12-13, 69, 71, 158, 213.

² Robinson, MS., 158-60.

Plate

20

THE FIRST GRAVE AT CHALLICUM, 1847

R319 abn83-072873
Watercolour 12.8 x 16.6 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.20

This picture bears the following epitaph, in Cooper's hand.
'In Memory of/Titus William Aspinall/Who was drowned in
the Creek/Near this spot, Feb 20, 1847 aged 3 years./A little
Child, his Mother's Dear,/Now rests in Peace with Angels near.'

Nothing remains to show whether or not the tombstone was so
inscribed. But the record of inquest 73-1847 (PRO Victoria)
suggests a mistake in the date.

21st Mar 1847

*depositions taken on view of the body of William
Aspinall, a child three years old, by Alfred T.*

Thomson, dated 21st March 1847.

Accidly drowned

19th

Challicum

*Dist. of Port Phillip) William Freeman of Challicum, in the
New South Wales) District & Colony aforesaid, Laborer,
To Wit) having been duly sworn, deposeth, &
sayeth, I am in the service of Mess*

*Thomsons & Cooper, employed upon the Home Station. On
Friday last the 19th Instant Mrs Aspinall & her son William,
a boy about three years old, came to our hut; about half an
hour afterwards Mrs Aspinall missed her child. I assisted her
to look for him, we searched untill it was dark; next morning
we resumed the search assisted by the child's Father; we
examined the shed, & all the buildings, & dragged the water*

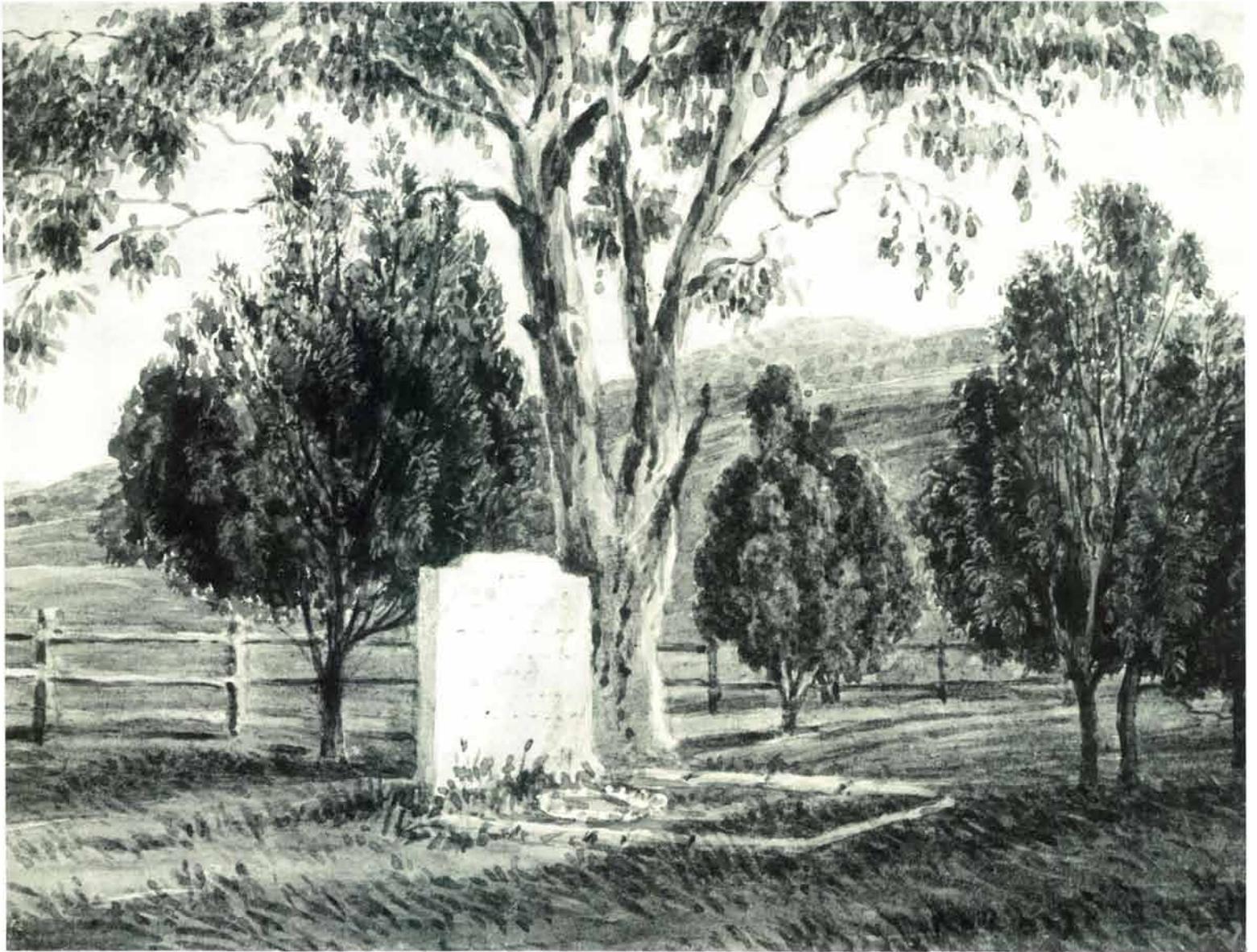


Plate 20

holes with a rake; at length I observed some froth on the water in a hole about fifty yards from the hut, & I & a man named Alexander Decker succeeded in dragging out the child; there were no marks of violence of his person except a slight cut under the eye, & a small bruise upon the nose, apparently done when he fell into the water.

Sworn before me at Challicum) his
 this Twenty first day of March in) WILL FREEMAN
 the year of our Lord One) X Mark
 Thousand Eight Hundred &)
 Forty Seven) Witness
 ALFRED T. THOMSON, J.P.) DUNCAN E. COOPER

District of Port Phillip) William Aspinal, of Challicum,
 New South Wales) having been duly sworn, deposeth
 To Wit) & sayeth – On Saturday morning
 the

20th Instant I learned from William Freeman that my son Titus William Aspinal had been drowned in the Challicum creek at the Home Station of Mess Thomsons & Cooper, on the previous evening. I was in the forest at the time; on returning to the station I saw the body of my child, which I distinctly identified – he was at the time of his death three years & fourteen days old.

Sworn before me at Challicum)
 this Twenty first day of March)
 in the year of our Lord One) Wm ASPINALL
 Thousand Eight Hundred)
 and Forty Seven)
 ALFRED T. THOMSON, J.P.)

Although his trade fitted him for urban work, the only William Aspinall in the Victorian lists of bounty immigrants before 1847 was possibly the Challicum man. He was a professed Protestant, born in Dublin, and, on 22 January 1841, at the age of 22, reached Port Phillip in the ship *Salsette*, from Liverpool. He was recorded as being a printer accompanied by his Protestant wife, Mary Ann, a sempstress of equal age, and their sons John, aged four, and William, aged one, both, like their mother, born at Liverpool.

Alfred Taddy Thomson, the J.P. before whom the inquest depositions were given, was a partner with John Whitehall Stevens in Yalla-y-poorra, Challicum's western neighbour. Soon after selling the run, in 1853, he returned to England, where he became a selector of pictures for the Victorian Art Gallery, 1867-90.

Few memorials remain in the Challicum graveyard, basically because cattle invaded the ground, and other intruders sought stones for paving or related purposes, during the thirty years of absentee ownership which followed the extinction in 1903 of G.W. Thomson's line.

One fractured stone, lying flat, commemorates the parents and two sisters of Thomas Miles who, with three other Challicum men, J. Brunton, Thomas Ford, and Donald McDonald, was a bearer at G.W. Thomson's funeral on 1 April 1897, in the Buangor public cemetery. The broken inscription runs: 'SACRED / TO / THE MEMORY OF / JOHN MILES / died 11th June 1894 aged 69 years / 'Blessed are they who die in the Lord / for their labours shall cease' / His beloved wife / HELEN / died 18th Octr 1880 aged 60 years / Their beloved children / MARTHA ANN / died 16th June 1875 aged 18 years / MARY ANN / died 29th Jany 1864 aged 4 months'.¹

¹ Transcribed by Mr Douglas Hopkins, 1976. Background information from Mr and Mrs John Hunt, Middle Creek.

Plate

21

BANK OF THE CREEK, CHALLICUM

R330 abn83-075419
Watercolour 16.2 x 24.4 cm
The Chalicum Sketch Book no.31

The fascination fatal to Titus Aspinall is suggested by Cooper's picture of an ancient wind-baffled redgum, which – up to its ankles in an apparent overflow – seems tottering on the stick made by its interlocked neighbour.

Plate

22

VIEW DOWN THE CREEK, CHALLICUM, TOWARDS FIRST HUT

R320 abn83-072883
Watercolour 12.1 x 19.3 cm
The Chalicum Sketch Book no. 21

The shepherd and flock must be beside the track to Buangor (which heads north), and west of the creek (which runs south, east of the huts). Cooper's position was probably towards Jones' Hill.

In July 1857, Harry Thomson married Eliza Shute, daughter of Thomas Shute, a silk spinner owning mills at Watford and Rickmansworth. Mrs Huie Bowden (Dr A.M. Kaye), their only descendant to settle in Australia, thought that the Victorian gold discoveries induced her grandfather to return to England. The great upheaval of 1851 was meant; but, more than two years earlier, the north-western ranges had been declared auriferous. On 31 January 1849 the local *Argus* suggested, in a leader headed

'Important Discovery / Port Phillip a Gold Field', that 'The Sydney cry of "Off to California" seems likely to be changed in Melbourne to "Hey for Buninyong, and the bonny Pyrenees".' Like rumours persisted for months, affecting shepherds and hutkeepers as much as others. They surfaced on Tuesday, 29 May, in the following Dickensian report on the front page of the *Geelong Advertiser* (spelling and stops as printed):

'POLICE INTELLIGENCE.— Magistrate — Well, prisoner, you are accused of breaking the public peace, the public house windows, and the private watchman's nose — what have you to say?

Prisoner

*My name is Fuzby. On the Pyrenees
My master feeds his flocks, a rummy cove
Whose constant care was to improve his wool,
And hope the market might keep good at home;
But I had heard of gold mines, and I long'd
To burrow in the earth for precious ore;
I axed to go, but that the cove denied!
The moon which rose that night round as my tile
Had scarcely top'd the hill, when in his parlor snug
Our cove and other swells were jollifying. I, alone,
With rough pea coat, and weather-worn souwester,
Stood without, and smelt the grog go in;
Then hasted to my hut, where I a keg
Of old Jamaica had securely planted,
But found my mate had gone and took it with him —
Vowing ere long a cudgel in my fist
Should fell the thief — I took the road
Some forty miles or more. Returning home
Ne'er thought of. I resolved to see
A little life, and having heard that your good town*



Plate 21

*Was well supplied with stingo, left the hills,
And, by a soorter cut, saved many steps,
Nor ever dreamed in town to see my master;
Arrived, with this intent, I drank for hours,
And came last night to do
Those ugly deeds, for which the grog I blame.'*

This particular, possibly imaginary, case is not otherwise recorded at Geelong. Section 2 of the New South Wales Masters and Servants Act (4 Vic. No. 23) provided heavy penalties for absconders. But any literate person would have been amused by the parody. In 1835, when John Batman shipped the first sheep to cross Bass Strait for the Port Phillip Association, they were loaded aboard the *Norval*, a barque of 295 tons from Boston, Lincolnshire, captained by Robson Coltish, afterwards of Roxby Park, near Geelong, then in his mid-twenties. On New Year's Day, 1846, John Home's 'celebrated play, *Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd*', opened in Geelong with a cast of six, Mrs Cameron ('formerly Miss Bouchiere, Star of the Norwich, Bath, and Cheltenham Circuits') doubling as Young Norval and Anna (GA 31 Dec 1845). The nominal township of Norval, four miles north-west of Ararat, surely originated when every one knew the lines, 'My name is Norval; on the Grampian hills / My father feeds his flocks; a frugal swain, / whose constant cares were to increase his store, / And keep his only son, myself, at home.'

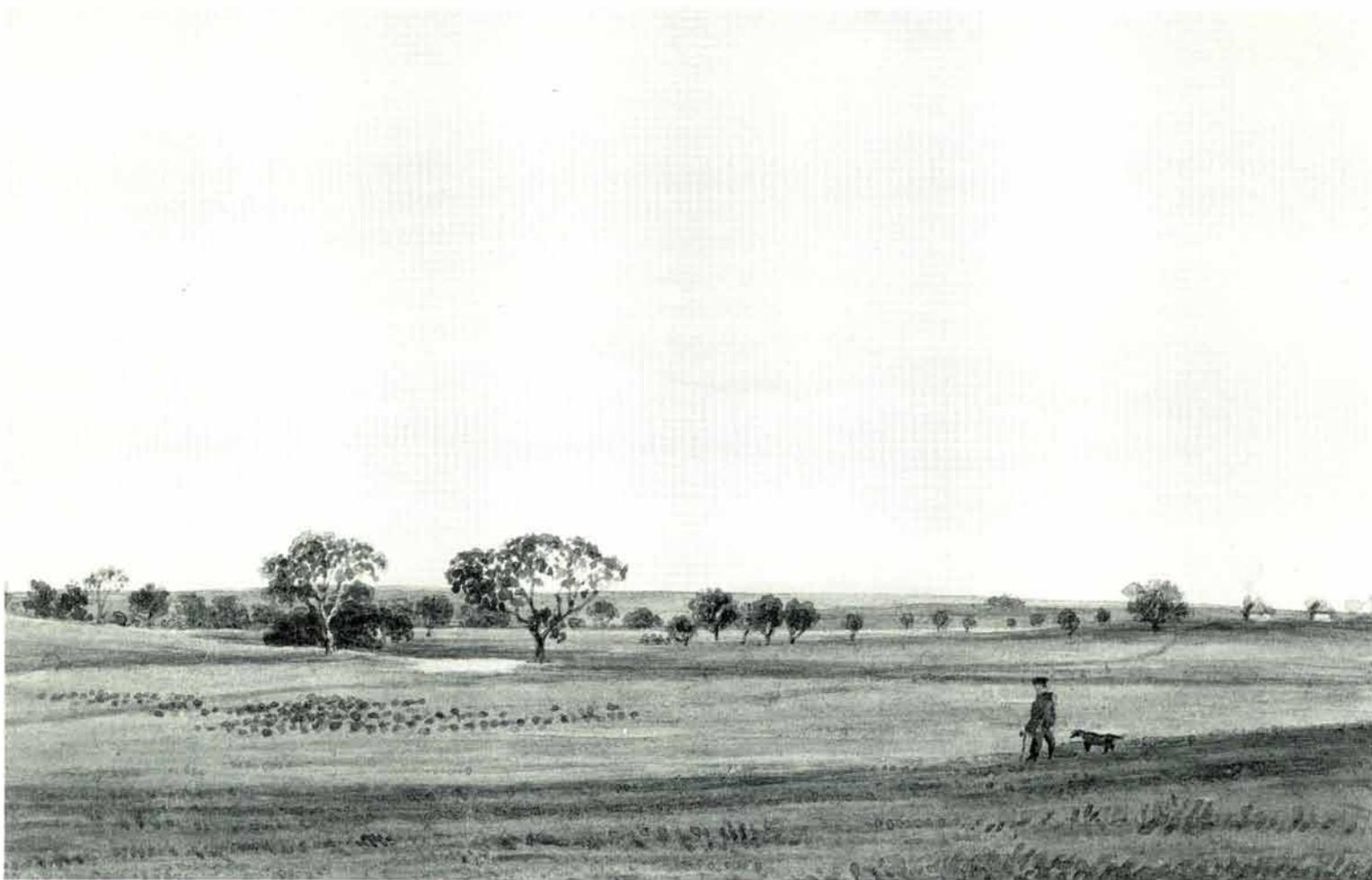


Plate 22

Plate

23

MEN'S HUTS, CHALLICUM, 1848

R318 abn83-072864

Watercolour 13.4 x 19.4 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no. 19

Captain Foster Fyans, Commissioner of Crown Lands, in his return for the Challicum run as at 1 January 1844, recorded that the property was managed by the licensees, termed 'owners', and worked by '12 male and 1 female resident persons, all free.'¹ The Challicum homestead itself was, until G.W. Thomson's marriage in 1860, a bachelor household, but there were families on the property before that date. Most of the workforce in 1848, however, were single men accommodated in these huts, which were located by the creek, close to the main station area. But like the original woolshed, they were too near the water and were often flooded. They disappeared before 1934, their approximate site being marked by a row of pepper-trees which were probably planted long before that year. The bridge in Cooper's foreground stood where the remains of a ford are still detectable. The threat from the creek is implicit in the rocks marshalled to give the structure weight. When in place, it linked huts and woolshed.

Labour was in short supply throughout the 1840s and became even scarcer during the gold rush years, from 1851 onwards. In 1844, George Russell could report to Scotland from Golfhill that the average wage during the preceding year was about £26, with men obtainable during the second half at an annual rate of £15 to £20 and 'supplies . . . also very moderate'.² By 1852, however, wages had increased very greatly. The ship's returns for the *Isle of Skye*, which arrived in Geelong in December 1852 with 181 assisted immigrants, reveal that John Miles, agricultural labourer,



Plate 23

aged 27, and his wife, Ellen, aged 31, both Wesleyans, both classed as readers only, and both from Hertfordshire, were 'engaged by Geo. Thompson, Challicum, at £60 p.a. for 6 months, with rations'.³

Evidently this arrangement was made before their embarkation, probably through the Reverend W.S. Thomson, since James Coster, agricultural labourer, aged 27, and his wife Ann, aged 26, both Anglicans, he a reader only, she fully literate, were also from Hertfordshire and also engaged for Challicum, at £50 a year for six months, taking their daughters, Ellen, aged 2, and infant Sarah. Moreover, two single men, William Bryant and John Simmons, both aged 20, both agricultural labourers, both able to read and write, both Anglicans, and both also from Hertfordshire, were listed as engaged for Challicum for six months, at £50 a year all found. Mr Godfrey Cornwall's check of the British 1841 census shows that Bryant, Coster, Miles and Simmons were all Charleywood district names.⁴ Pay and conditions for those prepared to endure the rigours of bush life were, for the most part, far better than in England, making Challicum an attractive destination for George Thomson's Hertfordshire compatriots.

