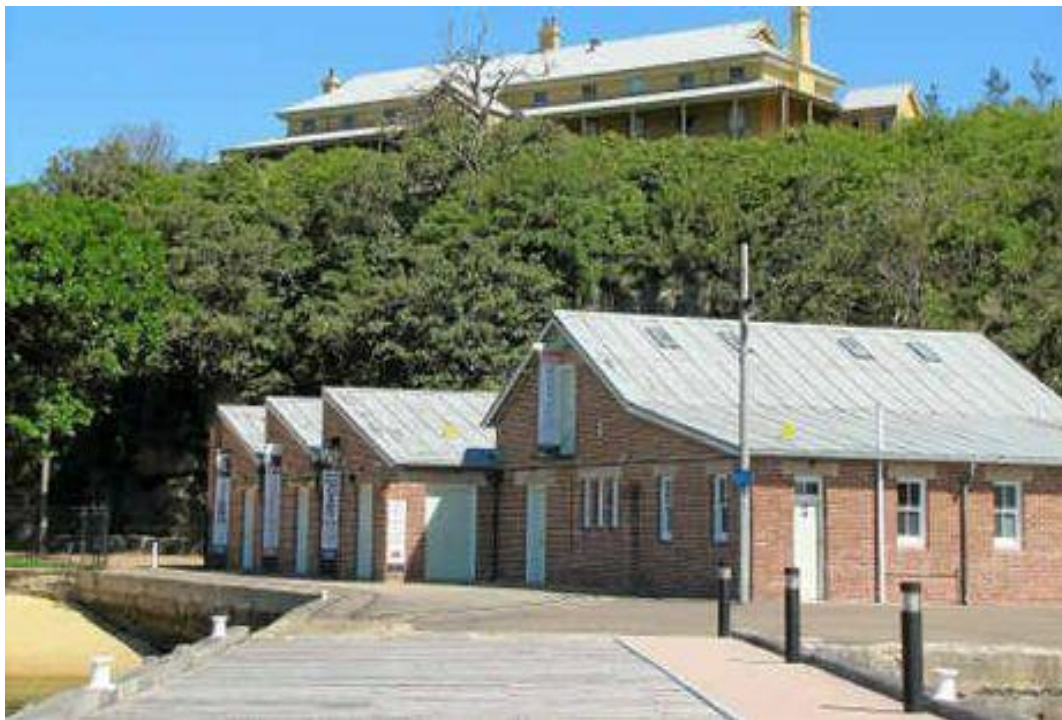


Quarantine Station North Head 1900 – 1984: A history of place



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ABSTRACT

Quarantine Station North Head 1900 – 1984: A history of place

In 1984 the Quarantine Station North Head – the oldest, largest and longest serving station in Australia - was closed and handed over to the New South Wales Government. In the following years the material degradation of the site threatened its survival, despite the promise of government funds to conserve its heritage value. After the site was leased to the heritage tourism group Mawland Hotel Management in 2006, it re-emerged as *QSTATION*, a retreat and conference facility where, via interactive experiences from dramatic performances and ghost tours, visitors could pay to learn something of the cultural and historical significance of the site. Packaged for public consumption and Mawland's financial viability, the history of the station was compromised. Sandwiched between a ghoulish nineteenth century past which had little relevance to the station as a place of protection and work on the one hand, and a broader historiographical meta-narrative linking quarantine to policies, particularly in Australia and the Asia-Pacific region, of restrictive immigration, nationhood, and white Australia, the twentieth century story, particularly the human face of quarantine is lost. This is exacerbated by the view that the station was in complete decline following the drop in maritime quarantines after the mid-1930s. Yet the twentieth century history of the site is a rich story of continued protective activity from the threat of disease, effective disinfection of imported goods and provision of temporary accommodation for diverse groups affected by war, natural disaster and immigration policies. This thesis aims to recover the twentieth century story by focussing on the history of the station as a history of place which allows us to consider the human face of quarantine in the built environment. Far from a ghostly site, the station was place of work, life and death, of shelter and refuge against the backdrop of some of the most important social and political changes in the nation's twentieth century history.

DECLARATION

This is to certify that this thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD; due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used, and; the thesis is 98 000 words in length, exclusive of tables, images, the bibliography and appendices.

Carmel P Kelleher

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIF	Australian Imperial Force
AMC	Army Medical Corps
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
ATNA	Australian Trained Nurses Association
C of E	Church of England
CORB	Children's Overseas Reception Board
CQO (G)	Chief Quarantine Officer (General)
EP & A Act	Environmental Planning & Assessment Act
FroQS	Friends of the Quarantine Station
IDC	Immigration Detention Centre
MP	Member of Parliament
MO	Medical Officer
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NHMRC	National Health Medical Research Council
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service
NSW	New South Wales
QO	Quarantine Officer
QSNH	Quarantine Station North Head
RMO	Resident Medical Officer
RSSAILA	Returned Sailor's, Soldier's and Airmen's Imperial League of Australia
SCMO	Senior Commonwealth Medical Officer
SHFT	Sydney Harbour Federation Trust
SHNP	Sydney Harbour National Park
SIH	Seaman's Isolation Hospital

SMH	Sydney Morning Herald
SRNSW	State Records New South Wales
TB	Tuberculosis
VD	Venereal Disease

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Introduction

The Quarantine Station at North Head ceased operation in 1984. Established in 1828 it had been the oldest, largest and longest functioning quarantine station in the nation. In accordance with arrangements made by the Commonwealth Government when it took over administration of the station in 1912, it was handed back to the State of NSW upon its closure. At the hand-over Prime Minister Hawke and Premier Wran of New South Wales promised that “funds would be made available for the conservation of the station as an important part of the Australian heritage.”¹ However, between that moment and now, the station’s heritage, particularly in relation to its twentieth century story, has been constrained by the need to make the station pay for itself on the one hand and a dominant historiographical approach linking quarantine to broader politico-legal issues around immigration, nation and the exigencies of white Australia. While the former privileges the sensational and the ghostly, drawing on the one extant history of the station, the latter privileges the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. Focussing on the ‘big’ stories of pandemic and epidemic to tell a story about the connection between bio-medical control and nationhood it tends to proliferate the dominant view that with the downturn of maritime quarantine after the mid-1930s activity at the station practically ceased. Sandwiched between these two approaches the history of the place as a working station has been lost. This is particularly the case for the functioning of the station and its people in the twentieth century which has been almost completely overlooked and forgotten.

In recovering the twentieth century story this thesis will show that, far from a ghostly site of horror, the Quarantine Station North Head was a place of work, life and death as well as a shelter and refuge right up to the point of its closure in 1984. As a history of place I am primarily concerned to explore the diverse yet interrelated activities which defined the station. These include the daily paths of the people who underpinned its operation, its function as a work place and the extension of its protective quarantine role to provide refuge and respite to groups of people affected by war, natural disaster and prohibited immigration policies. In drawing together these diverse threads of

¹ Jean Foley, *In Quarantine. A History of Sydney’s Quarantine Station 1828 – 1984* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1995), 129. The station area became part of Sydney Harbour National Park and was listed on the State History Register in 1999, and the National Heritage List in 2006. From here on in this thesis the Quarantine Station at North Head will be referred to as the station. In places where the full title is necessary the longer version of the title will be used.

station activity work, life and its people the station is presented as a constantly changing place, a product of human endeavour. Its story also reflects some of the important social, political and economic changes of twentieth century Australia

My interest in the station and its history dates from the conflicted politics around the station's future following its return to the New South Wales Government in 1984. For local residents, myself included, the State's assumption of control of the station was a significant moment, as it was hoped that long-term concerns for the conservation and protection of the site might be addressed competently and creatively. The station had figured in the consciousness of Manly and northern suburbs residents over many decades, sometimes as a place to be retrieved from its connection with quarantine practices which generated fears of the spread of infection, and as a place of special significance. It also played a part in the aspirations of those wishing to conserve the natural environment of North Head as a sanctuary for flora, fauna and leisure pursuits, and also for developers and entrepreneurs wishing to achieve monetary gain from its resources. Crucially, residents from Forestville to Manly and north to Palm Beach had, at various levels, an intuitive understanding of the importance of this place as a site of local and national significance. For teachers like myself it offered a venue where insightful learning experiences and a deeper understanding of a range of important issues in Australian history from aboriginal connection with the site to the role of immigration in the development of the nation and the ways in which quarantine protected the population from disease.

For these reasons there was tacit support from the community for the station's administration and management being placed in the hands of the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS). The local and wider community recognised the deteriorating state of the station and supported the need for conservation of both its built and natural environment.² But with a lack of sufficient funding, as the promises of Premier Wran and Prime Minister Hawke became long forgotten, the NPWS found it difficult to achieve its goal, even though ghost tours and the provision of convention facilities helped to bring in revenue. To overcome this problem the NSW Government

² Denis I. Gojak and Donald Ellsmore, *Sydney Harbour National Park. Annotated Bibliography of NPWS* (Sydney: NPWS, 1999), 1; Mawland Group, *Quarantine Station, Experience a Sydney icon* (Mawland). [http:// www.q-station.com.au/mawland.html](http://www.q-station.com.au/mawland.html) accessed January 21, 2008.

looked to the corporate sector in the hope of securing a private/public partnership to administer and manage the station.

This process was protracted but finally the government selected Mawland Hotel Management Pty Ltd as the preferred applicant with an initial lease of 21 years with possibility of extension to 45 years. As a company Mawland was recognised as one of the top 500 privately owned businesses in NSW for its outstanding achievements in business and for its contribution to the economic growth of the state. Its core business was defined as the creation of “special interest tourism ventures based on nature and cultural heritage”. Yet the government’s decision met with opposition from both the local and wider community, including parliamentarians, the National Trust (NSW) and the Friends of Quarantine Station.³ However, the die had been cast and in 2006, the Mawland Group unveiled its plans for the future of the station.⁴ Within the lease agreements it would conserve, adapt and operate the station as a “heritage retreat and destination.”⁵ Conservation and archaeological projects were initiated as adaptation and refurbishment of the built environment got underway with recognition of the need for this venture to be a financial success paramount.⁶ Visitors and guests were promised the ability to experience “immersion “theatre and interactive tours, fine food and drink, unique conference, function and event venues, historical overnight accommodation, destination spas and educational programmes.

Mawland’s overall philosophy and vision was enunciated as “seeking to recapture the rich history of the Quarantine Station” through “strong and emotionally engaging interpretive experiences.” Amid the proposals which ranged from adaptive reuse, conservation, clear presentation of the cultural landscape and protection for the natural environment the station’s history was to be presented through interpretative and

³ David Barr MP, *North Head Quarantine Station, Private Members statements* (Sydney: Hansard & Papers, 1999), 719 – 720. *FroQS Information Kit* (Sydney: Friends of Quarantine Station Inc., 1999), 6 <http://www.manlyquarantine.com/information-kit.htm> accessed October 10, 2012; Mawland Group, *Quarantine Station. Experience a Sydney icon*.

⁴ Mawland Group, *Quarantine Station. Experience a Sydney icon* (Mawland) <http://www.q-station.com.au/mawland.html> accessed January 21, 2008.

⁵ Mawland Group, *Quarantine Station, Experience a Sydney icon*, (Employment) <http://www.q-station.com.au/employment.html> accessed January 21, 2008. Visitors and guests were promised the ability to experience: immersion theatre and interactive tours; fine food and drink; unique conference, function and event venues; historical overnight accommodation; destination spa; education programmes.

⁶ Jennifer Cornwall & Simon McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION. Honouring the Past, Securing the Future* (Lane Cove, NSW: CL Creations, 2008), Chapters 3, 4 & 5.

educational services.⁷ Direct interpretation techniques were to be offered including a “Luggage Store Visitor Centre featuring displays and historically themed merchandise, two interim storytelling tours, five story telling tours 40 Days, Defiance, the Sixth Sense, Ghost Boy and Spirit Investigator” and possibly special interest tours. There would also be ongoing exhibitions and community days, as well as a publically accessible moveable heritage collection.⁸ Mawland’s philosophy and vision aimed to use historical themes of immigration, health, quarantine, and “place themes” of aboriginal occupation and preservation of the natural environment to present the significance of the station.⁹

Packaged as *QSTATION* it opened to the public in 2008 with offerings of interactive experiences including stories of the 1881 -1882 smallpox epidemic, the bubonic plague and the influenza pandemic, dramatized in the production “Defiance”. This production was well received, but ran for only a short period of time. Other experiences such as “Spirit Investigator” and “Family Ghostly” focussed on the paranormal while the “40 Days” presentation attempted to provide links with contemporary epidemics by retelling the experiences of passengers on the “Niagara”, the first ship quarantined during the influenza pandemic in 1918. The focus of the education programmes for primary children mainly centred on the children’s book “Ghost Boy” set in the time of the 1881 – 1882 smallpox epidemic and for senior students the focus encompassed history, archaeology and environmental management.¹⁰

Within the past five years the breadth of experiences offered has diminished with current (2014) promotional material entitled “Australia’s History Waiting to be Explored” highlighting accommodation and accommodation vouchers as well as Ghost tours. Visitors can take the opportunity to “browse through the Luggage Store Cafe & Museum with its historical exhibit, retail area and café” for free, thus fulfilling conditions of the lease under which the *QSTATION* operates. The brochure also offers 20% off history tours to “join a guide to hear fascinating stories of quarantine life, or if you dare, visit the station’s most haunted buildings.”¹¹ It appears that commercially the nine

⁷ Mawland Group, *Quarantine Station. Experience a Sydney icon, (Our Philosophy, Our Vision, Our Objectives)*. <http://www.q-station.com.au/philosophy.html> accessed January 21, 2008

⁸ Mawland Quarantine Station, *Honouring the past by securing the future. Interpretation Plan for the conservation and adaptive re-use of the North Head Quarantine Station, Final Draft 16th February 2005*. (Sydney: Mawland Construction Pty Ltd for Quarantine Station, 2005), 23 – 34.

⁹ Mawland Quarantine Station, *Honouring the past by securing the future. Interpretation Plan*, 18.

¹⁰ Cornwall and McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATON*, 90 – 91.

¹¹ *QSTATION Sydney Harbour National Park- Manly, Brochure: Australia’s History Waiting To Be Explored* <http://www.qstation.com.au>

ghost tours packages tailored to adults, families or ghost hunters are the most popular and remunerative ranging in prices for adults from \$36 to \$155 for the “Ghostly Sleepover”.¹²

All of these initial experiences offered interactive windows into the history of the station, but it seemed to me that over time, the history of the station could be eroded and diminished, as the focus became firmly fixed on the “scary” elements of quarantine, at the expense of other important parts of the station’s history. It also became apparent that this populist packaging of the history with an emphasis on the nineteenth century and the early pandemics/epidemics of the twentieth century would further obliterate any knowledge or understanding of the existing lightly sketched story of the station during the twentieth century. At a people level this appears to have already occurred as its reputation as the most haunted site in Australia, enhanced by the emphasis on the ghost based tours, has become the foremost element in the minds of many who have toured the site. The emphasis on the paranormal sits strangely in contrast to promotions for the site as a wedding venue and photo shoots for a prestigious women’s magazine. This repackaging of the station leaves the way open for the twentieth century story to be obliterated amid a view among sections of the local public that the conservation of the buildings and the natural environment, enabled by Mawland’s oversight and lease agreement, mitigate against any loss of history. The ghosts, the diners and the brides have overtaken the richly-textured story of life, work, death and occupation in the twentieth century as the station not only continued its vital protective capacity but mirrored some of the most important developments in the nation’s social and political history.

Furthermore the loss of the twentieth century history is complicated by the historiography on the station in particular and quarantine in general. Indeed, it is significant that, to interpret the station’s history, the Mawland group have relied almost exclusively on the work of Jean Foley whose book *In Quarantine. A History of Sydney’s Quarantine Station 1828 - 1984* published in 1995, remains the only history of the station.¹³ This is a narrative, chronological account of the establishment, administration and management of the station during its 160 years of functioning. Much emphasis is placed on the nineteenth century which makes up eight of the ten chapters. Foley’s

¹² QSTATION, Sydney Harbour National Park- Manly, Brochure: *Experience one of Australia’s most haunted sites*. <http://www.quarantinestation.com.au/>

¹³ Foley, *In Quarantine*.

work describes the problems inherent in the setting up of the station in the early years of settlement, and the importance of the role of immigration in contributing to the need for a defence against the entrance of disease. Links are drawn between quarantine and the development of public health administration and policy, and, over time, improvements to the built environment of the station to provide care and accommodation for the sick and the healthy.

Special importance is attached to the problems which arose from the station's inability to deal effectively with the smallpox epidemic of 1881 – 1882 which resulted in the establishment of the New South Wales Board of Health, as well as better public health administration and improved facilities and administration at the station. Foley also highlights the impact of federation on quarantine as the Commonwealth Government established its supervisory role. However, the period from 1921 – 1984 is discussed in only one chapter possibly because of her perception that, following the downturn of maritime activity from the mid-1930s, the station was in decline. This perception has continued to influence understandings of activity at the station and challenging it is central to the arguments in this thesis. In addition, her focus on the role of immigration and the role the station played in the development of public health policies and administration do little to uncover the human story of the station in the twentieth century.

Yet it is the historical pictorial evidence much of which remains the property of NSW Heritage Department, included in a Mawland publication *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, which fosters an understanding of the built environment, as well as some of the human faces of the station, particularly in the period from 1900 on.¹⁴ This collection photos of life and activity at the station provides a window into the human side of life in quarantine which is not brought out to the same extent in Foley's or other works. In addition, the sections which deal with conservation and adaptive activities carried out by Mawland provide excellent detail of the state of neglect the station was in when taken over from the cash strapped NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service, as well as the investment needed to complete the transformational character of the conservation work.¹⁵ But as the authors point out the site has "strong storytelling value" and "interpretation has been a major emphasis of the site's adaptation." However, this

¹⁴ Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, Chapter 2.

¹⁵ Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, Chapter 3.

interpretation is influenced by the management's mantra of "QSTATION Experience – Indulge, Relax, Confer" - which could be seen to be contrary to its past history.¹⁶

While Foley's approach is not particularly helpful for recovering the twentieth century story, nor is the key focus of historians interested in quarantine as part of a bigger picture concerned with national identity, immigration, white Australia, public health policies, the history of medicine, and, lately, the history of globalisation. It is these studies which have had the most lasting and definitive effects on the ways in which Australian and global quarantine policies have been viewed. Connections have also been drawn and links demonstrated between historical administrative detention practices such as quarantine and contemporary immigration detention practices. In addition public health practices of hygiene and cleanliness are linked to nationalism and the notion of the "island nation" free from disease through the protection from outside by quarantine which was a mechanism in the production of "white Australia".¹⁷

This is particularly true of the many works of historian Alison Bashford in which she posits links between quarantine and restrictive immigration practices at a national and global level. She is the most prolific Australian historian to connect with this topic and has approached quarantine and its medico- politico- legal aspects from a variety of angles. It is in *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* that she sets out the main lines of her argument which are developed and extended in many of her later works.¹⁸ She argues that the situation of quarantine stations around the coastline of Australia, particularly after federation, defined Australian national boundaries. Together with public health hygiene policies, both personal and racial, they delineated a *cordons sanitaire* which, together with government power over "commerce, health and movement: over exchange and

¹⁶ Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 71 - 86.

¹⁷ Alison Bashford, ed. *Medicine at the Border: Disease, Globalisation and Security from 1850 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); *Imperial Hygiene: a Critical History of Colonisation, Nationalism and Public Health* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2004); Alison Bashford, "Quarantine: Local and Global Histories," *CRASSH Seminar SCI, Ground floor*, (12 January 2014); Alison Bashford, "Immigration restriction: rethinking period and place from settler colonies to postcolonial nations," *Global History* 9, no. 1 (2014): 26 – 48; Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, eds. *Isolation: Places and Practices of Exclusion* (Routledge, 2008); Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, "Asylum Seekers and National Histories of Detention," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 48, no. 4 (2002): 509 – 528. Alison Bashford and Claire Hooker, eds. *Contagion: Historical and Cultural Studies* (Routledge, 2001).

¹⁸ Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), Chapter 5.

circulation” brought about a particular geographic imagining of Australia” as an island nation.¹⁹

The ring of quarantine stations is seen as defending the “purity of the nation” from invasion through disease. As an example of the role quarantine stations played in defending against external threats, the geographical position of the station at North Head, as well as its close proximity to the military presence at North Fort is seen as a “concrete example of the “mutuality of military” and health policies. In this way Bashford sees quarantine as “culturally and imaginatively ... central to early twentieth century nationalism” which underpinned white Australia.²⁰ This line of argument leads her to propose an explicit link between immigration policies and quarantine practices.

In a later project influenced by the border protection legislation of the Howard Government following the 2001 attacks on the twin towers in New York, Bashford extends the scope of the connection between “health and immigration policies”. She argues that they are “mutual and deep” focussing on the connection between aspects of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* and the *Quarantine Act 1908*. She sees this as having provided the means of keeping out “undesirable immigrants” through government action using quarantine practices to “keep Australia free from infectious diseases.”²¹ These themes of immigration and citizenship are explored in terms of the bio-political nature of public health and Bashford’s argument that the administration of public health of the nation under the Department of Health established in 1921 “had its origin in quarantine.”²² She points to the station at North Head segregating the infected and uninfected as a “contagion/immigration” site. Importantly, in this article she also recognises the protective qualities of quarantine noting the “remarkable efficacy of a history of strong quarantine and entry regulations” which have resulted in cholera never being present on the continent.²³

¹⁹ Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 115 – 116. See Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: science, health and racial identity in Australia* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2005), 94 – 95. Anderson states that Bashford’s suggestion that quarantine “assisted in the imaging of a new island –nation as an integrated whole” and in the “pursuit of whiteness” is not enough as other factors were also at work – importantly the role of doctors.

²⁰ Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 116 – 129.

²¹ Alison Bashford, *At the Border: Health, Immigration Restriction and the Imagining of Australia, 1901 – 2001* (Sydney: University of Sydney, Department of History, 2010.) <http://www.sydney.edu.au> >...> Department of History >Research. Accessed: August 20, 2011.

²² Alison Bashford, “At the Border. Contagion, Immigration, Nation,” *Australian Historical Studies* 120 (2002): 344 – 350.

²³ Bashford, “At the Border,” 348.

These themes, particularly with relation to immigration restriction, the island nation, and the links between quarantine and white Australia are constant throughout her studies and have influenced other public health studies particularly in understanding the genesis of white Australia. However, Bashford has recently expanded her outlook from a national to a global view with immigration restriction continuing to be the focus but expanded to cover the role of nation states in the Asia-Pacific zone practising migration control in similar ways in the post-colonial era. In this respect Australian *Immigration Restriction Acts* are referenced both in the period before and after federation premised on the view that “quarantine and immigration laws were effectively interchangeable on the national and international stage.”²⁴

Alison Bashford thus remains the most prolific writer on quarantine in general in Australia and her arguments and conclusions have influenced academic writing and aided in perpetuating what can be seen as the medico – politico- legal aspects of quarantine. Her meta-narrative has also influenced a series of more specifically quarantine related articles by Krista Maglen which look to the nineteenth century to demonstrate the ways in which national, political and economic concerns, through restrictive immigration policies and control of trade, hindered the achievement of international co-operation for the control of disease by bringing about a uniform world-wide policy for quarantine at international conferences held in the second half of the century.²⁵ She also demonstrates the way different approaches to quarantine policy developed in Britain and Australia as the century proceeded.²⁶ However, it is her argument with relation to geography and distance from the sources of infection which poses a wider view on the reasons for the divergence of policies between the mother country and Australia.²⁷

²⁴ Alison Bashford, “Immigration Restriction: rethinking period and place from settler colonies to postcolonial nations,” *Journal of Global History* 9, issue 1 (2014): 27 – 35.

²⁵ Krista Maglen, “Politics of Quarantine in the 19th Century,” *American Medical Association* 290 no. 21 (2003): 2873.

²⁶ Krista Maglen, “A World Apart: Geography, Australian Quarantine, and the Mother Country,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60, no. 2 (2005): 196 – 200.

²⁷ Maglen, “A World Apart,” 215 – 217. Maglen argues that while geographical location while important was not the only factor in the development of Australian quarantine practices including poor domestic sanitary conditions, a largely unvaccinated population and lack of indigenous infections. With relation to the role of race based on proximity to Asia Maglen argues that while it is an important factor it should not be overstated in the early years of the nineteenth century, 216.

At another level of research medical historians reacting to the spread of epidemics globally in the twenty-first century have initiated discussion of the concept of quarantine. They have been concerned with its origins as well as its development globally and look at quarantine practices and procedures in light of the “more heightened interest” which has usually occurred during times of epidemics. Quarantine history is traced to its origins in ancient and medieval times to demonstrate the long practice of using the strategies of exclusion, isolation and segregation to stop the spread of disease and protect the population and the economy.²⁸ With the occurrence of contemporary epidemics of AIDS, SARS, Asian flu, Bird Flu and the resurgence of the H1N1 virus quarantine policies have been seen, in the absence of successful vaccinations, to present a way of effectively protecting the public at large. The scientific response has been to see quarantine as a fully valid and effective option for specific outbreaks with quarantine procedures tailored to the social, geographical and health conditions.²⁹

While reflecting on the effectiveness of quarantine in controlling the spread of communicable disease outbreaks, medical historians have also recognised the social and ethical issues which arise. These include the ways in which Individual rights have been superseded for the public good as well as the mistakes which have been made through actions aimed at marginalised and/or minority groups. This recognition has led to an understanding that the fear and panic which has been documented with relation to the forced incarceration of large groups needs to be handled in ways which provide clear and transparent dissemination of information and measures which preclude prejudice and intolerance.³⁰

From this survey of literature we can say that the dominant paradigm in which quarantine has been cast is the macro-level bio-medical and the bio-political. There is no doubt that this has provided an important discursive template for national and global discussion of the interconnectedness of policies concerned with the protection and/or

²⁸ Gian Franco Gensini, Magdi H Yacoub and Andrea A Conti, “The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS,” *Journal of Infection* 49 (2004): 257 – 258; Paul S Sehdev, “The Origins of Quarantine,” *clinical Infectious Diseases* 35, no. 9 (2002): 1071 – 1072; Eugenia Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine from Plague to Influenza A,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 19, no.2 (2012): 254 – 259; Kathryn Staiano-Ross, “Quarantine” *Semiotica* 187 (2011): 83 – 104.

²⁹ Gensini, “The concept of quarantine,” 260 – 261. Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine,” 258.

³⁰ Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine,” 259; Paul J Edelson, “Quarantine and Social Inequality,” *Journal of the Medical Association of America* 290, no. 21 (2003): 2874.

surveillance of the body politic. Indeed recent comparative studies on quarantine and immigration have shown the global reach of this discourse at places such as Grosse Île in Quebec and Angel Island in San Francisco Bay where similar connections have been made between immigration and quarantine. As the oldest and longest running station of its kind in Australia the quarantine station at North Head must necessarily figure in such analyses.

Yet, this focus obscures much of the lived experiences of the site as a working station which is an important part of its heritage. A concentration on the macro-level of quarantine power structures leaves little room for an exploration of the intersection between what can be seen as the parallel lines of quarantine policy on the one hand and the daily life at the station at North Head on the other. Most significantly, these macro-level interpretations fail to reveal the station's major role in providing protection against incoming diseases or the way its history reflects the broader parameters of change and development in Australian society across the twentieth century.

Similar conclusions are being reached elsewhere. Recent writings by cultural geographer, Gareth Hoskins, on Angel Island, for example, look not only at the exclusionist racial policies which affected Chinese immigrants but also the stories of those detained there. Importantly these stories reveal something of the human side of Chinese immigration to the USA. In particular Hoskins sees the poetic inscriptions which provide accounts of immigrants' experiences, as "a material expression of Chinese ... exclusion where the landscape reveals a legacy of intolerance and oppression."³¹

Similarly, the Lazaretto in Philadelphia, the oldest quarantine station in the Western Hemisphere, is the centre of a campaign to save this site and its history including a plan for its effective adaptation and conservation. This station is seen as a "forgotten monument to a hidden history" of protection against imported epidemics in the closing years of the nineteenth century. In their study of New Zealand's national quarantine history Gavin McLean and Tim Shoebridge have also highlighted the early focus on

³¹ Gareth Hoskins, "Poetic landscapes of Exclusion: Chinese immigration at Angel Island, San Francisco." In *Race and Landscape in America*, ed. R Schein. (New York: Routledge, 2007), 685 – 700; Gareth Hoskins, "A secret reservoir of values: the narrative economy of Angel Island Immigration Station," *Cultural Geographies* 17, no. 2 (2010): 259; Tim Cresswell and Gareth Hoskins, "Place, persistence, and practice: Evaluating History Significance at Angel Island, San Francisco and Maxwell Street, Chicago," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 98, no. 2 (2008): 392 – 413.

protecting that country's population from the spread of disease. All of these studies see the importance of the stories "which comprise the history of the sites as integral to the development of an historical understanding of these places" and which are also important elements in this thesis.³²

Yet, where heritage considerations appear to have provided the impetus for new approaches to the study of quarantine stations, particularly in North America similar inquiry into the role of quarantine stations in Australia seems to have been left to local historians and to students writing honours and post-graduate theses in archaeology, social sciences and history. Such studies have contributed to an understanding of the role of stations in Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania. Linda Honey's comparison study of the stations at Torrens Island in South Australia and Point Nepean in Victoria provided an "anthropological and archaeological representation of unique places in time," as well as spatial analysis of each station which suggests a "command structure" present in the design layout of each station. This provided staff with "optimal control" over those detained in quarantine and hindered any attempts at escape from confinement in quarantine. Detailed archaeological analysis of the built environment areas demonstrated the need for specific areas to carry out quarantine activities, as well as the differentiation of areas between the sick and the healthy. Separate accommodation blocks for those quarantined reveal class attitudes at the turn of the twentieth century as well as reflecting class divisions on the ships. These elements of the built environment are shown to be present in the layout of each of these stations.³³

This archaeological approach sets Honey's thesis apart from that of Gail Dodd whose social and cultural history of Woodman Point in Western Australia focused on those who died from infectious diseases and highlights the "heritage significance of the cemeteries and crematorium."³⁴ In a narrower archaeological study by Rebecca Andrews the fonts on the headstones from the cemeteries at North Head are analysed to demonstrate the

³² Ian Arthur Cameron, MD, *Quarantine, What is Old is New*. Halifax and the Lawlor's Island Quarantine Station 1866 – 1938 (Halifax: New World Publishing, 2007), vii – vii; David Barnes, *The Lazaretto America's Oldest Quarantine Station* <http://www.sas.upenn.edu/~dbarnes/Home.html> accessed February 6, 2014; Gavin McLean and Tim Shoebridge, *Quarantine! Protecting New Zealand at the Border* (Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 2010).

³³ Honey, "Quarantine Stations at Torrens Island and Point Nepean," 7 – 8, 16 – 17 and Chapter 4.

³⁴ Gail Dodd, "The Hidden Community: Woodman Point Quarantine Station" (B. Social Science (History) thesis, Curtin University of Technology, Munster, Western Australia, 2005).

changing social mores with relation to death as well a wider social change.³⁵ Studies by local historians Earle Seubert, Kathy Duncombe and J H Weich cover much longer periods and focus mainly on the remaining built environment, quarantine activities including the number of ships quarantined, the problems of difficult quarantines especially during the nineteenth century, the numbers of deaths, and how the stations dealt with the influenza pandemic following World War 1.

Each of these works has a strong focus on activity during the nineteenth century, with the wealth of pictorial evidence included which adds immediacy to the sense of place which the authors elicit. The occupation by the military of the stations at Point Nepean and Bruny Island during World War 1 is stressed as an important element of the history of these stations. But while accounts of the experiences and fate of those quarantined is common to each study, as is the exploration of the built environment and genealogical data with relation to the soldiers quarantined during the influenza pandemic at Woodman Point and Bruny Island, there is only occasional mention of the caretakers at each of these stations, or of the working life of these stations. However, these aspects add to the scant social history of quarantine and the stations around the Australian coastline which carried out their protective procedures and practices.³⁶

The importance of place

While this thesis draws on all this important historiographical research it looks to tell the twentieth century story as a history of place. This is an important methodological and theoretical tool for a study which seeks to uncover a broader picture of the diversity of the functioning and life of the station. What linked these diverse activities of the station during the twentieth century was the place itself, not just the natural environment of the quarantine area, but also the institutional structures, the built environment, the workforce, those quarantined, accommodated and detained as well as the persona the station had acquired in the minds of the general public and the press.

³⁵ Rebecca Andrews, "Memorial Markings: A study of the change over time of fonts at the Manly Quarantine Station and Rookwood Cemetery" (Honours thesis University of Sydney, 2011).

³⁶ Kathy Duncombe, *Bruny Island's Quarantine Station. In Peace and War* (Huntingfield, Tasmania: Kathy Duncombe, 2004); Earle Seubert, "The hidden community – Woodman Point quarantine station," *Early Days* (2011): 496 – 513; JH Weich, *Hell to Health: The History of Quarantine at Port Phillip Heads 1852 – 1966* (Sorrento, Vic.: Nepean Historical Society, 1969).

Yet, historical writings on place have only recently begun to penetrate the Australian historical imagination with writers exploring the concept of place through a focus on areas such as aboriginal dispossession, urban communities and environmental history.

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While these studies have been developed from a variety of perspectives studies of heritage sites have been influenced by the practical nature of conserving and preserving what remains of the built and natural environment and the artefacts which have been retrieved. In these studies the voices of architects, archaeologists, anthropologists, heritage managers and tourism writers are often louder and more insistent than those of the historians, and the resulting concentration on the tangible evidence can lead to a failure to contextualise the unique and important value of historic places and the connections which exist between people and place. To uncover the twentieth century connections of people and place at the station at North Head there needs to be a broader focus to develop an understanding of the workplace and those who worked, lived and were detained within it.

Notwithstanding these incursions into the study of place it is notable that the theoretical underpinnings of the concept have been the preserve of geographers, architects, philosophers and the fine arts with the geographers, making some of the most significant contributions in this direction.³⁸ Importantly, there is also an understanding that the concept of place is complicated and difficult to define. In attempting to do this they have gone down a number of different avenues ranging from philosophical to phenomenological theories, but, overall, human immersion in, and experience of places are seen as important social constructs.³⁹ The noted American geographer John Agnew

³⁷ Mark McKenna's *Looking for Blackfella's Point: An Australian History of Place* (Sydney, NSW: UNSW Press, 2002) is a compelling history of a geographical area of the south coast of New South Wales which is set in the context of the frontier violence which accompanied the dispossession of the aboriginal people against the fraught politics of the 'History Wars'. In Janet McCalman's study *Struggletown: Public and Private Life in Richmond 1900 – 1965* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1984) aspects of social history of an urban community are explored as working class life and politics in the suburb of Richmond are discussed during periods of war, depression and effects of immigration on the changing face of the suburb in the post-war era. A distinctly different community is explored by Clive Faro and Gary Witherspoon, *Street See: A History of Oxford Street* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2011) demonstrates how the history of a city street can reveal social change and the development of urban history. However, by employing an environmental perspective George Seddon in *Landprints: Reflections on Place and Landscape* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1997) demonstrates how local landscapes and the interaction between people and the land are key identities of place.

³⁸ Tim Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2004), 15 - 16.