1 AONSW, X690 1-10.

2 CCP, iii, 387.

3 Shipping Lists, PRO, Vic.; *Investigator*, Sep. 1980 (Geelong Hist. Soc.)

4 G. Cornwall, Rickmansworth, to P.L. Brown, 21 Feb. 1977.

Plate

24

VIEW FROM WINDOW OF HUT, CHALLICUM, 1850

R304 abn83-071318
Watercolour 15.4 x 25 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.5

A garden which could belong to an English country cottage leads the eye from the homestead to the men's huts and woolshed in the middle distance. In the background, north-north-east as seen from the front, stands Mount Cole, named after Sir G. Lowry Cole, with whom Mitchell had served in Spain. The garden, which, with the exception of the fruit-trees, seems to have been largely ornamental in purpose, is bordered by the creek, here crossed by the homestead footbridge.

Families on the property could be accommodated in expanded out-station huts. One, on the ridge portrayed in Cooper's 'First settlement' (Plate 1) – possibly an extension of his 'Sheep Station in the Forest' (Plate 7) – became the home of Thomas Ford, a former Buangor shepherd, and his family. But the station certainly needed one or more homestead huts as married quarters. William Rutherford Scott, G.W. Thomson's most commercially successful station manager, had quarters on the site of the present Challicum woolshed, to which John Miles, managing overseer by 1872, presumably succeeded. Both the Miles and Scott families were numerous.

John Miles lived at Challicum until his death, and his son David's sons were bred there. 'Miles House Challicum' is the note on the back of a faded photograph which shows three boys, and evidently their parents, in the small timber porch of a single-storeyed, apparently stone building, possibly semi-detached, with a six-paned upright window on each side of the door, and a corrugated rain-water tank at the end or corner to the viewer's right.

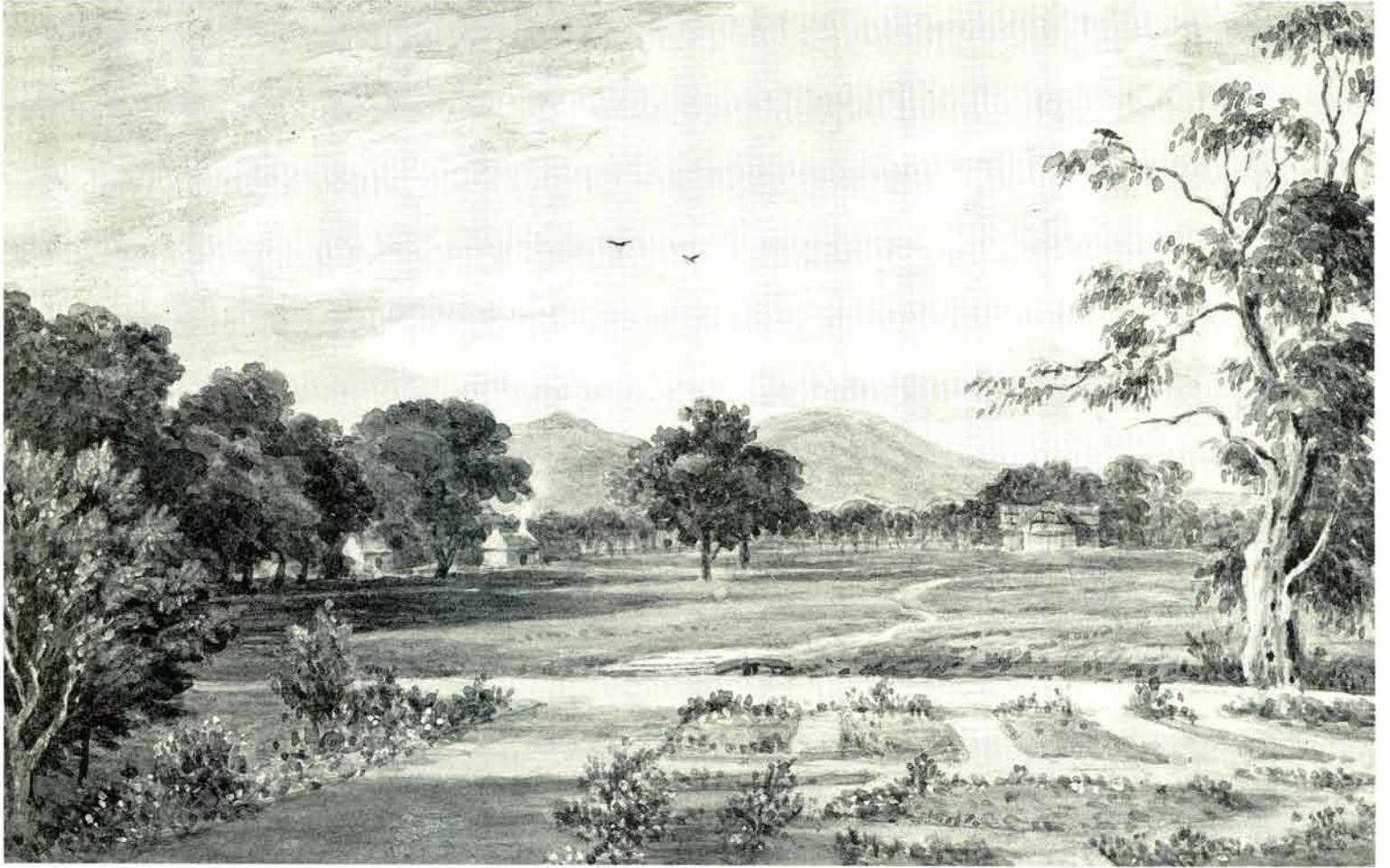


Plate 24

All three of David Miles's sons were associated with St Mark's Church of England, Leopold (once Kensington), near Geelong. Its Great War memorial window commemorates Sergeant John Coster Miles, 58th battalion, 1st AIF, who was killed at Villers Bretonneux, 26 April 1918, and his brother Jonas, who also served, but survived to grow apples near the old Geelong district vineyard, Berramonga, at Ceres. David Blakiston Miles, the youngest son, with matching pre-war experience in the garrison artillery, but through a firearms accident disqualified for 1914-18 action, worked and eventually owned their father's local farm, became a warden of St Mark's, and the church's honorary treasurer into old age. He often spoke fondly of Challicum.

Plate

25

CULTIVATION PADDOCK, CHALLICUM

R305 abn83-071327

Watercolour 12.6 x 19.4 cm

The Challicum Sketch Book no.6

The British orders-in-council of 1847 gave squatters a prospect of leases for eight or fourteen years, with rights of pre-emption, subject to surveyed definition of their runs. Consequent legislation placed Challicum and neighbouring stations in Ripon, one of thirteen new counties which, with Bourke, Grant, Normanby, and Gippsland, covered the 'intermediate' lands between the northern 'unsettled' and the restricted urban, coastal, and riparian 'settled' districts.

Until the gold discoveries made a potential market there was no real inducement to break the continuing rule that pastoral tenants of the Crown must not grow crops for sale or barter. But subsistence agriculture was always allowed, and the Hertfordshire emigrants by the *Isle of Skye* must have adapted readily to the work.

A cereal crop is being harvested by the slow manual process which allowed simultaneous close-range cutting and carrying. To record the scene, Cooper probably stood either on Jones' Hill, facing slightly south of east, or behind the main station buildings, facing north. The first location seems more likely (surely the Pyrenees would be visible from the south); but it is hard to reconcile all buildings with either. The stable or barn to the right of the inner paddock, near the apparent haystack, beyond the trees and bullock-drawn dray at wain-work, seems to have disappeared, unless it has become the homestead workshop. The chimneys framing the bush at this picture's centre possibly spring from a pine-lined timber duality of two-roomed quarters, one an over-



Plate 25

seer's cottage, the other in later years the homestead school. If so, the homestead stable and coach-house must have been constructed after this view was sketched.

POULTRY HOUSE, CHALLICUM, 1851

R306 abn83-071334
Watercolour 12.8 x 19.3 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.7

The poultry house was close to the homestead (see Plate 9), although no vestige of any construction now indicates the site. Two present trees across the creek resemble the two huge eucalypts depicted behind this building. But domestic convenience and the need to protect the fowls against native cats and other predators suggest less exposure. Fresh eggs, milk and vegetables in season made the Challicum diet an unusually varied one. Foster Fyans could hardly have written of Cooper and the Thomsons, as he did of others, 'For years they have the same hut; not so much as a drop of milk; for breakfast, hysonskin, mutton chops swimming in fat, and damper; damper and fat chops for dinner; hysonskin and the same for supper. No deviation even in lent.'¹

The presence of the two Aboriginals, squatting unconcernedly outside their *mia-mia*, suggests a measure of 'peaceful coexistence' at Challicum which was not matched on various other properties.

On 20 June 1841, when at Merino Downs, 50 miles north of Portland, G.A. Robinson wrote after meeting a small party of Aboriginals who claimed the country and bewailed its loss: 'This tribe is nearly extinct: disease and natural decay, feuds, snakes, and white men have reduced their numbers. Passed the spot where a dire conflict between the Messrs Whyte (Settlers) and the Aboriginal Natives happened, on which occasion seventeen of the latter were slain. . . I have now traversed the Wannon in every direction, and when I gazed from the heights over the green hills

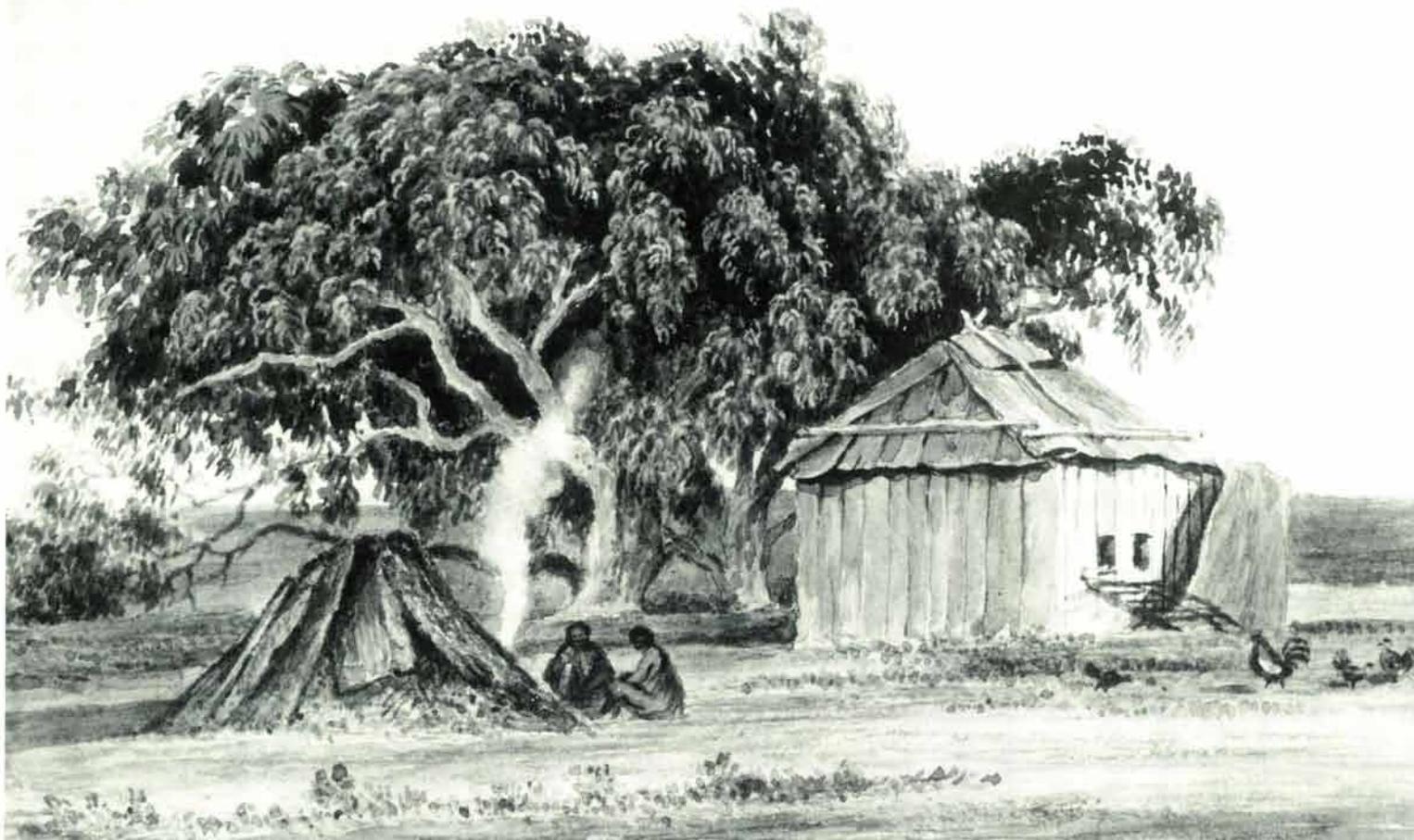


Plate 26

and valleys I could but deplore the absence (in so short a time) of the original inhabitants. Sheep and cattle were there, but the Natives and their favourite Emus were gone; no numerous natives' fires, as recorded by Sir Thomas Mitchell, were to be seen; not a solitary smoke was visible.²

At Mount Emu on 5 August, however, Robinson noted that on George Urquhart's exceptionally profitable run 'The best possible understanding with the Natives existed. . . from the beginning. The Blacks are encouraged and made useful; they speak of the manager in the highest terms. Mr Glendinning's familiar sobriquet is Jagga Jagga.' But even here, although 'upwards of thirty Natives were present', only three men and one woman indigenous there survived.³

Soon afterwards Robinson 'Met a party of Natives and encamped near the sheep station of a Mr Baylie. . . This establishment, like Urquhart's, from the beginning has been on friendly terms with the Aborigines. Mr Baylie and his people speak well of the Natives. They found them honest, industrious, and well behaved. They are variously employed: some were shepherds; one or two had charge of a flock; some were bullock drivers; and one was a manager over the rest. The Corringum bullucks belong to this country — But one man of which tribe, Narneenoon, remains. Members of different tribes were present, among whom were the Currie and Burrumbeet. . . The Natives were much attached to Mr Baylie and spoke in the best of terms of him. At this Establishment the Natives give an equivalent for what they receive, either in work or produce.'

Yet Robinson continued: 'Some settlers encourage others [to] disperse the Natives. One settler, who occupied an extent of from two to three hundred square miles, would not allow them either at his home or out stations. Others allow them at their home, but not their out stations. One settler thought their property should be destroyed, to prevent them killing sheep: he was reminded of the injustice of such an act, and that if he or any other person stole

or destroyed the Natives' property, and proof could be adduced, they would be dealt with as though it had been committed on white inhabitants. Destruction of native property is I fear too frequent.'⁴

1 LVP, 120. 'Hysonskin' was recorded as 'post-and-rail' tea in Edward E. Morris's *Austral English* (1898).

2 Robinson, *op. cit.*, MS. 98-101, *VHM* 47, 152.

3 Urquhart's manager was Christopher or 'Jacky Jacky' Glendinning.

4 Robinson, MS. 97-101, 215-23; *VHM* 47, 152, 164-5.

Plate

27

LAMBING STATION, CHALLICUM

R332 abn83-075438

Watercolour 10.2 x 17.4 cm

The Chalicum Sketch Book no.33

As Mr Neuchamp pursued his early way, the wholesome exercise began to warm his blood. The beams of the sun just tipped with golden fringe the motionless top of the gum trees, from which the magpies poured out their curious notes; and at last, when the flaming orb of day rose over the range, bright with Australian brilliancy, throwing long shadows over the earth all white with hoar frost, and raising slow rolling vapours from the glittering water holes, Mr Neuchamp for once forgot his sheep and wool in admiration. In a capital frame of mind he cantered over the flat, dotted with clumps of trees, beyond which, at the edge of a lagoon, was pitched the tarpauling nucleus of the lambing station.

Long Ned, the hutkeeper, was bustling about the folds, penning up ewes and so forth. Neuchamp pulls up sharp, swears at a crowd of curs which rush out upon him, and, as soon as they are silenced, accosts him with – ‘Well, Ned, nice morning; how are you getting on? Are the sheep mixed, or lost, or scabbed, or has Yorky bolted?’

‘Well, then, sir, it’s none o’ these that’s wrong, but it’s the native dogs. Look here, sir’, says Ned, stepping to one side and pointing to an ewe lying dead, mangled and cruelly torn. ‘There’, says Ned, ‘there, sir, that will let you know what’s wrong – but that’s only one on `em – there’s another down there, where you see the crows α-picking at her – and there’s six more I found just over the rise.’

Picture poor Neuchamp’s convulsion of feeling. She was the mother of twin lambs. There the bereaved little wretches stood with

their tender backs turned up in extremity of starvation, bleating piteously. At length he hisses out through his grinding teeth, 'And what the deuce were you about all the time? How did it happen?'

Ned, with the air of an injured man, replies, 'What was I about!' then, in a strain of indignant justification and tremendous lies, continues, 'Why, sir, I've been in the colony better nor twenty year and I never seed sich a place for native dogs afore; I'll take my hoath there was fifty on 'em if there was one here last night – we couldn't hear ourselves holler for their howling. They chased my dog, which went arter them, back under the box and tore him most to bits; and if you believe me, sir, I had to take the fire-shovel to fight for my life. They fairly frightened me! I can't take care of your sheep, sir – nor no hother man as ever lambed down a flock. But if you aint satisfied wi' me, sir, you'd better git another man in my place. There's some employers as a man may work the skin hoff his bones for, end niver git no thanks nor credit.' A pause: then Ned continues, 'I expect there's some of the flock away too, sir – you had better count them. Yorky's a-feeding over the hill there. He said he'd keep about till I'd been in and told you. I was just a-going as I seed you come up.'

So they are counted out and two tallys and some odd are short. Mr Neuchamp ruefully and wrathfully gobbled down some of Long Ned's uncaptivating cooking, and then, mounting his horse again in bitterness of spirit, turns towards the ranges to search. He investigates all kinds of gullies in vain; he can find neither sheep nor tracks. At length he yields to his horse's efforts to turn home, and crossing a high ridge enters a deep grassy gully which promises to lead him towards the station. As he turned round a bend formed by a steep rocky bank, two eagle hawks rise suddenly up, with heavy flappings of their wide wings, and fly slowly off to a dead tree on the hill side; a crowd of crows, too, bustle off with a chorus of alarmed croaks. When Neuchamp saw these birds of evil omen, he knew that something lay there dead.



Plate 27

*On going up to the place from which they rose, he discovers the
carcase of two of his poor sheep, half picked already.¹*

¹ 'Sketches of Australian Squatters', Ham iii, 15 (Sep. 1851), 174-7, abridged.