³⁹ Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction*, 26, 30.

stresses the political aspects of place as important in providing connections to a broader picture and argues that these serve “to mediate between the everyday lives of individuals ... and the national and supra-national institutions which constrain and enable those lives.”⁴⁰

These social constructs have come together in a new way in the work of radical human geographer Allan Pred whose integration of time–geography and structuration theory provides a “different type of place centred on regional geography”. Pred refuses to see place as “frozen scenes for human activity”, but conceptualises place as “a constantly becoming human product as well as a set of features visible upon the landscape.”⁴¹ This theory is a useful and insightful way of looking at the history of the Quarantine Station at North Head as it recognises that the role of power structures and social relationships, the use of biographies and a sense of place are all human “interwoven” phenomena which vary historically within any given period.⁴² These elements of Pred’s concept of place underpin each of the sections of this thesis, providing the basis for a wider understanding of the role of the national and local structures in which the station operated. In this way the human processes and practices of the daily workforce are a window through which to view the way people connected with the station over short or long periods of time, and negotiated and developed a sense of place which was the Quarantine Station North Head and is now *QSTATION*.⁴³

Utilising Pred, this thesis explores the history and functioning of the Station in the period from 1900 to 1984 as a history of place, for as he asserts all human geography is historically specific and all social history is geographically specific.⁴⁴ Thus this thesis aims to present a broader focus than has been presented in previous studies by retrieving important areas of the station’s life and work that have been seriously neglected, particularly by studies which have privileged the macro-perspective.

⁴⁰ John A Agnew and James S Duncan, eds. *The Power of Place. Bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 7.

⁴¹ Allan Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process: Structuration and the Time-Geography of Becoming Places,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 74, no.2 (1984): 279.

⁴² Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 279 – 280. Pred sees place as “what takes place ceaselessly, (and) what contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.” 279.

⁴³ Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction*, 35.

⁴⁴ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 279; Allan Pred, “Comment in Reply: Unglorious Isolation or Unglorious Misrepres(s)entation,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* vol. 76, no. 1(1985): 132 – 133.

A focus on place permits a more micro-level approach to the station, a more discerning understanding of its history as a place of diverse quarantine activities as well as a place of work and a place of life and death.⁴⁵ It was also a place of refuge as, under Commonwealth Government control the facility was linked to global events through the provision of respite for groups of people affected by war, natural disaster and deportation in the period from 1940 to 1975. Such a perspective allows for a movement away from the perception of the station solely as an agent of policies and practices of isolation and exclusion, or as the most haunted site in Australia. It provides a way to uncover the human face of quarantine, not just from the experiences of those quarantined, but from the perspective of the workers, the health professionals and patients throughout the century. The functioning of the station can be seen as a means of protection against disease and as part of the movement of populations from without and within national borders. But it is also about life and the tragedy of illness and death which were elemental in its role as a front line defence against the entrance of disease, while functioning as a workplace and a place of refuge. The interweaving of all these elements allows for the human face of quarantine to be unveiled.

Methodology and Sources

As the foregoing discussion suggests there are many gaps in our understanding of the functioning of the station in the twentieth century. In order to fill these gaps I relied strongly on the archival record, particularly the work diaries and the station log books held in the National Archives collections. During the collection of this evidence it also became apparent that analysis of quarantine activity during periods of active quarantine would not tell the whole story which was to be found in the discursive yet related areas of quarantine activity, workplace duties, the human workforce and what have been termed “non-quarantine functions”.⁴⁶ Each of these aspects had an impact on the daily functioning of the station but have been given only passing mention in the literature. Added to this is the situation that unlike the nineteenth century when diary writing and the recording of events were more in vogue, personal accounts of life at the station do

⁴⁵ Helen Steele, “Micro-history and Macro-history: different approaches to the analysis of history,” <http://www.historiasenconstruccion.wikispaces.com/file/view/macromicro.pdf> accessed May 5, 2012. “Macro history and micro history are both subfields of the “new history” that emerged in the latter part of the twentieth century and as such they purport to focus upon real people in history e.g. Fernand Braudel’s study *The Structure of Everyday Life*.” 1. While the terms macro and micro are used this thesis is a study of place and the terms area used with relation to Allan Pred’s theory of place

⁴⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 127 – 129.

not appear to exist. In addition, the archival files present little in the way of evidence from other than official sources and this limits the angles from which the history of the station in this period could be viewed. The reality of the one-sidedness of the sources has been recognised and this has had a limiting effect on efforts to fully humanise the twentieth century workforce, but some balance has been achieved through the use of newspapers, limited photos and evidence compiled for conservation reports. However, these too concentrate more fully on the nineteenth century.

Structure

This thesis is structured in three sections which explore the functioning of the station as a history of place in the twentieth century through analysis of the diverse elements which contributed to its functioning. These included ongoing protective quarantine activity, its function as a workplace and its role as a Commonwealth facility providing a temporary refuge or respite for diverse groups of people. These individual elements while presented in separate sections were integral to and integrated in the organisation and functioning of the station throughout the period. These specific elements marked out this station not just as a specific geographical entity but as a place with distinctive attributes, a social entity which was the result of human endeavour.⁴⁷

Section 1: A place of quarantine Activity

Section 1 is made up of chapters 1 – 3. This section focuses on the essential element of what is defined in the *Quarantine Act 1908* as the ‘scope of quarantine’ which articulated the measures to be taken for “the prevention of the introduction or spread of disease or pests affecting man, animals, or plants” and demonstrates the ways in which this was carried out in changing circumstances at North Head during the century.

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⁴⁷ Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction*, 51.

⁴⁸ “Quarantine Act No. 3 of 1908. An Act relating to Quarantine”, in *The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1908*, Vol. V11 (Victoria: Government Printer, 1909). Vol. VI, 24. Section 4 states “In this Act, Quarantine has relation to measures for the exclusion, detention, observation, segregation, isolation, protection and disinfection of vessels, persons, goods, animals, or plants and having as their object the prevention of the introduction or spread of diseases or pests affecting man, animals, or plants.”

Chapter 1: North Head Quarantine Station: An overview of history and landscape at the turn of the century

This chapter outlines the station's history in the latter decades of the nineteenth century to highlight the changes to public health policies and the administrative and structural improvements at the station which occurred during that time, especially those which happened as a result of the poor handling of the smallpox epidemic of 1881 – 1882. These changes were also indicative of a concern to bring about a coherent international agreement for the institution of a uniform quarantine policy worldwide. Aspects of these discussions influenced decisions which were made at a series of Australian Sanitary Conferences where a federal system of quarantine for Australia was discussed. Each of these factors can be shown to provide an important contextual background for the functioning of the station as a place of quarantine under the central direction of the Commonwealth Government in the twentieth century.

This chapter also describes the spatial, geographic and topographical aspects of the station which had developed over the nineteenth century and demonstrates how these reflected the carrying out of the scope of activities inherent in the functioning of a quarantine station. This overview provides an important contextual background for the twentieth century account which is the central focus of the body of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Flashpoints: pandemics, an epidemic and the effects of war 1900 - 1920

This chapter outlines the challenges the station faced in its daily functioning in the early decades of the century as bubonic plague, the influenza pandemic and a smallpox epidemic escaped the quarantine barrier and entered the population at large. Studies which have focused on the wider public health context mention the role of quarantine but fail to recognise the challenges faced by its permanent and temporary staff.

These challenges were not purely localised but also had a significant political impact which threatened the stability of the newly constituted Commonwealth Government as the States challenged its authority leading to tensions and strained relations developing between the two governmental institutions.

As in each of the following chapters of this thesis Pred's theory of place helps to underpin the discussion though providing an avenue to see the station as more than its built and physical setting. In particular his delineation of an empirical research focus on "institutional and individual practices" in the day-to-day operation of the station is

helpful in seeing the people involved as integrated human beings “without whom there is no place”.⁴⁹ This focus uncovers the human face of quarantine providing medical care for the sick, accommodation and care of the healthy and burial for the dead, while also carrying out maritime quarantine practices.

Chapter 3: Adapting to a changing environment 1921 - 1984

This chapter explores a very lengthy period of operation in the life of the station. It is in this period that quarantine stations, including North Head, came under the direction of the newly established Commonwealth Department of Health and continued under the direction of its Director-Generals until closure in 1984. This lengthy period has been presented in one chapter not only because much of the continued protective activity at the station has been neglected, but also to demonstrate the constant adaptation as change occurring at both national and international levels

The latter period 1951 – 1984 has been presented in the literature as a period of decline. However, this view fails to take into account the threat of incoming disease aboard air traffic which was seen by health officials to have increased rather than decreased the threat of diseases such as smallpox entering the population. This period provides evidence of the scale and the changing nature of active quarantine which continued to occur in scaled down areas of the station, but for smaller groups who were not ill, but had invalid vaccination status. Other threats from foot and mouth disease and infective agents present in imported goods were countered through the labour-intensive disinfection methods carried out by station staff. These important protective measures have been sidelined in studies focusing on the singular role of maritime quarantine activities.

Section 2: A working station

This section is made up of chapters 4 – 6. The focus of this section is the station as a workplace, a perspective which has been almost totally ignored in historical works and conservation reports. As well as being concerned with the work carried out and the ethos of the workplace this section focuses attention as far as possible, on the experience of the workforce and continues the approach taken in the previous section in relation to the conceptual framework of place. As I show, part of the history of the

⁴⁹ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 280.

place as a workplace where there were persistent calls for its closure or relocation because of the work it carried out.

Chapter 4: The rhythm of daily preparedness 1912 – 1984

As the study of the station as a workplace has been almost totally ignored in existing studies it is difficult to explore this concept in the context of existing scholarship. However, a recent area of labour research into community or locality provides an avenue for developing a wider understanding of regional and small workforces which engender a sense of place. In addition Pred's focus on the daily path and life paths of participants, their impact on the landscape and the sense of place which develops historically provide important foci for retrieving elements of the working life of the station.⁵⁰

This chapter focuses on the combination of specialised and often mundane work patterns which underpinned the working life of the station to uncover a sense of place and also to develop a fuller understanding of the functioning of this place as unique.⁵¹ The ordinariness of the daily work patterns provide a contrast to the fear the station generated during the periods of the pandemic/epidemics and periods of active quarantine. This also adds a counter-point to the "big" stories and meta-narratives of quarantine, isolation, exclusion, immigration, class and race which have dominated historical interpretation of this site to date.

Chapter 5: The "forgotten" or "hidden" workforce, 1912 – 1984

This chapter extends the explanation of the station's role as a working station which was begun in the previous chapter to include an outline of the lives of the resident workforce. This focus provides the opportunity to develop a better understanding of a Pred's of sense of place and provides a window of explanation and interpretation of the history of the station as a place of work and life for a group of ordinary workers particularly in terms of "localism".⁵²

⁵⁰ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 282.

⁵¹ Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction*, 142.

⁵² Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 292. Pred sees sense of place "not as something that stands on its own, but as a phenomenon that is part of the becoming of individual consciousness and thereby inseparable from biography formation and the becoming of place ... even single books can occasionally convey a great deal about some of the underlying elements of sense of place in a specific place over a given period of time."

This focus on the daily paths of the workers demonstrates how work patterns and a challenging work environment influenced social relationships in the work place. Traditional areas of work such as wages, hours of work, leave entitlement link these workers to the lives of the wider working population, but also allow for insights into individual elements of the working culture at the station. Throughout the century the workforce at the station contributed to the protection of the population from incoming diseases, however their roles have been largely unacknowledged.

Chapter 6: “Not in our backyard” – Attempts at removal 1881 – 1984

This chapter continues to explore the station as a work place, but in a very different sense to that which has occurred in previous chapters. The focus moves from a view of the daily rhythm of work and the workforce which carried it out to look at the station and its functioning as a quarantine workplace within the spatial setting of its urban locality. Pred’s empirical focus on the role of power relationships which arise out of the daily paths of participants and the relationships “out of which they come and to which they contribute” is pertinent to developing an understating of the often acrimonious relationship which existed between the station workplace and the local suburban and wider communities during the period 1881 – 1984.⁵³

The concerted attempts to remove the station are documented as are the motives which fuelled them. These attempts were based on a fear of infection escaping the confines of the station area, local agitation for use of the resources of the area for private enterprise and/or public recreation as well as the role of the Army whose presence and permanence on North Head was increasing. At a political level the role of local federal member the Hon. W C Wentworth in the post-World War 11 period is highlighted to demonstrate his ongoing attempts to pressure the Department of Health to vacate the site which were opposed by successive Director-Generals of Health.

Section 3: A temporary place of refuge or respite

Section 3 is made up of chapters 7 and 8. These chapters continue the focus on the station as more than just a place of maritime quarantine and a set of features visible on the landscape. Chapters 7 & 8 include the stories of groups whose presence at the station was not effected through implementation of quarantine procedures, but from the station’s existence as a Commonwealth facility. These diverse groups, which the

⁵³ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 292.

Commonwealth Government needed to house, for usually short periods of time, were made up of Australian military personnel, refugees from areas experiencing the effects of war, citizens of Darwin following Cyclone Tracy and young men awaiting deportation. Their stories are part of the history of the station and part of national history, but their links to the station have been generally passed over in histories which have obscured an understanding of the place as a “constantly becoming human product.”⁵⁴

Chapter 7: Those Sheltered

Both chapters 7 and 8 continue the place-centred approach formulated by Pred which has underpinned the preceding chapters. As a study of place these chapters examine how the daily paths of the individuals who made up each of these groups reveals some of the “path-project intersections” between individual lived experiences and macro-level political and social phenomena.⁵⁵ This chapter explores the role of the station in the World War 11 and post-war period as a place of refuge or respite for a number of groups who did not arrive at North Head fearful of its reputation, but as a place where care and housing was provided.

In a time of national growth these non-quarantine functions reveal aspects of Australia’s quarantine history which has previously been overlooked and demonstrate something of the contradictory nature of the role of quarantine as political decisions influenced social policies with ensuing implications for the station. By accommodating Australian military personnel, ship’s crews whose vessels had been requisitioned, prisoners of war, refugees from Portuguese Timor, Indo-China, Vietnam and Cyclone Tracy, the station became involved with governmental and popular responses to refugees. This chapter demonstrates clearly that while continuing to function as a place of quarantine activity, international and national events had effects at the station and influenced the daily life and work paths through a widening of the scope of its protective and vigilant activities particularly in time of war.

Chapter 8: Those detained

This chapter continues the focus on a sense of place and what Pred refers to as “the formation of biographies” to explore the intersection of individual lives with macro-level

⁵⁴ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 279

⁵⁵ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 292.

political and social phenomena.⁵⁶ This process is examined through discussion of aspects of immigration policy and the effects they had on the status of a specific group of prohibited immigrants housed at the station between 1959 and 1974 under sections of the *Migration Act 1958*.

Exploration of the reasons for the establishment of the Immigration Detention Centre at the station and its objectives offer a way of understanding the daily functioning of this detention centre, the numbers held, their length of stay and administrative and judicial procedures which determined their future. In addition, some of the experiences of detainees before being taken into custody and during their time at North Head are examined to demonstrate how their daily paths were influenced by the power relationships operating at the centre and the station.

In contemporary studies relating to refugee and asylum seeker policies links have been seen to exist between present day detention centres and the establishment and functioning of this centre. In this context Klaus Neumann's contention that present decisions could be guided and influenced by exploring the way the IDC operated and Amy Nethery's thesis that inmates were held "not for what they had done but for who they were" provide useful additional areas for consideration in the building of group and individual biographies and the development of sense of place for the Quarantine Station at North Head.⁵⁷

Sources

This thesis relies heavily on archival sources, and as the administration and functioning of the Quarantine Station at North Head was in the hands of the Commonwealth Government for most of the twentieth century those sources are part of the collection of the *National Archives of Australia* (NAA), with some relevant records for the period 1900 to 1912 present in the collection of *State Records New South Wales*.

Research into areas of the twentieth century history of the station including previously neglected areas has been possible because of the foresight of the archivist at

⁵⁶ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process, 292. Pred sees sense of place as "inseparable from biography formation and the becoming of place."

⁵⁷ Klaus Neumann, "Afterword" In *Does History Matter? Making and debating citizenship, immigration and refugee policy in Australia and New Zealand* (Canberra: Co-published with ANZSOG and ANU E press, 2009). <http://epress.anu.edu.au?p=109651>; "Australia's refugee policy has always been calculating," *ON LINE opinion – Australia's e-journal of social and political debate* (2004) <http://www.onlineopinion.com.au/print.asp?article=2284>; Amy Nethery, "Immigration Detention in Australia." PhD thesis, (Deakin University, Melbourne, 2010), 2.

Department of Health Head Office in Sydney and his positive actions in preserving both the written records which are now housed at the *National Archives of Australia*, and physical evidence of life and work at the station by Foreman Assistant Lavaring in the 1970s, some of which are still on site.

Overwhelmingly the written records are from official sources and of those which pertain particularly to work and activity at North Head the most important in number and detail are the *Daily Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*.⁵⁸ Volumes 30 to 71 of these work diaries cover the period from 1898 to 1983 and record for each day the work tasks to be carried out by each member of staff, with leave or sickness also noted. While the arrival of ships is mentioned there is no individual information recorded for the passengers. Information on quarantine ships has been obtained from individual entries under “Quarantine of vessels” or for the record of the ship’s name.⁵⁹ However, the majority of information in these files relates to the disease for which the ship was quarantined and some of the aspects of the quarantine, especially as was the case for the RMS “Aorangi” when problems occurred.

In addition the *Daily Log Books* Volumes 4 to 29 cover the period from 1922 to 1965 and provide evidence of often specialised activities carried out under the direction of the Foreman Mechanic.⁶⁰ The main activities included physical maintenance of the station, electrical and mechanical repairs and use and maintenance of equipment. In particular detailed entries relating to the disinfection of goods and passengers’ luggage demonstrate the continuity and amount of work undertaken throughout from the 1920s on. These two series which set out the work functions and the daily activity at the station underpin each section of the thesis with heavy reliance on evidence of quarantine activity and work activities discussed and analysed in chapters 2, 3, 4 & 5. However, it must be pointed out that these are work dairies which contain no explanatory comment and provide nothing in the way of personal detail. The entries dealing with “occurrence” usually named a ship to be quarantined or the arrival of goods to be disinfected/fumigated. It is also possible to decipher some of the different administrative traits of the assistants who wrote them from the quality of the entries, and some of the skills of individual assistants from the tasks they were constantly

⁵⁸ NAA, *Daily Diaries of duty and occurrence at North Head Quarantine Station 1898 – 1983*, (NAA: C528)

⁵⁹ NAA: K258.

⁶⁰ NAA, *Daily Log Books 1922 – 1965*, (NAA: C527).

allotted e.g. Sackley as a qualified painter performed many of the painting duties. Bearpark must have been good with animals as he constantly cared for the horses and rabbits and bandicoots raised for the Serum Laboratories.

Other records such as the Register of Admissions and Discharges and the Register of Deaths at the station provide some individual details for some of those who were admitted to quarantine, the hospital or were buried in the third cemetery, and also demonstrate the treatment of these patients by quarantine staff and clerical gentlemen who administered to the sick and dying.⁶¹

Extensive use has also been made of Department of Health correspondence files between the Chief Quarantine Officer (General) [CQO(G)] New South Wales and the Director-General particularly in the periods when Dr Cumpston and Dr Metcalfe fulfilled the role of Director-General of Health. Areas such as the available accommodation North Head, the processes to ensure action against the egress of smallpox and arguments to support the continued functioning of North Head particularly during the growth of air travel provide important insights into the policies and political stances of the Department of Health, as well as quarantine practices and procedures at North Head.⁶²

Files relating to individual staff members are extremely rare for New South Wales as only those whose surnames began with “W” appear to have survived. These provide some insight into the working life of Assistants Willsher, Williams and Woodward and reveal some of the problems which staff encountered carrying out their duties and also when applying for promotion or an increased rate of pay.⁶³ Specific individual files relating to Superintendent Getting and Assistant Erickson reveal some of the paranoia about enemy spies within the country which existed during World War 1. Both were public servants with foreign sounding names who among other public servants who fell into the same category were seen as security risks. They had to provide details of their background, families and work history in sworn declarations to prove their allegiance to

⁶¹ NAA, *Register of Admissions and Discharges Vols. 1 & 2* (NAA: C525); NAA, *Register of Deaths at the Quarantine Station* (NAA: C526)

⁶² NAA: A1658; NAA: A1928.

⁶³ NAA, *Staff permanent New South Wales: AH Willsher 1913 - 1918* (NAA: A1928, 1023/48)'; NAA, *HH Williams – Foreman Assistant quarantine Branch, Sydney* (NAA: A465, R6151); NAA, *Staff permanent New South Wales: NL Woodward 1920 1945* (NAA: A1928, 1023/48)

the crown.⁶⁴ Yet it is the detail in World War 1 and World War 11 service files which were extremely helpful in gaining evidence of staff service in the military forces. These files provided personal details which brought the names listed in the Weekly Dairies to life as they sketched in some background detail to these men's lives before joining the workforce at North Head.⁶⁵

The culling of files has also limited any NAA research into nurses in Commonwealth employ or the significant number of people held in quarantine in the air travel period. In this same context there are missing volumes from the diaries and logs often in important periods such as the influenza pandemic.

In order to sketch in some of the human identities of those who worked, were quarantined or found temporary accommodation there, access to war service documents, repatriation, police and immigration files, were mined to uncover some elements of their identities. In particular files relating to the Portuguese evacuees, Commonwealth Police files relating to those held at the IDC were large and in much the same format as the work diaries, thus posing many of the same difficulties of their one-sided nature.⁶⁶ It is interesting to note that these files and many others used in this thesis needed to have requests lodged for them to be opened. In particular a history file which only entered the "open" period in 2012 had resulted from a realisation in the late 1970s that the closure of the station was looming and there was an urgent need to collect as much of its history as possible. Advertisements in the press for information from anyone who had connection with the station resulted in written replies from a small group of people, and in particular information relevant to the Vietnamese Orphans who were looked after at the station by a volunteer groups. Indeed, without the pictures and the outline of some of the work which was carried out by this group, these children would be as faceless as the refugees from Vietnam and Indo-China who also found respite at the station.⁶⁷

It is also important to point out that only rarely were the views of high ranking officers or politicians included in these files unless they were relevant to quarantine activities in general or for North Head in particular. When these views were expressed they were

⁶⁴ NAA, *Paul Getting, Disposition* (NAA: A387, 192; NAA, *Erickson, Edward Martin: Gate Keeper Quarantine Station North Head* (NAA: A387, 152).

⁶⁵ NAA: B883; 884; 2455;

⁶⁶ NAA: C123; NAA: NAA: C702 Whole Series; NAA: ST1233/1; NAA: C3939.

⁶⁷ NAA: A1851, 1980/1808.

usually in answer to parliamentary questions or attempts to gain access to the site. However, the Hon. W C Wentworth MP for Wakehurst was the exception as his attempts to use the site for a myriad of purposes was ongoing in the post-World War 11 period as he backed local attempts to close the station and presented lengthy questions in parliament.⁶⁸

Evidence from many more files than have been mentioned in this discussion have contributed to the story told in the chapters of this thesis. However, those mentioned above provide substantially important areas of inquiry into quarantine activity, the working life of the station and its role as a Commonwealth facility providing accommodation and care. Yet, even with this volume of evidence the twentieth century story is only partially told.

Given the importance and prevalence of photography during the twentieth century pictorial evidence should provide a way of filling in some of these gaps. Yet the holdings in the collections of the NAA and the NSW Heritage Library with relation to the station are not extensive. In the NAA files photos of the built environment and the rock inscriptions predominate and the Heritage Library collection also reflects an interest in the built environment. This collection does have photos of people quarantined, especially those in the 1st class area illustrating quarantine activity and leisure time in the Healthy Ground. However, there is almost no pictorial record of the station workforce in either collection. Unfortunately, my efforts to gain permission to reproduce any of these photos has been singularly unsuccessful. But, they are reproduced in the Mawland production *From Quarantine to QSTATION* by Cornwall and McArthur and in promotional material for *QSTATION* providing some public access to this visual evidence.⁶⁹ At another level conservation reports produced in the period following the closure of the station provide excellent diagrams and maps of the changing built environment of the station from inception to closure, as well as detailed archaeological data which provides tangible evidence of the changing face of the layout of the station.

While pictorial evidence provides some way of filling in the gaps it is also important to highlight the role of the press in the way the station was presented during the twentieth century. While there was constant reporting of the schedule of ships/plane passengers

⁶⁸ NAA: A1658; NAA: A1928.

⁶⁹ Cornwall and McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*.

in and out of quarantine it was the horrific stories during epidemics and the quarantine of upper class passengers which received the most attention and influenced public reaction. Attitudes fluctuated between condemning the role of the station during the bubonic plague to praise during the smallpox epidemic, with a return to condemnation during the influenza pandemic. During these early decades the press played a role in engendering panic and fear among the public and those removed to quarantine as well as fostering antagonistic racial attitudes to minority groups, especially the Chinese, during the bubonic plague.

Furthermore, local and national metropolitan presses also reported instances of quarantine at stations throughout the country, but local papers and metropolitan Sydney press agencies played an important part in the long running campaign to have the station at North Head moved or closed whenever the movement gained momentum as a result of problems with specific periods of active quarantine. Significantly, it is mainly through these press accounts that the opposition to the continuation of the station as a working station can be analysed and assessed.

Yet, the press played more positive roles in supporting the evacuee children from Britain, Vietnamese orphans and Darwin evacuees as well as the occupation of the area by the military during the war. Throughout the evidence from press accounts provide a way of balancing the popular opinions and understandings of the role of the station and quarantine against the official documentation.

Section 1: A place of quarantine activity

Chapter 1: North Head Quarantine Station: An overview of history and landscape at the turn of the century

At the turn of the twentieth century North Head Quarantine Station had been operating as a quarantine facility for well over seventy years providing protection against incoming diseases - mainly smallpox, typhus and cholera - aboard incoming convict and free immigrant ships as well as merchant vessels.¹ As the first station of its kind in Australia, it was characterised by its colonial beginnings and administration until the first decades of the twentieth century when, as a result of federation and under the terms of the *Quarantine Act 1908*, it passed from State to Commonwealth control. The early decades of the new century were characterised by the carrying out of ongoing quarantine activities as well as the station's involvement in public health measures instituted to treat the sick and contain the spread of disease associated with the plague pandemic, a smallpox epidemic and the influenza pandemic.

Yet, the station's twentieth century story, as told in this thesis, varies from its nineteenth century one. It is characterised by inclusion in a national quarantine service, the implementation of broader administrative procedures and adaptation to changing circumstances brought about by war, immigration, economic growth and technological change. While part of the nationalising tendency of the turn of the century, the change to Commonwealth control was very much conditioned by actions, at the end of the nineteenth century which instituted a move towards uniform quarantine practices globally. Thus the *Quarantine Act 1908* reflected an element of worldwide anxieties about sanitation, disease and public health at the end of the nineteenth century, a time when concerns about national public health measures, and race fitness, were also occupying the minds of public health officials and leaders in Australia and worldwide.

This chapter provides an overview of the main aspects of the station's history in the latter decades of the nineteenth century which heralded these shifts. Of particular

¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 13 – 88.

importance was the smallpox epidemic of 1881. During this epidemic the inadequacy of the station and its superintendent to provide proper care led to widespread public criticism and calls for change which resulted in the setting up of a Royal Commission. The findings and recommendations of this commission brought about important changes to public health policies and administration in New South Wales as well as procedural, managerial and structural improvements at the station. These changes were also indicative of international concern with the practice of quarantine, which had been a focus of a series of International Sanitary Conferences beginning in 1850 at which attempts were made to put into effect a uniform system of quarantine practice.² Decisions taken at these conferences influenced decisions made at Australian Sanitary Conferences held between 1884 -1909. Importantly these Australian Sanitary Conferences provided a forum for a movement to achieve a federal system of quarantine which would provide a “uniform and effective quarantine system” for Australia.³ Each of these factors provides important context to the station’s functioning as a place of quarantine under the central direction of the Commonwealth Government in the twentieth century.⁴

As a study of place the layout and spatial configuration of the station, which had largely been set in place by the first decades of the twentieth century, provides important understandings of the situation and procedures of quarantine at North Head in the twentieth century. The second part of the chapter therefore provides some contextualisation of the station’s landscape, its spatial configuration, geography and topography. Important, too, are the challenges and problems issuing from the dynamics of the move from State to Commonwealth control following the passing of the *Quarantine Act 1908*.⁵ This overview of late nineteenth century history and landscape provides important contextual background for the twentieth century story told in the body of the thesis

At the turn of the century

The Quarantine Station at North Head was initially established in 1828 to control the risk of infection from both convict and merchant ships conveying people and goods to the

² JHL Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” in *Maritime Quarantine Administration: Service Publication 16* (Melbourne: Albert J Mullett, Government Printer, 1919), 17.

³ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 18.

⁴ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 18.

⁵ NAA, *Quarantine Act 1908* (NAA: A2863, 1908/3).

colony of New South Wales.⁶ The threat of disease arriving aboard ships had been present from the foundation of the colony, and throughout the nineteenth century as quarantine policy and activity became closely linked to immigration policies and practices, as well as the commercial interest of shipping companies.⁷

However, because of these factors throughout most of the nineteenth century changes occurred, including adaptations to practices relating to the spread of disease from incoming ships particularly the constant threat of smallpox to a largely unvaccinated population. During the second half of the nineteenth century the advent of steam-powered ships which shortened the journey heightened the threat of incoming diseases. The number of quarantines at the station increased as diseases on board ships had insufficient time to manifest themselves before arrival at Sydney. This situation led to problems at the station giving rise to demands for better accommodation for first and second class passengers. In addition there were passengers' complaints about the superintendent's management of the station during periods in quarantine. These problems had not been resolved when the smallpox epidemic of 1881-1882 broke out. The handling of this epidemic was flawed, principally because of the government's decision to use the station for infected patients when neither the accommodation nor the administration was capable of providing adequate facilities to deal with the numbers who were quarantined there.⁸

A tightening of the management of the station

Public reaction to the inadequacy of the station and its superintendent during this epidemic led to demands for improvements which resulted in the setting up of a Royal Commission in September 1881. This Commission's enquiry focused on the station's management and the conditions of the hospital ship the "Faraway", where smallpox patients had been quarantined during the epidemic. In their report the commissioners

⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 17.

⁷ National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS), *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station Understanding the Place. Historical Overview* (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), 45.

⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 71. A meeting took place under instructions from the Colonial Treasurer and in the course of it the decision was made to use the Quarantine Station as it had been a successful avenue during the smallpox outbreak of 1876-1877. However, that was a minor outbreak and for the 1881 epidemic there were insufficient methods of transport, facilities and medical supervision.

deplored the neglect of patients and urged the need for “prompt and vigorous action” to be taken by the authorities.⁹

Action was taken and resulted in significant and important changes to public health in the State and at the station through the establishment in 1882 of the Board of Health. This statutory body had wide responsibilities for public health and quarantine. Quarantine procedures and the management of the station were scrutinised and changes implemented including the resignation of the superintendent. The roles of the new Superintendent and his staff were specified and closely supervised.¹⁰ New accommodation buildings to cater for 300 people were erected and platforms were provided for the erection of tents for any overflow of passengers. A new two-ward hospital building replaced the hulk “Faraway”. Over the following years more improvements were brought about by Dr CH Mackellar in his position as Health Officer (Port Jackson) and by his successor Dr J Ashburton Thompson. As the Board of Health’s Chief Medical Inspectors their responsibilities included the supervision of the station.¹¹

But quarantine practices at the station had always been affected by the commercial needs of ship owners. At government level maritime activity was seen as an area of commercial importance, so requests from the Ship Owners’ Association for upgrades to the station produced results. However, a Ship Owners’ request for separate accommodation for “Asiatics” was not provided immediately, but was erected by 1902. Other requests were delivered more promptly. A request for printed instructions for ships’ captains was seen as a pressing need to ensure compliance from masters of vessels, together with the need to lessen delays caused by ships having to accede to quarantine procedures. This produced results with a resident Assistant Health Officer stationed at Watsons Bay so that newly arrived vessels could be boarded there and be inspected without delay.¹²

It was, however, Dr CH Mackellar in his role of Health Officer, who was instrumental in providing better facilities through his development of a “blueprint for the station’s future.” This included a better water supply through the installation of a new reservoir, the acquisition of a steam launch, the “Lorna Doone”, to ferry goods and people to quarantine, as well as improved landing and hospital facilities. Also, a new hospital ward

⁹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 77.

¹⁰ NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station*, 59.

¹¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 80 – 81.

¹² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 80 – 81.

and improved doctors' and nurses' quarters were built. As well additional accommodation for passengers and better internal transport services were provided.¹³

The mishandling of the smallpox epidemic also raised other issues including the option of abandoning quarantine and/or moving the station, a position supported by the ship owners and their agents. This option was dismissed by Mackellar who supported effective quarantine measures and a system which required co-operation between all the colonies, through a federated system of quarantine. However, he recognised that this was not to be easily achieved. His case for co-ordinated action received impetus as a result of the problems which surfaced during the journey of the "Perusian" in 1887. The ship had smallpox on board and carried the infection to ports from Albany to Sydney. The spread of infection could have been avoided if action had been taken in Albany. Yet, this event did have the effect of alerting the governments of the colonies to the need to legislate for some sort of federal control. This particular experience and the perceived need for change helped to ensure that quarantine came under Commonwealth control at federation.¹⁴ But at this time the threat of the spread of plague world-wide had become more acute, and, as federal control of quarantine had not yet been accomplished the separate State governments had to deal with the challenges of containing its spread.

Towards a uniform and effective quarantine system

The advent of federation in 1901 saw the Commonwealth Government acquire the power to transfer the control of quarantine from the States to its own authority. This central or federal control of quarantine in Australia had come about during a period when international attempts had been made to adopt a uniform and effective system of quarantine which would contribute to the prevention of epidemics of cholera, plague, yellow fever, malaria and typhus.¹⁵ This movement had begun at International Conferences convened by the French Government and held in Paris in 1851 and 1859. At each of these meetings discussion centred on the prevention and control of epidemics such as cholera and the need to standardise periods of isolation in quarantine.¹⁶ However, little was accomplished, but at the Conference held in

¹³ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 82.

¹⁴ NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station*, 61.

¹⁵ Cumpston, "Quarantine Law and Principles," 16; Nermin Ersoy, Yuksel Gungor and Aslihan Akpınar, "International Sanitary Conferences from the Ottoman perspective (1851 – 1938)," *Journal of the History of Public Health* 10, no. 1 (2011), 79.

¹⁶ Ersoy et al., "International Sanitary Conferences, 56.

Constantinople in 1866 change to quarantine practices occurred. Rather than holding all vessels with their crew and passengers for extended periods of time in quarantine the port from which a ship had sailed became the focus of attention. Decisions were made to introduce a system which dealt with vessels on the basis of ships providing a “Bill of Health” which indicated the state of health of ports of call and the sanitary history of the vessel during its voyage.¹⁷ It was the view of Dr Cumpston Director-General of Health from 1921, that the decisions made at this time were important, as the measures decided on were less prejudicial to both international and commercial interests and more efficacious for dealing with the outbreaks of epidemics at their source.¹⁸

These actions had evolved out of the English model, begun in 1848, where incoming vessels from infected ports, along with their passengers and crew had previously been held for extended periods was discontinued. With this action the emphasis changed from a focus on the health of the port the vessel had come from to “strict supervision of the vessels” and of all those on board by the medical officer.¹⁹ This move was followed in 1873 with the official ending of quarantine in England. The old system was replaced by the medical inspection of ships, passengers and crew, followed by isolation of the sick and then disinfection procedures of people and goods.²⁰ The flow-on from this action resulted in this inspection and isolation system being almost universally accepted in Europe at the Conference of Vienna in 1875. Effectively, the old quarantine system had been replaced. However, Australia declined to adopt the British model and quarantine policy and practice remained firmly in place.²¹

Internationally, attitudes to the practice of quarantine continued to evolve at further conferences.²² The process which had begun in 1851 demonstrated that international co-operation and the intelligent application of scientific knowledge had been recognised

¹⁷ Ersoy et al., “International Sanitary Conferences, 58.