Plate

28

VIEW FROM WATERLOO PLAINS, LOOKING TOWARDS CHALLICUM

R322 abn83-072911
Watercolour 11.5 x 17.9 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 23

The view is from rising ground by the road to Geelong. Challicum homestead, towards the top-left of the picture, is among trees in its hollow under bare Jones' Hill, the slight timber-backed eminence directly below the highest of the Challicum Hills, which spread from Mount Langi Ghiran. Probably Annie Hadden, Mrs Andrew Baxter (later Mrs Robert Dawbin), although so long at Port Fairy, never saw these plains. But, as one who had been all her life in the army, she reacted strongly when she encountered their name applied in a similar way years earlier in New England, NSW: 'We next went through Waterloo; no scene of desolation was there, no marks of cannon balls! Oh! ye heroes of Waterloo, what would you say to a sheep station being called after the plains on which ye bled? As well might one have expected to see his Grace, the immortal Duke of Wellington, turned shepherd.'¹

¹ *Memories of the Past, by a Lady in Australia*, Melbourne, 1873, 98.

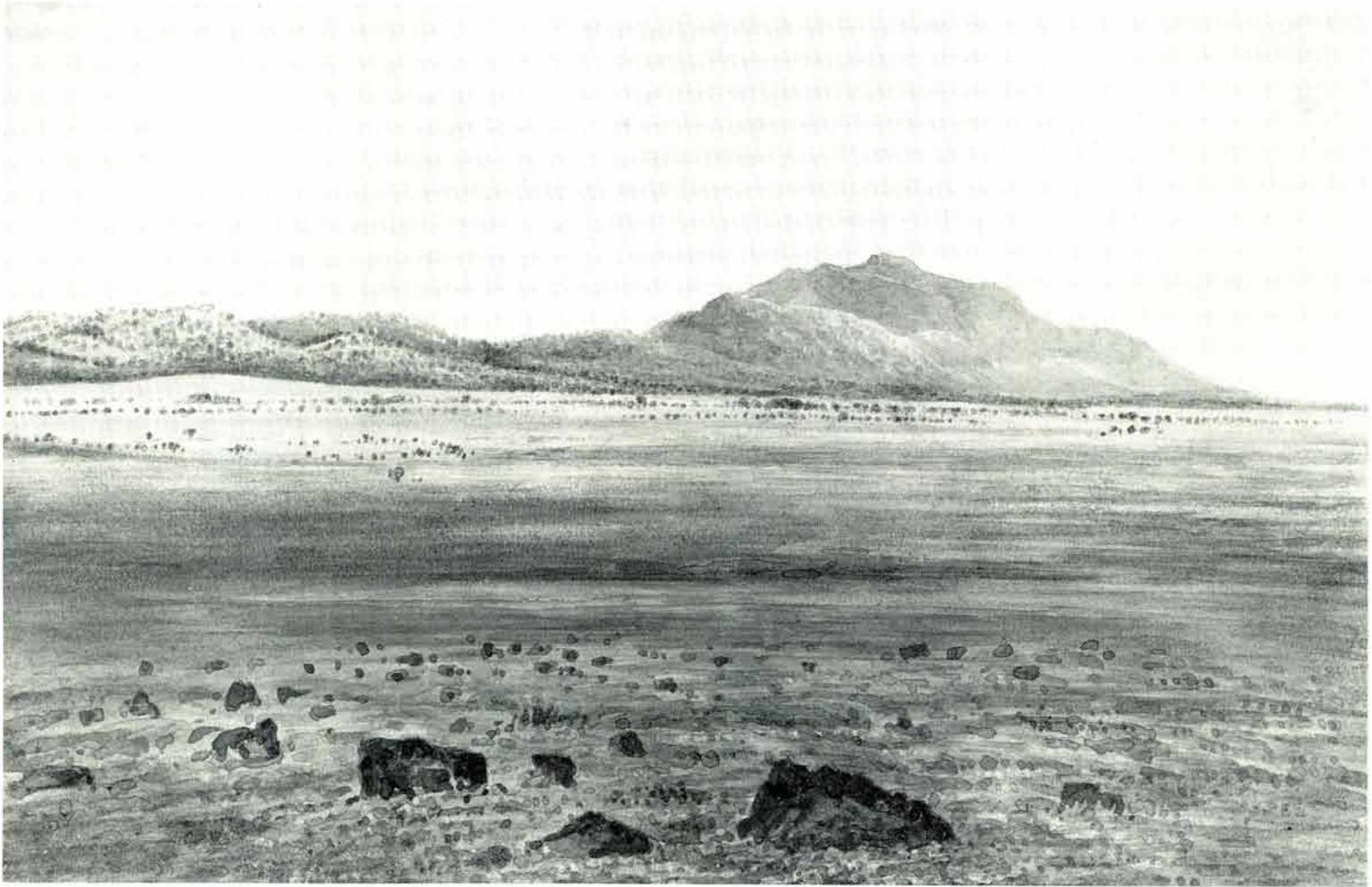


Plate 28

Plate

29

'SHEOAKS' ON THE PLAINS, CHALLICUM ('CASUARINAE')

R323 abn83-072920
Watercolour 12.5 x 20.8 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.24

Casuarina stricta, 'Drooping Sheoke', so recorded by E.E. Lord, 1948, is the common Victorian variety, usually smaller than the so-called 'Buloke'. But, in his *Index Plantarum*, Dr James Ross observed: '*Casuarina torulosa*? She-oak. *C.stricta*? He-oak. . . The name of the first is said to be a corruption of Sheac. . . an American tree, producing the beef wood, like our She-oak. The second. . . has obtained the name of He-oak. . . as if they constituted one dioecious plant, whereas they are perfectly distinct species.'¹ This ancient tree, blocked from regeneration by agriculture and grazing, is now scarce on farmed land, but is establishing sombre groves beside the broad fenced roads on which stock transports have replaced most drovers.

¹ *Hobart Town Almanack*, 1835, 75.



Plate 29

Plate

30

HUT AT WARRAPENGO, NOW STONELEIGH

R321 abn83-072892
Watercolour 6.7 x 10.6 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.23

Claims for pastoral leases: *P.P. Govt. Gazette*,
1849, No.8 (supp.), 23 Feb, pp.166-167.

No.279

'Thomson and Cooper
Name of run – Challicum
Estimated area – 46,252 acres
Estimated grazing capability – 100 head of cattle – 15,000
sheep'

[Description omitted]

No.280

'George and Harry Thomson
Name of run – Challicum
Estimated area – 32,200 acres
Estimated grazing capability – 75 head of cattle – 10,500
sheep'

[Description omitted]

No.281

'Duncan Elphinstone Cooper
Name of run – Warrapinjoe
Estimated area – 14,052 acres
Estimated grazing capability – 25 head of cattle – 4,700
sheep'

*Commencing at a point from which the bald hill called
Mount Rum bears 210°30' distant about one mile, thence by*

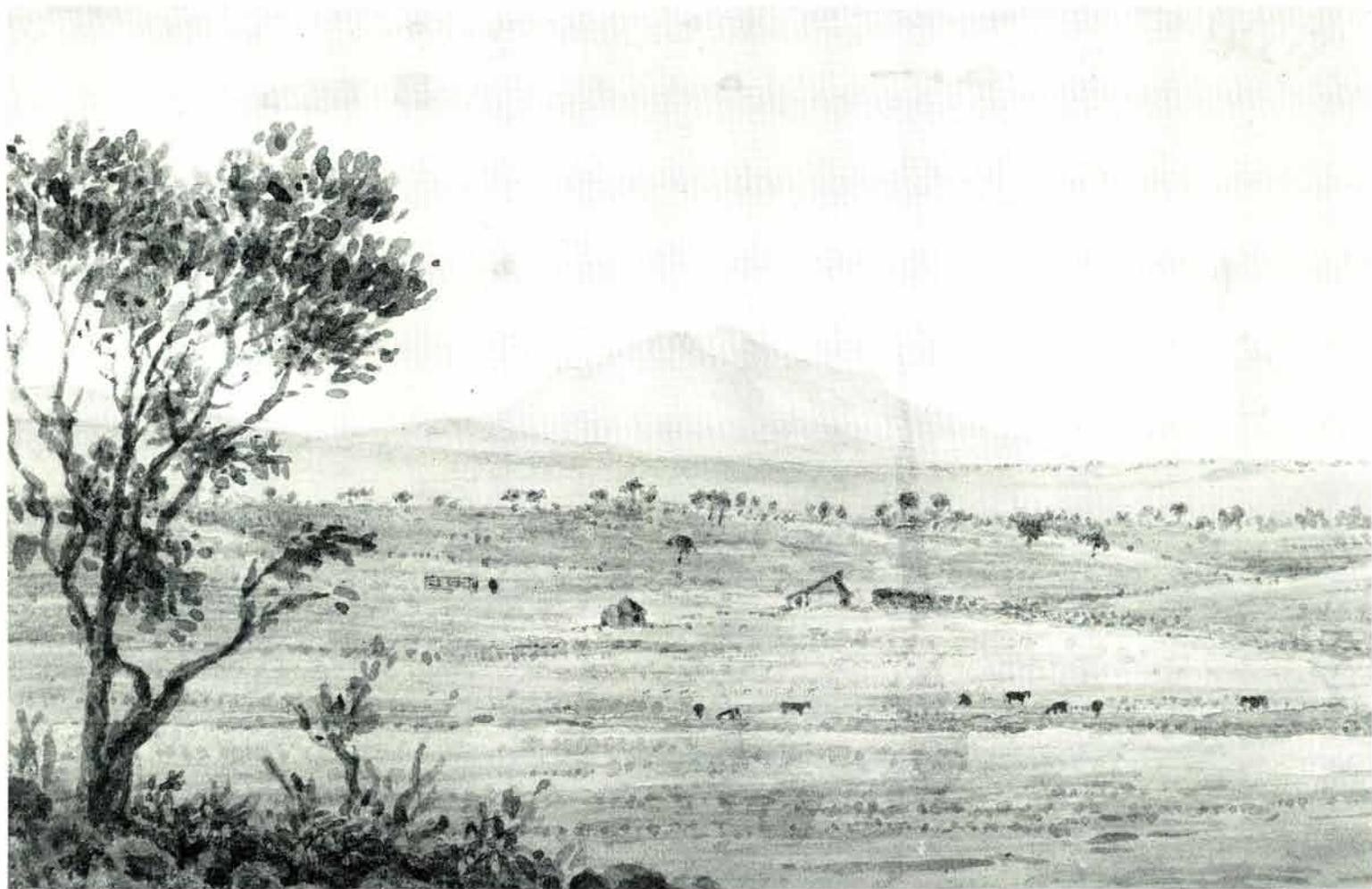


Plate 30

a line bearing $131^{\circ} 10'$ 431 chains, this line separating the said run of Warrapinjoe from the run of Messrs. Stevens and Thomson, thence by a line bearing 32° to a point half-way between the spring called Lackapot and a spring on the run of Mr Phillip Black, on or near the Mount William road, sometimes called Paddy's spring, 148 chains, thence by a line bearing $70^{\circ} 30'$ 156 chains 80 links, thence by the arc of a circle of one mile radius, the centre of the said circle being at the spring known as Warrapinjoe, and bearing from the last point $344^{\circ} 45'$ 156 chains measured along the chord of the said arc, the last two lines and a part of the said arc separating the said run from that of Mr Phillip Black, thence along a certain road or dray track leading from the said station of Warrapinjoe to Messrs. A. and C. Campbell's home station, bearing from point to point of same 1° , 120 chains, the remaining part of said arc, and the last line separating the said run of Warrapinjoe from the run of Messrs. Alexander Russell and Co., thence by a line bearing $278^{\circ} 45'$ 84 chains, thence by a line bearing $338^{\circ} 10'$ to the creek called the salt spring creek, 15 chains, the last two lines separating the said run of Warrapinjoe from the run of Messrs. A. and C. Campbell, thence along the said salt spring creek, bearing from point to point of same 240° , 198 chains, thence by a line bearing in the same direction to the point of commencement 276 chains, the said creek and last line separating the said run of Warrapinjoe from the run of Messrs. G. and H. Thomson.'

Much gobbledegook, and in Challicum's case considerable overlapping, resulted from the rush to comply with the Sydney regulations of 7 October 1847 which accompanied the publication of the British orders-in-council of 9 March. These required applicants for pastoral leases to set out in proper form clear descriptions and the boundaries of runs they sought. George Thomson

and Duncan Cooper took no chances, but claimed Challicum in alternative ways. Yet Cooper's sketch of his section, Warrapinjoe, named from the spring described in 1977 as famous and never failing,¹ shows good reason for William Lewis's decision not to live on the property himself immediately after he bought it, late in 1853. Instead, he appointed Andrew Greig as overseer, and did not supersede him until 1856. Warrapinjoe (however spelt) then became Stoneleigh; but eight years passed before Lewis gained both a wife and a homestead fit for one. It was not until about 1872 that George, their eldest son, began at Challicum the course which enabled Mrs R.S. Thomson's second husband (Canon E.S. Hughes) to write in 1934: 'The overseer's room was formerly the schoolroom, & the young Lewis boys from Stoneleigh, the Wares, & others were all taught there.' Not without complications, or without progress. 'George we have not seen for weeks past,' wrote William Lewis in October 1873, 'as Mrs Thomson has such a dread of diphtheria she wished no intercourse to take place between us; however the quarantine is to be broken up this week, and Geordie comes home for a week's holiday, as the Tutor, Mr Rowcroft, is going to see his friends. He tells me Geordie is doing a little Latin now. He reads very fairly.'² A.P. Rowcroft had been on the staff of Geelong Grammar School, 1863-71. He returned to open its Junior School as head on 30 April 1878.³

1 Brochure, *Trustee Auction, Stoneleigh*, at Geelong, 25 Nov.1977.

2 CCP vii, 490.

3 GGSQ, Apr. 1878, 27.

Plate

31

[WOODED SLOPES OF THE KANGAROO HILLS,
THE PYRENEES IN THE DISTANCE, VICTORIA]

R9037 abn83-075943
Watercolour 17.5 x 25.7 cm

No doubt plentiful stone – perhaps not over-abundant after 1864, when much began to be marshalled as basalt buildings and walls – contributed to the change from ‘Warrapengo’ (Warrapinjoe) to ‘Stoneleigh’. But the unfailing spring was more important. It now feeds a chain of lakes. Across one of them, from the track to the woolshed, north of the homestead, Mount Langi Ghiran appears as in this view.

By many secluded western Victorian waters, that once fabled bird, Australia’s *Chenopsis atrata*, its mournful-seeming black relieved in flight by flashing snow-white wing quills, still nests in fluting red-billed pairs detached from the congregations that move between expanses like estuarine Connewarre – ‘home of the swan’ until silted – near Geelong.

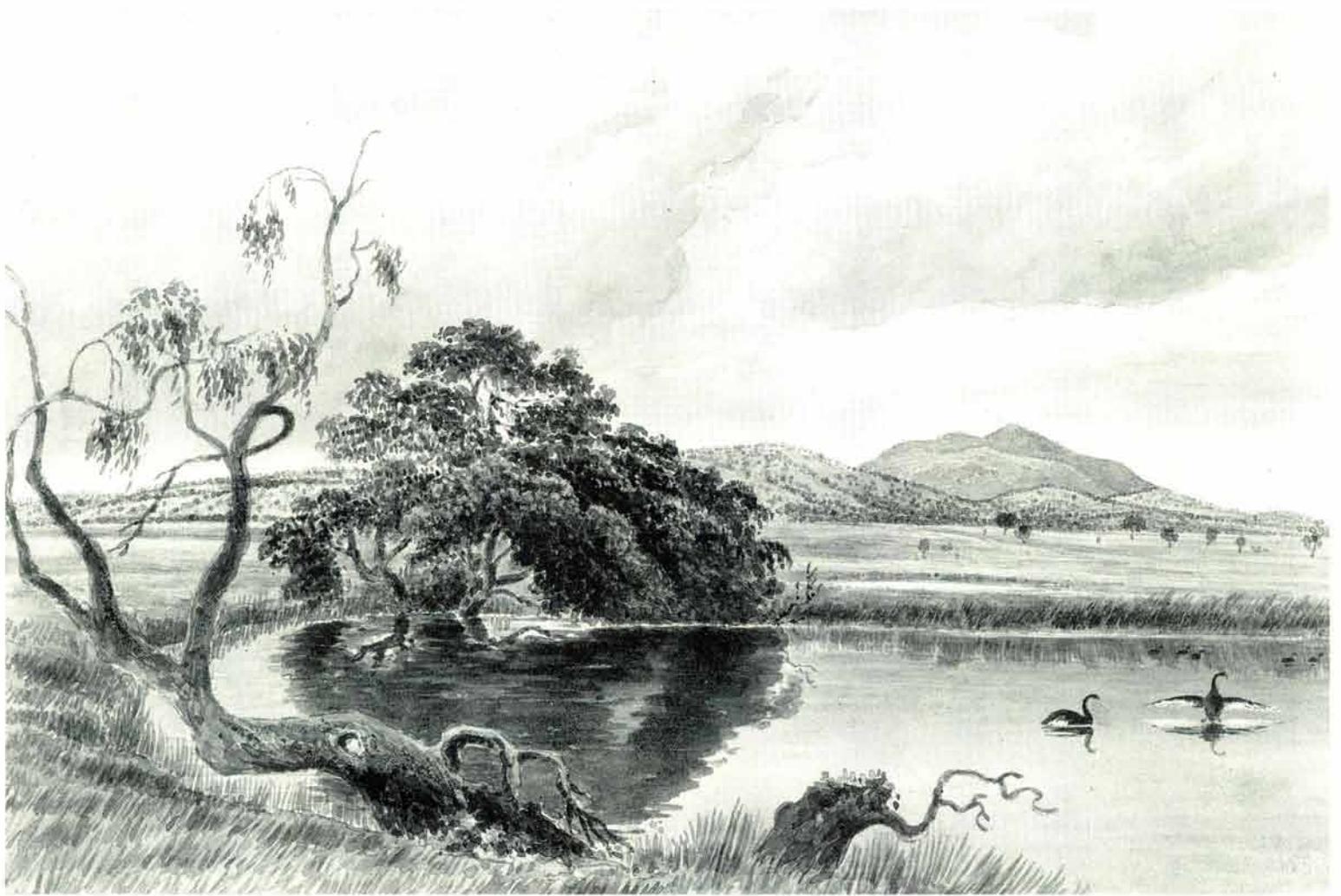


Plate 31



Plate 32

Plate

32

ON THE PLAINS NEAR CHALLICUM

R324 abn83-072943
Watercolour 12.7 x 19 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 25

Plate

33

[ON THE PLAINS NEAR CHALLICUM]

T40 NK10163/26 abn83-075998
Watercolour 17.1 x 24.1 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection

Certificate 3199, Portland Bay District, 7 Nov. 1860, suggests that across these plains, after Duncan Cooper's departure, G.W. Thomson tended to head for Lexton township, along 'the Major's Line' and twenty miles through the ranges, until he persuaded Miss Matilda Eliza (b. Sydney, 1 Sep. 1824), eldest daughter of Captain Robert Stewart, late 40th regiment, to marry him in Challicum homestead, where the Rev. Philip Homan, first vicar of Ararat, officiated, with James Richardson, Gorrinn, and Alexander Russell, Mawallock, as formal witnesses.

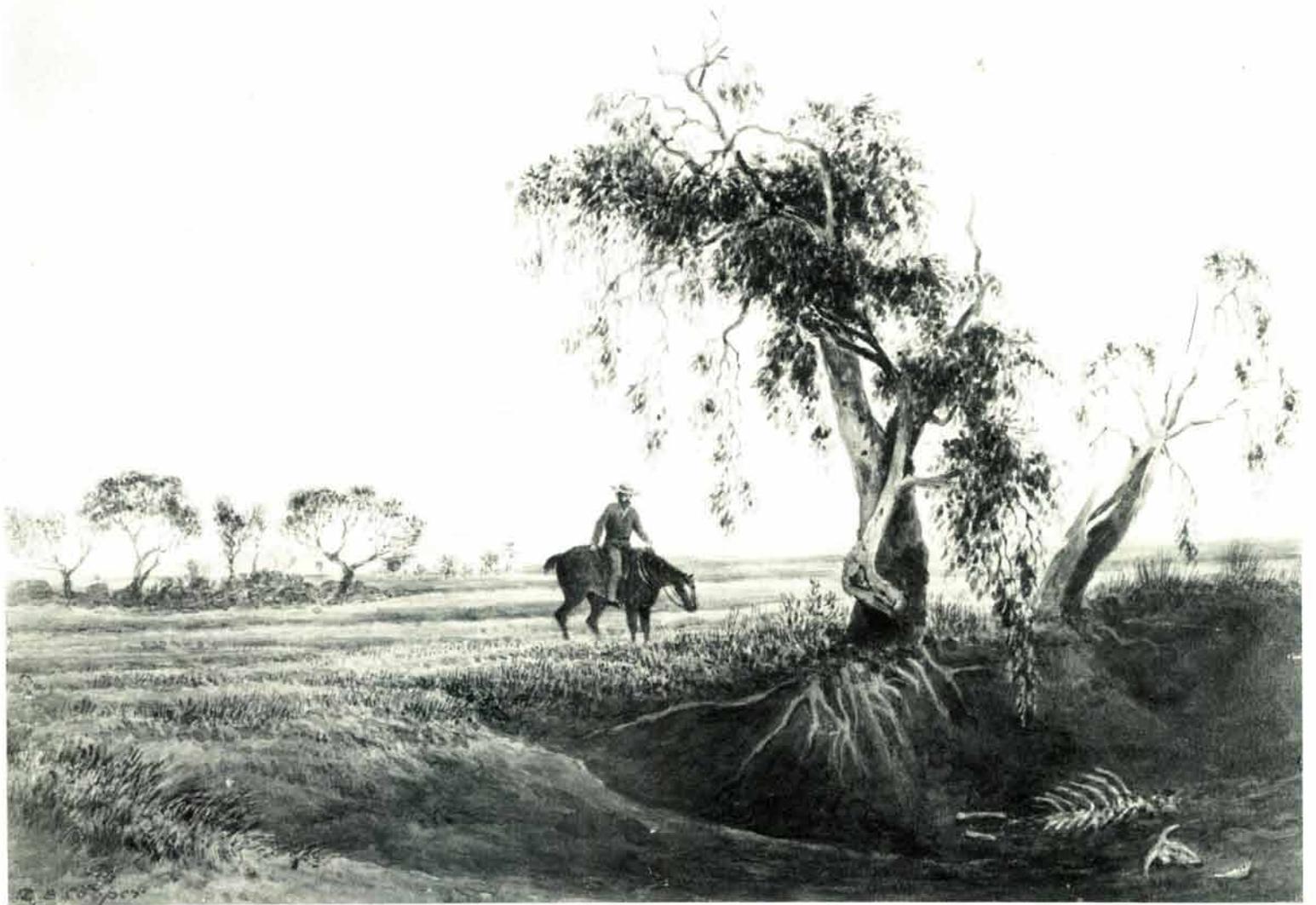


Plate 33

Plate

34

MOUNT EMU

R9034 abn83-075825
Watercolour 17.5 x 25.7 cm

Bankruptcies of 1842-3 (J.D. Baillie's, George Urquhart's, P.W. Welsh's) brought Russell & Simson to Carngham, and Thomas Grant to Mount Emu as manager for Mrs George Allan, Welsh's mother-in-law, who through trustees secured control of that station in August 1843. In October 1845, Mrs Allan sold it to W.C. Thomson and John Thomson junior of Warrambeen, partners with Hastings Cuningham from February 1846. Russell & Simson's letterbook records the following note, dated at Carngham 13 July 1850, to the Mount Emu 'Gentlemen' from their 'obedient servants'. It is published by courtesy of Mr James Russell, now based in New South Wales, far from the Carngham hills formerly sometimes called 'tiers' through Tasmanian influence.

On riding out the other day to see your cattle fence, we were much surprized to find lines of marked trees where your fencing is laid off on our run. The Boundary Lines fixed on between Mr Grant & us in 1843 were from a point at the northeast corner of the Lagoon, where Messrs Macredie join us, to a point in Baillie's Creek where their water holes are; thence in a line as per marked Trees to the top of the Teir; thence along the Top of the dividing Range to where we meet Mrs Linton's Boundary. These Lines were fixed on before you purchased Mt Emu station, & must of course have been pointed out to you when you became the Proprietors; & Mr Russell says whenever you spoke of the Boundary Line to him he always told you the Top of the Teir. But the Lines

we saw marked off are of a very different description, coming right into the centre of our run, within half a mile of our three water holes station, & had your surveyors had daylight to carry out their Line, its continuation would have completely cut off our Home station. We trust you will see the necessity of setting these matters to rights without delay, in order to prevent misunderstanding. We may add that we have extended the Plough furrow according to the Boundary formerly agreed on, to Mrs Linton's Boundary with us.

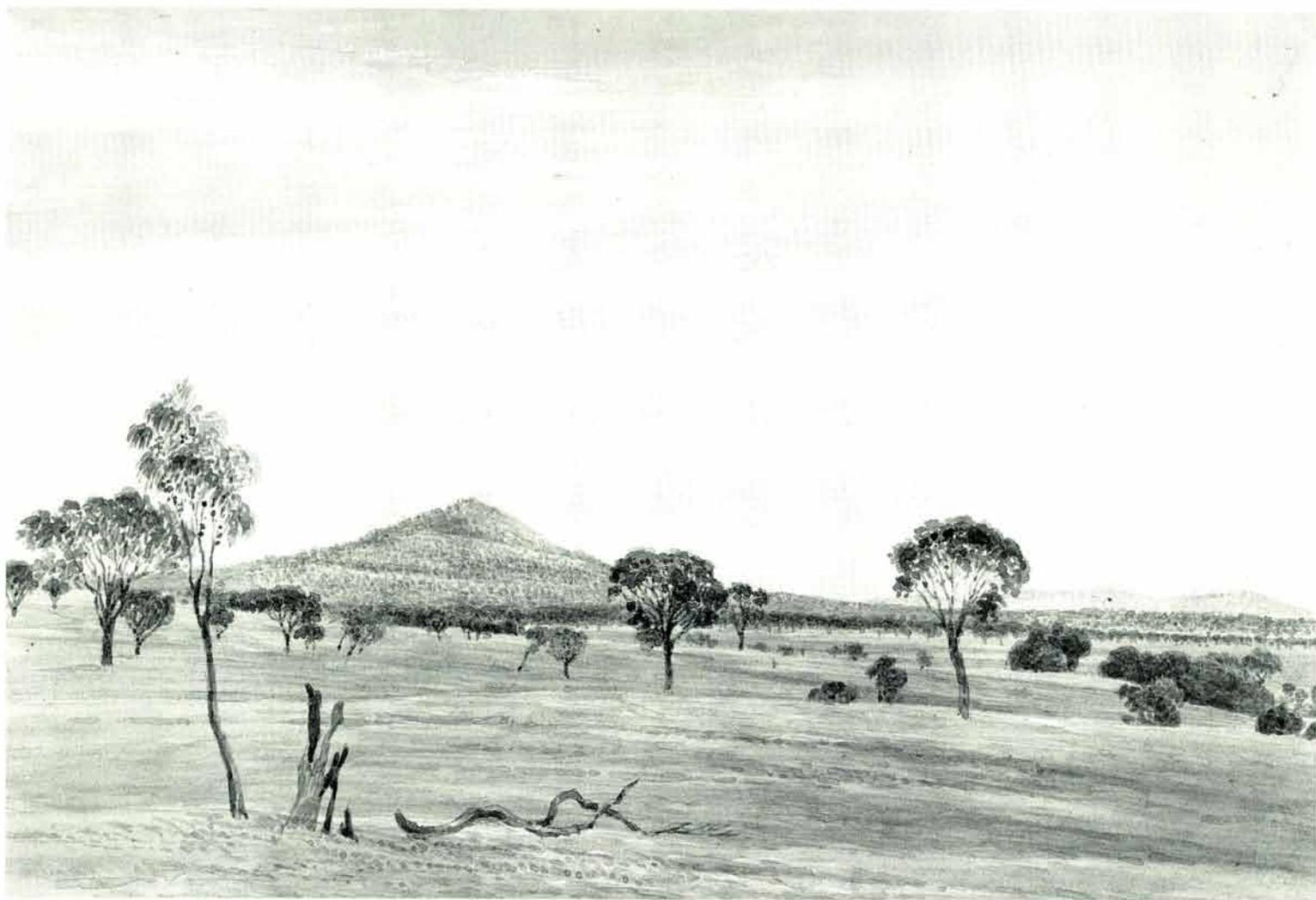


Plate 34

Plate

35

UP THE CREEK, CHALLICUM PARK

T21 NK10163/7 abn83-075642
Drawing: sepia wash 13.3 x 23.1 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection

Plate

36

CHALLICUM PARK & THE GREEN HILLS

T22 NK10163/8 abn83-075731
Drawing: sepia wash 10.1 x 22.5 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection

Plate

37

MOUNT LANJIRIN FROM THE CREEK,
CHALLICUM PARK

T33 NK10163/19 abn83-075793
Drawing: sepia wash 10.5 x 17.7 cm
Rex Nan Kivell Collection

Challicum Park, now formally denoting a long-sold part of the maximum Thomson freehold, was probably a name first inspired by the arcadian shelter sought by settling squatters, and found in this instance next to open plains. The dray in Plate 36 is laden with wood collected towards the Gorrinn boundary, which ran north-east along the crest of variously titled slopes to Conical Hill, near Cooper's 'Mount Lanjirin', or Langi Ghiran.