¹⁸ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 17.

¹⁹ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 15.

²⁰ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 16. “The notable change of attitude which had come about was that measures are prescribed primarily, and almost entirely on the condition of the vessel, and not entirely on a basis of the condition of the ports from which the vessel had come.”

²¹ Gavin McLean and Tim Shoebridge, *Quarantine! Protecting New Zealand at the Border* (Dunedin, NZ: Otago University Press, 2010), 36.

²² Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 17. Conferences were held at Vienna (1892), Dresden (1893), Paris (1894), Venice 1897), Paris (1903). At the 1903 Conference the role of rats in the spread of plague was recognised.

as the best means of dealing with the spread of infectious diseases from country to country.²³

Sanitary Conferences in Australia

While within Australia, where quarantine practices remained strongly in place, the decisions of the international conferences with relation to the adoption of international hygiene, the importance of scientific knowledge and the application of verified facts were noted. However, it was the threat of smallpox which was seen as the most pressing concern for public health authorities. These concerns increased for State authorities during the epidemic in Sydney in 1881 and again in 1884 when the disease was prevalent in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. This concern was compounded by the existence of a variety of laws and practices between each of the States and the confusion which occurred with relation to the obstruction of commerce and shipping.²⁴ To address these problems the New South Wales (NSW) Government invited each of the States to send representatives to “confer and report on the best means of establishing a uniform and effective system of quarantine in Australia in 1884.”²⁵ It was this emphasis on uniformity and effectiveness which laid the basis for further Australian Sanitary Conferences where discussion focused mainly on smallpox as posing the most threat to the Australian population.²⁶

After the First Conference in 1884 a further four were called between then and 1909. Previously to this First Conference in 1884 Dr Mackellar, Health Officer and Medical Officer for NSW, had put forward the idea of uniformity of practice in a paper presented to the Royal Society of New South Wales on “Federal Quarantine”. As a result of this presentation and a meeting of the NSW Branch of the British Medical Association, the NSW Government invited representatives of the other States to a conference to report on “the best means of establishing a uniform and effective system of quarantine for Australia.”²⁷ Discussion focused on the details of setting a uniform federal system of quarantine, with all States acting uniformly and co-operatively and the introduction in each State of a “uniform Quarantine Bill”. The setting up of quarantine stations at Albany and Thursday Island was mooted, as well as procedures to be adopted at the

²³ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 16 – 17.

²⁴ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 18.

²⁵ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 18.

²⁶ Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 18.

²⁷ RC Webb, “The History of Quarantine with Special References to Australia,” Address to the meeting of *The Medical History Society* 2 October, 1982, 16 – 17.

arrival of vessels. There was no immediate action from any of the States, but the attending health officials had achieved a level of understanding between them which boded well for future discussions.²⁸

The Second Conference in 1896 focused on arriving at uniformity of practice with relation to quarantine administration, particularly with reference to smallpox and the establishment of a “much greater degree of protection for the colonies than had been previously enjoyed”.²⁹ However, the Third Conference known as the International Plague Conference of 1900, influenced by the world-wide spread of the plague and its effects, focused singly on methods to combat its spread while instituting the practice of all plague contacts being placed under observation. Local Australian decisions, reflecting the spread of plague in New South Wales and Victoria, instituted further precautions to prevent rats leaving ships as well as the implementation of methods of destroying them aboard ships. These proactive decisions were seen by Dr Cumpston to have been more forward looking than the Venice Conference resolutions of 1897.³⁰

The Fourth Conference of 1904 took place after federation when quarantine had become part of the powers of the new Commonwealth Government. In 1926 Dr Cumpston pointed out the importance of the resolutions made at the Australian Conferences as they guided quarantine legislation and the general policy of several States towards uniformity. But there were still issues with relation to the presence of overlapping and often confusing practices in each State.³¹ A conference instituted by the Prime Minister in 1904 was commissioned to draw up recommendations for the *Quarantine Act* which was eventually passed in 1908. Finally the aims of the delegates at the First Conference of 1884 of achieving a uniform quarantine system for Australia were fulfilled.³²

The decisions at these important meetings also raised public interest with references to the powers proposed under the *Act* appearing in the daily press and added to a continuing public debate about removal of the station.³³ This stance for removal of the

²⁸ Webb, “The History of Quarantine with Special Reference to Australia,” 18.

²⁹ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 20.

³⁰ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 20; Webb, “The History of Quarantine with Special Reference to Australia,” 19.

³¹ Cumpston and McCallum, *The History of the Plague* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Department of Health, Service Publication No. 32, 1926), 113.

³² Cumpston, “Quarantine Laws and Principles,” 20.

³³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 6, 1904; June 11, 1904; July 14, 1904; July 22, 1907; August 28, 1907; December 3, 1908.

station had surfaced earlier over the handling of the smallpox epidemic of 1881 – 1882 and reflected widespread public fears of a maritime “invasion” from infectious disease aboard ships arriving in Sydney. A more radical stance was taken by some groups who saw quarantine as being out of date, of doubtful value, deleterious to the health of shipboard passengers, to the local community as well as costly to shipping companies.³⁴

These public health concerns together with racial fears, evident in the racially motivated treatment of the Chinese during the smallpox epidemic of 1881, were evident at the turn of the century as control of quarantine was to be transferred to the Commonwealth Government. In particular it was the fear of the introduction of smallpox from immigrant groups, categorised in the press as the “dirty and careless people” of Britain and elsewhere, which was foremost in public consciousness.³⁵ But, also embedded in the debate was the realisation that Australian communities were unwilling to change the present system of quarantine. This would only be possible if the public could be convinced that a new way would provide them with the protection from infection in a time of continued expansion of maritime trade. If the Commonwealth was to provide protection from disease and support the expanding economy, there was a need for stations at strategic points of entry to reap the “humanitarian and economic advantages” which were opening up. The best possibility seemed to be to simplify the system for the advantage of all.³⁶

Commonwealth control of quarantine

This system became a possibility with Commonwealth control of quarantine stations finally established in 1908. But this had been achieved amid State health administration concerns about the effects of the change on their own public health departments. The public health representative for New South Wales, Dr Ashburton Thompson, President of the Board of Health was a good example of this stance. He had been a supporter of uniform quarantine regulation, yet he also believed that quarantine should remain as part of the health administration for each state.

Consequently he was reluctant to accede to the Commonwealth’s plans.³⁷ He raised problems with relation to the functioning of the NSW State Department of Public Health

³⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 19, 1901.

³⁵ “Editorial”, *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 19, 1901.

³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 19, 1901

³⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 6, 1904.

and foresaw difficulties in dealing with future epidemics. Dr Ashburton Thompson also expressed concerns for sections of health administration which were interlinked with quarantine practices and procedures.³⁸ These problems, as well as the Commonwealth's need to pay compensation to the States, for taking over the assets of quarantine stations, helped to delay the passing of the *Quarantine Act* until 1908.³⁹ Within this *Act* the Department of Trade and Customs became responsible for quarantine, but it was not until 1912 that this Commonwealth department had any actual hand in the administration and activity of the Quarantine Station at North Head.⁴⁰ However, during this period the quarantine stations had remained under State administration until late 1911, and there had been a level of discontent from those quarantined, particularly from those held in the healthy areas of quarantine stations about the quality of their experiences.⁴¹ This view was challenged by a group of official visitors, newly appointed members of the Board of Health, in 1904 who found that the station at North Head was in "excellent order" and everything, including the hospital, was readiness for immediate occupation of about 700 people.⁴²

Quarantine practices under the Quarantine Act

In this situation it would appear that the uniform policies and procedures instituted by the *Quarantine Act* were necessary if a national system to control and contain infection was to be effectively established and suitable accommodation and treatment of those quarantined was to be a constant feature of the quarantine experience.⁴³ This *Act*

³⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 96-97.

³⁹ NAA, *North Head Quarantine Station - Re-transfer to the State (Box 2)* (NAA: SP351/1, NL2350).

⁴⁰ "Quarantine. No 3 of 1908. An Act relating to Quarantine", in *The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia 1908*, Vol. VII. (Victoria: Government Printer, 1909) Vol. VI, 24-40; Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism and Public Health* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 121. As an example of the use of quarantine in arguments related to central themes in Australian history such as immigration and racial policies, Bashford sees the locating of quarantine in the Department of Trade and Customs as "a telling tracing of health and population with economy and security." Also she contends that "in terms of the Constitution and bureaucratic genealogy, the administration of the public health of the nation had its origins in quarantine." She also argues that Cumpston's position as Director-General of Health and the development of the Department of Health under his leadership forged a link with nationalism and following this "fairly seamlessly into 'racial hygiene' and the foundational national policy of white Australia"

⁴¹ Krista Maglen, "Quarantined: exploring personal accounts of incarceration in Australian and Pacific quarantine stations in the nineteenth century," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*. 91, no. 1 (2005): 8 – 14.

⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 9, 1904.

⁴³ Krista Maglen, "Quarantined," 12.

provided the basis for quarantine policies and procedures with amendments made when necessary to suit changing conditions.⁴⁴

The *Act* stated that : “Quarantine has relation to measures for the exclusion, detention, observation, segregation, isolation, protection and disinfection of vessels, persons goods, animals, or plants and having as their object the prevention of the introduction or spread of diseases or pests affecting man, animals, or plants.”⁴⁵

It is quite clear that policies of “exclusion, detention, segregation and isolation” were integral to the “object of prevention of the introduction or spread of diseases ... affecting man....”⁴⁶, and were inherent in the policies relating to quarantine and the protection of public health. Historians have linked the negative connotation of these quarantine policies to events and themes relating to governmental policies and actions with relation to restricted immigration, racial policies and the treatment of asylum seekers. These were carried out under the auspices of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* which underpinned the White Australia Policy until its abolition in the 1970s.⁴⁷ However, it is important to point out that the *Quarantine Act* was first and foremost a public health measure to protect a vulnerable population against the spread of infectious diseases. This basic function of quarantine has been supported more recently by research on quarantine and the modern epidemics of SARS and H1N1 viruses. Conclusions drawn from this research demonstrate that “good quality evidence suggests that the basic concept of quarantine is still fully valid,” but needs to be tailored to

⁴⁴ NAA, *Quarantine Act 1912* (Canberra: NAA: A2863, 1912/15); NAA, *Quarantine Act 1920* (NAA: A2863, 1920/47); NAA, *Quarantine Act 1924* (NAA: A2863, 1925/30); NAA, *Quarantine Act 1908-1950 amendment to regulations* (NAA: A435 1958/15240); NAA, *An Act to amend the Quarantine Act 1908-1924 (Quarantine Act 1947* (NAA: A1559, 1947/19); NAA, *Quarantine Act – Amendments – 1968* (NAA: A5882, CO381); NAA, *Quarantine Act 1969 – (An Act to amend the Quarantine Act 1908-1966)* (NAA: A1559, 1969/1).

⁴⁵ “Quarantine Act No. 3 of 1908”, Section 4.

⁴⁶ “Quarantine Act No. 3 of 1908”, Section 24.

⁴⁷ Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line. White Men’s Countries and the Question of Racial Equality* (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 2008). See especially Chapter 6. Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 1 – 15, 39 – 57, 115 – 136. Alison Bashford, “At the Border: Contagion, Immigration, Nation,” *Australian Historical Studies* 120, no. 33 (2002): 344 – 358. Alison Bashford and Carolyn Strange, “Asylum Seekers and National Histories of Detention,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 48 (2002): 509 – 527. <http://find.galegroup.com/proxy.library.usyd.edu/itx/retrieve.do?contnetSet+IAC-D> accessed March 11, 2011.

Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), 91 – 95.

specific geographical, social and health conditions to avoid causing prejudice and intolerance.⁴⁸

Federal quarantine authority as vested in the *Quarantine Act 1908* rested with the Minister for Trade and Customs. The Governor General had the power to appoint Quarantine Officers, and “enter into an arrangement for the use of any State quarantine station to enable the Commonwealth quarantine authorities and State health ... to act in aid of each other in preventing the introduction or spread of diseases affecting man, animals, plants.”⁴⁹ With the experience of medical knowledge gained during the epidemic of the plague this power was extended to include the prevention of the spread of disease or pests, and the necessity of the fumigation of vessels for the “destruction of rats, mice, and insects.”⁵⁰ This requirement clearly reflected the medical research findings which established the connection between the fleas carried by the rats and the spread of the disease from animals to humans. It highlighted the necessity of providing preventative measures to protect the population against the spread of plague.⁵¹

Nationwide, the *Act* imposed requirements for vessels and persons subject to quarantine and imposed penalties for non-compliance. Masters of the vessels on which disease was present or had occurred during the voyage from the last port, were mandated to hoist the quarantine signal, the internationally recognised Yellow Flag, at the mainmast- head until authorised to take it down.⁵² Responsibilities of both quarantine officers and passengers were enumerated including the custodial right of a quarantine officer to require those in quarantine to be vaccinated against smallpox.⁵³

However, it was the *Quarantine Regulations* as part of *Commonwealth Statutory Rules* which were supplementary to the *Act* which had the most effect on the day-to-day

⁴⁸Gian Franco Gensini, Magdi H Yacoub, and Andrea A Conti, “The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS,” *Journal of Infection* 49 (2004): 260 – 261; Eugenia Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine, from Plague to Influenza A,” *Emerging Infectious Diseases* 19, no. 2 (2013): 268.

⁴⁹ “Quarantine Act No 3 of 1908”, Part 11- Administration, Sections 8-11, 26. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 121. Bashford sees the location of quarantine in the Department of Trade and Customs as significantly linking of the “concerns of health and population with economy and security”.

⁵⁰ “Quarantine Act No 3 of 1908”, Part 11- General Provisions, Sections 12 -16, 26- 28.

⁵¹ Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney. The Anatomy of an Epidemic* (Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1989), 146- 148.

⁵² “Quarantine Act No 3 of 1908”, Part VI – Quarantine of Vessels Persons and Goods, Sections 17-49; 28- 31.

⁵³ “Quarantine Act No 3 of 1908”, Part V11- Miscellaneous, Sections 39; 67-87.

activity at quarantine stations, including the Quarantine Station at North Head.⁵⁴ These regulations spelled out the procedures which had to be followed by vessels entering Australian waters, and the duties of both the staff and those quarantined. An overview of these regulations is important to attain a better understanding of the procedures carried out by staff and the expected responses of the quarantined at North Head.

Staff duties at North Head in a time of active quarantine dictated that the quarantine signal, the Yellow Flag, be displayed from sunrise to sunset.⁵⁵ Importantly from past negotiations with ship owners, regulations pertaining to the length of time ships were held in quarantine took into account the commercial needs of the ship owners and stated that, “no persons or goods shall be detained in quarantine for any longer period than is considered necessary in the interests of the public health by the Chief Quarantine Officer”.⁵⁶ Efficient and effective standards for staff relating to the disinfection of vessels, persons and personal effects were mandated.⁵⁷ The military and custodial aspects of quarantine were clear in the sections related to the duties and rights of those quarantined. In particular, specific mention was made of those in the Healthy Ground as during quarantines there were often large number of healthy people whose personal liberty was restricted by being held in quarantine. Maglen has demonstrated that this group with little to do and often without any form of entertainment could become restive and bored.⁵⁸ They were, however, expected to comply with the regulations which directed that they maintained the cleanliness of their quarantine quarters. In addition, prompt attendance at meal times was required and abstention from alcohol was mandated.⁵⁹ All of these aspects of the regulations related to passengers of all classes and are an indication of the loss of individual liberty which occurred during quarantine.

⁵⁴ “Quarantine Regulations” in *Commonwealth Statutory Rules 1901-1927* (Sydney: Butterworth & Comp. (Australia) Ltd., 1958).

⁵⁵ “Quarantine Regulations”, 3002 - 3003 (a) For vessels requiring pratique the flag known as flag Q, being a yellow flag of six breadths of bunting hoisted at the main mast-head. (b) For vessels having suspected or having a quarantinable disease on board or actually performing quarantine, the flag known as the Commercial flag L, being a large flag of yellow and black, borne quarterly, hoisted at the main mast-head.

⁵⁶ “Quarantine Regulations”, 3012.

⁵⁷ “Quarantine Regulations”, 3014 - 3018.

⁵⁸ Maglen, “Quarantined,” 3 – 4.

⁵⁹ “Quarantine Regulations”, 3013 - 3014.

Initially the *Act* defined five specific diseases or any disease proclaimed by the Governor-General as a quarantinable disease. This number increased as from 1912 twenty-eight quarantinable diseases were signified including mumps, measles and chicken-pox.⁶⁰ As well special measures against plague and cholera were instituted to guard as effectively as possible against the introduction of these diseases.⁶¹ This was clearly a response to the plague epidemic of 1901 and the continued threat this disease posed.⁶² Penalties for non-compliance and procedures for the quarantine of animals and plants were as detailed as those for the quarantine of people.⁶³ From 1912 these elements of Commonwealth control of quarantine affected the day-to-day activity at North Head Quarantine Station.

The Quarantine Station Landscape

While the *Act* and *Statutory Rules* laid out the essential elements of quarantine practices a spatial understanding of the landscape of the station is also important as in essence the layout of the station reflected the carrying out of quarantine practices and activities. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century the changes and improvements which had taken place following the smallpox epidemic of 1881 placed the station in a better position to deliver quarantine procedures in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, those changes and improvements, as well as earlier developments, had been influenced by the geography and topography of North Head and were reflected in the layout of the station which had developed over time to meet the needs inherent in the carrying out of the protective measures of quarantine.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ *Quarantine Act of 1908* Section 5 defined as quarantinable diseases: smallpox, plague, cholera, yellow fever or leprosy. This left other communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough and venereal disease in the hands of the states. As the states had lost their quarantine stations, although Section 11 permitted the state government to use a federal quarantine in special circumstances. In reply to a request from the Premiers Section 35 of the *Act* allowed the removal of any person suffering from a communicable disease to a quarantine station. By 1927 this Regulation included a list of 27 diseases which included the original 6.

⁶¹ See Appendix E: *Quarantinable Diseases*.

⁶² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 90 – 91; “Quarantine Regulations”, 3029, Section 74. “Launches while on Quarantine Duty shall fly the Quarantine ensign. The Quarantine ensign shall be a blue ensign showing on a circular yellow disc or badge the crown over an anchor crossed by a serpent-coiled rod.”

⁶³ “Quarantine Regulations”, Sections VI & VII.

⁶⁴ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 3 & 23. Cumpston states that: “the term “Quarantine” had been used merely as signifying generally measures taken by any country to protect itself against disease-invasion from without its own borders.” However, he also states that, “The modern conception of quarantine is, therefore, that of a series of measures designed to prevent the spread of infectious disease, and including within such measures any predisposing

From the time of their original establishment quarantine stations had been used to isolate and separate the sick from the healthy population often in areas where a natural barrier supported isolation from the general population: islands, ships anchored away from sea traffic, peninsulas or geographically isolated spots.⁶⁵ In 1348 Venice was the first community to use public money for the “purpose of isolating infected ships, goods and persons at an island in the lagoon”, and a medical man was appointed to care for the sick in what was the first maritime quarantine station.⁶⁶ This establishment and its code of quarantine regulations became the model for other quarantine stations which followed it.⁶⁷ Over time, facilities to provide medical care, receive and house the sick and the healthy were developed alongside structures to administer and oversee quarantine functions to control the entrance of infectious diseases. On each of these individual landscapes the layout reflected the medical, administrative, hygienic and custodial nature of quarantine, as well as the isolated nature of its geography.⁶⁸ Quarantine stations in Australia reflected this general trend, but it was not until the Commonwealth took over control of quarantine that a detailed plan for the design and construction of new quarantine stations was formulated.⁶⁹

These characteristics of isolation, structural segregation, hygiene practices and the custodial nature and functioning of the quarantine landscape have been dominant themes through which historians have explored ideas of public health, hygiene, class, incarceration and nation.⁷⁰ As well as being an essential part of the process of quarantine, isolation is inherent in the setting of the station area which occupies part of the North Head of Sydney Harbour. Together with South Head it forms an impressive entrance to the harbour. This huge sandstone headland is covered with native

or existing factor.” *Commonwealth of Australia Quarantine Act 1908 – 1915*, Section 4. The definition in the *Quarantine Act 1908* is, “In this Act, quarantine had relation to measures for the inspection, exclusion, detention, observation, protection, segregation, isolation, regulation and disinfection of vessels, persons, goods, and things, and having as their object the prevention of the introduction or spread of disease or pests affecting man.”

⁶⁵ Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine,” 255.

⁶⁶ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 7.

⁶⁷ Cumpston, “Quarantine Law and Principles,” 7.

⁶⁸ Honey, “Quarantine Stations at Torrens Island and Point Nepean,” Chapter 3; NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station, Assessing Significance* (Sydney: NPWS, 2002), 207 – 215.

⁶⁹ JSC Elkington, “The Design and Construction of Quarantine Stations,” in *Maritime Quarantine Administration, Service Publication No.16* (Melbourne: Albert J Mullett, Government Printer, 1919), 103 – 169.

⁷⁰ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 9 – 12; Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 7, 60, 123 – 132; Maglen, *Quarantined*, 3 – 14; Gensini, et. al., “The concept of quarantine in history,” 257 – 261.; Tognotti, “Lessons from the History of Quarantine,” 254 – 269.

vegetation and raised 80 metres above sea level. On the eastern side North Head borders the ocean, and on the west adjoins the protected waters of the harbour. This area played an important part in aboriginal occupation of the Sydney area and in maritime activity from the time of the First Fleet. Its situation, topography and vegetation provided an isolated and effective site for the quarantine station which in its situation, on the western side of North Head, provided an accessible and safe anchorage at Spring Cove off Quarantine Beach and provision for establishing the structured layout necessary to carry out the functions of quarantine.⁷¹



Image 1: Quarantine Station North Head, *QSTATION Sydney Harbour National Park* – Manly www.qstation.com.au

The layout of the station in the early decades of the twentieth century reflected developments during the nineteenth century to meet the needs of quarantine practices and procedures as well as the human impact occupation had on the natural bushland in which it is situated. The built environment of the station had been developed into three main areas which reflected the purposes and activities of quarantine: the Wharf or “Flat” area and foreshore buildings at the beach; the hospital and isolation area, on an elevated site above the Flat, and passenger accommodation and the administrative

⁷¹ NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station*, 43 – 45, 93 – 94.

buildings on the upper slopes. This elevated section provided passengers and staff with views across the harbour entrance to South Head and to the north the city and urban life.

In particular, these three areas reflected the needs of quarantine with a conscious classification and segregation of the land into “Sick” and “Healthy Grounds” based on the central principle of containing infectious diseases in the sick grounds situated on an elevated area south of Quarantine Beach.⁷² This structure has been seen as part of a policy to contain infection and enforce a specific area in which to contain the disease.⁷³ The area of the Flat adjoining the beach contained the greatest possible danger of infection, as this was the first place patients and passengers touched land.⁷⁴ In this place quarantine procedures dealt with and contained the spread of infectious diseases through activities of separation, isolation and disinfection as passengers, crew and goods. These were landed in groups and sorted into the sick or healthy categories. Firstly the sick were transferred to the hospital and those who had been in close contact with the patients and could develop symptoms were transferred to the isolation/observation precincts. The healthy passengers, their luggage and the ship’s crew underwent disinfection procedures to eliminate any causes of infection and hinder the spread of disease. They were then moved to their accommodation areas in the Healthy Ground.⁷⁵

Accommodation on the Healthy Ground, constructed mainly in the period from the late 1880s to 1920, reflected the status of passengers on the ship and was allocated

⁷² Heritage Council, *North Head Quarantine Station & Reserve* http://www.visit.heritage.nsw.gov.au/16_subnav_09_2.cfm?itemid=5045740 accessed July 29, 2012; Foley, *In Quarantine*, 14. This was based on both theories of miasma and the contagion. Miasma theory which maintained that disease spread through the air or through infection from contact with infected material, including wool and hair. As a result the hospital was built on the elevated ridge to permit the winds to blow away the infections. Quarantine practices based on contagion theory included the exposing of cargoes to air, or immersion in water employed at quarantine stations.

⁷³ NPWS, *Quarantine Station Sydney Harbour National Park*, 17.

⁷⁴ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence* (NAA: C528). These dairies record daily tasks assigned by the Superintendent/Foreman Assistant to staff members and provide little to nothing in the way of explanation of the tasks being assigned. The area adjoining the wharf was always referred in the work dairies to as the “Flat”. Buildings within this area included the Boiler House, Power House, Disinfectors (often grouped as the Mechanical area) plus showers, laundry, inhalation shed and luggage store. The term “Core” area occurs in Conservation material written in the heritage era after 1984 and pertains to themes of incarceration, isolation, class and racial discrimination. See NPWS, *Quarantine Station. Sydney Harbour National Parks Conservation Plan September 1992*; Heritage Council, *North Head Quarantine Station & Reserve*.

⁷⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*; Foley, *In Quarantine*, 88 – 91.

according to shipboard class - 1st class, 2nd class, 3rd class - and Asian. This accommodation also reflected the difference of amenities available to each group aboard the ship and was in the opinion of Dr Elkington, who had been the commissioner of public health in Queensland and became the Queensland director of the Federal quarantine service in 1913, “a convenient compromise” between hotels, boarding houses or homes available to each class of passenger.⁷⁶ The 1st class area on the elevated ground consisted of pavilion style buildings running parallel to the beach and provided the most comfortable accommodation. The two 2nd class pavilions were also built in this area, and these pavilions ran at an angle to the 1st class separated by 2 metre fences from the 1st class area. 3rd class passengers were separated by distance and the quality of their accommodation. Administration and staff buildings were situated in strategic positions between the two distinct areas. This situation provided quarantine staff with commanding views of the whole area, and control of those held within it. Separate Asian accommodation used mostly for ship’s crew was situated below 3rd class and provided basic accommodation.⁷⁷ This separation of the different classes reflected the categories of accommodation on the ships as well as contemporary racism. However, when initially suggested by the Health Officer Dr Mackellar, the prime purpose was to contain the spread of infection through the erection of fences around each precinct.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Elkington, “The Design and Construction of Quarantine Stations,” 115,

⁷⁶ Elkington, “The Design and Construction of Quarantine Stations,” 115; Michael Roe, ‘Elkington, John Simeon Colebrook (1871 – 1955)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography National Centre of Biography, Australian National University*, <http://anu.edu.au/biography/elkington-john-simeon-colebrook-610/test10453> accessed March 15, 2013. Roe sees Elkington’s influence in the establishment of the Department of Health as important especially his efforts in persuading the Australasian Medical Congress of 1920 to back this move so as to “foster tropical medicine.”

⁷⁷ Heritage Council, *North Head Quarantine Station & Reserve*, 3; NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station, Map*, 49.

⁷⁸ NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station*, 49.

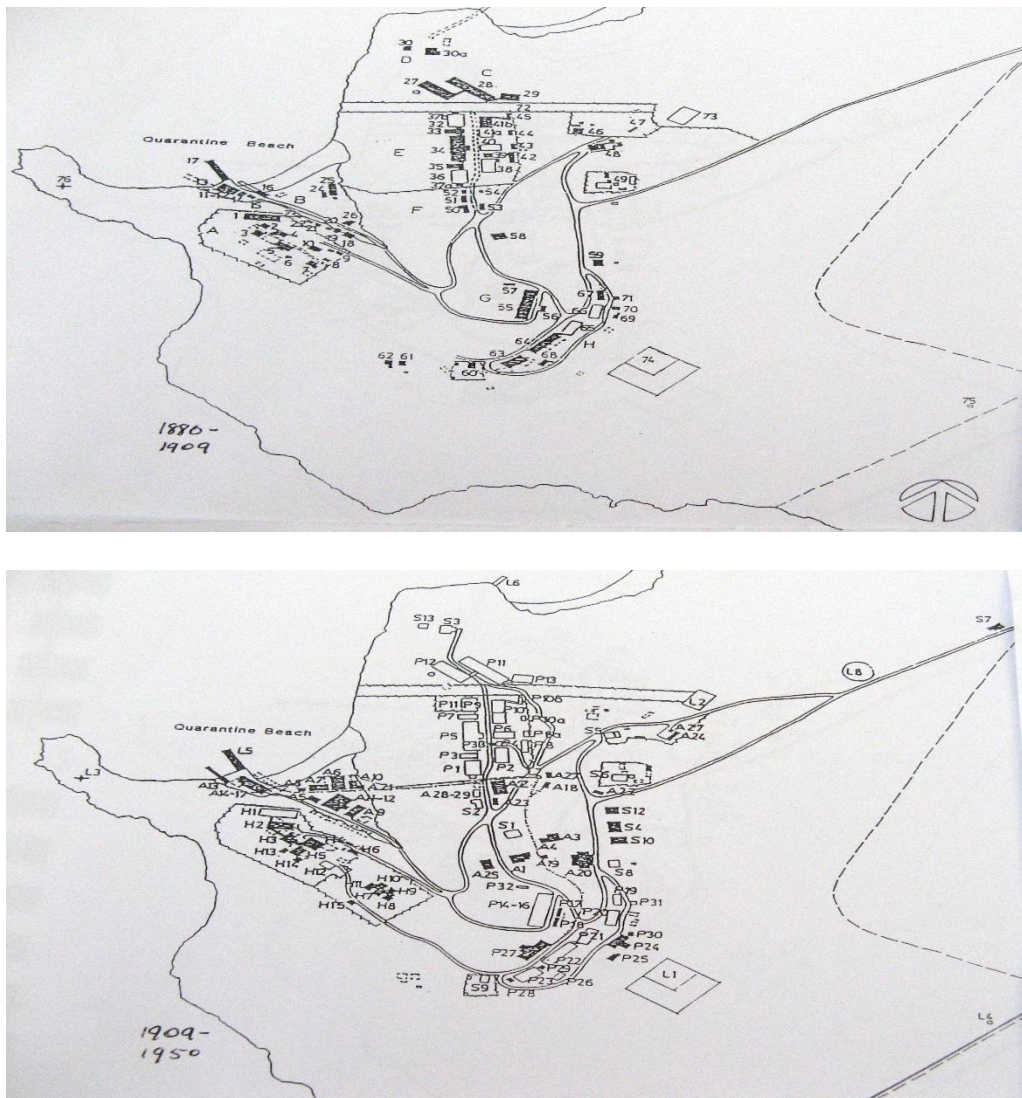


Image 2: Layout of Quarantine Station North Head 1880 – 1951, NPWS NSW, *Quarantine Station Sydney Harbour National Park Conservation Plan 1992*, 12 – 14.⁷⁹

Alison Bashford defines the procedures of categorisation according to health status, accommodation, location and the enforced separation of each precinct as “enforced classifications” of the land based on issues of health, class and race which mandated and maintained the ways in which the station functioned.”⁸⁰ This view is supported by referring to descriptions of the separate precincts as fanning out from the core in clearly defined areas defined by space into zones of “decreasing danger each defined by a barrier of space and fences.” The healthy passengers were further away from the

⁷⁹ See Appendix S: for detailed diagram of the separate areas which made up the station. Following the building activities which took place in the 1880s and from 1910 to 1920 the layout of the station remained virtually untouched until the late 1950s.

⁸⁰ Heritage Council, *North Head Quarantine Station & Reserve*, 3; Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 121 – 129.

central danger area of the wharf and hospital/isolation precinct with a ring of administration buildings and staff quarters overseeing the whole area as part of a deliberate policy to contain infection.⁸¹ This further out area and the surrounding bush has been described as being a little closer to freedom, civilization and Australian society.⁸² In a comparative archaeological study of quarantine stations at Torrens Island in South Australia and Point Nepean in Victoria Linda Honey sees the spatial placement of the administration buildings on the elevated area, as they are at North Head, as providing optimal viewing of the whole of the area and therefore controlling those quarantined and inhibiting them from escaping and possibly spreading disease. This layout structure based on North Head and Melbourne stations provided the blueprint for stations such as Lytton in Queensland which were built after federation.⁸³

Conclusion

The Quarantine Station at North Head had been established early in the nineteenth century in a landscape which offered a safe harbour and a suitably isolated site which would operate as a place of quarantine protecting the population from the spread of infectious diseases. The developing built environment of the station reflected essential aspects of quarantine activities including isolation of the sick, segregation of the sick from the healthy, disinfection of both vessels and people, all of which were represented in the structures and spatial layout of the built environment of the developing history of the station between 1828 and 1912. Governmental periods of action or inaction were often linked to immigration policies which had important effects on the way the station responded to fluctuations in the numbers of periods of active quarantine. Decisions made at international and national conferences which recognising the importance of international co-operation and factual scientific knowledge also brought about a change in attitude in the application of quarantine practices.

The advent of federation in 1901 and the adoption of the power of quarantine by the Commonwealth Government as well as the move from State to Commonwealth control presented important challenges which affected the functioning of the station in line with the dictates of the *Quarantine Act of 1908*. Each of these areas provides an important backdrop for the contextualisation of quarantine activity in the twentieth

⁸¹ NPWS, *Quarantine Station. Sydney Harbour National Park*, 17.

⁸² NPWS, *Quarantine Station. Sydney Harbour National Park*, 17.

⁸³ Honey, "Quarantine Stations at Torrens Island and Point Nepean," 13, 42 – 43.

century which is the focus of the body of this thesis. It also provides a launching pad for discussion of the station's role in the public health crises resulting from the piercing of the quarantine barrier through the incursion of plague, smallpox and influenza in the first decades of the twentieth century which is the focus of Chapter 2.

Section 1: A place of quarantine activity

Chapter 2: Flashpoints: pandemics, an epidemic and the effects of war 1900 – 1920

At the turn of the century the Quarantine Station at North Head was in a better position to carry out quarantine procedures because of significant improvements to the built environment and a tightening of administration. These changes had resulted from recommendations emanating from an inquiry into the problems experienced during the smallpox epidemic of 1881 -1882. Under these improved conditions the regular quarantine procedures of active quarantine, granting pratique, disinfection of ships, goods and people were undertaken by a well supervised and competent staff. ¹ However, beginning in 1900 and throughout the next twenty years the station experienced extraordinary challenges in its daily operation and functioning, including two pandemics an epidemic and the effects of war. The staff had to meet these challenges while continuing to perform regular quarantine procedures. These things not only challenged the daily functioning of the station, they impacted on the very stability of a newly constituted Commonwealth Government. ²

Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis explore the station's role in meeting these challenges, and demonstrate the ways in which the station responded to these challenges at a local level, while at the same time illustrating how State and Commonwealth Government public health decisions to treat the disease and protect the population led to tensions and strained relations developing between the two governmental institutions.

Allan Pred's theory of place which conceptualises place "as a constantly becoming human product as well as a set of features on the landscape" is particularly useful in

¹ NAA, *Quarantine Act 1908*, In this Act "Pratique" is defined as "in relation to a vessel, means a certificate of pratique granted by a quarantine officer since the last arrival of the vessel from places outside Australia, and having effect at the port or place where the vessel is for the time being or is about to arrive; NAA, *Quarantine Act 1927 Quarantine Regulations*, 3014 - 3015." In these Regulations – "disinfection" means the destruction of germs, or other diseases agents of infection of communicable disease or of disease under the Quarantine Act". Methods of disinfection included: Exposure to steam, boiling water, immersion in disinfection solution and fumigation.

² Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 279 – 297.

understanding not only the social and cultural forces at work but also the power relations which are at work. While stressing the importance of an historical approach to developing an understanding of place, his theory emphasises “institutional and individual practices” around and through which a place operates, as well as the structural features with which they are interwoven. This approach facilitates an understanding of place by focusing on continuity and change, or ‘becoming’, through daily human actions and activity on the one hand, and the power structure within which they occurred on the other.³

This focus highlights the institutional role in the public health roles of State and Commonwealth Governments. The activities and procedures of quarantine which were carried out in this individual station during the period 1900 – 1920, demonstrate the relationship between the macro-level structure of government, and every day practices at the station carried out at the micro-level of human activity. During this period adaptation and change were necessary in what was often an atmosphere of fear and panic emanating from the spread of deadly diseases and the tension and lack of co-operation between internal NSW State entities and State and Commonwealth Governments. This chapter examines three main outbreaks of disease: the pandemics of bubonic plague and influenza and a smallpox epidemic and their impact on the daily operation of the station. Each of these diseases evaded quarantine and entered the general population causing significant threats to public health as the station became involved, beyond its role as a quarantine facility, providing protection against the entry of disease aboard maritime vessels, and providing members of the local population with medical care for the sick and accommodation for contacts.

The role of the press in generating an atmosphere of fear, panic and anger among the public, and those who were forcibly removed to the station, is explored to demonstrate how it affected public reaction to the spread of disease. This atmosphere was engendered through the daily reporting of numbers of patients admitted and the

³ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 280. Pred’s theory “emphasises institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features which those features are interwoven.” These are related to the history of the station through the institutional role of governments both State and Commonwealth and the activities and procedures of quarantine which were carried out in this individual station during the period 1900 – 1920, demonstrating the relationship between the macro-level structure and every day practice carried out by the micro-level of human activity. Leonard Guelke and Allan Pred, “Unglorious Isolation: Allan Pred’s Regional Historical Geography,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 1 (1985): 131 – 132.

number of deaths. In addition, the press played a significant role in developing antagonism towards racial groups, particularly the Chinese. This stance was leavened at times by the publishing of evidence of organised and effective treatment of patients and contacts at the station. Yet, the severity of the disease and the numbers quarantined revealed a lack of adequate accommodation which affected both those quarantined and staff. Descriptions of daily activities aid in addressing an area which has been mostly neglected in studies in which, quite reasonably, the focus has been on the larger picture: the widespread activities of dealing with insanitary living and working conditions and the elimination of rats which carried the disease.

The station again became involved in public health measures during the smallpox epidemic of 1913 - 1915 which posed a threat to the generally unvaccinated population. The epidemic engendered fear because of existing memories of the epidemic of 1881 – 1882, an early failure to correctly diagnose the disease, the spread of the disease through the population and the agreement made by the NSW State Government with the Commonwealth to use the station to contain the spread of the disease. Again at institutional level tensions and strained relationships developed between the NSW State and the Commonwealth Governments resulting in the assertion of Commonwealth rights. This increased the level of antagonism which developed between assumed State rights and the rights and duty of the fledgling Commonwealth under the *Quarantine Act*. How these institutional power relationships were carried out at governmental level, had run-on effects for the functioning of the station and its staff. In dealing with the epidemic first- hand the station was called upon to provide medical care and accommodation for both local residents and passengers from incoming ships.⁴

The impact of war involved as a section of the station becoming a temporary military hospital for returned soldiers suffering from Venereal Disease (VD) and Tuberculosis (TB). Interestingly, this operation elicited co-operation from both State and Commonwealth Governments. This was not the case during the influenza pandemic of 1919-1920 where quarantine procedures had initial success in preventing the spread of the disease. But, influenza spread to the population and local interests predominated with a deterioration of relations particularly between States and between the States and the Commonwealth. Individual States acted independently, and, in Sydney both State

⁴ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 282. Pred contends that, "biographies" can be of a person, other living creatures, natural phenomena and humanly made objects.

and Commonwealth health authorities exercised their rights to force ships into anchor in the harbour, and relations between the two governments deteriorated. At the station was an even greater military presence as troopships, many with infected patients aboard, brought thousands home from the war. However, in contrast to the earlier group of patients, large numbers of these troops found mandatory quarantine at North Head a decidedly unwelcome place of residence.

During this period of quarantine the day-to-day activity at the station can only be guessed at as the Weekly Diaries for this period have been lost, but press coverage of numbers of ships and aggressive action taken by soldiers, particularly from the “Argyllshire” and “Orsova” provided excellent material to acquaint the public with the resentment evidenced by these men.

In general, studies have focused on these epidemics from an epidemiology, demographic and political point of view, consigning the challenges the station faced providing clinical care and carrying out routine activities to only a passing mention.⁵ This has embedded a negative sense of place with relation to the station which has endured and finds pride of place in present day *QSTATION* tourism literature.⁶ In addition and more importantly, at a crucial period in the development of the structure and provision of Commonwealth power, this period of quarantine activity at North Head, contributed ultimately to the widening of Commonwealth power over public health and the need for further adaptation at the station as the Department of Health was established in 1921.

Bubonic Plague – the role of the station.

Plague is a “fearsome” disease which over the past thousand years has periodically affected lives in much of the world, by causing loss of life greater than any other

⁵ See Cumpston and McCallum, *The History of the Plague. Department of Health Service Publication No. 32.* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1926); Peter Curson, *Times of Crisis Epidemics in Sydney 1788 - 1900* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1988); Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, *Plague in Sydney. The Anatomy of an Epidemic* (Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1989); Anthea Hyslop, “A Question of Identity: JHL Cumpston and Spanish Influenza, 1918-1919,” in Expanded version of a paper presented at a symposium entitled *Intellect and Emotion: Perspectives on Australian History* (Tasmania: University of Tasmania, 1996); H McQueen, ‘The Spanish influenza pandemic in Australia, 1918-19’ in Jill Roe, *Social policy in Australia: Some Perspectives, 1901-1905* (Stanmore, NSW: Cassell Australia, 1976); JHL Cumpston, *Influenza and maritime quarantine in Australia* (Melbourne: Albert J Mullett, Government Printer, 1919).

⁶ *QSTATION, Sydney Harbour National Park – Manly History*, <http://www.qstation.com.au/activities/tours/> accessed August 20, 2011.

epidemic disease.⁷ It broke out in Australia in 1900 having originated in southern China where it had been endemic.⁸ During the mid-1890s it spread to the coast, and in 1894 was declared an epidemic in Hong Kong and Canton. From there it spread via the sea routes to the rest of the world.⁹ This disease had never reached Australia, but its existence and the threat it posed to public health had been recognised during a Select Committee Inquiry into Quarantine Regulations in Sydney in 1853. From the evidence given to this inquiry the Committee decided that they were "not prepared to recommend any alteration to the present system," (of quarantine) following evidence that quarantine was necessary to provide protection, especially against plague, yellow fever and cholera.¹⁰ A *Quarantine Conference* was held in Melbourne in 1896 at which members recommended that there should be "uniformity in quarantine law and practice throughout Australasia" to ensure that the quarantine procedures in each State would not be circumvented. This recommendation reflected moves made from 1883 on, when prominent NSW members of *the British Medical Association* urged the NSW Government to set up a conference with representatives from all colonies to consider a federal system for quarantine, and resulted in a resolution that all colonies should adopt a Quarantine Bill for all of Australasia. These movements proved important in establishing Commonwealth control of quarantine which came into being with the *Quarantine Act 1908*.

In these latter decades of the nineteenth century public health authorities in Australia were aware of the spread of plague world-wide. There had been serious outbreak of plague in Bombay which had spread to north-western area of India. This outbreak and the threat of its spread by pilgrims to Mecca returning to Europe prompted the convening of the Tenth International Sanitary Conference which opened in Vienna in 1897. This conference set a precedent as it was "concerned exclusively with plague" and during which the role of rodents in the spread of the disease was recognised,

⁷ *Medical News Today*, "An epidemic is when the number of people who become infected rises well beyond what is expected within a country or a part of a country. When the infection takes place in several countries at the same time it then starts turning into a pandemic. A pandemic covers a much wider geographical area, often worldwide. A pandemic also infects many more people than an epidemic. An epidemic is specific to one city, region or country, while a pandemic goes much further than national borders.
<http://www.medicalnewstoday.com/articles/148945.php>, accessed March 23, 2012.

⁸ Curson, *Times of Crisis*, 137.

⁹ Curson, *Times of Crisis*, 137. Cumpston and McCallum, *The History of the Plague*, 9.

¹⁰ *Report from the Select Committee on Quarantine Laws, 1853*, NSW, *Votes and Proceedings of the New South Wales Legislative Council*, Vol. 11, 1853.

resulting in resolutions to institute measures to control its spread.”¹¹ But, by late 1899 plague had broken out in Noumea, and extensive measures to eliminate rats from the many vessels arriving at Sydney from that port, were instituted.¹² As the threat became more serious an Australian and Tasmanian Intercolonial Plague Conference was held in Melbourne in 1900 to co-ordinate measures to deal with the threat of the plague, in line with those adopted at the Venice Conference 1897 regarding regulations with relation to quarantine and inspections of ships.¹³ But no agreement was able to be reached as the NSW delegate was unable to attend. Plague had already arrived in Sydney January 19, 1900 before a co-ordinated effort could be put into place.¹⁴ However, this was a disease which had infiltrated the quarantine barrier and entered the general population, and thus threatened the health of a large and significant number of the unvaccinated population of NSW and the rest of Australia. As Francesca Beddie notes, initially the news of the arrival of the plague had to compete for space in the *Sydney Morning Herald* with the Boer War and whether New Zealand should be part of Federation.¹⁵

Although the NSW Board of Health had foreseen the possibility of the arrival of the plague, and measures to prevent infection from incoming vessels had been discussed, tensions arose immediately between the Board and the State Government. This occurred over the government’s decision to use the quarantine station for Sydney’s plague cases and ‘contacts’, rather than the Coast Hospital. This decision was contrary to the advice of the Board of Health, and created challenges for the station. The chief concern of the Board recognised some of these challenges particularly the inability of the quarantine hospital, which was suitable only for small number of hospitalised patients, to provide care, equipment and accommodation for large numbers of acute patients and their contacts. The quarantine hospital could accommodate only 48 patients, and the area of the Cabin Enclosure only about 300 contacts. In the Board’s view the Coast Hospital was larger and much better equipped to deal with large numbers of plague cases. It appears that government decisions were influenced by the difficulty of moving patients already at the Coast Hospital, and the economic

¹¹ Norman Howard-Jones, “The scientific background of the International Sanitary Conferences 1851 – 1938,” *History of International Public Health* 1 (1975): 78.

¹² Cumpston and McCallum, *The History of the Plague*, 15.

¹³ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), April 12, 1900.

¹⁴ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 88.

¹⁵ Francesca Beddie, *Putting Life in Years* (Canberra: National Capital Press, 2001), 4.

consequences that could follow if this relatively new infectious diseases hospital would need to be destroyed after the epidemic to ensure against the risk of infection.

This was not the only decision which caused friction between the two bodies. Contrary to the advice of the Board the government mandated the quarantining of contacts and forbade the movement of merchandise.¹⁶ This decision to quarantine all contacts as well as those patients who had the plague was contrary to the provisions and powers of both the Federal *Quarantine Act* and the State *Public Health Act* and had to rely on executive authority to isolate and quarantine people at the station, a policy which was largely supported by the public. But, it opened up the way to enforced removal of unwilling groups of contacts and those living in close proximity to a case of the plague. In addition, it heightened the fear and panic which the epidemic aroused among the general population of Sydney and beyond, as lists of those who died and the ill were a constant in the *Sydney Morning Herald*.¹⁷

However, there were some instances in which the press reported the role of the station favourably. With plague in Adelaide, and not yet present in Sydney, support for the role of the station was evident in an article in the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, that described the station as “Sydney’s First Line of Defence” against the bubonic plague and other epidemics. It was represented as the principal and only defence against the entrance of the disease into the heart of the city.¹⁸ Then at the height of the epidemic, Professor Anderson Stuart, former President and a member of the Board of Health, told the audience at a public lecture that “there was no evidence to show that any harm had been done to any patient by unavoidable delay on the journey to the quarantine station.¹⁹ As well a first-hand opinion from a released patient, about his journey to the station and his treatment there, elicited positive responses. He had no complaints and had been “treated with the greatest kindness”.²⁰ This individual response to quarantine was

¹⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 89 – 90.

¹⁷ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 146 – 149; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 10, 1900 contained an article entitled: *The Bubonic Plague*. “Death of the infant Dovey, “Two more cases reported”, “Infection attributed to rats in Sussex Street”, “The authorities in a dilemma.” See also *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 9, 15 & 24, 1900.

¹⁸ *Australian Town and Country Journal* (NSW), February 3, 1900.

¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 5, 1900. J Atherton Young, “Stuart, Sir Thomas Peter Anderson (1856 – 1920,” *Australian Dictionary of Biography* Vol. 19 (Melbourne: MUP, 1990).

²⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), April 26, 1900.

echoed by a group of fifty contacts who testified to the plentiful supply of food and medical care, as well as the clean and comfortable quarters.²¹

As much as there were those who had good things to say about their removal and time spent at the station, the decision to quarantine both patients and contacts had wider implications than for them alone. The treatment of large numbers of patients required significant efforts and adaptation at the station. A temporary hospital to hold 100 patients needed to be set up while medical, nursing and quarantine staff had to carry out their duties in crowded and difficult circumstances. As well, the inadequate accommodation at the station at the height of the epidemic meant that numbers of contacts had to be housed in crowded and uncomfortable circumstances with staff and contacts on the healthy ground needing to be allocated tents.²² While this practice appears shocking to the modern mind, it appears that the temporary housing of people in tents when hospitals ran short of accommodation was a widespread practice, as the Stores Index at North Head recorded the holding of numbers of tents which were supplied, on request to country hospitals and returned when they were no longer necessary.²³



Image 3: Buildings and tents, North Head Quarantine Station, 1900. NAA: C535 SA.

The policy of quarantining both patients and contacts at the station continued to cause friction between the Board of Health and the Government, as after the first cases had been removed to the station, Board members decided that only the patients needed to

²¹ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 150; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 1, 1900.

²² State Records New South Wales (SRNSW), *Board of Health Extract of Minutes – Bubonic Plague 1887 – 1908 6.1.1900* (SRNSW: Sydney, 5/5855).

²³ NAA, Stores Index Alphabetical QSNH 1914 – 15 (NAA: C574, NA1984/119 Vol. 1).

be removed. However, Premier Lyne disagreed, and tension increased with the forced removal of all the inhabitants from an inner-city inn, with one family defiantly refusing to be removed to North Head. They eventually complied, but instances of defiance and reluctance to removal continued, adding to the growing hostility of the public to large groups being quarantined. This hostility often became focused on role of the medical health officers whose, often officious, actions generated fear in both individuals and groups of being removed to North Head.²⁴

Fear and public panic were increased by the daily reporting of the number of deaths, enforced removals and conditions for the contacts. The power of this type of information is clear in the reported reactions of a passenger who experienced eight days quarantined on a ship, probably SS “India”, at North Head. It described the emotional and psychological reactions of witnessing the arrival of patients, contacts and dead bodies to quarantine.²⁵ A harrowing picture was drawn of a patient “a long shapeless bundle” conveyed on a stretcher on one of the “Death Boats” (the ferries which travelled between the depot at Woolloomooloo and the station) filled with contacts who were “to be isolated for 10 days”.²⁶

Fuelled by the press and rumour the need to apportion blame arose. The Chinese, a group of Syrians at Redfern and other non-Anglo-Saxon groups, were targeted because of public attitudes to their way of life and working conditions. These groups of people were seen as the cause and spread of the disease. The Chinese, in particular, were targeted through a boycott of their businesses as well as abuse and restrictions on their use of public transport. This was most evident in the harsh treatment they received from the health authorities who oversaw the cleansing and fumigation of their dwellings. They were also badly treated in the manner of their removal from their homes, and in consequence of widespread hostility to them while in quarantine the Chinese were confined to tents in the area of the Flat where they could be kept under surveillance.²⁷

²⁴ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 148 – 149.

²⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 25, 1900; Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 147-148.

²⁶ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 146 – 147; 168 – 169.

²⁷ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 174 – 175.

Activity at the station during the plague

However, there are few such vivid accounts in studies of this epidemic of the challenges met by those who carried out the work of ferrying, housing and caring for the healthy and the sick at the station. The courage and dedication of the nurses and the medical staff, who carried out their duties, have been lauded, and Foley, in general terms, acknowledged the care and increased work load of the superintendent and staff during the period of the plague.²⁸

The extant official sources reveal little of the reactions and experiences of the permanent and temporary staff who continued to carry out their duties during these periods of high activity. The evidence from the Weekly Diaries shows the station during the early days of the plague attempting to carry out regular maritime quarantine activities while attending to incoming patients, contacts and the dead.²⁹ The arrival of the first patient Arthur Payne and contacts, 3 women and 2 children, coincided with the arrival of a number of ships which went into quarantine. Passengers, officers and crew had been brought ashore from SS “Pacifique”, and the Yellow Flag was raised as this ship had called at Noumea, where plague was known to be present, and she remained in quarantine for three days.³⁰ In quick succession others ships arrived. SS “Pierre” and SS “St Louis” both out of quarantine from Noumea anchored in quarantine for disinfection of bedding.³¹

Further vessels were quarantined, and SS “India” was held for eight days, with passengers and crew aboard, an indication of the lack of accommodation ashore, and possibly a less stressful place to be quarantined. They had clear sight of the constant arrival of patients, contacts and the bodies of those who had already died, arriving at the station wharf. Among these patients were the Dovey family whose two year old son had died of the plague, and whose corpse was conveyed to North Head, and buried at the Quarantine Cemetery less than hour after arrival. Press accounts highlighted the ongoing ordeal of this mother and her five children detailing the progress of the disease and increasing fear of infection and removal to the station.³²

²⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 92 ff.

²⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.32.

³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 5, 1900.

³¹ *West Australian* (Perth), January 4, 1900.

³² *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), March 10, 1900; March 29, 1900; March 31, 1900.

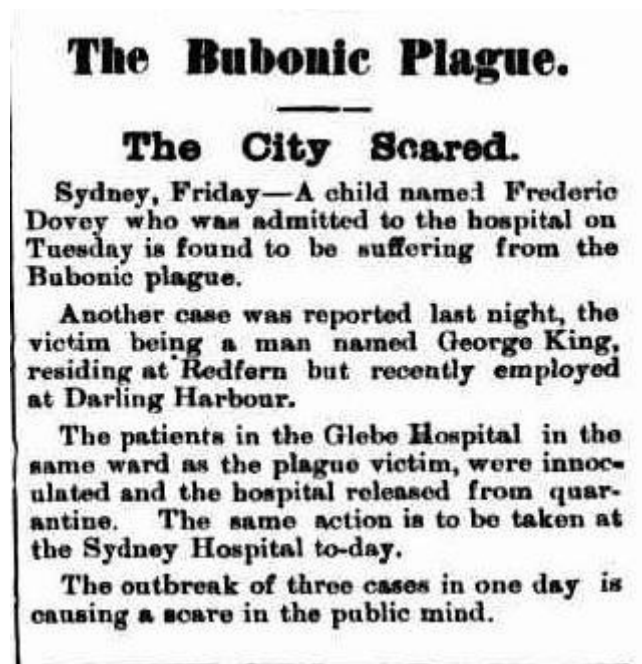


Image 4: Bubonic plague fears. *Queanbeyan Age* (NSW), March 10, 1900.

At the station activity was overwhelmingly focussed on dealing with a disease. The first outbreak lasted one month from the 24 January, 1900 with no deaths. One patient was admitted to the quarantine hospital and members of his family and friends were removed to the station as contacts and released in two groups after a quarantine period of 12 days. The second outbreak began one month later with the arrival of the dead body of Captain Dudley accompanied by 5 contacts. This was the beginning of a period of almost seven months of challenging activity as patients, contacts and those who had died before they could be removed to the station, arrived in an almost continuous stream. The following table outlines the shape of this daily activity over eight months.³³

³³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, January – September, 1900.

Month	Days
January	3
February	5
March	28
April	30
May	31
June	28
July	13
August	10

Table 1: Number of days of activity at the Quarantine Station North Head during plague epidemic 1900.

From this pattern it is clear that most significant activity occurred from March through to the end of June, with some activity occurring almost every day. The continuous nature of this activity at the station is illustrated by the almost frenetic movements of the launches “Rose” and “Dayspring” as well as that of the Quarantine Tender “Lorna Doone”. Diary entries reveal the constant nature of activity at the station.

“On 3 April Launch “Dayspring” arrived at 10.15am with patients (number not entered) and two contacts Baker and Thompson. Launch left within the hour with Nurse Walsh, who was to bring back a female passenger, and the Schrader family. As well on its return journey it brought the Presbyterian clergyman Mr McDougall. At 3.40pm “Dayspring” returned with one patient Leslie, and one contact. “Rose” arrived at 8.00pm with a sick man and two contacts, then returned at 9.30pm with two more patients Smith and Casson, and contacts. On the next day “Dayspring” brought a patient Gaynor and contacts, and “Rose” arrived, then left for the depot with a nurse at 1.20pm. “Dayspring” returned to deliver bedsteads and goods and “Rose” delivered an ambulance wagon at 3.45pm. When unloaded and a horse having been harnessed, the ambulance was sent to the hospital gate. This allowed 13 persons to be removed to the segregation house at 5pm. Dr Clubbe arrived in the Quarantine tender at 9.10pm. “

On almost every day this type of constant activity was usual, and provides some understanding of the continuity of dealing with the plague during long working days.³⁴

³⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.33, March- September, 1900.

For all, but particularly the patients and contacts who were ferried to and fro from the station, the journey to North Head must have been undertaken with much trepidation, especially if, as often occurred there was also a very sick patient aboard, or a body being transferred for burial. This would have been the lot of many groups as burial records demonstrate that 44 bodies were transferred for burial. The psychological and emotional effects on the patients and contacts must have also affected the staff of the launches and the nurses who accompanied patients and who made these trips regularly. The constant stress of dealing with the fear and panic of those on board, as well as the demands of nursing the sick and convalescents, was sometimes dealt with by nurses, when not on duty, boarding the launches for a trip on the harbour to experience a freer and different environment.³⁵

Challenges had to be met daily as patients and contacts were admitted, treated, and discharged. Dealing with the numbers of contacts provided a significant problem, especially during the initial period when they were held for 10 days at the station. The stress the increasing numbers put on available accommodation finally convinced Premier Lyne, in late March, to agree to a reduction to 5 days, as many of the contacts were having to be housed in tents.³⁶

It is difficult from the entries in the Weekly Diaries to come to any absolute total of the number of persons quarantined or the length of time they stayed. Curson provides statistics from the *1900 Plague Record* with relation to the number quarantined:

“All in all 1795 persons were quarantined, 1746 at North Head 1496 as contacts and 263 as actual cases.... Patients were normally discharged as soon as they had a normal temperature for ten days with no unhealed sore and were generally considered fit for discharge. Of the 200 people who caught plague but survived the epidemic, the average length of time spent in quarantine at North Head was forty-five days. Many however spent much longer.”³⁷

However, burial records are accurate and demonstrate that 103 deaths occurred, as well as one from the further plague outbreaks which occurred between 1901 and 1922. This total represent two groups, those whose bodies were transported to the station for burial, and those who died from the plague at the station. The registration of the deceased provided some evidence of their individual identities including their age,

³⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.33, 29.5.1900.

³⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 94.

³⁷ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 150-151.

address, possible occupation and the names of the doctors who attended them. For those who arrived at the station already dead, that fact is noted, and grave numbers were included for all, allowing for an identified grave, rather than complete anonymity in this isolated site. The names of those who officiated at their funerals, acted as undertakers and grave diggers were usually included thus providing an insight into these necessary and often distressing jobs which had to be undertaken by the staff.³⁸ The number and frequency of the deaths was not kept from the general public as lists of those who had died were regularly printed in the daily papers in NSW and other States and at the height of the epidemic tended to increase the anxiety of the public.³⁹

Reliable statistics for other groups are not so readily available. Incoming patients were identified in both the Weekly Diaries and the papers, while contacts were usually indicated on admittance as family groups. Some were identified by place of residence or area, providing evidence of the areas most affected by the plague including the adjacent area of Manly, and from areas further afield. Convalescents were put on the launches in the company of a nurse, and during April and June, at the height of the epidemic when numbers at the station were large, were often released in large groups without any specific details. However, the highlighting of racial attitudes with relation to the spread of the disease found an echo in these records, as both Chinese patients and contacts were identified by race on release. Others were identified specifically because they represented unusual or different type of patient, a patient brought from the Barque 'Pomona' with an 'influenza case' who arrived per launch with contacts and the corpse of a plague victim.

At times quarantine activities included dealing with particular and sometimes difficult situations, with tensions evident between both groups of staff and patients/contacts. In one instance a contact who arrived as part of a large group refused to give his name. He "was promptly yanked off to the lockup by Temporary Quarantine Officer Payne, and left there until about 10am the next day. He was released after providing the required information."⁴⁰ With patients and contacts arriving every day and patients dying, there appeared to be little patience to deal with 'jesters' of this type. This attitude also

³⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.33; NAA, *Register of Deaths and Burials* (NAA, C526).

³⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 29; April 25, 1900.

⁴⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, 22.3.1900.

applied to the wife of a patient who arrived “drunk and incapable. She was housed in the lock-up to sober up”.

Boredom or a simple desire to get out may have initiated the attempted break-out of a sailor from HMAS “Katoomba”, together with several other contacts to go to Manly. This attempt was reported immediately to Manly Police who remonstrated with them at the main gate and wisely they turned back.⁴¹ However, problems connected to quarantine procedures and the trauma of the effects of the plague could occur, and caused the wife of Edward Kelly, who had accompanied the corpse of her husband aboard the quarantine tender, to complain that some clothing and other goods of hers had been destroyed by sea water and the process of fumigation. Mrs Kelly’s complaint was dismissed when her possessions were examined by staff and were considered not to be damaged to the extent alleged.⁴²

Numbers of temporary staff who augmented the workforce included Quarantine Officers, clerical staff, washer women and maids for the doctors and nurses. Three doctors, Pearce and Shells and later Dr Harvey, were in residence as Assistant Medical Officers and visiting doctors included the President of the Board of Health, Dr Ashburton Thompson and Dr Clubbe who often accompanied patients aboard the launches. Other doctors who had permission to visit arrived in groups, and were assisted by QO Willsher. They had to be inoculated and wear special clothing and be bathed before they left.⁴³

Clinical care was provided by thirteen senior nurse volunteers from the Coast Hospital who were seconded to the station for eight months. They were under the leadership of Sister Letitia Ford as senior nurse.⁴⁴ These were qualified graduates of the hospital’s Nurses’ Training School Course, some as recent as 1900.⁴⁵ Those working in isolation areas were cut off from the rest of the staff, and had to fulfil a 5 days contact period in the Healthy Ground before being released from quarantine. On release they returned to the Coast Hospital where their period of service at the station had placed strains on

⁴¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, 1.4.1900.

⁴² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, 17.3.1900.

⁴³ Curson and McCracken, *Plague in Sydney*, 150.

⁴⁴ Maylean Cordia, *Nurses at Little Bay*, (Sydney: Prince Henry Hospital Trained Nurses’ Association, 1990), 70, 495. Nurse Ford had been on the staff at the Coast Hospital since 1886. Experienced nurses who accompanied Nurse Ford were: Sister Margaret Sherwood, Sister Annie Nelson and Sister Alice Wray - all had been on the Official Register of the staff at the Coast Hospital since 1891.

⁴⁵ Cordia, *Nurses at Little Bay*, 495-6. They worked alongside Nurse Willsher the wife of QO Willsher, also a graduate of the Coast Hospital. Her local knowledge and nursing experience must have proved helpful to the other nurses, as they settled in to their quarantine experience.

those nurses who remained, and "resulted in junior nurses having to assume responsibility beyond their experience." ⁴⁶

Tensions and challenges had occurred early in the epidemic over the fact that a clergyman had not been appointed to the station. This situation was questioned and resulted in the appointment of three reverend gentlemen: ⁴⁷ Rev. Alan McDougall, a Presbyterian minister, Mr JF Moran, a Church of England minister and Father Ignatius Le Mesurier a Catholic priest. Their duties of caring for and consoling the sick and dying were in constant demand. As burials needed to occur very soon after death, these gentlemen officiated at any time of the day or night, and often late at night. When the epidemic began to wane the Rev McDougall's family joined him at North Head and the clergymen, along with staff, were able to take some period of leave. ⁴⁸ As temporary staff were discharged, so were the clergymen who received notification on 18 August that their "services were no longer required and were notified that their pay had been stopped from 11 August". The Rev. Mr Moran had officiated at the funeral of Robert West on the morning of the 18th and in support of these clergy Superintendent Vincent noted that pay sheets for temporary workers had been sent in to Head Office and "also claims for 11 days for each of the three men of prayer". ⁴⁹ A final trip on the steam launch "Dayspring" to Middle Harbour, accompanied by Dr Salter and nurses, brought the services of the clergy to an end after which they left the station. ⁵⁰

The Yellow Flag was hauled down and quarantine was raised September 29, 1900. In a less challenging period there appeared time to include specific detail in the Weekly Diaries. Disinfection activities which were mandated when patients left the Hospital enclosure were noted for convalescents O'Neill, and Montague, and Mrs Cook who was well enough to leave the station had her clothes disinfected and then conveyed on a stretcher to the launch attended by Nurse Willsher, to join other convalescents who were departing the station. In the same period the job of erecting headstones, on the graves of those who could afford them, was carried out by private stonemasons. ⁵¹ This outbreak of the plague had ended and the next outbreak in 1903 was nursed at the

⁴⁶ Cordia, *Nurses at Little Bay*, 70. Releases did not begin to happen until mid-July and were more common in August as the epidemic began to wane.

⁴⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 22, 1900.

⁴⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, July, August 1900.

⁴⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, 18.8.1900.

⁵⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33, 18.8.1900.

⁵¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 33.

Coast Hospital where the mortality rate was 20% lower than at the quarantine station. This could possibly have been as a result of the experience of both doctors and nurses during quarantine in 1900, and also a better equipped hospital and the dropping of the government's insistence on the quarantine of contacts.⁵²

Dealing with a constant enemy: smallpox epidemic 1913 – 1915.

From the earliest days of settlement and the establishment of the station at North Head smallpox had presented the most enduring threat. This was alleviated to an extent as during the mid-nineteenth century assisted-immigration regulations required immigrants to be checked for immunity to the disease through infection or vaccination. Also, the imposition of compulsory quarantine for ships, especially those from ports where the disease was endemic during the gold rush and the years which followed, provided a means of protection. With the advent of steam ships and the shorter time of voyage in the 1870s the danger again increased. An epidemic in Sydney in 1881-1882 demonstrated the problems which could occur and the significant continuing threat of the disease which for the period 1898 – 1920 accounted for over 50% of the ships quarantined at North Head.⁵³

However, the quarantine barrier was breached in 1913 as this disease appeared in epidemic proportions. This was the first outbreak in Sydney for 13 years resulting possibly from the actions of a member of crew on SS "Zeelander". During the voyage from Vancouver this crew member had become ill after going ashore in New Zealand, where smallpox was present. He was diagnosed as suffering from a severe case of boils. Upon disembarking in Sydney he went to see his girlfriend who worked in a clothing factory in Chalmers Street. The impact of this visit became apparent in May 1913 when a number of female employees at the factory developed unusual rashes which appeared to be infectious. At the time chicken pox was widespread in the community, and the medical failure to correctly diagnose could have occurred as a result of the mild nature of this outbreak of smallpox. By late June the medical authorities had "strong suspicions that smallpox was present in Sydney", as a series of chicken-pox cases were reported to the Board of Health, and eventually a case was transferred to the Coast Hospital. It soon became evident that this was smallpox.⁵⁴ Again an infectious disease had entered the

⁵² Cordia, *Nurses of Little Bay*, 70.

⁵³ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 66 – 68, 70 – 76; See Appendix A: Active Quarantine – Vessels quarantined 1898 – 1918.

⁵⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), August 2, 1913.

general population and this land epidemic posed a significant threat a widely unvaccinated population.

This was the beginning of an epidemic of extraordinarily mild type of smallpox which lasted for almost 5 years and at least 2400 cases were reported between 1913 -1917, with the majority occurring in 1913-14.⁵⁵ During the period July 1913 – January 1914, 1402 patients and contacts were quarantined at the station, of whom 1013 were diagnosed as smallpox cases and 309 as contacts. Great strains were placed upon the quarantine hospital and accommodation facilities with the greatest number of 309 patients occurring in September 1913.⁵⁶

There were only four deaths in Sydney, but the epidemic brought about an acrimonious and bitter clash between the State and the Commonwealth Governments. Whereas the plague had seen problems develop between the State Board of Health and the State Government, this epidemic increased the friction between the Commonwealth and the State Government of NSW highlighting the role of the Commonwealth whose control of quarantine, was established by the *Quarantine Act 1908*. It was clear that quarantine policy and practices could only work if co-operation happened between the States and the Commonwealth Department of Trade and Customs, and the Federal Director of Quarantine. However, considering the problems which occurred internally between the NSW Government and its Health Department during the plague, the indications did not auger well.

With the outbreak of this land epidemic Premier Holman of NSW, in a letter to the Prime Minister Cook stated that “the State Board of Health would be seriously handicapped” in dealing with this epidemic “by the loss of the quarantine station at North Head.” In addition he referred to the previously stated willingness of the Commonwealth to “place the station at the Board’s disposal under such circumstances,” but requested a clarification of conditions of use.⁵⁷ A verbal arrangement was made by both parties, that once patients were sent to the station State officials were to act under the control of Commonwealth Officers and the direction of Dr Reid who had been appointed as Chief Quarantine Officer (General) NSW, (CQO(G) NSW).

⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), August 2, 1913; Peter Curson, “The return of an old pestilence: Smallpox in New South Wales 1913-1917,” *QSTATION Lecture* (Sydney: 7.11. 2010).

⁵⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 106.

⁵⁷ NAA, *Attorney General’s Department Minute Paper, Opinion*, 20.7.1914 (NAA: A1928, 876/9).

That this arrangement was on shaky ground became evident almost immediately, as State officials began acting under their own authority.⁵⁸ Importantly, the financial arrangements between the two parties were set out in letter from the Prime Minister to the Premier by which expenses would firstly be paid by the Commonwealth with reimbursement from the State occurring later. No reply was made by the Premier to this communication, and the potential for an ongoing dispute over funding and administrative control of this epidemic became reality later when payment was requested.⁵⁹

Tensions over control and administration of this epidemic increased markedly when Dr Cumpston, Director of Quarantine, recommended to the Governor-General, as a measure to contain the epidemic, that Sydney should be declared a quarantine area. This came into effect in July and lasted till late November, but Dr Cumpston had acted without informing Dr Paton Director-General NSW Department of Health, and this slight soured relations between the NSW Government and the Commonwealth.⁶⁰ The press detailed the Premier's opposition to the Commonwealth's actions quarantining the area for 15 miles from the General Post Office, which restricted travel for those who had not recently been vaccinated and embarrassed Dr Paton and his department. It not only created anger and opposition from the Premier and the people of Sydney but caused problems for trade.⁶¹ This clash between the Federal Director-General of Health and the Director-General of the New South Wales Department of Health, was a feature of this epidemic and highlighted the escalating ill feeling between the two governments.

As a result of the ineffectiveness of the joint operation at the station, Commonwealth control, which had been effected in 1911, and put into practice in 1912, became complete. All State Government staff were withdrawn and replaced by Commonwealth Government staff. A new medical staff of four doctors and forty-eight nurses and hospital attendants were appointed, with Dr Reid, Chief Quarantine Officer (General), (CQO(G) NSW in control of the station.⁶² But the issue of payment by the State to the Commonwealth for use of the station caused further confrontations, with a long running

⁵⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 107.

⁵⁹ NAA, *Attorney General's Department Minute Paper, Opinion*.

⁶⁰ Curson, "The return of an old pestilence". This quarantine of the Sydney area began July 4 and lasted until November 21, 1913.