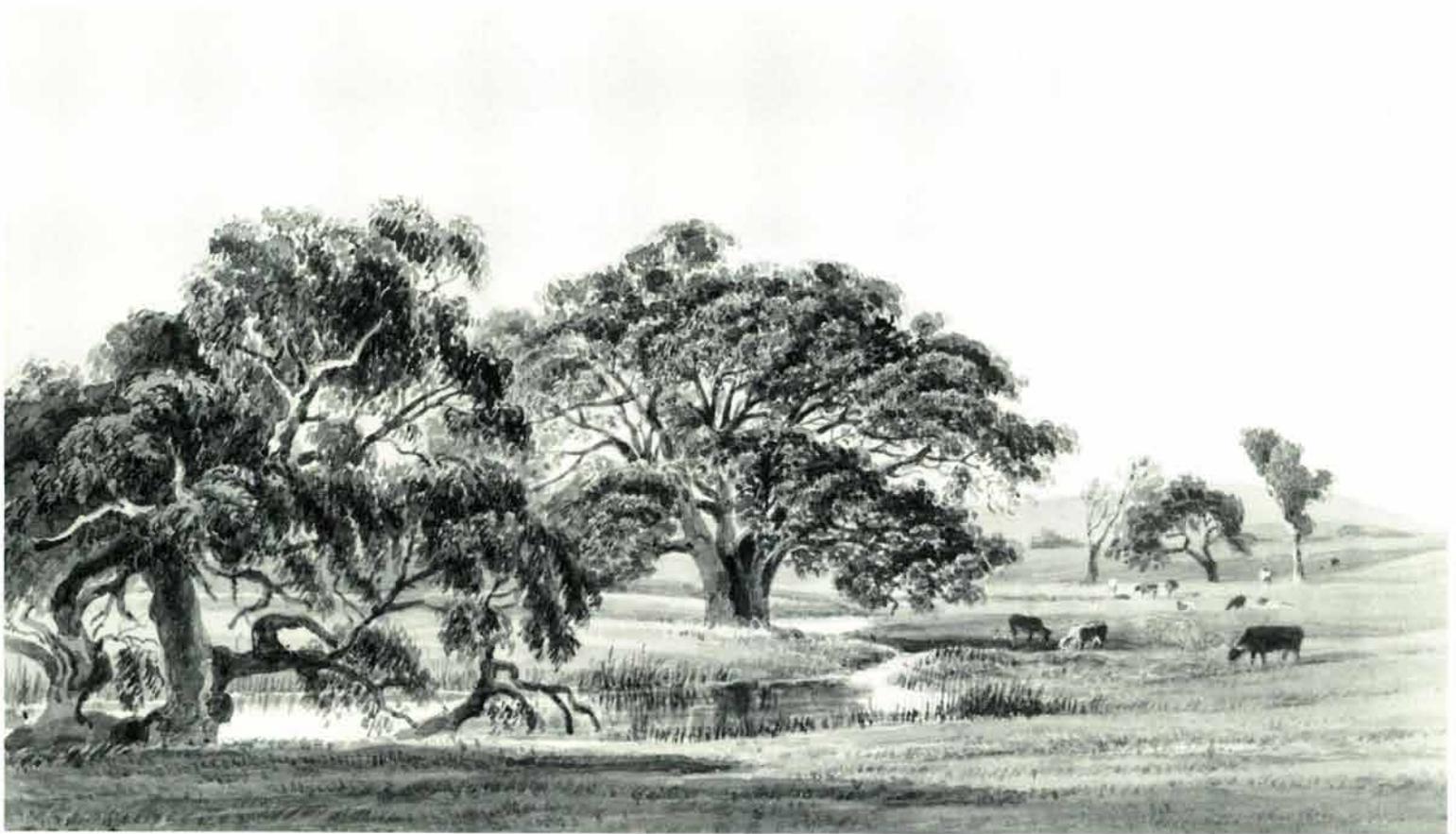


Plate 35

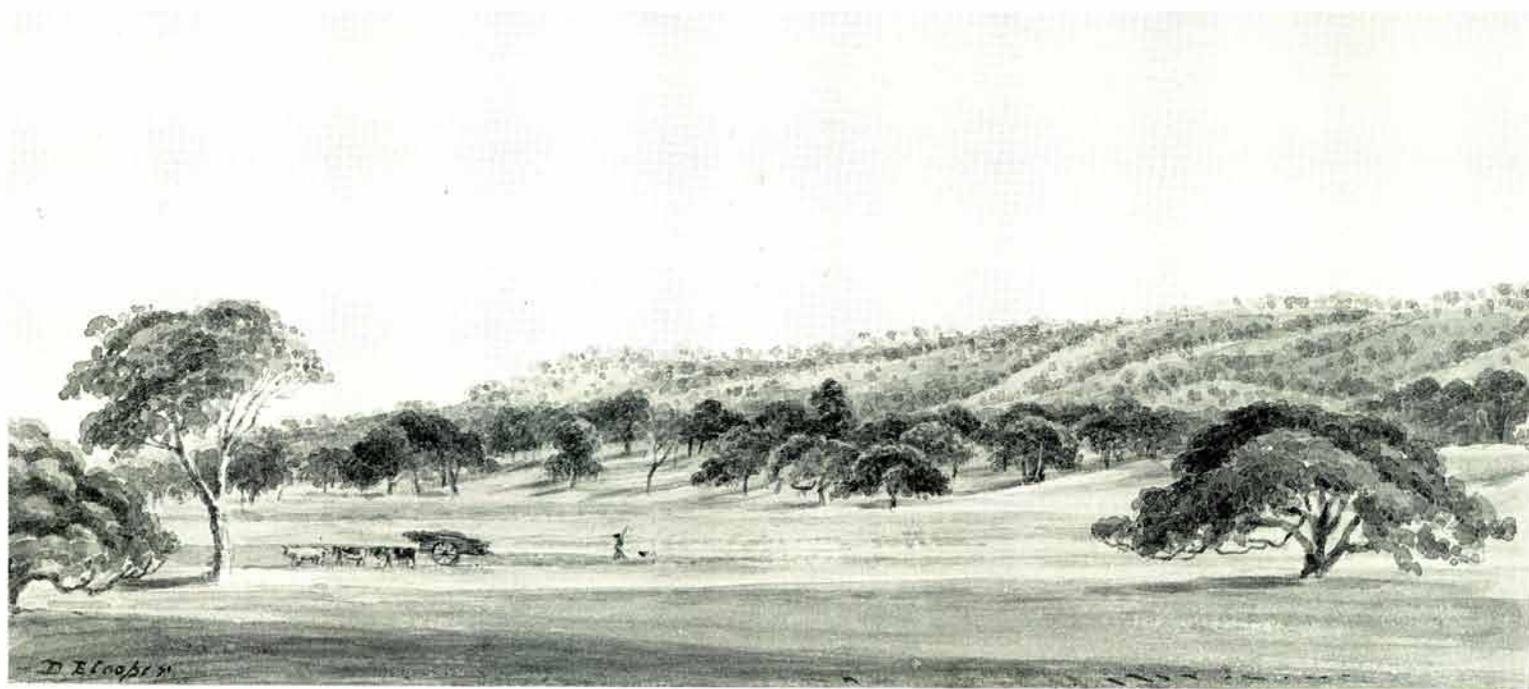


Plate 36

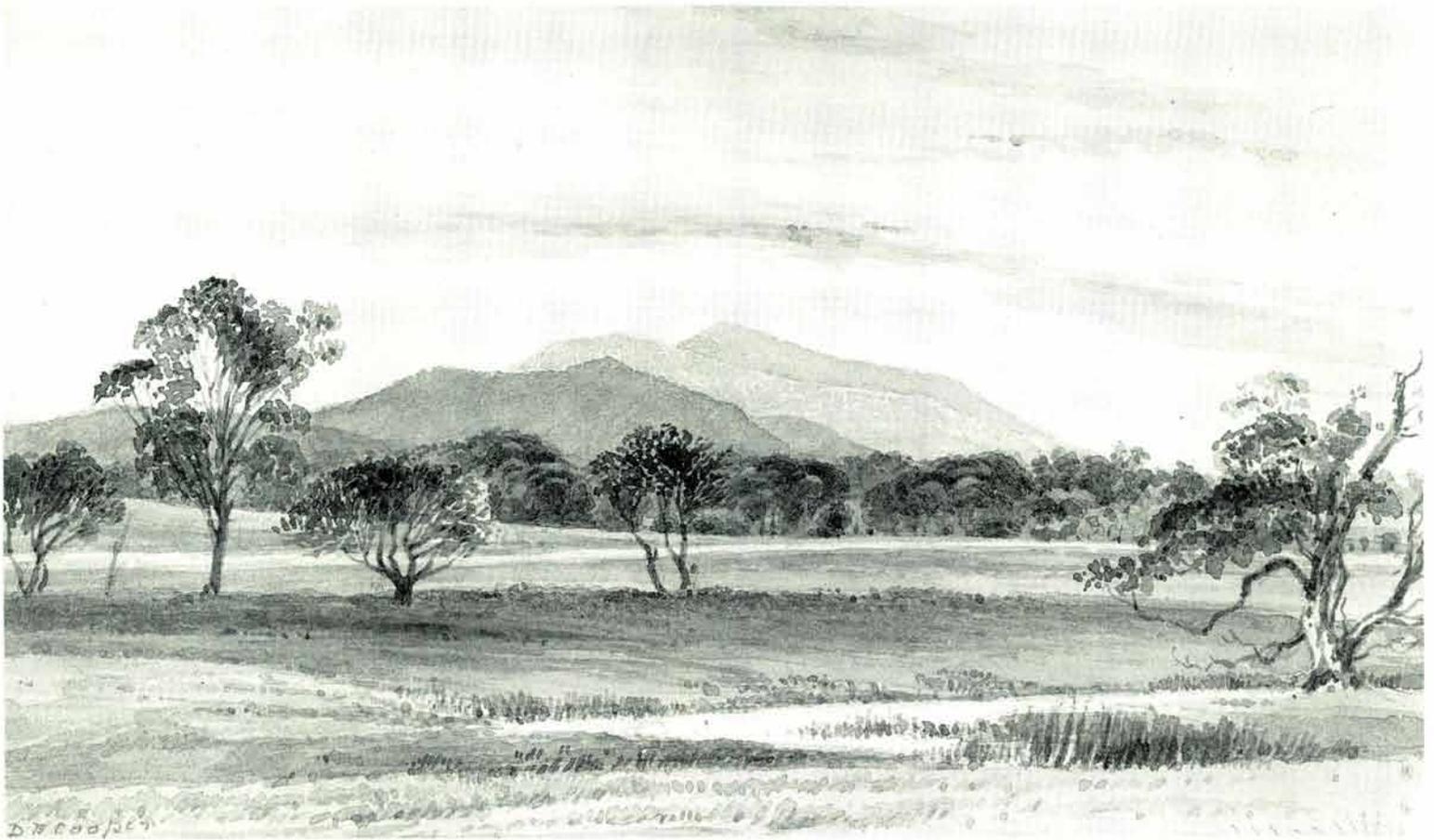


Plate 37

[RAMENONG HUT, FIERY CREEK, VICTORIA, 1853]

T35 NK10163/21 abn83-075958

Drawing: sepia wash 14.5 x 22.6 cm

Rex Nan Kivell Collection

A long tradition associates the Ramenong or Bamenong waterholes with the legendary 'bunyip of Challicum', first described in an article which appeared in the *Australasian*¹ 1851. The author, probably G.H. Wathen, edited by the squatter-journalist Colin Campbell,² gives the background as follows:

The Bunyip, it is well known, is a mysterious monster of undefined size and shape, supposed by the blacks to inhabit the deep pools of the Australian rivers. Whether we view the report as founded upon the real existence of some unknown animal, or [as] a pure creation of Australian fancy, a delineation of the Bunyip by a native hand cannot but be considered an object of interest. Such a delineation, with a legend attached to it, still exists cut out on the turf, near the Fiery Creek, not many miles from the southern base of the Pyrenees, about 6½ miles from the station of Messrs Cooper and Thomson, for which they have retained the native name of Challicum.

The locality is not unsuited to the tradition, a vast treeless, shrubless, trappean plain, out of which the rock here and there protrudes; a little stream, stealing through the long grass on its banks, and here expanding into three large deep waterholes; a small thicket of scrubby and grotesque gum trees hanging over one of the pools, and breaking the monotony . . . the hazy purple of the distant belt of mountains on the horizon, — such are the chief features

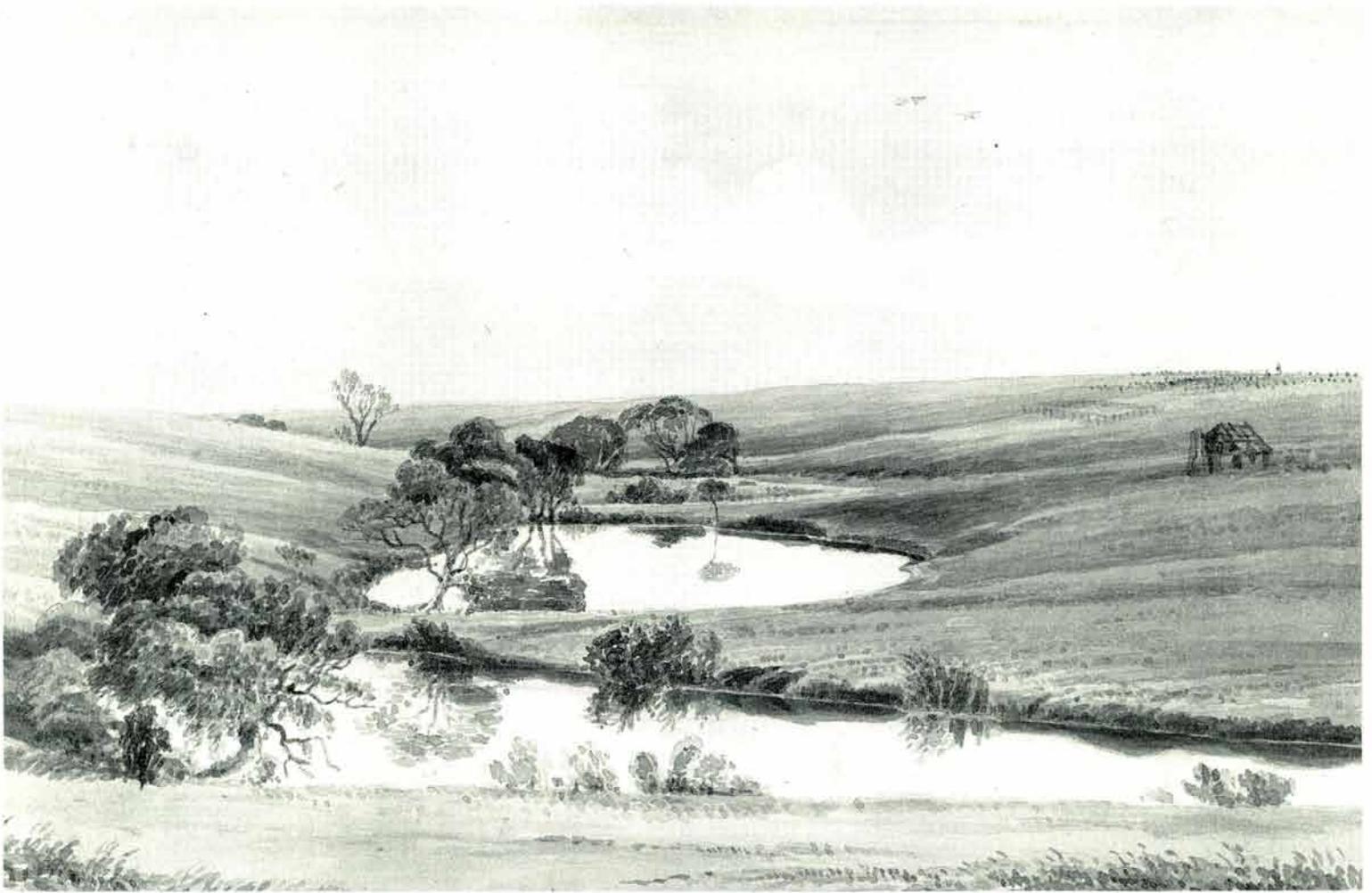


Plate 38

of this lonely and dreary scene. No living thing is visible, unless the eaglehawk . . . sailing along high overhead in quest of prey. The tradition, though very generally known to the natives, is exceedingly meagre in its details. One of these waterholes was, it says, inhabited by a Bunyip, who one day got hold of and devoured a 'blackfellow'. The other blackfellows, on seeing this, speared the Bunyip and dragged him out of the waterhole. As he lay on the grass beside the pool, they marked an outline of his form on the turf, and afterwards removed the soil within this outline, leaving a figure of the monster in intaglio on the ground. Such is the tradition; and we have preferred giving it in its native simplicity to dressing it up with ornaments and incidents unknown to the natives themselves. As to the period when the event happened, nothing more can be learnt from the blacks than that it was 'a long time ago'; a phrase which they repeat and reiterate with that peculiar musical cadence which must be familiar to all accustomed to communicate with them. They seem to have no chronology more accurately marked than by phrases such as this. The space where the turf was removed is now partially overgrown, and the feet and extremities of the figure cannot be made out without much difficulty. It will, however, be seen from a glance at the accompanying sketch that it bears more likeness to a bird of the ostrich or emu family than to a reptile. Its dimensions are colossal. It measures about 28 feet from head to tail. It should be added that the natives maintain that many Bunyips still exist in the large waterholes; so that we are not allowed the hypothesis of an extinct species, nor does the monster appear to have anything in common with the huge amphibious saurians of the pre-Adamite World.

The *Australasian* sketch shows 21 feet between arrowed breast and tail only, and a projection which justified the statement that the figure measured 28 feet from the head.

In the *Victorian Naturalist* of October 1957, Aldo Massola published an article entitled 'The Challicum Bun-yip', based on material dating from 1856 to 1867. With his article, Massola reproduced a sketch of the waterholes made in 1867 by J.W. Scott (1849-1904), eldest child of W.R. Scott, George Thomson's manager from 1855 to 1868.³ Jim Scott's original tinted drawings of the bunyip outline and pool are held by the Museum of Victoria, Melbourne. Unluckily, neither Cooper nor Scott indicated compass points or stream direction, and the government contract surveyors plotted no determining landmark.

'No doubt,' wrote Massola, 'the bunyip site was visited by the elders of the tribe some days previous to the ceremonial time, for the purpose of cleaning it and cutting it afresh. Each time it was cut in, it necessarily got a little larger, . . . each time it looked a little less like it did when originally cut.' He added that when no Aborigines remained to tend the figure it was fenced off for awhile, until, when grown over with grass and indistinct, it was subjected to grazing, and so obliterated. The traditional site, he recorded, was the bank of the so-called Black Waterhole, about 700 feet south-east of the present Challicum South homestead. In December 1978, when the Fiery Creek was subsiding from half-flood, Mr Franz Morgan, owner of Challicum South since 1966, took a small party down the right bank, below the Billy Billy (or 'Challicum') junction, to the alleged bunyip hole. The lower of two deep pools is held dependable for both water and fish. A neat brick pump-house has replaced any hut. Siltation has filled a known third pool above the junction. But the lie of the land prevents certainty.

As to the identity of the 'bunyip', Massola remarked that treating the supposed tail and legs as head and flippers disclosed recognisable seals, the occurrence of which had been noted as far inland as Lakes Corangamite and Burrumbeet.

1 The *Australasian* (Ferguson, *Bib. Aust.* iv, No. 5265), a quarterly published at Melbourne, but printed by James Harrison at Geelong, lasted only one year, from October 1850 to July 1851.

The article appeared in its second issue.

2 As Cooper and Thomsons' neighbour at Mount Cole (Buangor), Campbell was familiar with the locality.

3 I.W. Scott (ed.), Turrawan, NSW, *Bogamildi* . . . by Enoch R. Scott, 1977.

Plate

39

MOUNT COLE, PYRENEES IN DISTANCE,
THE WOODED SLOPES OF THE 'KANGAROO HILLS', AUSTRALIA

R9036 abn83-075834
Watercolour 16.6 x 24.4 cm

Cooper seems to have moved up the creek from his pictured lambing station (Plate 27) to present this gentler view of Mount Cole, to the right or north-east behind the low Challicum Hills, which bear west towards Mount Langi Ghiran and the mapped Kangaroo Range, source of the Hopkins River, north of Gorrinn station. Eagles patrolling from base in a normal season, with native game in prospect, would scarcely trouble grown sheep, even without a shepherd and his dog.

No kangaroos appear in Cooper's Challicum views. When this point was mentioned to the late Mr Arthur Beggs of Buln Gherin (formerly part of Mawallock), he replied that his father (born at Eurambeen in 1861)¹ had told him that the station Aborigines from whom he learnt bushcraft knew little about kangaroos, which in those days kept mainly to the foothills. The following article seems to confirm that statement, while describing one of the squatters' favourite sports – the Australian equivalent of the English fox hunt.

A KANGAROO HUNT

Daylight saw us well on our way to the meeting place at the foot of Langi-Ghiran, a good ten-mile ride from home. We found quite a gathering of huntsmen from the neighbouring stations, all well mounted. We had altogether nine dogs. Our huntsman, Jerry Clifford, soon gave us the signal for off, and led us over the log fence out of the road, one of our friends from Warrapinjoe finding himself, as usual, under

his horse's neck on landing. We had arranged to go round the flats, and then up over the mountain. Trooping silently through the deep forest, we were suddenly aroused by a cry of 'There they go!' Flying down the hill, the kangaroos seemed to cover twenty feet at every bound. There were two fine 'old men' and several smaller ones. Speed and Nelson took after the largest, which soon separated from the others: he had a good long start. Up the next hill the pace began to tell, and Nelson was close behind him. Here a high log fence with a cap thinned the field considerably, and two or three of us came to mother earth. A little further on, a boggy gully, known to most of us, caused a check, for we were obliged to walk over it; one of the Buangor party, however, who had lately arrived from England, thinking to distance all the colonials, went full gallop at it, and, as we expected, found himself heels up in the mud. The dogs were now out of sight, so we had to put the pace on; after crossing another fence we heard the deep bark which told us that the 'old man' had stuck up. A race now took place. We found the dogs at the side of a waterhole, their quarry safe in it up to his neck; riding alongside, we despatched him, and soon had his tail strapped on in front of the new chum's saddle, to prevent his falling off. We now heard 'cooeys' from the other members of the party; on replying, they came galloping up from different directions. Our huntsman and others had succeeded in securing another tail; the dogs showed signs of their tussle, and one of the Gorrinn boys had been rolled over, horse and all.

Half-an-hour's ride brought us up the hill, and choosing a shady spot we soon had the girths slackened and sat down to enjoy our lunch and the splendid view. We always boast of that sight in our part of the country. Thirty miles to the west, across undulating forest, we could see the Grampians stretching in a chain of peaks from Mount Zero,



Plate 39

near Horsham, to Mount Abrupt, not far from Hamilton, with Mount William in the centre rising to 5,000 feet, a striking feature being the peculiar formation of most of the high peaks, which rise gradually from the northern side, and seem to drop sheer down on the southern, thus causing a great variation of light and shade. To the east lay the hardly less imposing mass of the Pyrenees, the forest-covered Mount Cole in the foreground, Ben Nevis and other spurs running north as far as the eye could reach. Both north and south were wide plains stretching to the horizon, the monotony broken by isolated peaks, especially to the south, where we could see all the well-known volcanic hills scattered through the western district.

Lunch over, we again got into our saddles, feeling pretty certain of getting another run, as we knew of a likely spot at no great distance. Our expectations were soon realized, by seeing three or four kangaroos going at full speed down a gully, with the dogs in hot pursuit. Away we went, over logs half hidden by bracken, and after a five-minutes' gallop found ourselves on a splitters' track leading to the flat country. During this spin our English friend again came to grief. He charged into the head of a honeysuckle tree, and of course was dragged over the horse's tail. We had gone nearly two miles before we got near our game, and by that time the dogs showed signs of giving in, and this they soon did. We made up our minds to run down a big fellow that did not seem to have much running left in him. This proved the best run of the day, for, although we could easily head him, he doubled across the fences and eluded us so often that we thought of leaving him. Just then, however, Tom, by a good rush, managed to get alongside of him, and brought him down with a well-planted blow from his waddy.

It was now getting late, so we turned towards home, and, being soon joined by those whom we had lost in the last run,

we all strolled quietly along, discussing our various adventures and chaffing those who had come to grief.²

¹ Pioneer Families, 250.

² GGSQ, July 1880, 25-7, abridged. Frank Richardson of Gorrinn and George Thomson junior of Chalicum both matriculated at Melbourne University in 1879, when Geelong Grammarians. They became school prefects and joint prefects of the library early in 1880, and joint boy editors of the *Quarterly* before July. Both were athletic, and either Thomson or both probably wrote this article.

Plate

40

on mount NO.4 CHALLICUM, 3[R]D. HUT, AS ENLARGED, 1845.
on frame NO.4 CHALLICUM, THIRD HUT, 1854. AS ENLARGED IN 1845.

R9053 abn 83-075488
Watercolour 15.5 x 23.7 cm

In 1854, Cooper left Australia, it seems never to return. This watercolour, therefore, one of the four apparently given to Harry Thomson, shows the home station as it looked (or as Cooper remembered it looking) just before his departure. Compare this picture with 'Third hut. . .1845' (Plate 14). It has two buildings which the other lacks: the probable domestic quarters evident in 'Third hut, side view' (Plate 15) and the large gabled structure to the right. The second may be too far west to represent the stable and coach-house, now garage-workshop, south of the 1868 homestead; but adze and pit-saw marks proclaim the sufficient antiquity of this survivor.