⁶¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 106-108; *Argus* (Melbourne), September 19, 1913; *West Australian* (Perth), November 20, 1913.

⁶² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 107-8.

dispute over payment which began in October 1913 and was eventually settled in 1916. The NSW Premier was only willing to be responsible for payments from April 1914, resulting in the Comptroller-General agreeing to write off the sum of over £9000, with strong advice that, “in future, any (such) understanding ... would be put in writing before services were performed.”⁶³ These tensions and difficulties did not encourage an on-going co-operation between the two government entities and ensured that the station moved firmly into the hands of the Commonwealth administration under the leadership of Dr Reid as CQO(G) NSW and Dr Cumpston as Director-General of Quarantine.⁶⁴ At the station however, as Foley has pointed out, the Weekly Diaries recorded no mention of the political tussles between Commonwealth and State, and none of the effects of change of staff, as medical and ordinary duties continued to be carried out.⁶⁵

The length of this epidemic and the numbers of patients and contacts affected by smallpox differ according to the approaches taken by different commentators. Looking only at the station, Foley calculates that the epidemic came to an end in January 1914, while Curson who approaches this epidemic as only one of many between 1830 and 1982, dates its length from 1913-1917.⁶⁶ Adding to this confusion are the daily references in the Weekly Diaries to admissions of patients, contacts and those released or discharged covering the period from July 1913 to April 1915. The final entry with relation to the smallpox epidemic in 1915 states “last patient of State Epidemic discharged”.⁶⁷ After that date smallpox cases were sent to the NSW Government controlled, Coast Hospital when the epidemic which had been most virulent from July 1913 to early 1915 had been contained.⁶⁸

Entries in the diaries at the station provide evidence of 1330 admissions, 705 contacts and 2258 releases after quarantine. While these differ from figures quoted by both Curson and Foley, it is important to note that entries for patients, contacts and those discharged did not always include a numerical figure for the number of people

⁶³ NAA, *Memorandum for the Comptroller –General of Customs*, 24.6.1916. (NAA: A1928, 876/9).

⁶⁴ NAA, *Attorney- General to Comptroller General of Customs*, 20.7.1914 (NAA: A1969/10 Box 13).

⁶⁵ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 108.

⁶⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 106-109; Curson, “The return of an old pestilence”.

⁶⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 47. The entry noting the last smallpox patient – 18.4.1915.

⁶⁸ See Appendix C: *Monthly figures of admissions, contacts and discharges smallpox epidemic 1913 – 1915*.

concerned, and so are incomplete. Yet, the shape of the epidemic these figures provide, demonstrates that two major periods of extreme activity occurred. The first from July to the end of November 1913, and the second from May to November of 1914, with admissions of patients and contacts each month from July 1913 to April 1915. However, the figures for admissions and discharges in July 1914 and March 1915 are inflated because of the quarantine of SS “Karoola” and SS “Chanda”.⁶⁹

Quarantining of patients with smallpox began with seven patients accompanied by three nurses from the Coast Hospital. Thereafter, this was almost a daily occurrence for twenty-two months. The press kept the public nationwide cognisant of the status of the disease with reports of numbers of patients and contacts being taken to North Head and the times when groups were released.⁷⁰ Overall, from the evidence in the diaries and the press the numbers of those admitted or discharged on any day were usually small, but on some days the staff on the launches and at the quarantine wharf would have had to accommodate larger groups e.g. in mid-July 1913 on one day 8 patients were admitted and 13 discharged and on another 10 patients were admitted of whom 6 were unvaccinated and 26 were discharged. When the numbers of contacts were also entered it is clear that dealing with the three separate groups increased the number of people to be accommodated and included into the routine of quarantine. This became most noticeable during the latter part of 1913 and mid-1915 when the officer entering the data in the diary included specific numbers of contacts.⁷¹ Then the first period of quarantine was declared over in April 1913 and the flag was hauled down, with only the Hospital Enclosure remaining in quarantine. This meant that any incoming patients and contacts had to be held in the Hospital Enclosure with all gates and approaches to the enclosure locked. However, with the increased number of patients presenting with the disease by May, full active quarantine was again declared until the flag was again hauled down in February 1915, with the Hospital Enclosure remaining in quarantine.

Quarantine of vessels with smallpox aboard.

New challenges occurred as the number of people admitted to the station increased with the arrival of ships which had been ordered into quarantine. RMS “Orsova” which

⁶⁹ See Appendix C: Monthly figures of admissions and discharges – smallpox epidemic 1913 – 1915.

⁷⁰ Newspapers which published this news included the *Examiner* (Launceston, Tas.); *Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.); *Brisbane Courier* (Brisbane); *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney); *Northern Times* (Carnarvon, WA);

⁷¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45 - 47.

had a case of smallpox on board on arrival at Fremantle entered quarantine in Sydney April, 1914. This ship had 329 passengers and 72 members of crew who were put ashore the next day. In addition the ship needed to be fumigated before it was allowed to proceed from quarantine. At this time there were only 18 smallpox patients in the Hospital Enclosure, and the “Orsova” passengers were housed in an area where they would have no contact with smallpox patients.⁷² This quarantine put pressure on the accommodation at North Head, and also created further antagonisms between the State and Commonwealth Governments, as to the legality of the forced quarantine of passengers. Dr Paton stated that, “the State had no legal power to isolate contacts and no place near Sydney where they could be detained, even if the power was conferred by the Commonwealth Government”, thus leaving the matter clearly in the hands of the Commonwealth. After this event Dr Paton asked, unsuccessfully, for a portion of the quarantine reserve, including the Lyne’s Buildings, to be surrendered to the State Public Health authorities so that a temporary hospital to treat and accommodate such case could be built.⁷³ This quarantine of the “Orsova” raised current political antagonisms, but other ships quarantined also caused problems for health officials.

On July 10, 1914 nine contacts from SS “Karoolla” walked in from the Manly Gate and were housed in the Healthy Ground. This situation had eventuated as a result of a passenger on the ship, which had reported no sickness on board when it had reached Sydney, having presented himself to the Public Health Offices in Sydney and on examination was diagnosed with smallpox. Dr Cumpston was advised and the contacts were obliged to present themselves at the station. This was a time when seven new cases of smallpox had been reported from inner Sydney and the South Coast, and there was increased anxiety among officials and the populace about the progress of the epidemic.⁷⁴ Later in the year another problematic event occurred with the arrival of SS “Kanowna” with smallpox on board. This vessel had left Sydney for Brisbane five days previously. On arrival in Brisbane, and after examination of all on board by the health officer and vaccinations having being carried out, the passengers were informed that the ship was to sail back to Sydney, and would not unload cargo or put down any passengers

⁷² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 28 & 30, 1914; *Courier* (Brisbane), March 27, 1914. These classes were categorised in relation to vaccination - (a) those vaccinated longer than 14 days and less than 7 years, (b) those vaccinated since leaving Fremantle, (c) those not vaccinated. Those in class (a) were released on surveillance; (b) released 14 days after vaccination; (c) released 18 days after last instance of smallpox on the ship.

⁷³ SRNSW, *Chief Secretary: North Head Quarantine Station – 1930*, (SRNSW: 5/5396).

⁷⁴ *The Register* (Adelaide), July 6, 1914.

in Brisbane. Only the patient was taken aboard a launch to be transferred to quarantine at Lytton. This aroused much discontent among the passengers, especially among those who had been vaccinated. Passions were still running high when Dr Reid boarded the ship at North Head and stated that those who had been vaccinated successfully could leave the following day, having been bathed and their effects fumigated.⁷⁵

The whole event had left the passengers unimpressed, time and money having been lost by both passengers and the company which owned the ship. The diary entries indicate the fumigation of the ship, the landing of unvaccinated crew and passengers and their final release.⁷⁶ With a big cargo and large number of passengers on board, including two members of State parliament, and unsympathetic newspaper articles alerting their readers, this was not good for public relations, but demonstrated the high degree of surveillance and supervision which was maintained by the public health authorities.

Fears of the spread of smallpox from passengers on SS "Runic" and SS "Chanda" quarantined in January and March 1915 were elevated among the populace, particularly with relation to the "Runic". Its passengers had been released into the population, before the incidence of the disease was known. Quarantine procedures were instigated ensuring that passengers were identified, located and declared free of sickness.⁷⁷ Preventive measures resulted in passengers, crew and luggage from SS "Chanda" being landed at North Head. There they spent up to seventeen days in quarantine, as two crew members had suffered smallpox. One had died and was buried at sea, the other was admitted to the Hospital Enclosure, but was discharged cured. The last vessel to be quarantined during this epidemic was RMS "Morea". It was also quarantined after landing a smallpox patient in Fremantle, and a further patient was admitted to the quarantine hospital. Only those passengers who had been vaccinated were "liberated" from quarantine. The ship, however, once fumigated, was allowed to proceed up the harbour. Fortunately, the patient had chickenpox rather than smallpox. Passengers were released and the patient discharged after fourteen days.⁷⁸

The length of this epidemic, and the numbers of patients and contacts who were transferred to the station, created challenges for both staff and those quarantined. However, in contrast to public reaction to the 1881 epidemic and the quarantine for the

⁷⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 24, 1914.

⁷⁶ *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.46. Ship released 3.12.1914.

⁷⁷ *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), January 6, 1915.

⁷⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), April 5, 1915

plague it appears that there was no major unrest. Press reports described the accommodation, services, food and general care as more than satisfactory with plenty of activities and a bushland area to roam for those held in the Healthy Ground.⁷⁹ However, there were differences in attitude to the efficacy of vaccination producing opposition to a proposed bill in State parliament for compulsory vaccination. But this epidemic did produce a renewal of the call for the station to be moved to a more suitable setting once the epidemic had finished. Again this call was unsuccessful as Commonwealth quarantine policy saw the continued operation of the station as necessary.⁸⁰

Trespassers were an added problem as fishermen were warned-off entering quarantine waters illegally. However, of necessity, a group of fishermen took shelter during a southerly buster and landed their craft, as did another group a few days later. Having landed, both groups were required to be bathed, their clothes disinfected and to be vaccinated by Dr Robertson. They were then released on surveillance to present themselves to the Quarantine Office at Circular Quay the following day.

Further events which could be designated as troublesome included that of a worker from Rookwood Asylum, who was a patient in the hospital, found wandering outside the Hospital Enclosure, and had to be returned by QO Christie. One of the workmen climbed over the boundary fence to begin work for Home Affairs. Later he was escorted to Manly Police Station by QO Ball, suffering from delusional mania. The police were again involved when a young woman, a contact, ready to board the launch on departure was found by the Superintendent with a ring stolen from another contact in the Cabin Enclosure and a "new" handkerchief the property of a member of the temporary staff also working in the Cabin Enclosure. An incident involving a group of eleven anti-vaccinationists necessitated their being moved from the Lyne's Building to isolation in F House, clearly indicating the division in the public, and the emotional response to vaccination policies, particularly during the quarantining of Sydney between July and November 1913.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), July 25, 1913.

⁸⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), July 24 – 26, 1913; December 6, 1913; March 18, 1914.

⁸¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45- 47; *Bathurst Times* (NSW), September 23, 1913. NSW was the only State where vaccination for smallpox was not compulsory and where conscious objections to vaccination were permitted; *The Register* (Adelaide), July 16, 1913. Dr Paton commented that "the only thing which will stamp the epidemic out is universal vaccination. July 10, 1913 - The efficacy of vaccination is supported and those opposing it are described as "guilty of a crime against their fellows."; *Northern Miner* (Charters Towers, Qld) July 22, 1913. Comments by Dr Elkington, the Commissioner of Public Health, discussed the

The birth of a healthy baby and a group of convalescents enjoying a picnic at Store Beach were bright spots, but there were others whose complaints about both food and accommodation required an inquiry to be undertaken by Dr Reid. The complaints were found to be unsubstantiated.⁸² The most dramatic event occurred when a group of five young men, convalescents, broke quarantine and went to Manly for a couple of hours. On their return they were met by Mr Getting the Superintendent who had been alerted to the fact that they were missing. They were charged, appeared at court, and even though they had expressed regret for their actions they were each fined £5 and court costs of £1/2/- to be paid within fourteen days. As a result the number of the police guard was increased. At a time in 1913 when the smallpox outbreak was showing no signs of abating the seriousness of this offence to the community, and the thoughtlessness of the young men was evident.⁸³

Although the period of quarantine for this smallpox epidemic concluded in 1915, the epidemic itself continued until 1917. Throughout, the mild strain of the disease and the treatment the patients received ensured that there were few deaths, only four, and the outbreak was contained. However the tensions and disputes between the Commonwealth Quarantine Service and the State Department of Health resulted in the complete control of the station moving into Commonwealth hands and a significant level of bitterness affected the relationship between the two groups.⁸⁴

Effects of war: Military patients - Venereal Disease and Tuberculosis.

There are very few references in the diaries to the fact that during the years of the smallpox epidemic in Sydney, Australia was engaged in World War 1. The only entries which do so occur firstly in November 1914 as two HMAS destroyers and one submarine anchored in Spring Cove for medical inspection. Dr Reid boarded them and they left less than an hour later. In February 1915 a group of nine soldiers were quarantined, one as a patient and the others contacts, during the smallpox epidemic.⁸⁵ Yet the war did affect

importance of vaccination early in the epidemic and argued that vaccination protected against smallpox; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), July 5, 1913 Dr Cumpston stated that under the policy of quarantining Sydney every passenger who requested a train ticket must have been vaccinated in the previous 5 years. Infantile vaccination would not be accepted.

⁸² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), October 30-31, 1913.

⁸³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45, 46.

⁸⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 18, 1914; February 6, 1919; February 22, 1919; October 7, 1920.

⁸⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45, 46.

the station, as resident military personnel and those returning from war zones suffering from Venereal Diseases (VD) and Tuberculosis (TB) required medical treatment.

In particular, the instance of VD among military personnel was a cause of concern to Australian military medical authorities during World War 1, as it affected the achievement of victory. In addition, it was a public health concern, and posed problems for clinical and preventive medicine.⁸⁶ VD presented an on-going problem for the AIF in Egypt, the United Kingdom, on the Western Front and within Australia.⁸⁷ This disease carried with it social and moral taboos which created treatment difficulties with relation to the numbers of troops affected and the provision of sufficient medical services.

By 1916 it became evident that among the dominion forces serving overseas, far from home, the instance of VD was substantial, with the rate of infection among the Australian forces among the highest.⁸⁸ To deal with this situation military authorities instituted policies to deal with the problem. These were punitive and involved the forfeiture of pay by any personnel absent from duty because of the disease. Added to this troops faced incarceration, quarantine, and treatment as criminals. However, this policy embittered the individual soldier alerting others of his disease status and resulting in a hold being placed on the pay allocated to his family at home, thus alerting them to his condition. While this punitive approach was altered later and replaced by more constructive and humane policies, Butler points out that these were often young men, thousands of miles from home and family, who for years were involved in conditions of great danger and hardship. Then during periods of leave those restraining elements of home and family were far away, and many succumbed to temptation.⁸⁹ Despite a campaign to prevent the disease significant numbers of Australian troops contracted the disease in late 1916, with figures for the first half of 1917 averaging 3% of hospital admissions in the UK. This was a period after the Somme when Australian troops were

⁸⁶ AB Butler, "Chapter 111. The Venereal Diseases in the War 1914-18" in *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Service, 1914- 1918, Vol.3 Specific Problems and Services* (Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1943), 148. While this is a dated publication it is the official medical history of the war and Butler's work is meticulous. While there are more recent publications on venereal disease and the British Army, this is a subject which possibly because of its nature, and the high standard of Butler's work has not received attention from military historians.

⁸⁷ Butler, "The Venereal Diseases in the War of 1914-18", 149.

⁸⁸ Butler, "The Venereal Diseases in the War of 1914-18", 152.

⁸⁹ Richard Marshall, *The British Army's fight against Venereal Disease in the 'Heroic Age of Prostitution'* <http://www1centenary.oucs.os.ac.uk/?p=2255> accessed June 6, 2012; Butler, "The Venereal Diseases in the War of 1914- 18", 174 – 178. Butler, "The Venereal Diseases in the War of 1914-18", 157.

experiencing extreme conditions in the trenches and battlefield with periods of leave exposing them to infection in the notorious social centres of Amiens.⁹⁰

As the war progressed over 17,000 officers and men had been returned to Australia by the end of June 1916. Of those 9159 were sick, 4255 were wounded and 1375 were venereal patients. This inflow of invalids continued at a rate averaging almost 2000 monthly, with the number of venereal patients increasing.⁹¹ Hospitals needed to be created to deal with the constant influx of patients and were categorised as either military hospitals where the patients were under military discipline, or “Red Cross” hospitals conducted by the Australian Branch of the British Red Cross Society. The tuberculosis wards which were established at the station at North Head fitted the category of a military hospital however, the venereal patients were treated at the quarantine hospital.⁹² Butler argues that there was a “hush - hush” attitude to VD being brought into the country by these returning servicemen, as these diseases had created an “excessive fear-complex “ and slotted in to current racial theories, to the “pollution of the race” by these men and led to a “not very successful attempt at a rigid exclusion.” He also stated that “it was doubtful whether the AIF was more infective than the Australian community, but as a notifiable disease in most States, the segregation of AIF cases was justified in quarantine law.”⁹³

With numbers of returning servicemen presenting with the disease, it became obvious that a treatment centre was necessary for a significant number of servicemen, particularly in the years 1916 -17. The table below details admissions for those years.

⁹⁰ Butler, “The Venereal Diseases in the War of 1914-18”, 166 – 167.

⁹¹ AG Butler, “Chapter XV Medical Problems of the Home Front” in *Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services, 1914 – 1918. Section IV Medical Problems in Australia* (Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1943), 745 – 746.

⁹² Butler, “Medical Problems of the Home Front”, 751 – 753. The Seaman’s Isolation Hospital established in 1916 at the Quarantine Station functioned as part of the quarantine area and was not included in the official list of hospitals for venereal disease.

⁹³ Butler, “Medical Problems of the Home Front”, 776; Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness*, 254 – 258; Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives: Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought, 1890 –1960* (St Lucia: Queensland University Press, 1984).

1915	1916	1917	1918
72*	167	87*	72*

*incomplete numbers entered in diaries.

Table 2: Admissions at Quarantine Station North Head for Venereal Disease 1915-1918

Twenty-two sailors from SS “Runic” and one each from SS “Colusa”, SS “Moana”, SS “Roscommon” and SS “St Albans” were admitted in mid-July 1915. This initial noting of the ships the patients were from did not continue, and while there is a significant increase in the numbers admitted in 1916, this is the only year that specific numbers were noted for all admissions, and for the following years totals were possibly higher. The care of the patients was in the hands of Drs Reid and Robertson, QA Moseley and temporary staff Mr & Mrs Parker were on duty at the Seaman’s Isolation Hospital (SIH). Patients were admitted and discharged after treatment. However, during 1918 there were three VD patients who refused to leave as they felt that they had not received sufficient treatment, and another, who having been discharged, had to be returned to the station as his captain refused to take him aboard his vessel.⁹⁴

During 1916 the decision had been made to build a special hospital to “detain, diagnose and treat merchant seamen suspected of having sexually transmitted diseases”. This would cater for the treatment of these men separately from returning servicemen who were to be treated at the Coast Hospital. The SIH was initially meant to be kept separate from the quarantine station.⁹⁵ However, during October 1918 quarantine staff received and installed the furniture and some fittings, and the facility was ready to receive patients. But, the need for accommodation as a result of the overcrowding at the station during the influenza epidemic of 1919 - 1920, the SIH was needed to accommodate influenza patients. In the following years it continued treating cases of VD under the auspices of the station.

During the same period the number of returning servicemen suffering from tuberculosis was also a problem in need of immediate and long term solutions, particularly for the Department of Defence until they could pass the responsibility to the Department of

⁹⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 49.

⁹⁵ Noel Bell, Ridley Smith & Partners Architects, *Historic Heritage Management Plan: Australian Institute of Police Management, Collins Beach Road, Manly NSW* (Manly, Sydney: Noel Bell, Ridley Smith & Partners Architects, 2010), 32.

Repatriation.⁹⁶ Official figures for cases of tuberculosis put the number of Australian ex-servicemen affected as 3000. With tuberculosis already present in the population, Putland sees this as comprising 1/3 of the total tuberculosis cases in the nation. Consequently the care of this substantial number of men presented a difficult task for the Federal Government.⁹⁷ The immediate problem necessitated the establishment of another hospital as accommodation at the Red Cross sanatorium at Boddington became exhausted.⁹⁸ Unusual cooperation between the State and Commonwealth Governments resulted in permission being granted for the establishment of Tubercular Wards in the Lyne's Buildings at the quarantine station.⁹⁹ A diary entry for 1916 records three military patients being admitted 20 October, and another six on 26 October. In subsequent entries the patients admitted are specifically designated as suffering from TB. Over the period from October 1916 to October 1918 there were more than 90 patients admitted, with the majority in 1917, the only year for which significant numbers were entered in the diaries.

Staff for these wards arrived a fortnight before the patients and the hospital was described in the diaries as the "military hospital". This status provided for military discipline to be maintained, with nursing staff granted membership of the Army Nursing Service and payment by the Department of Defence.¹⁰⁰ These very ill men were well-cared for and provided with a healthy diet by a constant delivery of stores which included fruit and eggs and Red Cross parcels. Regular visits were made by Military Officers and the Military Medical Board, possibly to demonstrate commitment from the Department of Defence, but also to ensure the maintenance of military discipline. Constant medical attention was provided by Senior Commonwealth Medical Officers, Drs Reid and Mitchell, thus ensuring a high level of clinical care.¹⁰¹

Most of these men remain anonymous, with only a few names recorded in the Prescription Books, with only enough detail to identify the patient's rank and surname.

⁹⁶ Carol Ann Putland, "Tuberculosis and the Australian State: Australia's National Anti-tuberculosis Campaign 1898 – 1948. An Administrative History of a Public Health Policy." (PhD thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, 2012), 209. The problem of tuberculosis among returned servicemen was not confined to Australia with 40 000 British soldiers discharged because of this disease and "in France by 1932 24 500 ex-soldiers received war pensions for tuberculosis at 100% disability."

⁹⁷ Putland, "Tuberculosis and the Australian State," 210.

⁹⁸ Butler, "Medical Problems of the Home Front," 752.

⁹⁹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 109.

¹⁰⁰ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 109.

¹⁰¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 48, 49.

Despite the level of care, the virility of the disease caused deaths. With very little evidence relating to the individual identities of the men it is very difficult to uncover any information relating to the deaths of the three men Privates Gerrard, Smith and Sapper Monk. An entry for 9 December, 1916 notes the death of a patient in the Military Hospital who was buried elsewhere. This is possibly Private Gerrard, whose name appears in the Prescription Books on that date only, and in the diary when his effects were sent to Sydney in July 1917. Private Smith died 16 January, 1917. Sapper Monk's name appears in the Prescription Books in 1917, but his death was not recorded in the dairies.¹⁰² These servicemen appear as names on a page and the reality of their lives is hidden in their anonymity. However, as a representative of these servicemen an outline of who Sapper Monk was is possible purely because of his unusual name. He was born in England, was a surveyor and draftsman and enlisted at Rosebery Park NSW aged 27 years joining the 9th Field Coy., Engineers in March, 1916 as a Lance Corporal. He undertook active service in France, was admitted to hospital in 1917 for mumps, but his health deteriorated and he was returned to Australia aboard the "Demosthenes" in September of that year. He died from TB in the Military Hospital at the station December 21, 1917, and was buried in the C of E Section of Rookwood Cemetery.¹⁰³

During this period the hospital at the station also cared for military personnel from HMAS "Tingira" and HMAS "Encounter" suffering from measles and chickenpox. It was, however, the arrival on passenger ships and those bringing returned soldiers home which had pneumonic influenza or "Spanish flu" on board which tested the ability of the quarantine station to deal with large numbers of very sick people, as well as contacts on the vessels. So virulent was this H1N1 strain of flu, and its pandemic status, that from October 1918 all vessels arriving at Australian ports were under orders from the Commonwealth quarantine service to undergo seven days of quarantine, during which the passengers had to be medically inspected, and anyone with a raised temperature was isolated.

¹⁰² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 48, 49; NAA, *Prescription Book 15.4.1917 - 7.9.1930* (NAA: C533, 1984/20, Vol. 1).

¹⁰³ NAA, *Monk Harry* (NAA: B2455).

Influenza Pandemic 1918 – 1919

Together with occurrences of bubonic plague the influenza pandemic which reached North Head in late 1918 proved to be one of the most virulent pandemics which have been experienced world- wide.¹⁰⁴ This disease broke out in Europe in the months when World War 1 was coming to an end and during the following year it spread world-wide and was responsible for the death of between 50 and 100 million people.¹⁰⁵ Outbreaks of influenza in Australia had occurred at intervals since 1826, and the 1890s saw it occur in pandemics proportions however, a minor Australia wide pandemic in 1898 – 1899 was not severe in NSW. In light of these experiences Australia wide the pandemic of 1918 – 1919 was at first treated with complacency. Europe was half the world away and so distance from infected countries produced a sense of security, as did the belief in the health and resilience of the Australian population. The spread of the disease to New Zealand in October 1918 proved to be a wake-up call, as in a twelve week period there were 6601 deaths in New Zealand.¹⁰⁶

It is important firstly to the view influenza pandemic within the context of the political problems which arose as a result of efforts by both State and Commonwealth Governments to prepare and carry out policies to protect their own interests and communities. Hyslop has demonstrated that during this pandemic individual States, having received notice of the devastating effects of the disease in New Zealand, implemented policies which were seen as justifiable to them, and in doing so, defied Commonwealth authority. The Commonwealth Government had also received warnings from official public health sources as well as unofficial warnings as to the extreme infectious nature of this influenza pandemic and looked to precautionary measures for protection. Firstly maritime quarantine procedures were seen as providing initial protection and secondly a national influenza planning conference was called to secure uniform action from all governments. This pandemic disease was characterised by the NSW government as, “A danger greater than war”.¹⁰⁷ Instructions to quarantine officers at all Australian ports mandated that ships which had influenza on board during the

¹⁰⁴ Robyn Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war: NSW and the 1918 – 1919 influenza pandemic* (Curtin, ACT: Homeland Security Communications Groups, 2007), 2.

¹⁰⁵ Peter Curson and Kevin McCracken, “An Australian Perspective of the 1918 – 1919 Influenza Pandemic.” in *NSW Public Health Bulletin* Vol. 17, No. 17 – 8 (2006): 103. <http://www.publish.csiro.au/paper=NB06025> accessed March 24, 2012.

¹⁰⁶ Curson and McCracken, “An Australian Perspective,” 106.

¹⁰⁷ Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 2; *NSW Government Gazette* 1919; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 3, 1919.

voyage or present on arrival were to be quarantined, even though federal health authorities questioned whether maritime quarantine could keep the disease out.¹⁰⁸

With maritime quarantine protection in place, during late November, 1918 the Commonwealth Government set up a national influenza conference to propose a national plan of action to be adhered to if influenza broke out. A proclamation agreed to by all States provided that, in the instance of an individual State becoming infected with influenza, all traffic to the State would be suspended. Strict quarantine would operate for interstate shipping, and permits, issued by the Commonwealth, would be needed for any person to leave an infected State. In NSW precautionary measures included the provision of 2000 hospital beds, the closure of schools and the mandatory wearing of masks. Influenza became a notifiable disease and relief depots staffed by trained personnel and volunteers set up. Precautionary measures were in place by late 1918, and the only cases of influenza were quarantined at North Head. With the threat of influenza imminent, and with the location of the station so close to the urban centre of Manly, the increased risk of infection initiated an insistent call for the removal of the station from both local residents and the Sydney City Council. This request was not acceded to by Commonwealth Health Officials. The station and its facilities were needed and there was no action to move it.¹⁰⁹ But these demands continued throughout the century with local dignitaries and MPs, developers, Manly Council and environmental groups all interested in seeing the area used for other purposes than quarantine, with the same lack of success.

January 1919, influenza was present in Melbourne. Somehow it made its way to Sydney and entered the population. All States, except Victoria, were in agreement with the November proclamation at the inter-State Conference to put quarantine procedures into place at its borders. Victoria, however, made no official notification of its situation as an infected State, causing the NSW Premier to write to the Acting Prime Minister requesting the Commonwealth to put into effect the terms of the proclamation. However, Victoria remained obstinate. Local interests took precedence, and relations between NSW and Victoria deteriorated with both States infected, and with quarantine detention camps established at the Victorian border. Tensions between the

¹⁰⁸ Anthea Hyslop, "Insidious Immigrant: Spanish Influenza and border Quarantine in Australia 1919." In S Parry and B Reid *Migration to Mining*, Collected papers of the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Australian Society of the History of Medicine (Casuarina, NT: Historical Society of the Northern Territory, 1998), 202; Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 3 – 4.

Commonwealth and the States developed as the States adopted their own methods of dealing with the problem. This acrimonious relationship between the government bodies occurred in a much wider context than that between NSW Government and the Commonwealth during the smallpox epidemic. Each of the States moved to implement its own quarantine policies and, in reply, during February 1919, the Commonwealth abandoned the November agreement, took full control of interstate traffic and withdrew from land quarantine.¹¹⁰ McQueen has seen the breakdown in relations between the States and the Commonwealth during this crisis as demonstrating the fragility of the national unity brought about by federation.¹¹¹ However, Hyslop argues that rather than a case of “frail Federal loyalties”, under the stress of the spread of the disease, the “States believed that the Commonwealth had let them down” and so protected their own areas.¹¹²

At government level the preparations, precautions, problems and contentions which arose between individual States and then with the Commonwealth had occurred in the pre and initial period of the pandemic. But influenza had been present on the continent at the quarantine stations at North Head and Woodman Point, Western Australia since October 1918. Between early November and late December 1918 thousands of troops returned to Australia and through the protective activities of quarantine the pandemic was confined to these quarantine stations, although Dr Cumpston warned that the disease was rapidly –transmissible and could prove to be extremely difficult to exclude.

¹¹³ However, he was able to state in November that,

“While about 2000 contacts at the Quarantine Station, are receiving all the necessary attention and 200 patients in hospital are in various stages of the disease, a gratifying feature is that no case of influenza has occurred in Australia, except at the quarantine station. I want it generally known that we are strongly and excellently equipped right throughout Australia to deal with the scourge.”¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Hyslop, “Insidious Immigrant,” 204 - 207. As part of the requirement of border quarantine between the States close co-operation was called for between Federal and State authorities. A State would notify the Federal Director of Quarantine of any case of influenza in interstate traffic within ten miles of the border. Once a State was proclaimed infected Federal authorities would take control of interstate traffic both by “land and sea.” The States would cooperate with Federal authorities. Goods and mails would not be restricted in movement and the Commonwealth Government had the power to repeal any proclamation of infection.

¹¹¹ Humphrey McQueen, “Spanish Influenza Pandemic in Australia, 1918 – 1919.” In Jill Roe, ed. *Social Policy in Australia: Some Perspectives 1901 – 1975* (Sydney: Cassell, 1976), 143.

¹¹² Hyslop, “Insidious Immigrant”, 213.

¹¹³ Hyslop, “insidious Immigrant”, 202.

¹¹⁴ *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton, Qld), November 25, 1918.

His confidence at this time was based on what he judged to be “approaching a complete solution” to the pandemic.¹¹⁵ That confidence had derived from the success of maritime quarantine activities, including those carried out at North Head. Many ships had been quarantined, and it is possible from diary entries for 1918, and the Register of Admissions and Discharges 1918-1920, to provide an overview of the number of vessels quarantined, and the numbers of patients admitted to the hospital, during this first phase of the epidemic. From November 1918 to March 1919, 110 vessels and 12 000 people were quarantined. As this period overlaps and included number from the second phase which began in February 1919 with the entry of influenza into the population these are not completely accurate figures for the initial phase.

Diary entries for November and December 1918 demonstrate the size of activity at North Head and provide evidence of 51 ships being quarantined beginning with the arrival of SS “Niagara” 25 November, 1918. A severe outbreak of influenza on the “Niagara’s” voyage from Vancouver to New Zealand had resulted in the death of three crew.¹¹⁶ From the 51 ships quarantined, 255 patients were admitted to the quarantine hospital of whom 43 died including 20 soldiers and Italian Reservists from SS “Medic’.¹¹⁷ Aboard SS “Atua”, where the disease seemed to be as virulent, there were 16 deaths of crew members, 8 of whom were Fijians most of whom were employed as firemen. Of the passengers only 2 died. Other deaths at the station included 2 military nurses. The death of one of these nurses, Annie Egan and her pleas for a priest raised a political storm among the Catholic hierarchy and community. Other deaths during this first phase included 2 crew and one passenger from SS “Makura”, and a crew member from SS “Manuka.”¹¹⁸

In early January 1919 the *Sydney Morning Herald* could declare that New South Wales was “at the moment free from pneumonic influenza”. The “magnitude of the task” had required the quarantining of 51 ships and a total of 6222 people quarantined, among whom 653 had been patients, (a very different total from the 255 recorded in the register, possibly revealing the stress the staff were working under). In a very different tone to that usually applied to the station and quarantine, the article praised the

¹¹⁵ *Argus* (Melbourne), January 19, 1919.

¹¹⁶ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.49; NAA, *Official Log Book, Niagara 24.8.1918- 21.9.1918* (NAA: SP 2/1); *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), October 28, 1918.

¹¹⁷ NAA, *Register of Admissions and Discharges, 1918-1920*, (NAA: C525).

¹¹⁸ NAA, *Register of Admissions and Discharges*; NAA, *Register of Deaths and Burials*.

functioning of the station stating that the number of people admitted, cared for and discharged with so few deaths was a tribute to the doctors, nurses and staff of North Head, and a tribute to the success of quarantine practice. In the words of the press this was, “a wonderful record.”¹¹⁹ However, providing medical care for the numbers of influenza patients took its toll on Dr Mitchell who had been working 10 to 16 hour days and supervising the station as a whole. The staff of 14 medical men and 40 volunteer nurses was then placed under the supervision of Dr Elkington CQO(G) of the North Eastern Division of the Quarantine service, a very senior member of the Quarantine Service.¹²⁰



Image 5: Doctors & nurses at quarantine Station dressed for protection in 1919. Manly Local Studies Image Library www.scratchingsydneysurface.wordpress.com

There had not been universal acceptance of the conditions and procedures at the station. Complaints were made about the conditions on the troopship “Medic. A letter from a soldier aboard the ship stated that after five days in port no attempt had been made to separate the sick from the healthy on the ship. Even though many sick had been taken ashore, there were still over a hundred sick men aboard as there was no room at the station. In his opinion and that of another soldier on board, this posed a real risk to the healthy on board. This was grist to the mill for the journalists who highlighted the emotional and negative aspects of quarantine practice, in particular citing the problems caused by the enforced quarantine of ships returning with servicemen who were kept apart from reunions with their families.

¹¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 4, 1919.

¹²⁰ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 112.

It was not difficult for them to highlight other problematic issues as ships continued to be delayed in the harbour and the tempers of those on board became frayed. Some of this delay and the anger it produced resulted from the exercise of quarantine powers of both the Commonwealth and NSW State Government. In February 1919 the Commonwealth took over control of interstate traffic by sea, therefore enforcing quarantine on ships for 7 days. New South Wales, concerned that Victorian authorities were neglecting “use of due diligence” with relation to quarantine inspections for troopships leaving Melbourne for Sydney, imposed a period of 4 days quarantine followed by a medical inspection for ships from Victoria to protect their population from infection from Victoria.¹²¹

As a senior member of the service Dr Elkington replied to criticism stating that, “all sick had been evacuated to hospitals ... and that any suspicious cases aboard were ... isolated and removed ashore”, and that the situation was constantly being monitored.

¹²² Associated with this complaint was the perceived danger of the disease escaping into the population from quarantined ships such as the 500 foot “Medic” colliding with another vessel in heavy weather while at anchor in the harbour, and the “germ” of influenza being carried to the “people outside”.¹²³ The solution put forward echoed an earlier article, publicised a fortnight after the first admissions, which proposed the movement of the station to Jervis Bay. The arguments focused on the “close proximity to the city and other populous areas”, and the possibility that the disease could “evade quarantine” and infect the public. These factors were put forward to justify the movement to Jervis Bay, where there was a “perfectly safe harbour, the area belonged to the Federal Government and was isolated from the population, and this transfer was seen to be clearly in the public interest.”¹²⁴

¹²¹ Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 8 – 9.

¹²² *Advertiser*, (Adelaide), November 19, 1918.

¹²³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 26, 1918

¹²⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 21, 1918.



Image 6: Ships at anchor during the influenza pandemic 1918 -1919. *Harbour Life: tracing early Sydney's watery history*, Graeme Andrews, "Working Harbour"

This push to have the station moved became an issue again in February 1919 when the second phase occurred. Again, the main argument for removal hinged on the proximity of the station to the city and with ships quarantined in the harbour, both at Spring Cove and the overflow at Rose Bay, the danger increased. Added to this was the fact that using so much land so near to the city, which could be put to private use, was "shockingly bad economy". Jervis Bay, Port Stephens and Broken Bay were put forward as places which "would serve as well" and the "position was (seen as) intolerable: and its evils so manifest that it is difficult to understand the failure of Federal authorities to appreciate them."¹²⁵

From the end of 1918 to early February 1919 the State was free from pneumonic influenza, however authorities were careful to stress that the community should not fall into a "false sense of security". The danger was still present as the majority had not taken advantage of the public inoculation depots to protect themselves, and there were still patients at North Head. While large numbers of troops were returning on ships, the likelihood of the spread of the disease was recognised as patients were still being cared

¹²⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 7, 1919.

for, and deaths occurring at North Head.¹²⁶ The arrival of SS “Sonoma” in mid -January with troops on board heightened fears. Dr Reid CQO(G) decided that the “Sonoma” would be detained for at least three days, the patient was to be isolated, and the rest of the passengers and crew classed as contacts, but it was not influenza and the ship was given a clean bill of health.¹²⁷

Influenza entered the community and NSW was quarantined as an infected State on January 27, and the *Sydney Morning Herald* carried the news that there were four cases in Sydney. Government proclamations affected the lives of all. The wearing of masks was mandatory, sales of liquor were discontinued, areas where the public gathered were closed and the government centralised services.¹²⁸ At the station it was the arrival of troop transports with the troops who had been quarantined at other ports which posed threats to the public health as well as the risk of trouble breaking out. The servicemen wanted to go home, and were fed up with being delayed by quarantine procedures.¹²⁹

With the arrival of troopships “Karoola” and “Saxon” in early February 1919 the NSW Government voiced fears about the possibility of infection spreading as the men had been “freely ashore” in Melbourne. Once again the State and Commonwealth Governments were at odds, as the State Government protested strongly about this procedure. Dr Cumpston believed that all “reasonable precautions appear to have been taken to prevent infection”, but the State authorities were not convinced. The next day SS “Dimboola” arrived from Melbourne with seven suspicious cases aboard, and was ordered into quarantine. The ill patients were removed to the hospital and the contacts were kept on board until necessary to land them.¹³⁰ The Commonwealth quarantine authorities had boarded this vessel, however State health authorities had been ready to meet and inspect the ship at the wharf. Both authorities were exercising “strict vigilance” over all vessels arriving in New South Wales with the State demanding ships to remain at anchor in the harbour for four days. This included vessels which were seen to be “clean” ships, resulting in a fleet of steamers in quarantine with 14 ships riding at

¹²⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 8, 1919; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 23, 1919. Mon Yik from the “Manuka” and Pietro Peras, an Italian Reservist from the “Medic” had died in January.

¹²⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 15, 1919.

¹²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 18, 1919.

¹²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 23, 1919.

¹³⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 4, 1919.

anchor during February 1919 with delays causing problems for shipping and commerce.

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Between February 3, 1919 and May 1, 1920 there were 119 admissions to the quarantine hospital with a total of 692 patients and 21 deaths, of which 17 were from Influenza, averaging a 7% death rate which was well below that in the general community.¹³² After a lull in March, the disease spread rapidly and further restrictions were imposed on public life, including the closure of schools, regulations with relation to travel but by the end of April there were 30 000 cases of influenza in Sydney with a mortality rate of 20 to 30 deaths each day.¹³³ By mid- May the spread of the outbreak lessened, but the third wave as not over until early August. During this epidemic more than 25 000 people in NSW were admitted to hospital and in July 1919 there were over 600 deaths from influenza.¹³⁴

This epidemic was very different in its relationship to quarantine from those of the plague or smallpox. This disease spread very quickly through the population and could not be contained by removal and isolation at the station. As Dr Cumpston pointed out in August 1919, isolation was not effective because of the rapid spread of the disease once it “got through the (quarantine) barrier” in 1919, and that if the more virulent form, which arrived on the ships in late 1918, had infected the population the death rate would have been much higher. It was his contention that “maritime quarantine had been proved of the greatest value in protecting Australia against disease from overseas, but that land quarantine was quite ineffective under the system which was recently attempted.”¹³⁵

This policy of maritime quarantine holding incoming vessels by both the Commonwealth and State Governments contributed to the soldiers on board military transport vessels quarantined in the harbour losing patience with the situation and taking matters into their own hands.

¹³¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 5, 1919; *Mail*, (Adelaide), February 15, 1919. Steamers “Atua”, “Levuka”, “Malta”, “Briton”, “Riverina”, “Beulah”, “Koonda”, “Port Lyttelton”. Sailing vessels “White Pine” and “Senorita”. Vessels quarantined by the State “Takada” and “Taiyuan”.

¹³² See Appendix D: *Ships with large numbers of sick aboard*.

¹³³ Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 79 – 83.

¹³⁴ Arrowsmith, *A danger greater than war*, 76; Curson and McCracken, “An Australian Perspective,” 106.

¹³⁵ *Mercury* (Hobart), August 5, 1919.

The troopship SS “Argyllshire” arrived on February 8, 1919 and was quarantined until the expiry of the four day State quarantine which ended the afternoon of the following day. Together with troops from “Nestor” and “Mamari” these 1200 servicemen had been ashore in Melbourne where influenza was present, and this posed a danger to the population of New South Wales. The soldiers protested against this enforced isolation and representations were made to the government citing the hardships this imposed on the men, who were threatening to lower boats and leave the ship. Appeals were made to the honour and loyalty of the men to comply with the law in the same manner as the civilian population was doing.¹³⁶ In reaction “an exciting and partially successful attempt” was made by a number of men on-board to lower three boats which landed successfully at Nielsen Park and Chowder Head but the group who arrived at Mosman were prevented from landing. In all 42 men had attempted this escape. What made the situation worse was that at the same time a case of pneumonic influenza was diagnosed on board, which ensured that all on board had to be removed to the military section of the station, for a further seven days.

This led to a short-lived mutinous action on “Argyllshire, witnessed by “some thousands” on shore, and later the original escapees were taken into custody.¹³⁷ Dr Reid had insisted that he could not land the men at the station without 300 soldiers to guard them, or when this was seen to be impossible, for them to be sent to Liverpool camp. The State Government offered 150 police men to guard them at the station, as they estimated they would need a company of 1500 if they were sent to Liverpool.¹³⁸ They were landed in the dark and had to march over a mile through rough terrain where they pitched their tents. This did little to lighten the mood of the men, who had then to attempt to prepare a meal from tea, milk, sugar, bread and uncooked meat. To do this they needed to fetch water from a quarter of a mile away. Added to these extreme discomforts snakes were reported to have invaded the tents, and according to “The Argus” more than five dozen were killed.¹³⁹

The situation produced a reaction. At dawn the men dressed themselves “as though they were about to attend a special inspection parade, packed up their kits, and with a sergeant in charge, and each platoon with an Anzac Sergeant in charge, the whole

¹³⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 8, 1919.

¹³⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 10, 1919.

¹³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 10, 1919.

¹³⁹ *Argus* (Melbourne), February 11, 1919.

parade fell -in.” They marched in good order to the main gate, unaccompanied by their officers, all of whom remained in quarantine, and proceeded past the police guard at the gate to Manly. “All wore masks and ... took special care not to mix with the large crowd of spectators ... in the vicinity of the wharf.” After consultation with the State Commandant (Major - General Lee) and other officials it was decided that the group should proceed to the Cricket Ground, where the men negotiated their release in three days, and also an investigation their complaints. Throughout the whole event the men had maintained discipline and good behaviour. At the station those who remained served out their quarantine period.¹⁴⁰

The men aboard RMS “Orsova” also revolted against the conditions they had to endure once landed at the station. They were accommodated in “special quarters” prepared for them, but weather conditions had made them restless. One of their members described the conditions at dinner time as ‘topsy-turvy’, and the mood of the men changed. They complained that there was little to eat and the eating utensils were “covered with dirt, rust and stale fat”.¹⁴¹ This complaint did not faze Superintendent Getting who pointed out that there was sufficient hot water and soap for the numbers of military personnel to clean the utensils before use.¹⁴² Following the lead of the “Argyllshire” men, some decided to break out, but their attempt was disorganised and having encountered Captain Carmichael, MLA, and a number of officers on the way to the gate, they returned to their area. Arriving back at tea time, they found that no rations had been provided for them. They had to “scramble for the half-rations and many had little to eat in consequence.” This attempt at a break-out was short lived and they caused no further trouble.¹⁴³ By mid - 1919 the numbers of patients were dropping and an end could be seen to the spread of the disease.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the two pandemics and the smallpox epidemic of the early decades of the twentieth century and the challenges they posed to public health

¹⁴⁰ *Argus* (Melbourne), February 11, 1919.

¹⁴¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*. It should be noted that when the Assistants were preparing for the storage of cutlery and metal utensils they greased them with fat to protect the stock from rusting from the sea air. Mr Drew remarked that the military had been provided with sufficient hot water to wash all utensils before use.

¹⁴² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 7, 1919.

¹⁴³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 28, 1919. *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill, NSW), February 28, 1919.

because of the extreme nature of the threat to the population. During each of these periods of disease the station faced challenges to its operation and functioning. Management of the plague caused rifts between the NSW State Government and its Board of Health and produced a lack of positive communication and co-operation. Similar tensions occurred between the State and the Commonwealth Governments during the smallpox and influenza outbreaks, and caused a failure of co-operation between the two governments, engendered ill will and confrontations to the authority of the fledgling Commonwealth, during the smallpox epidemic and the influenza pandemic, over border control, transport, quarantine policy and the quarantine of troops.

Methods to contain and deal with each of these outbreaks of disease involved the use of the station at North Head, and raised issues of enforced isolation which generated fear and panic among the populace. This was often inflamed by the press who focused on the negative and emotional facets of the specific issues and debates connected to the individual epidemics. However, the daily human activity at the station which underpinned the processes of providing medical care for the sick, and accommodation for the contacts aided the containment and spread and effects of each of these diseases. As Dr Cumpston clearly pointed out in support of the continued practise of quarantine procedures and public health measures, maritime quarantine had provided a protection to the populace from the most virulent effects of diseases and he envisioned the ways of working towards meeting similar challenges in the future. That future included Dr Cumpston's vision for quarantine as part of a wide- reaching system of public health aimed at increasing the health standard of the community. This came about with the establishment of the Department of Health in 1921, and brought with it further challenges at the station. These challenges for the station and its staff called for adaptation to a changing environment which is the starting point for Chapter 3.

Section 1: A place of quarantine activity

Chapter 3: Adapting to a changing environment 1921 – 1984

Never again would there be such large numbers of local people quarantined as a result of the threat of pandemic or epidemic diseases. Nor would great numbers of ships be anchored in Spring Cove and the harbour, as they were during the influenza pandemic of 1918-1919, and quarantine staff would not be called upon to carry out their duties in such extreme circumstances. These times of crisis had revealed a lack of co-operation between the States and the Commonwealth, even though the concept of a central authority over quarantine had been instituted with federation. Parochial State interests had hamstrung attempts to follow a common policy, and had undermined the provision of a co-ordinated and total administrative system of Australian quarantine. In 1919, as a result of the effects of these divisive policies, Dr Cumpston, who viewed quarantine as part of a wider provision of public health, put forward recommendations for the establishment of a Commonwealth Health Authority which would have powers to co-ordinate the national administration of public health. This body became a reality with the establishment of the Department of Health, under the direction of Dr Cumpston, in 1921.¹ The functioning of quarantine and the station at North Head from then until its closure in 1984, became part of the administration and authority of this department.

Discussion of quarantine activities in this chapter covers a time period of six decades 1921 – 1984. This substantial period of quarantine activity is presented in one chapter not only because much of the protective activity at the station has received only passing attention but also to demonstrate the constant adaptation to changes which were occurring at national and international levels which had effects on activity at the station. This period has been overlooked based on the premise that maritime quarantine declined after the mid - 1930s, and so there was little action at the station.² While acknowledging that maritime quarantine declined, this chapter provides evidence that the station carried out its role providing continued protection against incoming diseases

¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 116.

² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 123; Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 43; SHNP *North Head Quarantine Station*, 66.

through the provision of active quarantine and other duties which resulted from Commonwealth control. In addition, change occurred through the development of national economic and social policies, the effects of international wars and the continued implementation of public health measures to contain or eradicate the spread of disease.

The nature of human quarantine activity at North Head is explored over two broad periods 1921 – 1951 and 1951 – 1984, each of which demonstrates on-going change with relation to the carrying out of quarantine activities. As in Chapter 2, this chapter reflects the framework of Pred's conceptualisation of place both as historically contingent and "ceaselessly becoming", as well as a human product brought about through the process of social and cultural change through institutional and individual practices.³

Firstly that change is addressed by exploring the reasons for the decline in maritime quarantine activity 1921 -1951 in light of Commonwealth development of a wider ring of stations around the nation through the setting up of new stations and development of those already functioning. As well, the diseases which initiated periods of active quarantine are discussed to highlight the on-going threats from diseases, particularly smallpox. In discussing these periods of active quarantine it is necessary to point out that in contrast to nineteenth century accounts, there is a dearth of personal material describing individual quarantine experiences, and therefore the twentieth century experience lacks the immediacy of the experience of earlier quarantines. This is true for both broad periods. However for the period from 1921 to 1951, case studies of two instances of active quarantine involving RMS "Aorangi" provide an insight into the problems and difficulties which could occur as large groups were quarantined, including racial attitudes and class distinctions, so often associated by historians and the press with quarantine policy and practices.

The latter period 1951 – 1984, has been presented in the historical record as a period of the station in decline. Yet, health officials deemed that air travel had increased, rather than decreased the threat from incoming diseases, particularly from passengers whose invalid vaccination status could have made the threats real. This section of the chapter demonstrates that evidence from this period casts light on the scale and changing nature of active quarantine which continued to occur at North Head. Active quarantine

³ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 280.

continued functioning for smaller groups in a scaled down area of the station. However, these groups arrived in an almost continuous stream throughout the period, representing potential threats and requiring staff to be on constant duty for admissions and releases.

Other protective activities, arising from a burgeoning economy and post-war immigration policies, slotted into the station's daily functioning, including importantly, the labour-intensive work of disinfection of restricted imports. These goods, imported for agricultural and industrial needs, contained infective agents, which if spread to animals and plants, could have caused extensive real and material damage.⁴ In this context, protective fumigation measures against the importation of foot and mouth disease on the clothes and footwear of European immigrants became part of quarantine activity carried out at North Head. As part of a nation-wide programme, these activities helped to keep the country free of the damaging effects of the disease. Yet, these important activities have been sidelined in studies focused on the singular role of maritime quarantine.

At all times, the changing nature of quarantine activities and duties at North Head reflected, in microcosm, the involvement of Australia in world-wide events and national growth and change.⁵ However, as much of the evidence for this chapter is drawn from the official work diaries, mechanic's logs and official correspondence, the experiences of those quarantined can only be viewed through these official lenses, but, even from this restrictive viewpoint, the numbers of those quarantined, and a glimpse of their stories and difficulties they presented and encountered can be sketched.⁶

Periods of Active Quarantine 1921 – 1951.

There was no indication in station documents that an important change had occurred at the highest level of administration as a result of the establishment of the Department of Health in 1921, as daily activities continued to be carried out by the staff. But from 1921 on, the station carried out its role within the larger sphere of institutional quarantine activity under the direction and administration of the Department of Health which

⁴ Carolyn Tanner, "Principles of Australian Quarantine," *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics* 41, no. 4 (1997): 543.

⁵ Michael Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives Vitalism in Bourgeois Social Thought 1890 – 1960* (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press), 118.

⁶ NAA, Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence; North Head Quarantine Station Log Books (NAA: C527).

operated as the central authority, under the leadership of Dr Cumpston as Director-General of Health, a position he held for 24 years. Because of the importance of his long standing position in this role and the influence he exercised on national public health, a short outline of his career, particularly with relation to quarantine is necessary to this discussion.

Dr Cumpston was a product of Melbourne's medical school and very early in his career he demonstrated an interest in the prevention of disease on a national scale through public health measures. He gained qualifications in public health in London and took part in an International Congress on Hygiene and Demography in Berlin, and was then appointed medical officer for Western Australia. During this tenure quarantine duties in that State played an important role in public health and his involvement included overseeing legal action against a ship's surgeon for possibly concealing smallpox, and writing a paper supporting "the protection of our frontiers from invasion by disease."⁷

His experience and knowledge of public health was recognised by Dr William Perrin Norris the Federal Director of Quarantine whose ideas with relation to the necessity for growth of the federal service aligned with Dr Cumpston's. When Dr Norris was absent overseas in 1912, opportunity presented itself and Dr Cumpston was appointed Acting Director of Quarantine, then in mid- 1913 he was appointed to the permanent position of Director of Quarantine. In this position his actions in quarantining Sydney during the smallpox epidemic, and supporting legislation for compulsory vaccination did little to endear him to the NSW Government. Yet he survived the attacks which ensued, and published a work which argued that Australian maritime quarantine practices during the epidemic sat well within world practices.⁸

Michael Roe argues that during World War 1 Dr Cumpston's role expanded and, as the Commonwealth Government became more involved in public health, Dr Cumpston believed that the national characteristics demonstrated during the war when "the stirring of a nation's soul under a common danger" was "destined" to have "far-reaching effects" on national public health.⁹ Drs Cumpston and Elkington applied that metaphor in their advocacy and encouraged federal politicians to have a more vigorous response to health.¹⁰ The Commonwealth gained control over those suffering from

⁷ Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 120.

⁸ Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 122 – 123.

⁹ Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 124 – 125.

¹⁰ Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 124 – 125.

quarantinable diseases within the country through the *Quarantine Act 1915*, and supported a report submitted by Dr Elkington which resulted in effective treatment of venereal disease. The quarantine service also played a significant role in lessening the degree of infection returned soldiers suffering from venereal diseases could introduce to the community, as well treatments for tuberculosis and diphtheria. In particular, the successful role of the service during the influenza pandemic saw it praised as “possibly the most advanced in the world.”¹¹ By 1920 a further addition to the *Quarantine Act* allowed federal quarantine to override state measures, justifying federal action during the influenza pandemic, then in 1921 the Department of Health was established with Dr Cumpston as Director-General. At this time quarantine was still the most important function of the department while other burgeoning areas took their place also in public health delivery.¹²

Under Dr Cumpston’s leadership this department aimed to provide overall responsibility nationally for the health of the Australian people. The health of each individual was considered a vital national resource, and an essential function of government.¹³ Functioning within this wider sphere of activity, the Department of Health co-ordinated research and subsidised the work of State Governments to eradicate disease.¹⁴ Drs Cumpston and Elkington planned and succeeded in broadening the administrative base of this department from quarantine to research, as well as treatment of medical problems in the tropical north and the establishment of a national series of public health laboratories to study the problems of industrial diseases and hygiene.¹⁵ Within the department’s broadening approach, quarantine stations became part of the Division of

¹¹ Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 124 – 128.

¹² Roe, *Nine Australian Progressives*, 132 – 133.

¹³ Beddie, *Putting Life into Years*, 3.

¹⁴ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 116.

¹⁵ Michael Roe, “Elkington, John Simeon Colebrook” In *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Canberra: National Centre of Biography, Australian National University) <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/elkington-john-simeon-colebrook-6101/text> accessed May 21, 2013. In 1910 Elkington took up the position as Commissioner of Public Health in Queensland. He developed an interest in tropical medicine, and “cherished the Australian Institute for Tropical Medicine funded principally by the Commonwealth at Townsville.” In 1913 he became Chief Quarantine Officer in Queensland. He managed North Head during the influenza epidemic. He and Cumpston respected each other. Elkington led a division of tropical hygiene. His impact declined in the 1920s; Beddie, *Putting Life into Years*, 18. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 121. In this study Bashford places significance on the location of the quarantine bureaucracy in the Department of Trade and Customs, as “concerns of health and population” were linked with “economy and security.” She argues that the establishment of the Department of Health in 1921 had “originated institutionally” from the Federal Quarantine Service and thus the “administration of public health of the nation had its origins in quarantine.”

Marine Hygiene which had responsibility for maritime quarantine, and control of infectious diseases.¹⁶ For the station at North Head the establishment of this important new commonwealth department brought about little immediate change as it continued, under the direction of Dr Reid, CQO(G) NSW in charge of the station, and the permanent staff who were resident on the station.

Studies of quarantine activity at North Head in the period after 1921 have reflected a received wisdom, based on Foley's work, which stresses the "decline in the need for human quarantine" and focuses, almost exclusively, on the role of the station as a maritime quarantine station, citing the small number of ships which were quarantined between 1921 and 1975, as the reason for its decline.¹⁷

Yet, this view obscures the important role which the station continued to play in the period from 1921 to its closure in 1984. Foley points out, it

"was responsible for maritime quarantine, the control of infectious disease in mercantile marine, medical inspections of passengers and crew under the *Immigration Restriction Act*, sanitation in mercantile marine and medical inspection of seamen under the *Navigation and Seamen's Compensation Act*."¹⁸

This involved the recognition of the need to adapt to the ever changing effects of national and international policies and events, technological advances, especially with relation to transport, and the treatment and containment of infectious diseases, significantly through the increased rate of vaccination against disease. While physically isolated, and established to carry out policies of quarantine for those who posed a threat to public health, the processes of modernisation and urbanisation continued to

¹⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 118. Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, 137. With relation to quarantine being part of the Division of Marine Hygiene, Bashford's argument draws connections between the "the quarantine line was also a racialised immigration line" and links hygiene and the health of the population to institutional legal policies through the Immigration Restriction Act and the Pacific Island Labourers Act, both passed in 1901 which formed the basis of the White Australia policy and formed connections with 'international hygiene'.

¹⁷ Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 43. Foley, *In Quarantine*, 118-122. NPWS, *SHNP North head Quarantine Station. Understanding the Place*, 68.

¹⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 119. "All quarantine stations and staff became part of the Division of Maritime Hygiene. This department was responsible for maritime quarantine, the control of infectious diseases in mercantile marine, medical inspection of passengers and crew under the Immigration Restriction Act, sanitation in mercantile marine and medical inspection of seamen under the Navigation and Seamen's Compensation Act."

have an impact on the life and work of the station, affecting the roles of staff and those quarantined.

Reasons for the decline of active quarantines.

Studies of the history of the station in the period following the epidemics of the early decades have been influenced by the decline in the number of active quarantines at the North Head station in the period 1921- 1951. This has been seen to be the result of the establishment and functioning of a number of new stations.¹⁹ These new quarantine stations, together with established stations situated around the coast of the nation, increased the effectiveness of the quarantine barrier which had been operating during the colonial period. In the opinion of Dr Metcalfe CQO(G), NSW the three most important stations, during the period 1921 to 1951 were Fremantle, North Head and Thursday Island. These stations provided the first line of defence against the importation of infection, particularly smallpox, from incoming vessels. The amount of active quarantines carried out at these stations clearly demonstrated their important role. Woodman Point, Fremantle, acted as the first place of quarantine on Australian soil, and dealt with shipping from Europe which had called at ports in Suez, Capetown, India and Singapore. Infection, particularly of smallpox, was known to be present at these ports and ships and their passengers, which called at them on route to Australian ports, presented an on-going threat of importing infectious diseases.

The station at Thursday Island ranked second in importance, as it provided first- port- of- call quarantine facilities for vessels on the main trade route from the East, especially China, India and Java, where some infectious diseases were endemic.²⁰ North Head, while ranking third, provided quarantine facilities at the first- port- of -call for vessels from the Pacific Rim and the East; Canada, USA, Colombo, China, Java and the Gilbert Islands. Liners from Canada and the USA carried large numbers of passengers and crew, and infection was present at many of the ports of call during the journey.

¹⁹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 123. *Commonwealth Gazette*, July 10, 1909. With the transfer of quarantine stations to the Commonwealth the following stations became Federal Quarantine Stations: NSW- North Head, Sydney; Victoria- Nepean Promontory , Portsea, Coode Island; Queensland- Magnetic Island, Townsville, Hammond Island, Thursday Island; South Australia- Torrens Island, Port Adelaide; Northern Territory- Port Darwin; Western Australia- Woodman Point, Fremantle, Portion of Promontory abutting on Princess Royal Harbour, Albany, Point Macleod, Koombana Bay, Bunbury,, State Quarantine Station, Broome; Tasmania Barnes Bay, Bruny Island, Hobart.

²⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G), NSW to Dr JHL Cumpston, Director General of Health*, 26.6.1934,(NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

Other stations such as the well- established station at Torrens Island in South Australia played a significant role in ensuring that any case of disease which developed on a vessel, after leaving Fremantle, was picked up and patients and contacts isolated aboard ship until quarantined on arrival. In the same manner Port Nepean in Victoria contributed to the exclusion of disease aboard ship from Adelaide and was as the first quarantine station for shipping from New Zealand. ²¹

It is therefore not surprising that the number of ships quarantined at the station at North Head was affected by the activities of this wider ring of stations. Yet, in Dr Metcalfe's view, "the importance of Sydney ... lies in the fact that it receives all the passenger traffic from America, New Zealand and the South Sea Islands, and it is the main port to discharge passengers from the East." ²² This volume of traffic clearly indicated the necessity of the continued provision of quarantine facilities at North Head. He was also cognisant of the continued risk of infection from other areas, with the greatest risk of smallpox, then and in the future perceived to come from India and adjacent countries. He argued that the likelihood of the export of smallpox from these areas was permanent and unchanged, with the situation likely to continue for many years. In his opinion the quarantine stations, including North Head, were necessary and any relaxation of the existing vigilant quarantine procedures in an area free of epidemic smallpox, such as Australia, might quickly lead to a change in the picture. ²³

But it was not only the increased number of quarantine stations which Dr Metcalfe saw as contributing to the decline in the number of vessels quarantined. He cited the effects of the depression which had resulted in a marked downturn in the number of immigrants arriving, as well as the number of tourists. However, he reiterated that this was not a permanent position and overseas tourist traffic could be expected to pick up in the near future, particularly, in the South Sea Islands. This would impact on the number of vessels entering the port of Sydney with infectious diseases aboard.

In this instance it was the action of the companies which ran the main sea going liners in ensuring that their crews were vaccinated that produced a negative flow-on effect on the need for vessels to undergo periods of active quarantine. Vaccination resulted in lowering the number of crew infected, and helped to minimise the number of crew who

²¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe to Cumpston*, 26.6.1934.

²² NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe to Cumpston*, 26.6.1934.

²³ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe to Cumpston*, 26.6.1934.

would be infected in the future.²⁴ In addition, many of the cases of a quarantinable disease, particularly smallpox, occurred among Chinese passengers many of whom were returning to Australia after visiting China. Others were transshipping through Sydney to New Zealand or Fiji, highlighting the ever-present threat of smallpox among Chinese passengers arriving at Sydney. However, Dr Metcalfe believed that in the future smallpox among Chinese passengers arriving in Sydney would be lessened as the numbers of Chinese living in Australia decreased as a result of the White Australia Policy. Also, census figures revealed a marked decrease in the number of Chinese in Australia in the years from 1881 – 1933. In New South Wales the numbers of Chinese had decreased by 1933, as the restrictions imposed by the *Immigration Restriction Act* were being applied conscientiously. It was mooted that this downturn would continue, and with it the possible introduction of smallpox in Chinese passengers.²⁵

In addition, the actions of the Philippines Government in insisting that only vaccinated Chinese were permitted to sail from China to the Philippines were significant. These actions provided another safety net for Australia, as it reduced the possibility of infection on board vessels carrying infected passengers between Hong Kong and Manila, and thence to Australia. Because of these factors the number of vessels from China quarantined for smallpox would be halved within twenty-five years.²⁶

Furthermore, the number of vessels quarantined at North Head declined during the years of World War 11 because of cut backs to commercial shipping, the requisition of ships for troop transports and the ferrying of military supplies. In the post-war period the advent of air transport, and its increasing use for groups of migrants as well as tourists, affected the numbers of sea travellers. With the extension of the definition of a vessel from solely applying to maritime vessels to include aeroplanes, passengers and

²⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe CQO(G) NSW to Dr JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 31.1.1934* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1). Large passenger liner companies: E&A Line, AO Line, NYK Line and KPM Line had 29 vessels quarantined for smallpox since 1909 and they had adopted the proposals put forward regarding vaccination. Statistics for ships from these companies demonstrate: Cases among crew – 11. Chinese passengers – 15, European passengers – 4, unspecified passengers – 2.

²⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe CQO(G) NSW to Dr JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 31/1/1934*. Overall 60 vessels were quarantined Australia-wide for smallpox 1909 – 1933, as well as 23 vessels which had cases on board during the voyage. All could have introduced smallpox to Australia. At North Head during those years quarantines occurred for ships from Canada – 6; USA-2; Colombo-1; China-6; Java-1; Gilbert Islands-1. Total 17. In the same period Fremantle quarantined - 35; Thursday Island – 27 and Darwin – 8 with smaller totals for other stations e.g. Melbourne 3.

²⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from A J Metcalfe CQO(G) NSW to Dr JHL Cumpston, Director General of Health, 31.1.1934*.

crew on planes were to be quarantined if they were suffering from a quarantinable disease or had been a contact or were not compliant with vaccination regulations. This move from maritime to air transport effectively affected the numbers of those quarantined in large numbers from ships to smaller numbers from individual planes in the period after 1951.

Active Quarantine North Head 1921 - 1951

While there were fewer periods of active quarantine between 1921 and 1951 the following table demonstrates that there were vessels ordered into, and held in quarantine, for almost every year of the period.

Year	No	Year	No	Year	No	Year	No
1921	(5) 7	1930	(2) 5	1939	-	1948	-
1922	(10) 9	1931	(2) 4	1940	2	1949	(1)1+1
1923	(5) 4	1932	(2) -	1941	-	1950	-
1924	(1) 3	1933	(6) 2	1942	(2) -	1951	2 + 4
1925	(2) 1	1934	-	1943	1		
1926	(4) 4	1935	(1) 2	1944	(2)1		
1927	(2) 4	1936	-	1945	4		
1928	(1) 2	1937	(1) 2	1946	-		
1929	(2) 7	1938	(1) 1	1947	1		
						Total(F)	52
						Total	74

- Figures in brackets taken from Foley, *In Quarantine*, 123. Other totals from Weekly Diaries, Logs and Register of Aircraft and Vessels Vol. 2.²⁷

Table 3: Number of periods of Active Quarantine 1921 – 1951

In arriving at yearly totals for quarantined vessels in the years 1921 - 1951 problems were encountered when compiling the statistics from the available sources. There is not an extant official source which provides accurate and comprehensive statistics for the period 1921-1951. Figures taken from the Weekly Diaries and for the latter years from the Quarantine Register for Aircraft and Vessels, Vol. 2, relied on the dedication,

²⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 61; *North Head Quarantine Station Log Books*, (NAA: C527, Vols. 4-24). *Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2. Foley, *In Quarantine*, 123.

(Figures in brackets taken from Foley). The totals of 1949 and 1951 show quarantines for aeroplanes after the + symbol.

effectiveness and work load of the Foreman Assistants who compiled them. Added to this, there are volumes missing for periods during the 1930s and 1940s, and this has had a significant effect on the validity of the figures. However, if the patients who were transferred from ships which were anchored elsewhere in the harbour, and brought to the station by ambulance or other conveyance, are included in the totals, the numbers of those quarantined present a slightly different picture from that provided by Foley, and increases the total number of quarantines occurring during the period 1921 – 1951 from 54 to 72. Also, by widening the focus from exclusively on maritime quarantines to include patients who had arrived on planes from 1949 to 1951, in line with the definition of a vessel, the continuation of active quarantining of passengers from air transport 1951-1983 is present and foreshadowed.

The majority of active quarantines 1921-1951 were for smallpox representing 44% of the overall total with 23% quarantined for chicken pox. While chicken pox was a quarantinable disease the experience from earlier smallpox epidemics had shown there could be a very close link between the two, and that this disease could not be discounted. However, there were instances where the reason for quarantine of a vessel was not documented. These quarantines accounted for a further 14% which when added to the previous totals accounted for just over 80% of all quarantines. Quarantines for plague, leprosy, measles and VD accounted for less than 12%.

While these figures are soft and do not provide a complete picture of the reasons for period of active quarantine, they highlight the continued threat of smallpox, and the concern public health officials had of an outbreak of smallpox in the unvaccinated population. This concern was echoed in the press which featured short articles referring to quarantine at North Head of ships with a smallpox patient aboard or having had a case of smallpox on board during the journey. Overall, during this period, the attitude of the press to the treatment patients and passengers received at North Head was positive. However, the racial make-up of crew and passengers was often emphasised. Entries in the work dairies for the quarantine of “City of Hereford” in 1929, and “City of Palermo” in 1928 designate the numbers of crew in terms of Europeans and other races, revealing a continuing thread of racial discrimination.²⁸

²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), January 15, 1931. SS “Benvenue” in quarantine for smallpox with company made up of 21 Europeans, 26 Chinese. *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), September 6, 1930. During the quarantine of the SS “Nieuw Zeeland” in September 1930 the passengers were reported as ‘having been well looked after.’

There were also concerns about the threat of smallpox among officials of large shipping companies. The Australian General Manager for the Orient Line, DL Dodwell, in an official "Confidential" letter to Dr Cumpston in May of 1929 expressed his desire to know the procedure to be adopted if an outbreak of smallpox should occur among the passengers and crew on one of their vessels sailing from London to Australia, after departure from Colombo. While this letter expressed concern for fulfilling the requirements of the Commonwealth, and doing whatever was possible in the earliest stages of the outbreak, it was clear that the chief concern was commercial, namely, the protection of "our own interests" and the securing of the "release of the ship and her crew and our passengers, at the earliest possible moment." Commercial interests were patently paramount. To illustrate his point, Dodwell provided an example of the numbers of passengers and crew carried by one of their larger vessels during the "height of the season" so that the authorities could "take into account the accommodation available at the various quarantine stations."²⁹

In a private letter to Dr Cumpston on the same date he expressed concern that if his enquiry became public, it might "quite conceivably engender a fear in the minds of the travelling public, which of course would be quite unwarranted."³⁰ In reply Dr Cumpston, in his role as Director General of Health, outlined in detail the procedures which should be adopted by the Orient Steam Navigation Company Ltd. These included the necessity for all crew to be "regularly and systematically vaccinated and a certified record of vaccination history kept on board." Also he recommended that the ship should carry refrigerated supply of vaccine lymph of recent date on board, and supplies of surgeons' gowns and a supply of cyllin, or cresol and formalin to disinfect the cabins. Procedures with relation to the patient included isolation, immediate vaccination of contacts, disinfection of quarters and bedding, and fumigation of the cabin with formalin. Notification to the Quarantine Officer of the next port of call needed to be made by wireless and similar procedures were to be carried out if more cases of smallpox occurred. If it was a ship of the size of RMS "Otranto" which carried 419 1st class and 96 3rd class passengers along with a crew of 450, a total of over 1800 persons would need to be housed in quarantine in any one of the Australian stations.³¹

²⁹ NAA, Confidential Letter from DL Dodwell, General Manager Australia for Orient Navigation Company Limited, 20.5.1929 (NAA: A1928, 870/2).