Plate 40

Plate

41

PANORAMA OF CHALLICUM

No. I R308 abn83-071365
Watercolour 15.8 x 24 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 9

No. II R309 abn83-071377
Watercolour 16 x 24.5 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 10

No. III R310 abn83-071385
Watercolour 16 x 24.5 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 11

No. IV R311 abn83-071401
Watercolour 15.9 x 24.3 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 12

No. V R312 abn83-071486
Watercolour 16.6 x 25.7 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 13

No. VI R313 abn83-071499
Watercolour 17.2 x 26.2 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 14

No. VII R314 abn83-071508
Watercolour 15.7 x 24.4 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 15

No. VIII R315 abn83-071539
Watercolour 15.8 x 24 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no. 16

No. IX R316 abn83-071543
Watercolour 15.7 x 24.3 cm
The Challicum Sketch Book no.17

Cooper's title is 'Panorama of Challicum'. But the nine numbered views so named, without qualification, are really a cyclorama painted clockwise, apparently from the neighbourhood of Jones' (Lookout) Hill, near the present exit to the Buangor road. Nine pictures give each command of 40 degrees,

but all one can say with certainty of Cooper's plan is that it produced a well-articulated sequence, and that he began his task facing approximately south-south-east.

The accompanying chart and map show the apparent sequence of the nine views, in compass terms, with the major names and features reproduced from the relevant part of the 1865 pastoral runs map.

No. I (145-185 degrees) – The view is across the homestead towards Warrapengo (Stoneleigh) and St Enochs; Skipton far left, beyond them. The distant hills could align with Mt Vite Vite (right, 35 miles), and Mt Widderin (Anderson's Hill, centre, 24 miles), beyond Mt Emu Creek, on Elephant North and Boriyallock East runs. Perhaps the cattle include the Challicum milkers.

No. II (185-225 degrees) – Behind the emus are the Fiery Creek plains, and possibly Mt Weejort (1211 feet), at about 10 miles towards Streatham (18 miles). Cooper knew most of this land as part of Stevens & Thomson's Yalla-y-poorra station. Some 10 miles south of Mt Challicum, and 6 west of Mt Weejort, official Challicum Creek, joining the Fiery Creek, may enter the scope of this picture, in line with the Bald Hill, some 14 miles distant.

No. III (225-265 degrees) – Carting fuel and rough bush timber from the western foothills was a practice common enough, combined with grazing and normal summer fires, to denude a former part of the Challicum run which is still known as 'Woodside'. Light clouds obscure the Grampians, which stand within Cooper's arc at about 25 miles, from Bushy Creek north, by Mt Sturgeon (Dunkeld) and Mt Abrupt, to the Sierra Range beyond the Wannon River. The Major's track north-east from his Hopkins crossing on what became Greenvale station bisects this span which at its northern limit includes part of the Mt William and Mt William Plains runs.

No. IV (265-305 degrees) – In monotone, the hills seem merely local, merely conical. In colour, the further ridge seems unmistakably the line of the distant mountains. Although the

nearest peak could be Mt Chalicum, the central one is perhaps Mt William itself (3829 feet, some 28 miles off), or at least Mt Ararat (2020 feet, at some 16 miles).

No. V (305-345 degrees) – Across this 'conical' section of the Chalicum Hills is Gorrinn station; beyond that, Lanengeren surrounding the future site of Ararat, on the line to be taken by the Western Highway under the influence of the Pleasant Creek diggings, to become better known as Stawell. The rider has struck a track which may portend such developments; but the cycloramic sequence suggests that his immediate concern is the civilisation of cattle by frequent quiet patrols enlivened by a chance of chaseable game and some friendly contact with indigenous families. Had Cooper seen George Hamilton's lithograph, 'The Australian Bushman' (Nan Kivell Collection, National Library, Canberra; Marnie Bassett, *The Hentys*, 1954, plate 41)?

No. VI (345-025 degrees) – This is the master plate for orientation, because it embraces the twin peaks of Langi Ghiran behind the apparent tip of genuine 'Conical Hill', and the contiguous peaks of Ben Nevis and Mount Buangor, east of the Warrak gap, which leads from Buangor township north to Crowlands, seat of the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Wimmera pastoral district deducted from the Portland Bay district in November 1846. At the Aboriginals' camp, treasured fires and spears mark two of the flimsy mia-mias which it seems completely replaced semi-permanent pre-European shelters. Two women beyond the camp are apparently digging for roots, still following the native practice which Mitchell noted when he entered this district.

No. VII (025-065 degrees) – Mount Cole Range fills the background, screened by the east-west section of the Chalicum Hills, behind which Buangor township began as an appendage to Buangor station. From here the southern decline towards Chalicum homestead marks the beginning of the lightly wooded or open plains. The cattle may be on grazing march towards

headquarters, meandering fitfully down at the urging of a cramped youth on a bored pony. Such beasts prospered on roughage, and did well for themselves and the station north and west.

No. VIII (065-105 degrees) – Here at last are some of the sheep which earn the run's main income. Shepherd and dog are still needed, through lack of fences. The probable summer fires (hardly either smoke-signals or willy-willies) are in the Eurambeen and Mount Ross (Langi Kal Kal) direction. Mount Misery, the naming of which 'in a thoughtless moment', by himself and others, Thomas Learmonth junior regretted,¹ is faintly visible almost directly east, at 24 miles, on Burrumbeet (Ercildoun) station, slightly north of a line direct to the site of Beaufort.

No. IX (105-145 degrees) – More sheep – about to be yarded – and again the plains, caught in an arc which extends, north to south as follows: at about 37 miles, from Ballarat to near Rokewood; at say 28 miles, from Lake Burrumbeet to Carngham, thence to Mount Bute near Skipton; at 19 miles, from Trawalla by Mount Emu to Monmot Hill, one site for a sunrise meet of C.G. Ferrers' hounds in 1847.² At less distance this arc encloses the Lillerie, Mawallock, and St Enochs homesteads, centred upon Lake Goldsmith and Stockyard Hill. Few distinctive features are obvious in this painting. But Challicum 'hut' must stand in the sheltered hollow shared with No. I of this cyclorama. Trees must indicate the creek, the fold and flock represent home station activities.

¹ LVP, 41.

² *Port Phillip Herald* 6 May 47, p.2 'Hunting Appointments'.



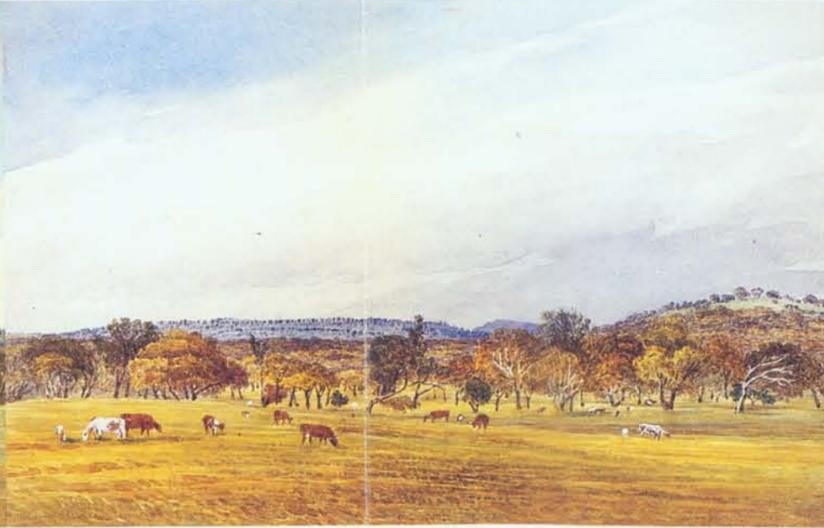
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No. II



No. III



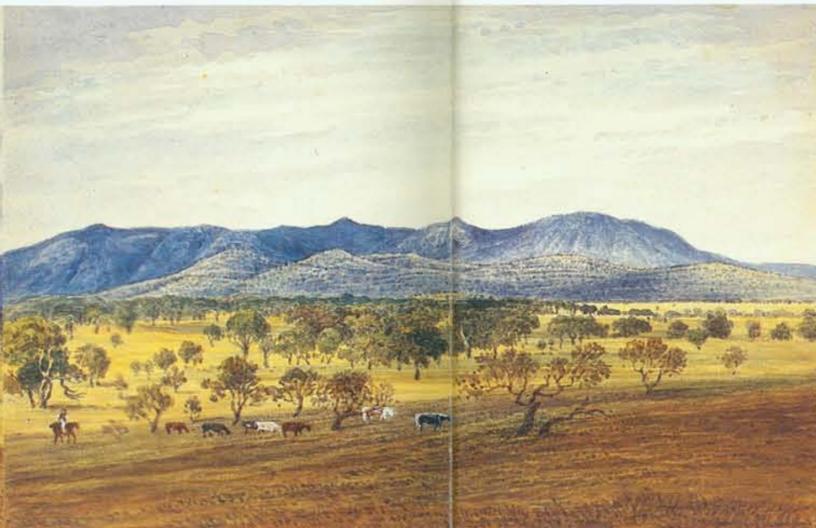
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No. V



No. VI



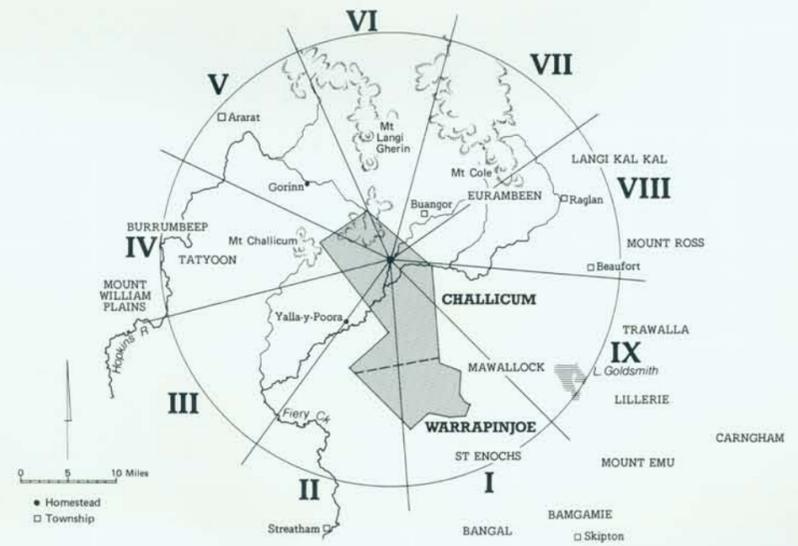
No. VII



No. VIII



No. IX



Commentary 1

ANGLO-INDIAN INVOLVEMENT

In May 1977, while the army lists on the third floor were being dredged for details of Major-General George Cooper (the artist's father), Mr R.E. Anderson of the State Library, Melbourne, in consequence of questions put, appeared with a London quarto of 1762 (39 pages text, 29 appendix), bound with slimmer productions as *Political Science Pamphlets*, Vol.19 (S.320.4 / P.75). Its title is elaborate:

AN AUTHENTIC / ACCOUNT / of the / PROCEEDINGS/ of their /
HIGH MIGHTINESSES / the States of / HOLLAND and WEST-
FRIEZELAND / on the Complaint laid before them by His Excellency
/ SIR JOSEPH YORKE / His *Britannic Majesty's* Ambassador at the
Hague/ Concerning HOSTILITIES committed in the River of BENGAL./
TO WHICH IS ADDED / AN APPENDIX / Containing the Original
Letters of / Colonel CLIVE (now Lord CLIVE), Admiral POCOCKE,
Admiral WATSON, / with other Vouchers./ Translated from the
Original *Dutch*, printed by Authority.

The following statement confirms the validity of Commodore George Willson's log:

*Extract from the Report made by the Captain of the Ship, VLIFFINGEN,
J.Jantz Zuydland, to the Director, ADRIAN BIFDOM, and the Council at
HUGHLY, dated the 24th Day of December 1759.*

In the mean Time I received, by an English Lieutenant, a Letter, the Contents whereof, translated, are as follows:

To the Commanding Officer of the Dutch Ships

SIR,

I am surprised to hear that your Troops have debarked on the Territory of the Honourable the English Company, without Permission obtained from the Governour and Council at Fort William. I assure you, by these

Presents, that if you venture to land a single man more, I shall construe it as an Act of Hostility, and exert myself to the utmost, to sink and disperse your Ships.

Signed,
GEORGE WILSON [sic]

*Dated on board the
Calcutta, the 22nd
November, 1759*

When G.W. Thomson, Harry Preston Thomson (whose future only daughter eventually transcribed the cardinal document) and Duncan Cooper turned down-creek from Mount Cole to inspect A.& C. Campbells' offered sheep, they probably had no talk of Captain George Thomson's engagement in the *Calcutta*, under the command of George Willson, commodore of a squadron with at least two other ships, the *Hardwick* (Captain Samson), and the *Duke of Dorset* (Captain Forester). They would scarcely have discussed any passing remembrance of Willson's recorded reaction to the Dutch commodore's letter, sent 'in Ponjelly Reach in forty-six fathoms water within musquett shot . . . under flagg of truce, desiring us not to move any higher (if we did we must stand to the consequences) . . . in answer to which I wrote him that I was ordered up to Calcutta by the Governor and Council thereof, and in obedience thereto I should make my way thither by night or by day as the pilots thought proper; that I had no orders to molest them, but that if they fired upon us they might depend on our returning it, and they must stand to the consequences, as being at peace with Holland'.

Such was Willson's log entry for 19 November 1759. Next morning he 'filled up with the tide past three of the Dutch ships'; then for two days he proceeded up river. His version of 'the consequences' was transcribed thus:¹

Friday, 23rd: Wind and weather as before. At noon heard that the Dutch had landed their troops; received orders from the Governor and Council to bear down the river and demand restitution from the Dutch Commodore for the vessels, boats, &c they had taken (which they did not comply with); to endeavour to take, burn, sink or destroy their ships. At 4½ p.m. weighed and dropt down the tide. At 8 p.m. came on board a flagg of truce from the Dutch Commodore. At 9 he returned. At midnight came on board again with another flagg of truce; at the same

time sent our boat on board theirs with a flagg of truce, and at 8½ came to with the best bower.

Saturday, 24th: Light breeze and fair weather. At 6½ a.m. weighed and dropt down with the tide into Melancholy Reach; at 9½ I gave out the signal for engaging (a Union Jack at the main topsail masthead), and fired a shot at one of the Dutch ships, upon which an engagement ensued and lasted an hour and a half, when the Dutch Commodore struck his colours, as did three more of their ships, and came on board my ship with a Flagg of Truce. Brought his Broad Pennant and delivered his sword to me, which I returned him again; immediately manned our boats and sent them on board with an officer and took the commanders and some of the officers out of each ship, with several of their men, and spiked up their guns. At 5 p.m. despatched a sloop to Calcutta with 80 prisoners, and at 8 p.m. came on board Chas Stafford Playdell Esqre, one of the Council of Calcutta, to give orders concerning the management of the Dutch ships.

Found on board the Dutch Commodore and on their other ships several dead and wounded (by their account there were upwards of 30 killed on the Dutch Commodore), among which were the pilots of each ship and several of the officers. We were obliged to cut our best bower cabel in the action, that we might get lower down to get nearer the ships.

The ship's company of the Calcutta was 128 hands all told; she had also on board on leaving Gravesend 104 soldiers for Madras.

Had this fight been discussed by the new-chum squatters, however, Cooper would have had as natural an interest in it as the Thomsons. His Gravesend grandmother died in August 1786, eighteen months before her surgeon husband, whose will disclosed that their two eldest children, Mary and Charles, as well as their fourth daughter, Elizabeth (born 7 May 1782), reached India before their fifth son, George (baptised 26 August 1780).²

Mary's husband, Robert Saville Pernau, witnessed Elizabeth's marriage to Duncan Campbell at Fort William, Calcutta, in June 1798. In January 1842, when most of Campbell's and his widow Elizabeth's four sons and two daughters were inextricably bound to their Indian setting, George Cooper, D.E.'s father, became divisional commander at Barrackpore. He gained field rank as a widower, during the first Burmese war (1824-5), and from 1835 was colonel of the 34th Native Infantry Regiment. However, in December 1830, at Jamalpur, he replaced his dead wife, Jane Munn, by Miss Jessy Besseterre,

who died in 1844, aged twenty-eight, and in 1845 was succeeded by Eliza, the eldest daughter of Captain Thomas Haslam (1790-1832), who survived her husband.

George Lewis Cooper, the general's eldest son, arrived from Addiscombe in 1828. In 1834 he married, at Meerut, Catherine, the only daughter of Robert Chamberlain, Bengal Civil Service. In 1838-42 he served with distinction through the first Afghan war as a gunner subaltern. In 1846, as Captain Cooper, he married secondly Miss Mary Griffin, at Lucknow – where eleven years later he died when commanding Havelock's artillery.³

Duncan Cooper's relatives were deeply immersed in the tide of Indian life which gripped so many Britons of their generations. Although possibly not born in India, since his name is not in the Bengal baptismal indexes, 1810-20, Cooper probably appreciated the cultural insight and artistic skill, the technical competence, racial co-operation, and sacrificial climate-defying energy evident in such productions as the periodical volumes of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, or in Robert Wight's *Illustrations of Indian Botany*, with quarto coloured plates, the first volume of which ('the first work of the kind that ever issued from the Madras press')⁴ was published in 1840 at Wight's expense, with a dedication to John, thirteenth Baron Elphinstone (1807-60), 'Governor of the Presidency of Fort St. George', whose administration subscribed for fifty copies.

Anglo-Indian culture – that of Britons committed to Captain Fyans's 'land of sun',⁵ but eventually drawn to Australia – had primary formative influence in the Port Phillip District. Charles Swanston of Hobart Town, and George Mercer of Edinburgh, his senior by seventeen years, both formerly in the East India Company's army, were represented by their immediate successors: son, daughter, son-in-law; two sons and nephew (later son-in-law). So was Thomas Learmonth, merchant, of Hobart Town, from Calcutta. His eldest son, Dr John Learmonth, of Laurence Park, Batesford, married the second daughter of George Mercer's friend, John Macwhirter, once physician to the Governor-General of India, and resident in Geelong, 1849-51. Mrs Mercer and Mrs Macwhirter were sisters of Lestock Robert Reid (d.1878),⁶ sometime acting Governor of Bombay. Two of Reid's daughters (Jane, as a second wife, and Maria) married Learmonth's second and third sons, Thomas junior and Somerville, who founded the Victorian station called Ercildoun. Another daughter, Julia, married Mercer's sixth son, Laurence.⁷ This relationship did not cover Captain John Montagu, the sly but able son of a Bengal colonel, who was closely associated with Swanston's management of the Derwent Bank, Hobart Town; but, before he was posted to Cape Colony from the colonial

secretaryship of Van Diemen's Land, Montagu joined Swanston, Mercer, and Learmonth in forming the Derwent Company from the remnant of the Port Phillip Association.