³⁰ NAA, Private Letter from DL Dodwell to Dr Cumpston 20.5.1929 (NAA: A1928, 870/2).

³¹ NAA, Dr JHL Cumpston, Director General of Health to DL Dodwell, General Manager Orient Company, Limited, Australia, 30.5.1929 (NAA: A1928, 870/2).

This meant that the station would be required to house over a thousand passengers and crew destined for Sydney and Brisbane, a situation which caused Dr Metcalfe to point out that all the accommodation at the station would need to be used. This included the hospital block, huts in the hospital area, the VD hospital and over 300 spare stretchers, and possibly, as a last resort, the 11 military huts which each contained 32 bunks. It is evident from this assessment that the station would have trouble handling the numbers aboard the "Otranto". However, the situation would be alleviated if vaccinations were current for the crew and a large number of passengers as all of these would be eligible for immediate release. In this event the available accommodation would be able to deal with the situation.³²

While the numbers of quarantines for chicken pox were less than those for smallpox they highlight the importance public health authorities placed on isolating those who entered the country suffering from this disease. The spectre of a repeat of the smallpox epidemic of 1913-1917, when a mild form of smallpox was diagnosed as chicken pox and became an epidemic, was referred to in an article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* in June 1929, when two smallpox cases aboard RMS "Aorangi" from North America, arrived in quarantine. Health authorities in Auckland had diagnosed chicken pox. The links to that earlier epidemic and its origin in the USA, increased the possibility that a case of chicken pox could in reality be smallpox, which the writer warned, even in its mildest form could "cause apprehension". Support for the actions of quarantine officials in declaring active quarantine also highlighted the situation which could have occurred if precautions and procedures had not been implemented. Referring to "an official disinclination to subject large numbers of persons, and a costly ship and cargo to quarantine detention for precautionary reasons" the writer warned that the immunity from endemic diseases, which had resulted from the defences provided to the Commonwealth through quarantine procedures, could be severely compromised. On a closing note the writer could say that in this case there had been "no relaxation of the system that had produced such admirable results."³³

³² NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director General of Health, Dr JHL Cumpston*, 30. 5. 1929 (NAA: A1928, 870/2).

³³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 25, 1929.

In quarantine.

While institutional policies and procedures focused on the protection of the population from the importation of diseases, for those quarantined and the staff who kept the station operating during periods of active quarantine, each period of quarantine added to the patina of the station. However, the fear, extreme isolation and heavily enforced incarceration of the local people during the epidemics of the early decades were not a feature of quarantines 1921-1951. Sick individuals were detained and hospitalised or isolated in the observation precinct, and whole ship loads of passengers and crew underwent periods of quarantine, but the ever present fear of severe illness and the possibility of death to large numbers was not a constant threat. Vaccinations, particularly against smallpox, ensured that passengers and crew who fulfilled the necessary requirements were eligible for immediate release, and those whose vaccinations aboard ship, or at the station, were officially recognised as successful, could be released on surveillance after a period of 14 days. It was only those who were ill with a quarantinable disease, and those who refused vaccination, or whose vaccinations were unsuccessful who, of necessity, had to see out the required number of 18 days. For those patients suffering and recuperating from smallpox the stay was long and could last up to two months. The relevant Shipping Companies were responsible for the cost of their upkeep. However, contrary to assertions that passengers, not patients were kept for months, much longer than the incubation period of the disease, most of the quarantines were short and the vessels, their passengers and crew could proceed on their way.³⁴

The different experiences of those in quarantine can be best illustrated by exploring the quarantines of RMS "Aorangi" in 1930 and 1935. These quarantines demonstrate the problems which could occur, especially when many of the passengers on board, as happened in 1930, came from positions of authority and standing in the wider community and were as 1st class passengers, with a sense of importance and accustomed to using their influence to get what they wanted. The other side of the

³⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 54. In 1921 in particular this occurred during the quarantines of the SS "Gracchus", SS "Wanganella", SS "Mindini" and the RMS "Niagara" all of which were quarantined for smallpox. The RMS "Aorangi" which was quarantined in 1929, 1930 and 1935 experienced a passenger quarantine of over 20 days in 1935; Amy Nethery, *Immigration Detention in Australia* (PhD Thesis, Deakin University, 2010), 100.

experience can also be demonstrated by the attitudes of the passengers aboard “Aorangi” in 1935, who had much the same background, but were more amenable to accepting the situation and making the best of it. Possibly, lessons learned from the quarantine of the “Aorangi” in 1930 allowed for a better outcome for the passengers in 1935.

Case Studies: Quarantine of RMS “Aorangi” 1930 & 1935

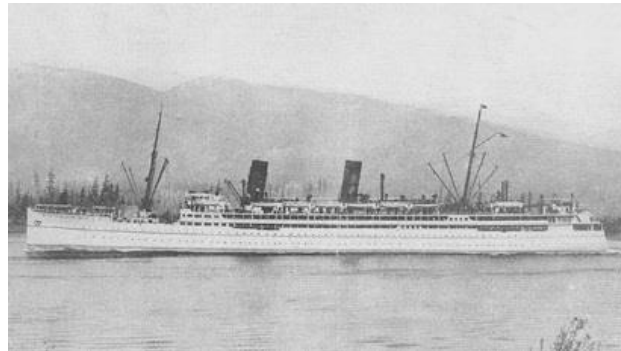


Image 7: RMS “Aorangi” Union Steam Ship Company. *Shipaorangibc.jpg*
<http://www.darbysulzers.com>.

In late January 1930 the Marine Superintendent of the Union Steamship Company contacted Dr Metcalfe CQO(G) NSW for advice relating to the quarantine of RMS “Aorangi” which had a smallpox case on board. Dr Metcalfe made it clear that all except those who were eligible for release would be detained, but the main commercial concern of the company representative was that the vessel should be cleared and disinfected as early as possible, so that it would not be delayed in its outward journey. In the spirit of co-operation Dr Metcalfe promised that he would do what he could “provided that the shore preparations for a meal on landing were satisfactory.” The shipping company transported vaccinated cooks and stewards to the station to be in readiness, with assertions that supplies had arrived and a meal prepared for passengers on landing. Assured by this Dr Metcalfe sent a programme for landing the passengers to the ship. His inspection of the station ascertained that, “everything was in course of preparation”.

From then on the problems related to this period of quarantine multiplied. The ship arrived late, the numbers of passenger provided by the Union Company were incorrect, totalling 145 rather than the 100, mostly 1st class passengers, who expected accommodation allocated at a moment’s notice. Information about the available food

for a meal when passengers were brought ashore was faulty, and an incorrect message was sent to the ship stating that all was ready ashore to receive passengers.

Ashore, information relating to disembarkation of passengers from the ship was received at the last minute. Staff to assist the landing operation were marshalled, but it was late in the day so decisions were made that all passenger luggage was to be left in the shed to be delivered later. Contrary to this directive passengers, who had been given instructions to carry only small hand baggage, elected to do otherwise and carried their own baggage. It was already dark and the way was uphill. Staff found it difficult to control passengers who rushed either to their rooms or to the dining room. The situation became one of increasing confusion and wisely Dr Metcalfe held the 2nd and 3rd class passengers aboard where a meal was served. The arrival of SS “Naldera” in quarantine further complicated the situation with the medical staff required to carry out quarantine duties on the ship.

Problems multiplied with the release of only 31 passengers under surveillance the next morning, sparking a raft of complaints based on the expectation of those on board of immediate release, and the fact that the passengers had to struggle to their quarters in the dark. The lack of telephone facilities, and the resulting failure of the system added to the overall discontent.³⁵

The formation of a Passengers’ Committee focused the anger, particularly of the 1st class passengers, and underpinned the notoriety, which this quarantine acquired, both in the quarantine service and through the reporting of it in the press.³⁶ Both the validity of the diagnosis of smallpox in Auckland, and the date from which the period of quarantine should have been decided were questioned and answered by reference the requirements of the *Quarantine Act*. The committee then questioned their continued quarantine, supporting their case by pointing out that those aboard “Naldera” had been released, when a fatality from smallpox had occurred on that ship, while “they were being detained for what was possibly only chickenpox.”³⁷

³⁵ NAA, Quarantine RMS “Aorangi” passengers (NAA: A458, AN368/9); NAA, *Diseases on Vessels: Smallpox “Aorangi” 1930* (NAA: A1928, 260/42).

³⁶ *Northern Star* (Lismore, NSW), March 3, 1930. *The Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), March 8, 1930. *The West Australian* (Perth, WA), March 13, 1930.

³⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr A J Metcalfe CQO(G) NSW to Dr JHL Cumpston Director – General of Health, 12.3.1930* (NAA: A1928, 260/42).

This singularly unsuccessful attempt to brow beat Dr Metcalfe forced the committee to take other steps. A series of communications to local members of parliament, letters to the Director-General of Health, and telegrams and letters to the Prime Minister were sent off. Their aggrieved stance was based on information from notices aboard and in the "Aorangi News" that it was the opinion of the commonwealth authorities that successfully vaccinated passengers and crew would be released under surveillance, and not quarantined. This, together with the other problems which had occurred, were grist to the mill for the members of the committee, who had among them, Melbourne University professors and lecturers, medical doctors, company managers and an actor. Their inherent sense of their worth and importance in the community, and their ability to contact powerful people was all too evident in their letters, telegrams and the press.

Yet the committee could not gain release for all the passengers, although it was clear from a letter written by Mr Osborne, a Melbourne University lecturer, expressing racial and class opinions of the time, that those on the lower decks were not his concern, as in his opinion they were not accustomed to cleanliness or correct living. In much the same virulent vein the press made much of the statement of a passenger, a notable golfer, that in his opinion Australia was a "White Man's Country" and having to share bathing and toilet facilities with Chinese, Indians and Fijians was disgusting.³⁸ In line with the protective nature of quarantine procedures, rather than racial or class lines, those who had not developed an immune response to vaccination, and those who had refused vaccination were held until it was clear that they posed no threat to the community at large.³⁹ However, this group of detainees included 10 Samoans, one Indian and a family of four including an unvaccinated infant, whose mother had refused vaccination for it and could have been seen as motivated by racial discrimination. The failure of a member of crew released on surveillance to fulfil the conditions of his release, resulted in his return to the station to complete the incubation period. This action, in Dr

³⁸ *The Western Argus*, (Kalgoorlie, W.A.), March 3, 1930. Commonwealth of Australia, *Passenger List – Incoming Passengers*, 28.3.1930. It is difficult to see that Mr Kirkwood, Professional golfer citizen of the USA, and 1st class passenger would have shared facilities at all as the three Indians were 2nd class passengers and the "Coloured Samoans" who were entered as British Samoans and the one Chinese from New Zealand were 3rd class passengers, as studies have pointed out of the separation of accommodation and physical distancing of the different classes at the Station.

³⁹ NAA, *Quarantine of SS "Aorangi" passengers* (NAA: A458, AN368/9)

Metcalfe's opinion, "had rather a good effect on the rest of the crew as they reported faithfully." ⁴⁰

Given the status and political know-how of this committee it is not surprising that they achieved a measure of success, by being released slightly earlier than had originally been intended, and effectively seeing that an inquiry was ordered into the problems of this quarantine. The Prime Minister and the Minister for Health were informed that, "the Department was a fault in many respects, and a public acknowledgement to this effect had been made in the House. Steps had been put in place to ensure that the conditions which led to complaints made by the Passengers' Committee shall not recur." ⁴¹ Foley suggests that the blame must have come back on the Foreman Assistant, Mr Drew, even though he kept his job, but she suggests that "no doubt there were recriminations". ⁴² Yet there is little evidence of this in the reports of Dr Moore, or Dr Metcalfe, or in a memoranda from Dr Cumpston. In a future quarantine of "Aorangi" Dr Metcalfe had no problem with castigating the then Foreman Assistant Mr Moss about his running of the station and the amount of overtime claimed by Foreman Assistant Moss and his staff.

The quarantine of RMS "Aorangi" in 1935, again for smallpox, provided evidence of a very different experience of active quarantine. A second class steward, Bruce Skinner, on arrival in Sydney was diagnosed with smallpox. He had never been vaccinated and shared sleeping quarters with nine others in the second class stewards' quarters. There were 320 passengers from Vancouver and New Zealand and 272 crew on board. ⁴³ The *Sun* reported that the "passengers appeared to accept their plight with good humour."

⁴⁴ There were important people among the passengers on this voyage, as there had been in 1930, and included a prominent grazier, the founder of Dunlop Rubber Co., and his wife, the Ceylon emigration commissioner and his wife and daughter, managers of prominent firms, university lecturers and the daughter of the Governor General. ⁴⁵

The immediate problem on landing the passengers was to find enough accommodation for all first class passengers. This was solved by all eligible passengers, irrespective of

⁴⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr A J Metcalfe CQO(G) to The Director- General of Health, 19.3.1930* (NAA: A1928, 260/42).

⁴¹ NAA, *Letter from Minister for Health and Repatriation to The Hon JH Scullin, MP, Prime Minister for the Commonwealth, 13.3.1930* (NAA: A1928, 260/42).

⁴² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 122.

⁴³ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe CQO(G) to The Director – General of Health, 24.1.1935* (NAA: SP399/1).

⁴⁴ *Telegraph* (Sydney), January 21, 1935.

⁴⁵ *Telegraph* (Sydney), January 21, 1935.

class, being housed on the station overnight, and released under surveillance first thing the next morning.⁴⁶ This solution permitted the landing of the rest of the passengers the next day. Groups were released under surveillance after five days, while those whose vaccinations were successful were to be released after 14 days. Those who refused vaccination were held for 18 days. During this quarantine the press was very supportive and lauded the work of the quarantine doctors, the accommodation, the ship's staff, and food and leisure time facilities. The passengers received board games which helped to fill in the time, a wireless set and fishing lines supplied by the Union Steam Ship Co. and the Manly Chamber of Commerce. There was also the opportunity to play tennis, engage in a hand of cards, swim and picnic on the beach during the day, and a ball in the evening.⁴⁷



Image 8: Quarantined passengers from RMS “Aorangi” in 1935 enjoying the scenery. NAA: 1851, 1980/1808.

However there were some problems. The mosquitoes swarmed at night, and again there was only one telephone line, and the volume of use caused it to fail. Dr Metcalfe realised that telephone problems were a burning issue during active quarantine and that at least one permanent line was needed at the station. More important than this was the problem which occurred when the stewards and cooks went on strike to be paid the

⁴⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe CQO(G) to the Director – General of Health*, 2.2.1935.

⁴⁷ *Sun* (Sydney), January 30, 1935.

same overtime rates as had been paid to the ship's staff during the 1930 quarantine of "Aorangi". The intervention of Dr Metcalfe and a decision by the Company to pay the same rates as 1930 meant that, while the passengers had had to get their own evening meal, their breakfast the next day was prepared and served. Overall, the passengers were completely supportive of the staff and their strike demands. Their dinner menu on the day after the strike made up for the previous evening meal.⁴⁸

A much more dangerous situation occurred with the possibility of an outbreak of smallpox. One of the stewards, who had occupied the same accommodation as the patient, had been released from the ship and was reporting on surveillance. He developed "spots" and notified Dr Metcalfe. He had been married only two days previously and both he and his wife were taken to the quarantine station for observation as his wife had never been vaccinated. The other three members of the house, the Davidson family, were vaccinated and released under surveillance.⁴⁹ By mid-February the only people held in quarantine were six passengers who refused vaccination, and a number of stewards who remained to clean up the station. The young steward and his bride were left alone with the staff on the station to be released the eight days later. The original patient had many more days of recuperation until he was released, and was to be kept under observation for a further eighteen days.⁵⁰

Administration and practical institutional difficulties became evident during this quarantine. Only Drs Metcalfe and Bevington were available to carry out the work checking vaccination histories and vaccinating all those who needed it, demonstrating that two permanent Medical Officers were essential in Sydney. Dr Metcalfe argued that his role as CQO(G) should be a supportive one, and not centred on the details of vaccination and clerical work, as the present situation produced bad administrative practices, and the possibility of important things being overlooked.⁵¹

⁴⁸ NAA, *Vessels Quarantined – RMS "Aorangi"* (NAA: SP 399/1, 185/17). 1st class passengers were offered a wide choice of: Green olives, Soup Française, Boiled Halibut Anchovy Sauce, Sauté Chicken Petit Fois, Roast Lamb & Mint Sauce, Corned Silver Side & carrots, Green peas, Boiled Swedes, Peach pie & Ice Cream, Bread & Butter Custard, Greengages and Cream, Preserves, Ice Cream.

⁴⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe CQO(G) to The Director – General of Health, 5.2.1935* (NAA: SP399/1).

⁵⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from CQO(G) Metcalfe to The Director – General of Health, 27.2.1935* (NAA: SP388/1, 27/2/1935).

⁵¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Metcalfe to Director-General of Health, 2.2.1935*.

It would appear that not only the agreeable attitude of the passengers to being held in quarantine, but also the positive reporting of the press made for a pleasanter period of quarantine for these passengers and crew of RMS “Aorangi” in 1935. It was also apparent that the Union Steam Ship Company, except for an initial attempt to get their stewards and cooks to work for lower wages, made fewer mistakes than in 1930 and acted to throughout the period to increase the contentment of the passengers while in quarantine. However, these lessons were not learned by all shipping companies and during the 1938 quarantine of P & O liner SS “Strathaird” there were areas which had they been addressed, could have made the period of quarantine a lot less boring. The press reported positively that the stewards carried out their duties for the passengers, but according to one passenger, the food that they received as “a bit rough” as there was no chef. The quarters allocated to them were satisfactory, and liquor and “anything special” could be got from Manly. But while there were activities like tennis, quoits, walking and swimming during the day, there was nothing supplied for them to amuse themselves during the evenings, no piano and no wireless. The provision of such aids to social interaction for the passengers had been an element of earlier quarantines, when pianos were hired from Palings and returned after the quarantine. The fact that the crew had access to a phonograph must have fanned the flames of annoyance. However, this group was, as one member remarked, “trying to put up with it as cheerfully as we can” clearly revealing the positive attitude which the passengers displayed.⁵²

These two quarantines of “Aorangi” saw large numbers of passengers and crew detained as a result of cases of smallpox. Other active quarantines during the 1940s involved patients isolated for chicken pox and instances of the quarantine of crew members for unspecified diseases. In official memorandum racial attitudes were still evident with the race of all those quarantined specified. But, during this same period of the 1940s it was the provision of temporary accommodation for soldiers and British refugee children during the war, which evoked praise from the press, and this area will be addressed in Chapter 7.⁵³

⁵² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January, 30, 1935; April 2, 1935.

⁵³ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr CR Wiburd Deputy Director of Health, NSW to Director – General of Health, 11.4.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1, 11/4/1950). In reporting a quarantine notation along with the number quarantined included indication of nationality and/or race. Indonesians in 1942 and Lascars 1943, 45 and 47. *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), October 31, 1940.

A new era and a significant quarantine.

In the post-World War 11 period there is the view that little or no activity occurred at the station, as only four vessels were quarantined. Foley states that “for long periods the station was unused”.⁵⁴ But there had been technological changes in air travel which had significant effects on the continued role of the station. The importance of quarantine procedures and the threat of disease, posed by the speed of air travel as well as the number of passengers who shared the area on planes was demonstrated in May 1949 with the arrival of a BOAC liner on which a steward was found days later to be suffering from smallpox. The danger from this case had increased as, on leaving the plane, he had booked into the Ben Buckler Hotel in Bondi and taken part in public activities for a week before being diagnosed with smallpox and removed to the station. When he had joined the plane at Karachi the Prime Minister, Mr Chifley and officers who had accompanied him to London, were passengers on the plane, but according to a statement from Dr Wiburd they had little risk of contracting smallpox.⁵⁵ However, health authorities placed all passengers, including the PM, under surveillance for 14 days, as well as the crew of the aircraft, the ground staff at Mascot, and the journalists who had met the plane. Staff and guests at the Ben Buckler Hotel were vaccinated, as Dr Wiburd warned that for any persons who had not been vaccinated 2 or 3 days after contact, later vaccination now would “not save them.” The perceived level of the threat was such that health authorities ordered wards at Prince Henry Hospital to be made ready, and the Department of Health brought in additional supplies of smallpox serum. But, as a result of the close and constant checks which were put in place the danger passed and the patient was well cared for at the station.⁵⁶ During the steward’s period of quarantine, RMS “Mooltan” arrived and the station went into full active quarantine mode for the quarantine of a child with chicken pox accompanied by both parents.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Foley, *In Quarantine* 127. Cornwall and McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 55 point out that in 1975 only 78 airline passenger were quarantined. Nethery, *Immigration Detention in Australia*, 103. She suggests that maritime quarantine finished in mid-century at North Head, half a century behind Britain, as “it slowed immigration and trade, and did not guarantee security from infectious diseases.

⁵⁵ NAA, “Vessels Quarantined - Aircraft “Banbury” (NAA: SP399/1,185/25, Box 1).

⁵⁶ NAA, “Vessels Quarantined - Aircraft “Banbury”.

⁵⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.59.

Quarantine activities in a changing environment

There were other factors at work which impacted on the role of the station 1951 – 1984. Advances in medical practice through vaccination and inoculation, especially with relation to the effective control of epidemics such as smallpox and cholera, meant that the widespread epidemics of earlier times did not occur. Technological change brought about a trend away from maritime transport to air travel with the movement of large numbers of people around the globe. However, the speed of air travel increased rather than decreased the threat of incoming disease. In addition the resettlement of displaced persons from war-torn Europe, where an outbreak of Foot and Mouth occurred in the late 1950s and 1960s, impacted on the role of the station. Protective measures to combat these threats involved station staff in the disinfection of migrants, their luggage and effects, as ships arrived from infected areas in Europe.

Thus, air travel raised the threat of smallpox, typhus, cholera, plague and yellow fever being imported into the country necessitating a vigilant campaign of inspecting the vaccination status of passengers. This resulted in numbers of passengers, mostly as individuals or small groups, being detained for varying periods of time over the whole period from 1951-1983. The largest number of those quarantined had invalid smallpox vaccination status. The relaxation of this requirement in 1972, for air travellers entering Australia from the USA and Canada if they had not been outside these countries for at least 14 days immediately before arrival in Australia, lessened the numbers needing to be quarantined.⁵⁸ The numbers dropped even further with changes to World Health Policy in November 1974 which determined that vessels (including aircraft):

“from countries where smallpox is endemic or has been recorded in the previous twelve months , or for travellers arriving without valid vaccination certificates, were the only ones who would be detained in quarantine.”⁵⁹

As a result the numbers of passengers being detained declined and the emphasis moved to continuing preventative measures with relation to passengers from yellow fever areas. The following examination of the entries in the Admissions Register for the

⁵⁸ *Annual Report of the Director-General of Health, Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 4 (Canberra: Government Printer, 1972) 56.

⁵⁹ NAA, *Memorandum to All Airline Companies*, 12.11.1974 (Sydney: NAA: C525).

period 1951-1983 delineates evidence of on-going active quarantine activity with relation to admissions during this period.⁶⁰

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1951	4	1962	33	1973	173
1952	49	1963	30	1974	139
1953	30	1964	22	1975	38
1954	36	1965	33	1976	45
1955	49	1966	55	1977	57
1956	42	1967	65	1978	43
1957	33	1968	83	1979	60
1958	28	1969	82	1980	60
1959	30	1970	84	1981	55
1960	29	1971	115	1982	62
1961	25	1972	174	1983	47(till Sept)

Table 4: Number of quarantine activities 1951-1983⁶¹

The above chart demonstrates that significant numbers of quarantine activities were carried out in each year for the period 1951 -1983. If a comparison is made between the number of activities for this period and the preceding period 1912-1950, in purely arithmetical terms, there were many more quarantines occurring during the latter period. Yet the perception remains that there was little activity occurring at the station. However, the evidence above demonstrates a continuing implementation of quarantine procedures to protect the community from imported disease. From 1952 – 1966 the numbers quarantined were fairly stable and range between the low twenties to 49 each year. These activities included early quarantines from aeroplanes, plus, from the mid-1950s to 1966, activities related to the disinfection and fumigation of ships, as well as the admission of small numbers of patients in need of smallpox vaccination.

While there are no specific reasons for the discernible increase occurring between 1967 and 1970, most admissions were for invalid vaccination status for smallpox, with a smattering admitted from yellow fever areas. The significant jump in activity from 1971

⁶⁰ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

⁶¹ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

– 1974 was due again to invalid vaccination status for smallpox and yellow fever. In 1972 the threat became real as 18 people were quarantined for cholera. These admissions constituted a significant threat to the Australian population, and demonstrated the importance of quarantine procedures in successfully containing this threat. Admissions stabilised after 1974 when smallpox was almost eradicated world-wide and vigilance in checking vaccination status was relaxed. In the following years admissions were mainly for passengers from yellow fever areas, with numbers of 50 to 60 admissions during each year. Importantly these quarantines chart the range of diseases which, if they had entered the general population, would have posed significant threats to the health of the whole community and the ability of the health system to deal with them.

What makes quarantine activity during this period very different from the previous decades in the twentieth century is that while people were detained for mandated periods of time, there were not large boat loads of passengers and crew being landed and detained at the station. Those who did arrive, did so at any time of the day or night, often in very small numbers, were not ill at the time, nor had they been in contact with an ill person who had been detained in quarantine. But, without valid vaccination certificates they posed a possible risk of infection which was negated through being held in quarantine until a period when that threat had ceased to exist.

Those quarantined in 1951 were passengers on Dutch or British aircraft on which there were cases of influenza and dysentery, and patients and contacts were isolated and treated, while the other passengers and crew were held until cleared to leave for Mascot or other destinations. The numbers on these flights ranged between 25 and 70 passengers and crew were very small when compared to the numbers quarantined from ocean going liners such as RMS “Aorangi”, and so the importance of these procedures has been down played. This lack of understanding of the importance of the continued policy of protection also applies to the following decade from 1952 to 1962.



Image 9: "Out of quarantine" *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 22, 1951.

<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18200737>.

Migrants and the threat of Foot and Mouth disease.

During these years immigration policy of the Commonwealth Government focused on attracting migrants from Europe to provide the workforce for expanding manufacturing and primary industries. But migrants also posed a threat to the health of both the animal and possibly the human population, as Foot and Mouth disease had broken out in epidemic proportions in Europe. In 1952, for the first time, this disease had been introduced to Canada, possibly from the virus being carried on the clothes or belongings of an incoming European migrant. Because of this acute threat Dr Metcalfe warned that Foot and Mouth disease was raging in Holland, Belgium, France, Western Germany and Italy. In light of the Commonwealth Government's scheme for mass migration of rural workers from Holland and Italy, who were to be placed on Australian farms, it was imperative that action be taken to ensure that the disease was not brought in by migrants, as it had been in Canada.⁶² This disease was highly contagious and if it entered Australia there were grave doubts that it could ever be eradicated, and the consequences would be disastrous for Australian livestock.

Procedures to prevent the introduction of the infection were suggested:

- firstly, the segregation of affected migrants for 90 days from their embarkation, during which time the virus would die

⁶² NAA, Memorandum to THE Hayes, Secretary, Department of Immigration from AJ Metcalfe, Director General of Health, 7.3.1952 (NAA: A445, 200/4/5 Part 1).

or

- to disinfect all rural migrants and their effects on arrival

This second measure, while effective, would pose implementation difficulties and it was clear that if it was taken the Department of Health would need to know the names of the migrants before they arrived so that they could be conveyed to a quarantine station to have their clothes and effects, including large luggage disinfected. In any implementation of this second policy Dr Metcalfe was keen that no measure taken by his department would impede the government's immigration policy. He reiterated that for these procedures to be implemented successfully there would need to be on-going co-operation between the officers of Department of Health and the Department of Immigration.⁶³

These procedures, along with the inclusion of Foot and Mouth as a quarantinable disease under the *Quarantine Act* in 1952, and moves to suspend migrant transportation by air and impose sea travel were put into effect and aimed at reducing, to some extent, the live virus being transferred from Europe to Australian farms. These important factors, in addition to the disinfection procedures put in place in Australian quarantine stations, played a significant part in preventing entry of the disease.⁶⁴ Entries in the Register of Aircraft and Vessels demonstrate that disinfection of clothing, effects and luggage of arriving rural migrants, as well as the bathing and disinfection of the migrants themselves, in the early years of this policy, played an important part in the carrying out of quarantine activities at North Head, during the 1950s and 1960s at the height of the threat from foot and mouth disease. These early procedures focused on those rural migrants who were to take up employment on farms and after November 1952, the procedure changed to disinfection of only clothes and luggage of all those entering the port of Sydney from areas where the disease was present.

⁶³ NAA, *Memorandum to THE Hayes from AJ Metcalfe, 7.3.1952.*

⁶⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from THE Hayes to A J Metcalfe 7.3.1952.*



Image 10: Migrants Freed After Fumigation. *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 6, 1952 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article-18263642>

Disinfection of the clothes and luggage of 30 migrant passenger ships occurred during 1952 - 1953. However, this practice dropped dramatically, and after 1955 there are no ships disinfected which were designated as “migrant”. However, as the following table demonstrates in each of the years between 1952 and 1966 disinfection of clothes and baggage from incoming ships took place in significant numbers, as Foot and Mouth disease continued to pose a threat.⁶⁵

Year	Total	Year	Total
1952	2770	1959	1405
1953	1397	1960	1081
1954	1249	1961	860
1955	3631	1962	1469
1956	5010	1963	951
1957	2586	1964	1356
1958	728	1965	717
		1966	576

Table 5: Yearly totals, disinfection of clothes and luggage 1952-1966

The threat the introduction of Foot and Mouth disease appears to have been at its highest risks in 1955 and 1956 when the number of disinfections was extremely high, with significant quantities of clothing and luggage with an average of just over 1000

⁶⁵ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

pieces per year 1949 -1964. Overall, the amount of clothing and luggage disinfected demonstrates that these activities had a significant protective impact against the introduction of a disease which could have had widespread and long lasting economic consequences. It also engaged the staff in continuous heavy physical labour, often on Sundays, usually requiring the efforts of up to six Quarantine Assistants to carry out the disinfection process.

Year	Number	Year	Number
1956	6	1965	25
1957	9	1966	23
1958	4	1967	24
1959	9	1968	1
1960	15	1969	6
1961	16	1970	4
1962	17	1971	9
1963	12	1972	4
1964	16	1973	1
		1974	1
		Total	203

Table 6: Ships fumigated at other venues 1956 – 1974

In the same period, 1954 – 1974, Quarantine Assistants were required to disinfect ships at anchor within the harbour, often at commercial wharves such as No 4 Darling Harbour, No 20 Pyrmont, No 1 Balmain and No 10 Walsh Bay. The reasons for these particular disinfections were not recorded, but could also have been for Foot and Mouth Disease, and plague. The regular quarantine staff who carried out fumigation of ships were quartered at Berry's Bay depot, and it seems that the staff at North Head played an ancillary role when those at Berry's Bay were otherwise occupied, or when disinfection needed to be carried out on a public holiday or weekend. These holiday disinfections accounted for approximately 20% of the total number, and seems to have become necessary after the five day working week was instituted. There is little information in the Weekly Diaries with relation to these incidents of fumigation of ships other than the date, the time taken to complete the task and the names of the Quarantine Assistants who carried out the work, usually two, of whom one was the

Foreman Mechanic, signifying the particular skills needed to carry out the operation. The figures in the table above illustrate the fluctuating nature of these incidents of ship fumigation, with the greatest number occurring between 1960 and 1967, a period when the luggage from ships was still being disinfected for Foot and Mouth at North Head.⁶⁶

Disinfection of restricted imports by fumigation

The previous disinfection activities had been related to human quarantine activities but, other disinfection activities had been carried out at the station from 1923 and continued until its closure in 1984. This disinfection work provided for the steam sterilisation/or chemical treatment of restricted imports such as cotton, wool, hair bristles and fibres. In 1936 Dr Metcalfe estimated that “ the disinfection work means that more than half the staff are fully occupied for 21 weeks of a year, i.e. this is equivalent to more than two men for a full year”. The importance of this work was reiterated in memorandum from Dr Wiburd in 1948 and in answer to questions in parliament from Hon. W C Wentworth in 1957, both of which refer to the large quantities dealt with and the regular and important nature of this activity on the station.⁶⁷

The volume of goods which passed through the disinfectors at the station was on-going, but also reflected the changing nature of imported goods and the effects of immigration policies, as well as improved economic conditions in the 1950s and 1960s. Foley mentions the work that this provided for the station staff in a period when the maritime quarantine of vessels was declining.⁶⁸ However, this work continued to be carried out at the station over a long period of time and contributed to the safe entry of products necessary for burgeoning agricultural and industrial production. Detailed entries in the Weekly Diaries and the Log Books between 1923 and 1965 demonstrate both the volume and the ongoing nature of this work of disinfection. Goods including bristles and feathers continued to be received and disinfected over an extended period between 1965 -1983. However, the entries in the later decades did not include

⁶⁶ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 62 - 68.

⁶⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director General of Health*, 25.9.1936 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1); NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd SCMO to Director General of Health*, 13.9.1948 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Questions from the Hon. WC Wentworth MP*, November 1957 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 123.

numerical or specific detail which had been provided by the earlier Foreman Assistants and Mechanics, and so make it difficult to assess the volume of activity.⁶⁹

These imported goods were of a diverse nature linked to the development of manufacturing industry and an increasing population linked to immigration policies in the post war period. There were benefits for the quarantine division as charges for the disinfection of these goods brought in revenue. In 1936 Dr Metcalfe was keen to show that “the disinfection of imported cotton and bristles is now a weekly duty”, and the figures for disinfection carried out at North Head were important as “with a general increases in business and manufacture it is unlikely that there will be any falling off in disinfection work.” Much the same attitude to the disinfection of “large quantities of animal hair and wool from India” motivated Dr Wiburd to support the expense of more coal being used to fire the disinfectors in 1949 and in 1957, there was still the necessity for steam sterilisation of “many hundreds of bales of wool, hair and fibres”.⁷⁰ This disinfection work was continuous but the type of restricted imports changed.

The following table demonstrates the range and the changing nature of the goods disinfected in the period from September 1923 to 1965. For the following period specific numerical information is not available as it was no longer entered into the Weekly diaries or log books.⁷¹

⁶⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51-69. NAA, *Quarantine Station Log Books*, Vols. 5-29.

⁷⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director General of Health*, 25/9/1936; NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd SCMO to Director General of Health*, 13/9/1948; NAA, *Questions from the Hon. WC Wentworth MP*, November 1957.

⁷¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51 – 65. There are also discrepancies between the totals arrived at from the information in the daily entries, summaries at the end of years and official figures quoted in memoranda to officials in the Department of Health. Some of these discrepancies could be put down to a difference of definition with relation to terms used to describe the goods disinfected such as “ bristles”, “animal hair” , “goat hair” as well as “live plants” and “orchids” which seem to have become interchangeable by various assistants who entered the data.

	Cotton	Bristles & feather s	Wool	Goat hair	Animal hair	Millet	Carpet	Bedding	Plants and seeds
1920s	✓					✓			
1930s	✓	✓		✓		✓		✓	
1940s		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
1950s		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
1960s		✓		✓	✓				✓
1970s		✓					✓		
1980- 1983		✓					✓		

Table 7: Examples of disinfection of restricted imported goods by decade.