When Thomsons & Cooper reached Melbourne, the first locally printed and published book, George Arden's *Latest Information with regard to Australia Felix* (1840), was the still useful production of a youth whose parents apparently died in Bengal during his infancy, 1822-3.⁸ If, as seems certain, John Whitehall Stevens, A.T. Thomson's Melbourne-based partner in Yalla-y-poorra, was a son of James Stevens, senior judge of the East India Company's court of appeal, the Anglo-Indian net briefly embraced the Airey squatters, John Moore Cole (once lieutenant R.N., after whom Airey's Inlet, near Geelong, was named), and George Sherbrooke (Commissioner of Crown Lands, Melbourne district, 1839-44), sons of Lieutenant-General Sir George Airey, through G.S.'s ill-fated marriage to the judge's daughter, Charlotte, in November 1844.⁹ An abiding Anglo-Indian tradition came close to Challicum soon after 15 January 1851 (in or approaching the year of Elizabeth Cooper, Mrs Duncan Campbell's, death)¹⁰ when John Macwhirter's fifth daughter, Frances, was married to Colin Campbell of Buangor, by Bishop Perry, in Geelong's only Anglican church¹¹ – now ranked as Victoria's oldest on an unchanged site.

ENDNOTES

- 1 The transcriber was Harry Thomson's only daughter Alice (Mrs W.T. Kaye), who copied the reputed original lent by her cousin Edith, Rev. W.S. Thomson's daughter. Use of this source was granted by Mrs Kaye's daughter, Dr A.M. Kaye (Mrs Bowden).
- 2 Gravesend parish registers (Rev. R.C.L. Pilgrim); prerogative court of Canterbury, will 1798/163 (Mr A.J. McMillan).
- 3 India Office Library, London, Bengal N/1/5/131 (Mr A.J. McMillan); *East Indian Register & Directory*; *BLG* – Campbell of Inverneil; Hodson, i (Colonel P.S. Newton).
- 4 From the preface, dated at Madras 30 Dec 1839.
- 5 A repeated term for India in Fyans's manuscript memoirs held by the La Trobe (State) Library, Melbourne; e.g., folio 123, reproduced at p.52 of the book, short-titled *Fyans Memoirs*, published by the Geelong Advertiser Pty Ltd, 1986.
- 6 *India List*, Jan. 1879, p.174.
- 7 *BLG* covers the Learmonth and Mercer families.
- 8 *ADB* 1; *BCG* ii, 534; *BLG*; *Calcutta Journal* 25 Sep 1823, p.342, administration of the estate of Major Samuel Arden, late 1st bn. 27th Native Infantry.
- 9 Melbourne's Anglican chaplain, A.C. Thomson, performed this marriage at Cheviot Hills, a run on the Goulburn river, where its holder, J.W. Stevens, was principal witness. A mocking contributor to the *Port Phillip Patriot* of 14 March 1845 suggested that the prospects had been unsettling ('For Cupid had with golden arrow / Pierced Sherbrooke Airey to the marrow – / Who, to a wedded life inclined, / got married, and forthwith resigned'); but deadlier darts produced this inscription in the now extinct first Melbourne cemetery – 'Charlotte Airey, 8th November 1845'. In 1848 her husband remarried in Scotland

and for many years he was recorded as a licensed Victorian pastoralist near Yea, at Killingworth station – otherwise Cheviot Hills. (Govt. Statist, Vic.; Billis & Kenyon,

Pastoral Pioneers; Selby, Memorial History of Mebourne, 1924, p. 384.)
10 *BLG*: 4th ed., '1851'; 17th ed., '1853'.
11 *ADB* 3, p.344.

Commentary 2
PIVOTAL PROSPECTS

There was never truth in the still persistent rumour that, but for delay in cutting its harbour bar, and precipitancy in preferring a robbing Melbourne railway to a contributing Ballarat one, Geelong might have been Victoria's political capital. Disparity of population made this development impossible. But 'By 1848 Geelong had outstripped Melbourne in the value of its exports. . . The Geelong Advertiser declared . . . "Let Melbourne be the seat of Government. Geelong must be the pivot on which the Commercial World turns."'¹

When Thomsons & Cooper arrived, there had been direct voyages between British ports and Melbourne for more than two years, and Geelong had been a surveyed town for three. It had mercantile and shipping facilities, and 'the fine new British built bark *Alice Brook*, 250 tons burthen, Captain D. Scott', having loaded at Point Henry, had sailed on 24 March 1840 with the first local wool consigned direct to England.² Tasmania remained economically essential only as a labour reservoir and meat market. As most of the passengers in the barque *Diamond* witnessed by their mere presence, the British Government's scheme for assisted immigration foreshadowed complete economic sufficiency subject to the continuance of capital investment. This scheme became visibly productive at Port Phillip in January 1840, when Captain Francis Ormond (in 1843 builder of the Settlers' Arms inn on the Clyde Company's purchased land) reached Melbourne from London in the ship *John Bull*, of about 725 tons, with the first batch of 89 male and 99 female immigrants, plus 31 children.³

The *John Bull*, like the *Diamond*, also brought paying passengers, 23 men and 11 women, accompanied by 13 children. Adults of this kind had various aims; but to the European, born or by descent, the Port Phillip District of the 1840s was inevitably a pastoral world. The key to material success was adaptability. The system of freehold grants by virtue of public service or the provision of productive means had been abrogated before the Henty brothers and John Batman led settlers across Bass Strait. With the ending of assignment in 1840, the labour force based on the convict system faded across the eastern Australian mainland. The political vogue became colonisation on E.G.

Wakefield's principles,⁴ through the gradual survey and sale of Crown lands, governed by a nice adjustment of cost and price to the cardinal factors in a theoretical repeating cycle of immigration, employment as labour, proprietorship, then employment of the labour of later or lesser immigrants. Under this dispensation, what augmented squatting? Had John Macarthur and others, twenty years earlier, not established the worth and potential of Australian wool, there would have been no squatting except by outlaws, no practical inducement to the emigration of persons like the Baillie, Campbell, Chirnside, Donald, Hamilton, and Thomson brothers, the Kirklands, Duncan Cooper (unless no more than a self-supporting 'artist friend'), Philip Russell of Carngham, and Robert Simson.

Whether overstraiters from Tasmania, or overseas recruits, few squatters were wealthy at their outset. Several had useful resources and were scions of established families. Some were remarkably literate and well informed. Those not Australian born shared the advantage of a rural inheritance still tangible to most British people, but lacked the colonial experience which often helped their predecessors to gain independence from the rank of overseer. Many began as subordinates, in particular some among the first overstraiters. George Russell, for example, the fifth surviving son of a tenant farmer, left Scotland for Van Diemen's Land in 1830, when aged eighteen, to make his fortune (£100 a year was his target) under the guidance of the second brother, Philip, who had himself departed nine years earlier as a free settler's manager.⁵ Their cousins, young Philip Russell and Robert Simson, shared their background, but, having George Russell at hand, and coming from wealthier farms with funds to throw into the empty financial trough, managed to start without a set apprenticeship. These juniors were thus abreast of George Russell's younger brother, Alexander, who preceded them to Australia, but in his turn had to climb the subordinates' ladder before, with fraternal help, he became in 1846 manager and part holder of Mawallock station, Thomas Steel's share of the original Black & Steel run. Perhaps through the goading of the fourth brother, Robert (Presbyterian minister of Evandale, Van Diemen's Land), Alexander Russell became a fair correspondent. But, although it has been attributed to him, he had nothing to do with *A Tour through the Australian Colonies* (1840), the 'unfortunate volume' that, according to 'Garryowen' (Edmund Finn),⁶ was brought to Melbourne town council meetings by J.P. Fawkner, who brandished it 'tomahawk fashion' in the face of its author, Andrew Russell ('The Tinker', fourth mayor of Melbourne), and 'with a loud laugh would passionately and scornfully exclaim: "Oh, that mine enemy would write a book!"'⁷

In the early 1870s, Anthony Trollope published his impression that most Victorian squatters originated in Scotland.⁸ Most in the Mount Cole district certainly did, but they differed in motives and outlook. There was a common philosophy of justifiable, humane, disciplined occupation, for economic, religious, and social purposes. Nearly all leading participants shared a sound education, trained initiative, and, in unequal degree, financial resource. But their views showed distinct variations in their backgrounds and cultural standards. The Russells began to emigrate fifteen years or so before Melbourne was founded, because, although well tilled, their farms were too small or few. The Baillies and Kirklands formed part of the first external squatting wave, as respectively cadets of Polkemmet, Linlithgow, and a blend of Glasgow industry and Norman blood.⁹

Although both groups so represented were affected by common pressures and hopes, the second was more susceptible to the lure of Mitchell's prose and romantic pictures. It was also more likely to be drawn by the paternal preface to David Waugh's pastoral prescriptions: 'how deep and general is the feeling that this country is peopled beyond its natural resources and regular demand for productive labour. . . above all, that the rearing, educating, and fitting out a family for active life is daily becoming a matter of greater difficulty, especially in the middle ranks of society'.¹⁰

But for numbers of the new settlers, reality did not match predicted bounty. In 1839, as a youth of eighteen, James Riley (great grandfather of Australia's champion Olympic cyclist Russell Mockridge) took horse from Port Jackson to inspect his London stepfather's blind purchase through a Sydney agent of 2,105 acres in the first sale of country lands near Geelong. He found on his ride across the Werribee plains ('Mor commonly known as the Weary-Boy Planes, and weary enough they are', he wrote to his mother) no plotted track, 'though the Government now have a Gang at work clearing the stones from the cerface and thus forming a line of road'.¹¹ Unaware of the pastoral virtue in the open volcanic country further west, he saw little promise in the goal he had travelled five hundred miles to reach. Just rocks and lack of trees, to be shrugged off with the maxim 'If you buy meat you must take Bones, and if you buy land you must take stones'. Riley built there eventually, and called the property Meltham, after his stepfather's Yorkshire mills. But, when reporting to his mother from Hannibal Macarthur's property, The Vineyard, Parramatta, under date 16 December, he was pessimistic: 'You May ask, why did you not purchase some sheep and put them out on thirds? but my reply is that it cannot be done; you cannot get any one to take them, for it will not pay now in these hard times, for hard they really are when we have to pay thirty and fourty

pounds to men to shepherd and watch and so fourth, and pay as we have been doing Ninety and a hundred pounds for a ton of Flower, and often glad to get it at that. How can things pay at These prices? this is not the country for men with a few hundreds to come to, and I think those that publish such things are decidedly to blame. But John Bull is so easily taken in, and believes every word that he hears: in these works on this colony they only give you the Sunny side of the picture, and suppress the gloomy unplesen scenes. I assure you I will advise no one to emigrate.¹²

ENDNOTES

- 1 Wynd, Ian, *Geelong – The Pivot*, Cypress Books, Melbourne, 1971, p.19.
- 2 PPP 2 Dec. 1839, &c.; Kerr, 1841, p.197. From Geelong to London with wool in 1840; but repeatedly from Melbourne to Adelaide fifteen years later? *Argus*, Melb., 1854 ff., e.g. 27/2/54 'Alice Brooks, barque, 212 tons, in ballast'.
- 3 PPP 23 Jan. 1840; Kerr, 1841, 189, 196; Boys, 104.
- 4 ADB 2.
- 5 *The Narrative of George Russell*, 1935, 29, 40, 367.
- 6 ADB 1.
- 7 *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne*, 1888, i, 311; Ferguson, *Bib. Aust.* III, Nos. 3074–5.
- 8 *Victoria and Tasmania*, 1874, 90.
- 9 BCG i. 152; *Australian Families*, 340; Anderson, Hugh, *The Flowers of the Field*, 1969.
- 10 Waugh, 1st ed., preface dated at Edinburgh 24 March 1838 (8 pp.).
- 11 VHM No. 124 (May 1961). Transcription from original manuscript.
- 12 Ibid. The old Meltham homestead vanished in 1980.

Commentary 3
DUNCAN COOPER'S BENEFICIARIES

Cooper's net personalty at the time of his death was £5372 16s. 10d. Of this, after due deductions, he left by his will:

£ 150 equally between his three executors
£1000 and his residuary estate to C.D. Cooper or family
£2000 as a priority bequest to a married niece or her children
£ 100 to Catherine Sheffield, a widowed niece
£ 100 to Jane Sarah Browne, also a widowed niece
£ 400 between four Sheffield nephews
£ 21 to a married niece for a ring or other remembrance
£ 21 to a widowed niece for the same purpose
£ 100 to Duncan, son of Winchester Munn
£ 100 to Mrs Charlotte Eliza Pook of 31 Talbot Road, widow
£3992

To Colonel C.D. Cooper (then apparently stationed at Kildare in Ireland), or failing him to his son Cecil, were to go Duncan Cooper's gold watch and chain. His gun was bequeathed to the Reverend C.T. Witherington. But as for the testator himself, all that his will enjoined was that any supposed sudden death should be confirmed by a specially engaged medical practitioner, and that he should be buried in the nearest or most convenient churchyard or cemetery in the simplest and least expensive way, his executors being directed to retain sufficient assets to fully indemnify themselves against all his estate's liabilities.

The codicil to Cooper's will required the destruction of his 'letters, papers, journals, or other documents' at Talbot Road, apart from those linked with his legal affairs. It bequeathed the balance of his books at Talbot Road to his brother Samuel, and 'to my cousin Miss Louisa Stephens of No.111 Lee Road, Blackheath, my double sovereign given me by our aunt Miss Sophia Munn'. Finally, Cooper pronounced, 'I give & bequeath to Charlotte Eliza Pook,

widow, of 31 Talbot Road, Westbourne Park, W., my mantelpiece clock (as a remembrance), my easy chair, & all my wearing apparel, linen, & portmanteaux & fur rug, now at my apartments at 31 Talbot Road, all these to be valued, & the legacy duty (if any) to be paid from my residuary estate.'

When his will and codicil were checked, with the generous help of Mr R.N. Rapson, M.V.O., secretary of the Oriental Club, it became evident that Cooper was proposed for membership, on 27 December 1855, by William Sheffield (1788? – 1859), formerly of the Madras Civil Service, with whom he had been staying at Feltham Hall, Middlesex, and that one of Cooper's sisters – if he had more than one – had married into that family. Thus the Sheffields named in the will fall roughly into place: Catherine (widow of Charles Hyde Sheffield) and Alice (one of the recipients of twenty guineas, widow of Colonel William Robert Sheffield), as Cooper's 'in-law' nieces; Jane Sarah Browne and Emilie (the other recipient of twenty guineas, wife of Colonel Alfred John Borton), as his Sheffield-born nieces; and as his four Sheffield nephews, George Cooper, Duncan Campbell, Octavius Reid, and Arthur Decimus. If Emily Grace, wife of Major-General Hugh Shaw of Southsea, Hampshire, the lady to whom Cooper made a priority bequest of £2,000, was not born a Sheffield, possibly she was the daughter of one of Cooper's brothers, or of a second sister.

Duncan Cooper's concern for his housekeeper, and Colonel Cooper's professional absence in Ireland, indicate that the former lived in Bayswater for some time, although his will and codicil give preference to the address of the Oriental Club, then of Hanover Square, but now of Stratford Place. The particulars of Cooper's death, which led to the disclosure of these various details, were discovered in April 1976, at St Catherine's House, London, through the necessarily quick deduction (by I.J.H. Brown, on the eve of returning to Australia) that, within the probable bracket of years, 'Cooper, Duncan E.', among one-liners like 'Duncan Edward', must denote 'Duncan Elphinstone'. This proved, a short step to Paddington produced the actual register; and a further short excursion visual evidence that 31 Talbot Road had become a terrace house, rather run down, and in the West Indian belt.

When these particulars reached the National Library, Mr A.T. Bolton suggested that *The Times* might have printed a notice of Cooper's death. His suggestion was received with doubt, but action produced the following from the issue for Wednesday, 23 November 1904: 'COOPER. – On the 22nd inst., at 31 Talbot-road, Bayswater, DUNCAN ELPHINSTONE COOPER, late of the Oriental Club, in his 91st year, son of Major-General George Cooper, Bengal

Army. Funeral Kensal-green Cemetery, Friday 11.30 a.m. By request, no flowers'.

That Cooper had maintained his interest in Victoria is evident in the *Report of the Sectional Committee of the Public Library* (now the State Library, Melbourne) for 1875. In thanking various donors of books, the Committee desired 'to specially express their gratitude to Mr Duncan Elphinstone Cooper. This gentleman's liberality has placed the Library in possession of twenty-six volumes of works illustrated by T. and J. Bewick. Impressions of the designs of the great masters of the school of English wood-engraving are becoming daily scarcer and more valuable. Those selected by Mr Cooper are for the most part examples of the artists' best manner, and are nearly all clean and well preserved copies. The collection, moreover, is handsomely bound, armed, and lettered at the expense of the donor. In accordance with Mr Cooper's desire, the volumes will be placed upon a separate shelf in the Library, under the title of the "Cooper Collection", and will be inscribed with the donor's name.'

The twenty-six books were listed later in the same report. In 1882, Cooper added nineteen, and in 1896 the two volumes of Thomas Hugo's *The Bewick Collector*.

Cooper's technical knowledge is glimpsed in the letter which covered his list of his 1882 gift. Both are reproduced here:

*Oriental Club
Hanover Square
London W
Decr 28, 1882*

*To the Trustees of the Public Library
Melbourne –*

Gentlemen

I have the honour to inform you that I have forwarded through Messrs Bain, Booksellers, Haymarket, Nineteen Volumes of works illustrated by the Brothers John & Thomas Bewick, and others, that were not included in the number which on a former occasion I had the pleasure to present to the Melbourne Public Library.

On the other side of this Paper you will find a list of the Books I now send, and I have only to add my request that you will have them placed with those of my first contribution, as part of the 'D.E. Cooper Collection'.

It may be proper to state, farther, that several of the Books I now send, for instance, Bloomfield's 'Farmer's Boy', and 'Marmontel's Tales' have been questioned as to their being the work of the Messrs Bewick: they however illustrate their school; as some of the others, notably the 'Cobwebs to catch Flies' show what the state of the art of wood engraving was before the time of the Bewicks, and how much They did to improve and extend it; and are on that account particularly interesting in an historical point of view.

*I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient Servant
DUNCAN ELPHINSTONE COOPER*

List of Bewicks works, & others,
2d Donation presented to the
Public Library, Melbourne
By Duncan Elphinstone Cooper
Decr 28, 1882

Vols		
2	Cobwebs to catch flies	ND
1	Choice emblems	1772
1	Croxall's Aesop's Fables	1788
1	Gay's Fables (John Bewick)	1788
1	Dance of Death (Thos Bewick)	1789
2	New Robinson Crusoe (JB)	1789
1	Trusler's Proverbs (JB)	1790
1	Gay's Fables (TB)	1792
1	Tales for Youth (JB)	1794
1	Pity's Gift (?)	1798
1	Marmontel's Tales (?)	1799
1	Bloomfield's Farmer's Boy (?)	1800
1	Miscellanies (JB)	ND
1	Thomsons seasons (JB)	1805
1	Hermit of Warkworth (JB)	1806
1	Fisher's 'Spring Day' (Green)	1823
1	Poetry for Youth (?)	1824
19	Vols	

Duncan Cooper's residuary legatee was his nephew Charles Duncan Cooper, who was also a co-executor with solicitor Montagu Thomas Burgoyne and Samuel Cooper, his surviving uncle, of 109 Gipsy Hill, Norwood, west of the Crystal Palace and north of Addiscombe Road. Described as 'the son of Brigadier-General G.L. Cooper, R.A., who was killed at the relief of Lucknow', C.D. Cooper was born on 15 June 1849, joined the 2nd Royal Dublin Fusiliers in 1868, served with distinction as a battalion commander and brigadier in the Boer War, retired in 1906, with his grandfather's rank, as Major-General, C.B., and in 1910 was appointed his regiment's honorary colonel. He was widowed in 1922, but was survived by three daughters when he died at St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex, on 10 January 1929. His funeral was at Hollington Church, near Hastings, as noted in *The Times*, London, 12 January, 1929.

Commentary 4
CHALLICUM: THE SEQUEL

D.E. Cooper and Harry Thomson probably never saw the bluestone homestead built in 1868 as an extension of the partners' last hut. G.W. Thomson, however, occupied it for nearly a generation, and died at Challicum, aged eighty-two, on 29 March 1897. He apparently gave his two sons, George and Robert, equal financial footing, but left the station in trust for prospective grandchildren, subject if heirs were lacking to the right of either son to benefit any widow. His will was dated 27 November 1896. An undated codicil signed by his solicitor and trustee, Robert Selmon Whiting, gave £100 'to my servant Thomas Myles', £50 'to my servant Thomas Ford', and 'to Isa Thomson the nurse now attending me the sum of ten pounds'.

At the time of G.W. Thomson's death, Challicum included land acquired as a result of pre-emptive purchase following the 1847 British orders-in-council and further purchases under the land acts of 1860 and 1862. The controlled disposal of land was made practicable by the employment of an army of government and contract surveyors, originally commissioned to plot the pastoral leaseholds, which continued its work in south-western Victoria throughout the 1860s. The surveyors took the logistic problems involved literally in their stride as they measured distances by pacing, by means of marked gig-wheels of known circumference, and by chains. The official County of Ripon 2 miles to 1 inch plan, lithographed by H.E. Ward in 1867, shows a countryside fully surveyed south of the Western Highway, and north of it east of Beaufort and west of Langi Ghiran. The modern main roads as well as the Western Highway are already plotted, though nameless. Between them are minor roads forming rights of way through the comprehensive grid composed chiefly of numbered and lettered components of the subdivided 'country' and 'agricultural' areas offered through the land acts already mentioned, and that of 1865. Among these rectangular allotments, the larger square-mile sections, bought by individual squatters under the pre-emptive right allowed by the orders-in-council for the protection of homesteads, stand out clearly.

The stations centred upon these pre-emptive sections continued to stand out clearly on the ground. Through the Nicholson-Service Act of 1860, and the

farical Duffy Act of 1862, G.W. Thomson at Challicum and Duncan Cooper's successor at Warrapinjoe (Stoneleigh), William Lewis, bought enough land to secure their commercial future, despite the north-eastern propinquity of the Woodnaggerak agricultural area, proclaimed in October 1862, and the agricultural area bordering Shirley township (August 1865), which Woodnaggerak surrounded. Thus these men and other contemporaries – squatters on stations brought from the 'unsettled' into the 'intermediate' districts by the proclamation of new counties in 1848 – could choose either to compete for more freehold or to retract their boundaries when their remaining leaseholds were cancelled around 1870.

G.W. Thomson's elder son, George, born in 1861, was educated at Geelong Grammar School, after which he became involved in the running of Challicum to the extent that he was reputed to have spoilt the Challicum fleeces by pursuing the craze for the wrinkly Vermont cross. George Thomson junior did not marry. But on 28 September 1897, at Scots Church, Melbourne, the Reverend Alexander Marshall, D.D., married the Anglican Robert Stewart Thomson, sheep farmer, to Isabell Janet Thomson, trained nurse, recording the age of each as thirty-four, and the usual address of each as Challicum, Buangor. The bride's birthplace, he wrote, was Gunnedah, New South Wales, and her parents were Alexander Thomson, gentleman, and Mary Digham (maiden name). Robert Thomson had abandoned a medical course and returned from Melbourne to Challicum.

Mrs G.W. Thomson survived her husband until 28 August 1898, and had obviously needed nursing for several years, since her will, which appointed Whiting as her trustee, was dated 2 December 1894, and was endorsed by him as signed with her mark 'owing to bodily infirmity and not to being illiterate'. By this will she divided her personal effects between her sons, but left all other assets – not substantial – to George. He himself died in the Ararat hospital on 6 May 1900, of 'chronic Bright's disease', having willed his estate to Harry Preston Thomson's sons, his cousins 'George Thomson of Colombo, merchant', and Harry junior, who was already dead, as was their father.

George Thomson's interest in Challicum must have been solid enough to induce his cousin 'of Colombo', as his executor, to visit Ararat and remain a sufficient time to settle related affairs, which included reciprocal renunciations of equivalent potential claims on Challicum, Victoria, and the 'Charleywood' (Chorleywood) property, Hertfordshire. Such matters were straightened out during the first five months of 1901, both R.S. Thomson and R.S. Whiting participating. The former, when at Geelong Grammar School, had emulated his brother in work, games, and social responsibility. He left

with an enviable reputation. But the school magazine for July 1903 stated: 'Old boys of the early eighties will regret to hear of the death of R.S. Thomson of Challicum, who died in Melbourne on the 29th March. In 1883 he was the winner of the School Cup. Both at the School and afterwards at Trinity College, where he was in residence for some years, he was beloved for his manly and amiable qualities'.

The recorded cause of death was complicated bronchial pneumonia. In consequence of this event, Robert Thomson's widow and R.S. Whiting clashed, then made a formal agreement whereby Whiting renounced any personal interest in Challicum in return for Mrs Thomson's payment of £2,000 'in satisfaction of his claim to commission as a trustee'. This agreement was dated 12 January 1904, three days before Duncan Cooper signed his will in London, and in the year of Mrs Thomson's remarriage. Thereafter, until her death some thirty years later as the childless wife of the Reverend Canon E.S. Hughes, of St. Peter's Church of England, East Melbourne, R.S. Thomson's widow owned what remained of Challicum proper. She apparently worked it through a succession of managers, and was seldom there for long.

By this time, however, changing economic circumstances in the pastoral industry had brought about the sale of all but the central freehold Challicum area of less than 3000 acres. The names of the resulting properties – Challicum Park, Challicum South and Challicum Hills – betrayed their origins in the Thomson station. In 1934, at auction in Scott's Hotel, Melbourne, General (then Lieutenant-General) Sir C.B. Brudenell White, owner of the neighbouring Woodnaggerak property, acquired Challicum from the estate of the late Mrs E.S. Hughes (Mrs R.S. Thomson), in the name of his sons. The elder, Mr J.E.B. White, thenceforward managed the station until, after the disastrous air crash of 13 August 1940 in which Sir Brudenell White was killed, he became its sole owner by buying out various relatives involved in his late father's purchase.

Mainly through staffing problems, in 1960 Mr White sold Challicum to Mr H.W. Hopkins, G.M. (died 21 July 1977 – still honoured along the Victorian Barwon for his horseback rescue in the 1952 floods), whose younger son, Mr D.A. Hopkins, managed it under his guidance, and now has full control. The elder son, Mr H.W.W. Hopkins, in 1978 sold Wormbete, Winchelsea, and bought Eurambeen from the Beggs family. But in 1986 he moved to rural New South Wales.

In its issue of 19 September 1946, the *Leader*, a now defunct Melbourne weekly with a sound rural coverage, described the mixed production from sheep and, on a share basis, from cropping, dairy cattle, pigs, and fowls,

which Mr and Mrs White achieved at Challicum, whilst replacing the native grasses with more rewarding strains. During Mr White's ownership Challicum won the Ararat Shire award for soil conservation, and for a brief time held the world's record price for merino lambs' wool sold at auction, 240 pence per pound. It is understandable, therefore, that the Challicum partnership of Douglas Hopkins and his parents, confronted by current costs, concentrated upon its stud Polwarth sheep. Normally running up to 10,000 of all ages on the property's highly improved 2925 acres, it regularly gained awards in the July show of the Australian Sheepbreeders' Association, and then, after shearing in August, on several September occasions proved the most successful exhibitor in the wool section of the Royal Melbourne Show. Hence, under Mr D.A. Hopkins, the essential Challicum still depends upon its first source of income.

The journey from Geelong may now take less than two hours, on fully sealed roads. But the creek Cooper painted can still wash over the drive in the homestead hollow, and endanger sheltering flocks by sudden floods. 'The crooked bridge' towards Buangor, unused except for turning or other casual purpose, remains near 'the sheep-stealers' gate', which is still kept locked. Brolgas are seen most years, but now rarely nest locally, and those that do risk city shooters and foxes. Galahs and other birds flash through the planted redgums west of the house, delighting ornithologists; but anthropologists head for the ancient natural trees, because of the scars attributed to Aborigines. The Thomson homestead, badly needing repair in 1934, has been renovated but not greatly altered, though the kitchen has modern equipment. Little remains of the 'hut' familiar to Cooper, but its metamorphosis has not destroyed its character. It contains an inherited chair like the one in Johnstone, O'Shannessy & Co.'s photograph of G.W. Thomson, which, with one of both homesteads, and one of R.S. Thomson, illustrates a dubious Challicum article at page 193 of James Smith's *The Cyclopaedia of Victoria*, vol.3 (1905).

After George Thomson junior and his mate Frank Richardson left Geelong Grammar School in 1880, the latter – dux of classics and a notable oarsman and footballer – went off to jackaroo in New South Wales. When Robert Thomson left, in December 1883, their schoolmaster, J.L. Cuthbertson, added to his customary prize-day verses a memorial tribute to Frank – 'the generous-hearted and the loved, our ever-merry "Bow"', who had died in the previous August 'of sunstroke' at Haddon Rig station. Let Frank's own simple stanzas, written in 1880 with Gorrinn station in mind, but Challicum equally qualified, close this story.

HOME

*Sweeter than sleep to a weary child
Tired with his play,
Sweeter than showers to the thirsty flowers
Than rest at the close of day,*

*Than night to the toil-worn mariner
On life's dark sea,
Sweeter than peace when wild wars cease
Is the dear old place to me.*

*I think of the miles that lie between
With strange, sad pain,
And thoughts of home then gently come
Like sunshine after rain.*

*Its ties are subtle as faint perfume
Of withered flowers
That memories bring of dreams that cling
Still to the vanished hours.*

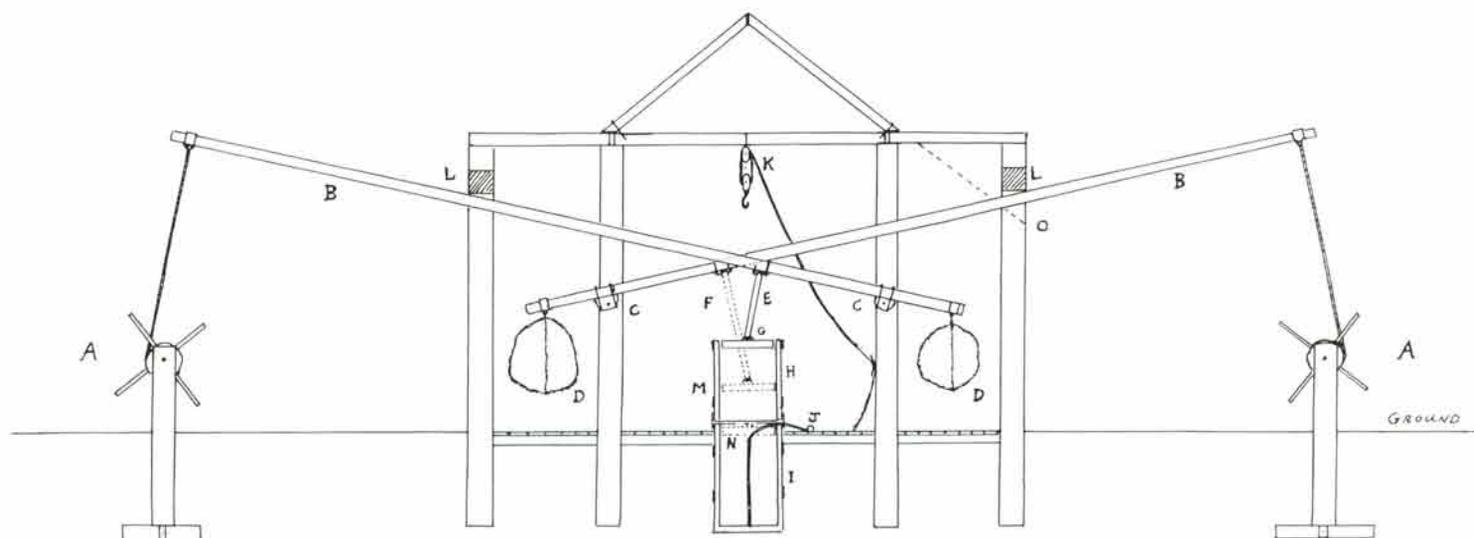
*Though I join with pleasure's joyous throng,
And gaily roam,
My heart shall turn, while life's fires burn,
Ever to Home, sweet Home.¹*

¹ GGSQ, Dec.1880, 29; Oct.1882, 38 ('We had a flying visit from that powerful bow, F. Richardson, a few weeks ago. He is on a station in N.S.W., about 100 miles from Dubbo, wherever that is. He met with an enthusiastic reception from his old school-mates.');

Dec. 1883, 8-9. For Cuthbertson, see ADB 3.

Appendix
THE CHALLICUM WOOLPRESS
 By J. O. Randell

Diagram illustrating the probable working principle of the woolpress in the Challicum woolshed



1
 1 foot

J. O. Randell
 11 June 1970.

helped by P. F. B. Alsop's calculations

Key to diagram

- | | |
|---|--|
| A. Windlass or capstan | I. Bottom box, strapped with iron and into earth below floor level |
| B. Lever | J. Rope sling, with iron ring at each end |
| C. Pivot bolt, in iron or wood bearing | K. Double pulley blocks |
| D. Counter-weight, rock or sack of earth, slightly heavier than weight of lever | L. Lintel above aperture |
| E. Short piston arm, for left-hand lever | M. Position of monkey with left-hand lever wound right down |
| F. Long piston arm, for right-hand lever | N. Position of monkey with right-hand lever right down, bale pressed |
| G. Monkey, with double slot on top | O. Roof line on remainder of woolshed |
| H. Top box, hinged to open and slotted into bottom box | |

See operational directions overleaf

Directions for operation

1. Rope sling, J, is placed in bottom box, I, laid in the centre, from one side to the other, iron rings at ends are laid on the floor
2. Woolpack is placed in bottom box, I, and flaps secured to top of the box
3. Bottom box is filled with wool and tramped thoroughly
4. Top box, H, is closed, catches fastened and then placed in slots on top box
5. Top box is then filled with wool and tramped down
6. Sacking cap is laid on top of the wool in top box and then monkey, G, is put into position
7. Short piston arm, E, is fitted between slots in monkey and left-hand lever, B
8. Capstan, A, on left-hand side is wound until left-hand lever is right down and capstan is then pegged fast
9. Monkey is now in position M. Long piston arm, F, is put into slots in right-hand lever, B, and monkey
10. Capstan, A, on right-hand side, is wound until right-hand lever, B, is down and monkey is in position N; right-hand capstan is then held fast with a peg
11. Top box, H, is opened and removed
12. Bale flaps and edges of sacking cap are secured with curved, iron pins
13. The short piston arm, E, dropped out of place when pressure was taken up with right-hand lever. It will have been removed when top box was opened and taken off. Left-hand capstan is unpegged and allows left-hand lever to rise to its maximum height against lintel, L
14. Right-hand capstan, A, is eased off slowly until pressure from wool stops. This avoids tearing the woolpack
15. Right-hand lever is then allowed to rise to its maximum height, against lintel
16. Monkey is removed, after long piston arm, F, has dropped out of its place with the release of right-hand lever
17. Wool bale is then sewn up with twine
18. Double pulley blocks, K, are lowered and hooked into iron rings at ends of sling, J
19. Bale of wool is then drawn up into the woolshed, out of sunken bottom box

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bygone era form an invaluable social record. As Brown observes, Cooper's talent functioned at several levels – historical, topographical, botanical and artistic.

Philip L. Brown has been painstaking in delving into Cooper's little-known background and has produced an illuminating account of his life and achievements. Of particular interest are Brown's descriptions of the social and farming life of the times. His commentaries on the paintings reproduced here are both authoritative and informative. His scholarship leaves no doubt that Cooper's modesty about his artistic ability was misplaced, and that his achievements as a colonial painter are of significant value to the nation.

The editor of this volume, Philip L. Brown, who lives in Geelong, Victoria, first became attracted to the work of Duncan Elphinstone Cooper when he viewed two of his original sketches subsequently published in Dr Brown's 1935 book, *The Narrative of George Russell*, but not reproduced in this volume. Some years later Dr Brown viewed the many Cooper originals, including the Chalicum paintings, held in the National Library of Australia in Canberra. With his enthusiasm for the painter's work and his knowledge of colonial Victoria, he became the logical editor of *The Chalicum Sketch Book* when the National Library decided to publish it.

Dr Brown has written extensively on Victorian history and *The Chalicum Sketch Book* joins his Russell narrative, the seven volumes of the *Clyde Company Papers*, and his *Fyans Memoirs* in adding immeasurably to our knowledge and appreciation of our past.

Dr Brown, who was born in 1904, is a graduate of the University of Melbourne. His historical works were noted by Deakin University in 1981 when he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Victoria and an honorary Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. Dr Brown worked in several occupations in his younger days being a newspaper reporter, jackaroo, station hand and farmer. He served in the British and Australian armies, 1940-47.

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