While these were necessary imports for growing agricultural and industrial enterprises they required disinfection as they carried insects and other pests which could be harmful to animals and agriculture. Imported raw cotton, which carried boil worm and white fly, was a danger to emerging cotton production in Australia, and it constituted the chief commodity disinfected during the twenties and thirties.⁷² A smattering of other goods needed disinfection, including millet and a load of Irish soil. There is no explanation in the diaries as to the reason for the cessation of disinfection of raw cotton after the 1930s, even though the Australian cotton growing industry was not performing well, as growers received poor financial returns for their work. Imported bristles, goat hair and animal hair took cotton's place as the principal restricted imports which needed disinfection in the 1940s and 1970s.⁷³ The extension of industries within the country is clear as the main importers and consignees of these products included the National Brush Co., Jackson & Spring, Swift & Co. Addis Pty. Ltd, and Holt Pty. Ltd., adding to the clear evidence in this period of the diversification of manufacturing industries particularly after World War 11.

⁷² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51 – 65. The majority of imports were from India and the USA, with lesser amounts from Japan, the French islands of New Caledonia and South Africa. The names of the consignees reflect clothing firms which became household names e.g. Bonds Industries, Felt & Textiles of Australia and Bradford Mills along with Robert Bryce & Co. and Nettleton & Co.

⁷³ *Central Queensland Herald* (Rockhampton, Qld), February, 1938.

The disinfection of imported bales of wool occurred in the post- World War 11 period with over 10 000 bales being handled between 1946 and 1956, and much smaller numbers in the years to 1960. This wool came mainly from India and Pakistan, with smaller amounts from South Africa, New Guinea and China. In the period immediately after the war, 1945-46, the increase in wool imports could have been for the emerging carpet industries with the main importer being J Vicars & Co.

The effect of immigration policies and the wider food tastes of migrants, as well as the need for the provision of a wider variety of fodder for cattle, could account for the numbers of bags of grain seeds which were disinfected in the period 1951-1963. These included lima and cannellini beans, rice, clover, grass and poppy seeds. However, the amount of imported beans was the most significant factor in this period particularly in the early in the 1960s. During much the same period in the 1950s the disinfection of imported live plants signalled the burgeoning of the plant nursery industry, with orchids imported by nurseries and prominent individuals.⁷⁴ This importation of live plants signalled post-war prosperity along with a growing population.⁷⁵

Those quarantined 1962 – 1983.

While the Foreman Assistant and staff were engaged in these disinfection activities as well as maintaining the station, they were also attending to the constant flow of incoming patients and contacts who had to wait out their time in quarantine, usually because their vaccination status was invalid. The majority of these were quarantined in the period 1962-1983. In each of these years there were significant numbers present on the station, however as they were not all present at the same time, and were not ill. For those whose smallpox vaccination had not been done at least 3 weeks before arrival in Australia a quarantine period of 14 days was mandated.⁷⁶ As the principal officers of the quarantine service and the Director-General of Health were constantly pointing out, an undetected case of smallpox could cause widespread disease among a mostly unvaccinated population. In previous studies the significance of the protective nature of these quarantines, especially in connection to protection from smallpox and yellow

⁷⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51 – 69. Importers were York Meredith for Dos Pueblos Company from Dee Why, Mr Justice Meyers, Judge of Supreme Court of NSW, his wife Mrs Dorothy Meyers and Sir Harry Moxham, a noted Dental Surgeon in Sydney.

⁷⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51- 69. NAA, *Quarantine Station Log Books*, Vols. 5-29.

⁷⁶ NAA, *Evidence of Anthony James Carroll Medical Practitioner 30.7.1973* (NAA: A1658, 872/1/1)

fever, has been underrated, as the number of people held during each decade is substantial.⁷⁷

1960s	1970s	1980s to September 1983
536	738	313

Table 8: Number of patients quarantined by decade 1962 – 1983⁷⁸

The following examples give an indication of the type of patient who was admitted during this latter period. During 1962 a Goanese seaman Rosario Pereria from SS “Orion” was admitted and discharged after 18 days. Two passengers were admitted from SS “Strathmore”. One, Mrs Greta Mallet, a cholera suspect, died from other causes and was buried at the Northern Suburbs Crematorium. Her husband expressed his gratitude for the care and thoughtfulness both he and his wife had received from medical and station staff.⁷⁹ A more significant quarantine occurred when a seaman who was admitted in December 1966. The station went into full active quarantine with the gates locked, until the next day when he was released. The uniforms, overalls and ship’s hospital and crews quarters were disinfected before the ship was released. The majority of those quarantined for invalid vaccination status in the following years were airline passengers, mostly from Qantas, BOAC, Pan Am and Air France who were held for 14 days after successful vaccination.

Patient details for this period have been lost, as the files which contained this information were destroyed by the NAA in 2001, and so a direct record of their experiences of quarantine has been lost. However from the small amount of detail which was recorded in the register it is possible to fill in, however sketchily, some details.

These patients were often families accompanied by young children.⁸⁰ Some were already suffering the stress of migrating to a foreign land and this was possibly increased by admittance to quarantine. A mother who had been admitted with her three children,

⁷⁷ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 127. Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 56.

⁷⁸ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

⁷⁹ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

⁸⁰ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2. Mr & Mrs McKay and child of Five Dock were admitted 3.5.1967 and were released after 14 days. Mr & Mrs Legrice and two children were admitted on 1.1.1968 and also released after 14 days. Mr & Mrs Krecichwost who were admitted with their four children Stanislaus aged 16, John 14, Henrick 13 and Eileen 11. When released after 14 days this family travelled to Bonegilla Migrant Centre. Mrs Hilda Becker with her children Klaus 5, Christine 3, and Mathias 2 were admitted 2.6.1966.

was sent to Manly Women's Hospital the next day and miscarried on the following day. After she returned to the station the family travelled to Villawood Migrant Hostel. This phenomena of families with young children admitted to quarantine continued during the period till 1974 when the requirements for smallpox vaccinations changed.

There were however many instances when only the mother and child or children were admitted, with an average of 23 groups between 1966 and 1970. Often the children were of a very young age, being designated as babies, and this could possibly be one of the reasons for lack of compliance with vaccination. Sometimes a child was accompanied by a father alone, but this was unusual. There were instances of unaccompanied babies and children being quarantined, as happened in 1974 when two babies, one 18 months and the other of age unknown, were admitted and cared for by nursing sisters.

Seven babies, 4 girls and 3 boys, were born to their quarantined mothers between 1967 and 1972. One was born at the station in the care of doctors and nurses, and mother and baby were transferred to Manly District Hospital. Other women were transferred to Manly District Hospital to give birth. Of the 240 identifiable minors who were quarantined 16 were unaccompanied, and these were cared for and supervised by the nursing sisters. There must have been times when both staff and nursing staff encountered problems as a result of adventurous children of an age when they were independent enough to take risks, exploring their new environment, which because of its potentially dangerous terrain, and a whole fortnight to enjoy it, provided many opportunities for potential danger.⁸¹

The number of people arriving from overseas without valid vaccination certificates did not diminish, and in his report of 1972 the Director-General of Health pointed out that the airlines were responsible for costs if a passenger was detained in quarantine. Those in management positions in airlines were reminded that they must ensure that passengers had valid certificates before boarding the aircraft in overseas countries.⁸²

The emphasis on valid smallpox certificates was confirmed with the outbreak of a cholera infection among passengers aboard a Qantas aircraft from London with 374 passengers on board.⁸³ This created the worst cholera episode of the century in

⁸¹ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

⁸² *Annual Report of Director-General of Health*, 1972, 57.

⁸³ *Annual Report of Director-General of Health, Parliamentary Papers*, Vol. 5 (Canberra: 1973), 19-20.

Australia. The flight had called at Amsterdam, Bahrain, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. Two days after arrival two passengers were admitted to the station and then to Prince Henry Hospital. The next day another passenger from the station was also admitted to Prince Henry Hospital. In all 33 passengers were admitted to the station of whom 13 were diagnosed as positive for cholera. They were all economy class passengers who had been served contaminated food taken aboard the aircraft at Bahrain, and was the first recorded event of cholera being introduced to another country through the food served on an aircraft. The quarantined passengers were treated and released when they posed no threat to the community. Yet, this event served as an example of possible infection entering the country as a result of the speed of air travel, and highlighted the need for unceasing vigilance by quarantine officers.

As a result Australian legislation was tightened to require international certificates of vaccination against cholera for all travellers from overseas to Australia. At the same time outbreaks of smallpox in London and Japan, countries from which there were direct air routes, underlined the need for continued vigilance in instituting the precautions against the importation of diseases. However, as a result of increased smallpox vaccination world-wide, in 1974, a Department of Health communication to all airline companies, set out exemptions from smallpox vaccination requirements on medical grounds, if air travellers were arriving from countries where smallpox was not endemic or where smallpox had not been recorded in the previous 12 months. This exemption was to be granted only with an accompanying medical certificate. It covered conditions such as pregnant women and infants under the age of 12 months.⁸⁴ As a result of these exemptions, together with airlines' adherence to vaccination requirements, there was a marked decrease in the number of persons quarantined at the station for invalid smallpox vaccination certificates. The majority of following quarantines were for invalid vaccination status with relation to yellow fever, which accounted for more than 95% of those admitted 1975-1983.⁸⁵

It would appear that most of those detained for lack of valid vaccination certificates underwent their period of quarantine with some good grace. But while staff and medical officers must have encountered difficulties, there were some whose stay

⁸⁴ NAA, WM Quinn, A/Director of Health, New South Wales Division, *Letter: To all Airline Companies, Exemption from Smallpox Vaccination Requirements on Medical Grounds*, (NAA: C528).

⁸⁵ NAA, *Quarantine Register of Aircraft and Vessels*, Vol. 2.

created extraordinary difficulties. As in the wider community there were those who suffered from mental health diseases, so among those who were quarantined, it was no surprise that some also have suffered from a mental health disease. In an environment in which mental illness was seen in a less enlightened way than it is by many today, their incarceration at North Head could have been the spark to bring on violent episodes, as is evident in the following examples.

Some difficult individual experiences of quarantine

A female Australian citizen was deported from the USA to Australia in October 1962. Her sister had refused to accept any responsibility for her on arrival, and wished her to be hospitalised, as she was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia. A psychological examination carried out in the USA Mental Hospital described her as suspicious, hostile and uncooperative, reclusive, disinterested and exhibiting ideas of persecution and hostility. Her previous employment was in the New York office of Australian Associated Press, and she blamed the Communist Party for the loss of her job and her detention in hospital. She was transferred to North Head on her arrival, but, in light of the medical diagnosis, she was transported to the Admission Centre Rozelle for observation and treatment.⁸⁶

The staff at North Head had little trouble with this patient, but another young woman, who was detained in quarantine in 1973, was to be the cause of ongoing difficulties during her stay. On admittance she acted normally and had given no indication of the behaviour which was to follow. She was 26 years old and three months pregnant. She had seemed quite pleased with her surrounding and interacted cordially with the two nurses allocated to look after her. The day after being admitted, seemingly not content with surroundings, or accepting of quarantine, she disappeared from the station. Located at her Balmain address by Commonwealth Police she returned to the station, again disappeared, to return of her own accord three hours later. Her actions were seen to be in breach of Quarantine Regulation 55, and a request was made for legal proceedings to be started against her.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Department of External Affairs to Director-General of Health*, 16.10.1962 (NAA: A1658, 872/1/1).

⁸⁷ Commonwealth Statutory Rules 1901 – 1956, Vol. IV, *Quarantine (General) Regulations* (Sydney: Butterworth & Comp. (Australia) Ltd, 1958), 4521. Regulation 55 states that, “a person who is at a quarantine station for the purpose of performing quarantine and a person who is at a quarantine station while another person is at the station for that purpose shall not go outside the

She became depressed after receiving telephone calls from a male and her mother, escaped and was arrested, but resisted violently, attacking the policeman who was guarding her at the station. This behaviour necessitated her being moved to the S1 cottage, which was nearer to the administration centre to be more closely supervised. But, there was no improvement. Her behaviour became more violent. She hurled crockery at the nursing sisters and smashed louvers in an outside window with a floor mop, then escaped again and caused a disturbance, as she played “hide and seek” with the constables who were attempting to return her to her room. She made another attempt at escape later that night, ending the chase by offering to make a cup of tea for the police constable and the nurses. Later, after medical and psychological examinations, a doctor’s report indicated that she was quite sane and not a suicide risk.

After another escape attempt the next morning an explanation of her behaviour was demanded by the Foreman Assistant. This elicited more violence and an attack on a policeman whom she kicked and scratched. Dr Bull, the Director of Health, made the decision to move her to the Immigration Detention Centre “lock up” in A20. She again reacted violently, threatened her escort, complained about the lack of privacy afforded her, and hid in the toilet resisting all attempts by the nurses to coax her out. Later she emerged, gave no more trouble, and was moved out of A20 the next day. Following this she was discharged when her period of quarantine was up. The Commonwealth Police proceeded with assault charges against her, but the case was dismissed, as her lawyer argued a technicality, in that the words used to send her to quarantine, were unlawful.

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A more serious situation occurred with the arrival back in the country in 1969 of a Finnish migrant who had arrived as an assisted migrant almost 10 years before. He had a legal permit to enter after holidaying in Finland for seven months. His address was given as Ingham, North Queensland, but he was a resident of South Australia. On arrival at Mascot Airport from London in August 1969, he refused to comply with quarantine regulations by providing evidence of vaccination, reacted violently, and had to be subdued by Customs Officers, and a Commonwealth Police Officer. As a result he was conveyed to North Head handcuffed, and placed under a police guard until he

boundary of the station without the permission, in writing, of the officer in charge of the station. Penalty: One hundred pounds.

⁸⁸ NAA, *Director NSW Dr R Bull to the Deputy Crown Solicitor Commonwealth Solicitor’s Office, Sydney 2.7.1973* (NAA: SP1874, All Box 2 (B1179017)).

consented to be vaccinated, or the period of 14 days had expired. The police guards were vaccinated and rostered on in shifts, together with quarantine staff assigned to assist. Next morning as the police shift was changing he had a series of violent outbreaks, attacking quarantine staff several times, and escaping from the cottage in which he was being held. Manly Police were informed and arrived to help. Hemmed in near a cottage in the quarantine area, the escapee hurled stones at his pursuers and struck one of the constables behind the left ear, causing substantial bruising. In time, he was successfully surrounded, subdued, handcuffed and returned to his cottage.

In light of the number and violence of the attacks, Drs Bull and Quinn from the Department of Health arrived to examine him. He was scheduled under the Mental Health Act 1958, and transferred to Rozelle Psychiatric Hospital under Commonwealth Police guard. An examination of his possessions showed that he had over \$6000 in two Commonwealth Bank accounts, a place of residence at "Long Pocket, via Ingham" and a Queensland Driver's licence all of which pointed to an uneventful period of residence since migrating in 1959. However he had a conviction for disorderly behaviour and carrying an offensive weapon, for which he served 14 days at Mt Gambier South Australia in June 1966. There was no record of a mental disorder in Queensland. On transfer to Wolston Park Hospital he was diagnosed as a paranoid schizophrenic, and his illness was kept under control in hospital, but could recur in other environments. In April 1971 he was certified as fit to appear in court for an earlier charge of a knife attack on a taxi driver and a bystander at Townsville, Queensland. He did not appear at court and could not be located in 1972, as it was finally discovered in 1974 that he had been deported in September 1971.⁸⁹

A completely different case occurred during 1968 with relation to the wife of a 23 year old Greek migrant who was employed as a kitchen by NSW Railways at Central Station. He had entered the station grounds and was stopped by two Assistants and escorted to the Foreman Assistant's cottage at the Main Gate. There he was found to be carrying a parcel containing one apple, six kidneys, a punnet of strawberries, two small cakes and a packet of envelopes. The parcel and its contents were for his wife who was to be there for 14 days for vaccination. He was bringing her some Greek food, as she did not like the food she was receiving. His entry to the quarantine area illegally resulted from his

⁸⁹ NAA, *Hihnala, Eero Johannes (Finnish, born 1937)*, (NAA: J25, 1969/6276). This is the only incidence of anyone being handcuffed.

inability to obtain a permit to see his wife as his request had been refused. The parcel was confiscated, and he was told it should have been left at the house at the Main Gate, even though an earlier attempt to do this had been unsuccessful. He was then escorted to the Main Gate, and shown the signs there, and asked if he could read them. Pointing to the sign written in Greek he said it meant Zone Quarantine and that you must not go through. There was no interpreter available, either from the Health Department or the Immigration Detention Centre, and after a conversation with the Foreman Assistant, the young man said he was sorry and that it would not happen again.

Even though he had been stopped before he made any contact with the passengers in quarantine, he was to be charged with trespass and entering without permission. At the Phillip St Court he represented himself, as fees for an interpreter were not permitted, and he could not afford one. He was convicted of a breach of quarantine through trespass, fined \$20 and with court costs of \$2. Almost a year later a warrant was issued for default of this payment with a penalty of eleven days hard labour.⁹⁰ While seemingly a trivial breach, this case highlights not only the problems migrants experienced in quarantine, and the isolation and confusion they must have felt, but also the continued vigilance which the staff had to exercise in order to maintain the integrity of the quarantine area.

Conclusion

From 1921 -1984, under the institutional direction of the Department of Health, the quarantine station at North Head continued to carry out protective quarantine activities. This chapter has approached this time period by exploring quarantine activity over two broad periods 1921 – 1951 and 1951 – 1984. Exploration of the earlier period was undertaken to demonstrate that active quarantines, even though in numerical decline, provided protection against the entrance of seaborne diseases. A numerical analysis of these quarantines provides evidence of the diseases which initiated the quarantines and demonstrated that the greatest threat came from smallpox. While quarantines for chicken pox, a quarantinable disease, were also significant it was the closeness of its symptoms to smallpox which generated extreme caution during early admission to quarantine.

⁹⁰ NAA, *Department of Health Quarantine Station Manly, NSW Trespass Section 76(1) (a) Quarantine Act, Offender Ciarlis Giannopoulos (Greek) born 16.1.1945* (NAA, SP1874 All Box 2 (B1179017)).

A discussion of the reasons for the decline in the number of active quarantine periods at North Head widened the focus from the establishment of new stations after federation to include the actions of shipping companies and Asian health authorities with relation to vaccination, and the effects of the depression and war on the downturn in numbers of ships and passengers quarantined. The functioning of the station, the duties of medical personnel and staff as well as the difficulties which could arise during periods of active quarantine were highlighted by two cases studies of quarantines of RMS "Aorangi". During these quarantines the attitude of passengers to periods of quarantine revealed not only examples of class distinctions, but also prevalent racial attitudes.

Technological advances particularly with relation to air travel had strong influences on quarantine activities in the latter period 1951 - 1983, as a new era of active quarantine evolved. Significant threats from smallpox and cholera required concerted quarantine activity to ensure their containment, along with threats from typhus, plague and yellow fever. The effects of national immigration policies introduced the threat of foot and mouth disease being introduced on the clothing and footwear of European immigrants and economic change brought about threats to agriculture through infective agents present in goods designated as restricted imports. The need to counter these threats required the station to include the performance disinfection activities as part of their regular activities.

As a place of human quarantine the numbers and individuality of those quarantined has been overlooked in official studies of the station. Yet, the quarantines were significant as the entrance to the country of any one of those quarantined for invalid vaccination status, if infected, could have caused disastrous consequences. The inclusion of vignettes on some of the more difficult passengers highlights some of the stresses quarantine placed on staff and those quarantined. Throughout the whole of the life of the station in the twentieth century the areas of work, including areas other than periods of active quarantine, provided the backbone of the functioning and availability of the station to carry out its role in controlling the entry of disease to Australia. This area of work will be addressed in Section 2 as the daily paths of the workforce are explored.

Section 2: A working station

Chapter 4: The rhythm of daily preparedness 1912 – 1984

The preceding section of this thesis discussed the important institutional and pivotally protective public health role of the Quarantine Station at North Head between 1900 and 1984. As a place of quarantine its activities ranged from two pandemics, an epidemic, the disinfection of imported and migrants' goods as well as periods of active quarantine for the ill and passengers whose vaccination status was invalid. These processes, while fulfilling the purpose of providing protection against imported diseases, also reflected the changing circumstances in which the station and the nation operated during the twentieth century. As instances of maritime quarantine decreased, air travel, government immigration policies and increased economic activity impacted on station work practices initiating new areas of protective practice and adapting existing procedures to meet the changing nature of quarantine activity throughout the period 1912 -1984. In this way the station workplace contributed to the public health of the wider community under the strict guidelines of the *Quarantine Act* and *Quarantine Regulations*, while adapting its processes and procedures to changing conditions

This section of the thesis continues the approach taken so far in defining the Quarantine Station at North Head as something more than a physical area and a set of buildings dedicated to the isolationist and protective practices of quarantine. As this and the following chapter will show it was also a workplace, a product of human activity, the result of a rhythm of daily work which was often repetitive and mundane but which defined and constantly identified the place as a quarantine station.

The functioning of the station as a workplace has largely been ignored in studies of the station itself, as well as in recent conservation documents and labour studies of work and workplaces.¹ Research in the Australian context has been firmly fixed on the site, the built environment, as well as those specific instances of active quarantines which acquired notoriety through mismanagement and/or the poor treatment of those quarantined.

¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*; Cornwall and McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*; NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station Conservation Management Plan, Chapter 4, 2000*.

In much the same manner studies of other Australian stations make only passing reference to the working life of stations, usually genealogical data relating to senior officers. But there is little attention given to the general day-to-day workplaces.² This is also true of studies of overseas stations where quarantine workplace activities are only alluded to in passing. Yet the daily patterns of work at this station reveal examples of work practices which were both specialised and ordinary and defined the workplace which was North Head Quarantine Station.³

Because of the limited nature of the evidence available in the extant sources an exploration of the station at North Head as a workplace cannot be carried out in the context of the traditional labour history areas of trade unionism, trade union leaders and industrial disputation or in the more recent broader area of work and working class culture. However, studies focusing on community or locality which have provided an avenue for the development of a wider understanding of regional and small workforces through significant local case studies are useful for a study of the station, as a workplace.⁴ These local studies have engendered the development of a sense of place through highlighting discernible connections between the external environment and workers and their workplaces.⁵

² Major JH Welsh, *Hell to Health* (Sorrento, Vic: Nepean Historical Society, 1969), 612 – 66; Kathy Duncombe, *Bruny Island's Quarantine Station. In Peace and War* (Huntingfield, Tasmania: New Print Ltd, 2004), 81 – 84; Linda Honey, *Quarantine Stations at Torrens Island and Point Nepean: A Comparison Study* (MA Thesis, Flinders University South Australia, 2006); Gail Dodd, *The hidden community: Woodman Point Quarantine Station* (B Soc Sc (Hons) Thesis, Curtin University Western Australia, 2006);

³ Howard Markel, "A Gate to the City: the Baltimore Quarantine Station 1918 – 1919," *Public Health Reports* .110, no. 2 (1995): 218 – 219; Gareth Hoskins, "A place to remember: scaling the walls of Angel Island Immigration Station" *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004): 685 – 700; Robert Barde and Gustavo J Bobonis, "Detention at Angel Island: First Empirical Evidence," *Social Science History* 30 (2006): 103 – 136; Chester P Brown, "Review of a Session's Quarantine Station Work," *The Canadian Medical Association Journal* . 66 (1956): 853 – 854; Thomas W Dukes, "Grosse-Île": An overview of the island's past role in human and animal quarantine in Canada," *Canadian Veterinary History Journal* 42 (2001): 643 – 647; Bill Trent, "Gross- Île: Island of the dead," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 131 (1984): 960 – 968; Gary Thompson, Grosse Île: the Isle of Sorrows recalls the plague years," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 143, no. 1 (1990): 56.

⁴ Greg Patmore, "Working Lives in Regional Australia: Labour History and Local History," *Labour History* 78 (2000): 2 – 4; Kerr, "Current Research Interest in Australian Labour History," *Labour History* 87 (2004): 248 – 250; Faue, "Community, Class and Comparison," *Labour History* 78 (2000): 155 – 159; Warwick Eagher, "A City to Struggle in: Wagga Wagga and Labour 1940 – 1975," *Labour History* 78 (2000): 151; Braydon Ellem and John Shields, "Making a 'Union Town': Class, Gender and Consumption in Inter-war Broken Hill," *Labour History* 78 (2000): 136; Jim Hagan and Henry Lee, eds., *A History of Work and community in Wollongong* (Sydney: Halstead Press in association with the University of Wollongong, 2001).

⁵ Patmore, "Working Lives in Regional Australia." 2.

One example of such a study which is instructive for my project is that by Margaret Rodwell of a group of workers on a New England pastoral station during the second half of the nineteenth century. Her work explores the contribution of a numerically small group of workers made up of male bosses, workers and their families as well as indigenous and imported Chinese employees. Her retrieval of the “very positive” contribution of this “hidden” workforce demonstrates the insights which can be gained from inquiry into small groups of unacknowledged working class lives, and highlights the important contributions this group of workers made to the economic success of the station and to the living standards of their families. Importantly, Rodwell also retrieves some of the identities of individuals, their endeavours and the difficulties they encountered, and so personalises this workforce.⁶ In contrast to Raphael Samuel’s belief that local histories were “repetitive and inert”, Rodwell’s work does not present “an aerial photograph” in which people “appear comparatively indistinct” but explores social relationships and activities and a sense of place.⁷ This study resonates strongly with the story of the even smaller workforce at North Head.

Also useful for an appreciation of the station as a workplace is the work of Allan Pred. As I have emphasised thus far Pred’s work is particularly important to the approach taken in this thesis. His humanist theory of place as “historically contingent process” is central. Also important in examining the everyday life of the station as a workplace is his framework for understanding a place as a product of human activity. Two of his three historical foci are relevant:

- dominant institutional projects – the place specific impact they have on the daily path and life paths of participants, their imprint on the landscape and the power relations out of which they come and to which they contribute and,
- sense of place – some of the underlying elements in a specific place over a given period of time.

These foci are particularly useful in highlighting the specialised and often mundane work patterns which underpinned the working life of the station in the twentieth century.⁸

Cresswell also stresses the importance of exploring everyday activities in aiding the

⁶ Margaret Rodwell, “Figures in the Landscape: the Experiences of the Least Visible Workers on a New England Pastoral Station, 1850 – 1900,” *Labour History* 193 (2012): 17 – 38.

⁷ Lucy Taska, “Like a Bicycle, Forever Teetering Between Individualism and Collectivism: Considering Community in Relation to Labour History,” *Labour History* 78 (2000): 15 – 16.

⁸ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 292.

development of a sense of place and engendering a fuller understanding of the functioning of a place as unique.⁹ The ordinariness of the daily work patterns at the station provides a contrast to the fear the place generated in some of those quarantined there, particularly during the pandemics/epidemics and periods of active quarantine, an atmosphere which is revitalised today during contemporary tourist ghost tours. It also represents a counter-point to the “big” stories and meta-narratives of quarantine, isolation, immigration, exclusion, class and race which have dominated historical interpretations of the site to date.¹⁰

This chapter identifies and locates the station workplace and work practices in quarantine history through discussion of the impact of continuity and change on quarantine practices in the twentieth century. The essential processes and procedures of work and the administrative changes which were put in place are described in relation to the role of this large and important station operating under Commonwealth control after 1912. The rhythm of work is examined with relation to the four categories identified as the essential institutional elements of a working quarantine station determined firstly by Dr Elkington in 1919 and updated by Dr Bevington in 1959:

- care for persons quarantined (active quarantine)
- disinfection procedures,
- maintenance of the area,
- operation of the plant.¹¹

These four categories could not, and did not, function independently and their interrelatedness is demonstrated throughout the working life of the station in the twentieth century.

The challenges of meeting the demands of these four categories were achieved through adaptive change resulting from institutional directives and changing national and international directives relating to active quarantine, social and economic changes, public health measures and work practices at the station. As has been demonstrated in

⁹ Tim Cresswell, *Place a short introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 142.

¹⁰ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 279. Pred argues for a conceptualisation of place as a constantly becoming human product as well as a set of features visible upon the landscape. The notion of place which is never ‘finished’ but always ‘becoming’. Place is what takes place ceaselessly, what contributes to history in a specific context, through the creation and utilization of a physical setting.

¹¹ Elkington. “Management of Quarantine Stations,” 171 – 225; NAA, *WM Bevington, A/Director NSW to Director – General of Health July, 1959*, (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1).

Chapters 2 and 3 the care of those quarantined, often in changing circumstances, was constant throughout the century. The addition of the disinfection of restricted imported goods in the 1920s to the already functioning practices in periods of active quarantine is highlighted as an important element in protective quarantine activity throughout the century. This activity added another layer of work to that of disinfection which was a necessary part of active quarantine, with both elements becoming constant throughout the working life of the station from 1923 on. The description of day-to-day tasks of maintenance and operation of the plant were vital in underpinning the functioning of the station and keeping it in a state of constant preparedness for active quarantine. The short episode related to the filming of “The Overlanders” is included to show the importance of propaganda in time of war and another and lighter side to work at the station.

The essential nature of these four categories of work in providing continuing protective measures during the post- World War 11 years is related to the ways challenges brought about by air transport were addressed. An analysis of the significant number of the active quarantine periods instituted for air passengers with invalid vaccination status challenges the accepted opinion of this period, that it was one of almost complete decline. Disinfection duties during the foot and mouth epidemic are analysed and discussed to demonstrate the role of quarantine procedures in protecting against the entrance of the disease and the heightened degree of work expected from the staff. Yet the success of a world-wide policy to eradicate smallpox through vaccination resulted in a decrease in the numbers of admissions at North Head and a concomitant decrease in the number of staff, increasing the level of duties for each of those who remained. Finally, the cost of maintaining the functioning of the station and the construction of an infectious diseases hospital in Melbourne are related to the reasons for the closure of the station in 1984.

A comment on the sources.

It is possible to discuss and analyse the role and nature of work at North Head because of the survival of most of the Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence and Mechanic’s Log Books which recorded the daily allocation of work duties. They contain empirical evidence of the daily work patterns and the adaptive change of work practices and the workforce throughout the twentieth century. However, it is important to note that the purpose of these documents, as official records, was to record the daily duties carried

out by staff and to note other occurrences such as the arrival of a ship in quarantine. While achieving their aim these work diaries fail to provide explanations of activities or narrative to flesh out the human side of these work duties. However, there is some evidence relevant to traditional areas such as hours of work and wages. This was a very small permanent live-in workforce which responded to the category/categories of quarantine activity which were necessary at any given time, whether during active quarantine with the provision of medical services and accommodation or maintenance of the built and natural environment, operation of plant, and educational activities for visiting groups involved in the provision of public health.¹² The isolation of the place and its workforce seems to have extended to the staff, as there is very little contact with the wider group of permanent quarantine staff who were part of the much larger Commonwealth Public Service to which they belonged.

Commonwealth Government in charge, a tighter working regime.

With administration by the Commonwealth Government becoming functional in 1912 the station became part of the Department of Trade and Customs and, from 1921 on, it was administered by the Department of Health. Quarantine procedures were carried out under the *Quarantine Act* and *Quarantine Regulations* which mandated directions for procedures on a national scale to ensure a consistency and level of practice. Interestingly, the national quarantine practices were not substantially different from those at North Head under the direction of the NSW Board of Health at the turn of the century.¹³ These regulations encompassed work activity during active quarantine and the disinfection of goods and the upkeep of the station was linked closely to the necessity of having everything in good working order for the successful carrying out of an event of active quarantine. The mechanical equipment and the built environment needed to operate effectively to provide for mandated quarantine procedures, care for the sick, bathing passengers, disinfecting their effects, as well as housing those quarantined in acceptable accommodation. Importance was placed on having adequate services to provide for both the sick and those quarantined on the healthy ground. That there was constant effort to fulfil these duties is supported by the fact that there is no evidence of official condemnation of the standard of work at North Head. That this was not the case in all stations becomes evident in an official memorandum to the Caretaker

¹² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69. NAA, *North head quarantine station log books*, Vols. 4 – 29.

¹³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 42.

of Point Nepean which deplored the state of repair and cleanliness of the buildings with assistants shirking and carrying out their duties in a desultory manner.¹⁴

A new Superintendent and new building works.

With Commonwealth control functioning from 1912, Paul Edmund Getting was made Station Superintendent, Dr Reid Chief Quarantine Officer (CQO(G) in NSW, and Dr Norris Director of Quarantine. Daily duties were carried out under the supervision of Mr Getting and a new format for recording of these duties provided a tighter structure. Regular maintenance duties were enabled with attention to the boats, the installation of garbage destructor on the healthy ground, and improvements to facilities for quarantined passengers. Beds were painted, windows cleaned and hat and coat hooks installed. There were continued periods of active quarantine involving preparation, active quarantine duties and the clean-up following quarantine. Temporary staff were hired including laundresses and assistants' family members in times of heavy activity.

This regular pattern of work was carried on as alterations were made to the wharf area and contractors and their workmen began the demolition of old buildings and the construction of the New Block which included a reception area for passengers and crews, a disinfecting block with two new disinfectors and two bathing blocks for passengers undergoing landing procedures. The workmen were vaccinated and lived on the station during the week and staff bathed them and disinfected their clothes before they left on Friday to return on Sunday.¹⁵ Construction activities were not the sole preserve of the workmen from the Department of Home Affairs, as when time was available Assistants Brown and Paris were engaged in building the tennis court in the recreation area.

Change and progress occurred with work on the wharf and new buildings on the Flat. Staff provided the labour to pull down the old baths and the observation block with workmen constructing the replacements: new isolation and observation blocks to house 30 cases of possible infectious disease, and a new dining and kitchen block for 3rd class passengers. Electric light was installed for use during active quarantine, and a cable tramway system, the funicular railway, was built to connect the jetty to the store rooms and provide a means to deliver passengers' luggage to the ridge above. A cottage was

¹⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from the Director of Quarantine to the Caretaker, Point Nepean, 9.1.1913* (NAA: A1928, 882/7).

¹⁵ NAA, *Quarantine Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 43 – 44.

built for the Deputy Superintendent, as during this period Mr Getting had a home in Manly, and only resided on the station during periods of active quarantine. The horses were housed in new stables and the gate keeper, at this time Edward Erickson, was housed in a new cottage built at the main gate leading to Manly.¹⁶ Commonwealth control also brought about improvement to the built environment through construction on the Flat of a Store and a Cyanide plant for disinfection. An extension to the hospital replaced an old cottage, and a recreation ground was developed below the Cabin area. All these improvements made the station a more comfortable place for those quarantined to see out their stay.¹⁷

More permanent change occurred in 1921 with the quarantine service becoming part of the new Department of Health under Dr Cumpston as Director-General of Health and Director of Quarantine. He had always seen quarantine as playing a significant role in the prevention of the entrance of disease to the nation.¹⁸ During this period changes were made to the administration and functioning of the station. A resident Medical Officer was to be in charge of the station and Superintendent Getting transferred permanently to North Head where he oversaw the work of a staff of 12 officers of whom 6 were returned soldiers.¹⁹

¹⁶ NAA, *Quarantine Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45 – 49; Foley, *In Quarantine*, 102.

¹⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 50. This construction activity took place 1912 – 1917.

¹⁸ NAA, *Health Department: Director of Health and transfer of staff from Trade and Customs* (NAA: 1928, 433/11/B).

¹⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51 – 52. Billingham was second-in-charge as Foreman Assistant, Ashton held the newly appointed position of Foreman Mechanic, Christie was engine driver, and Gooderson Coxswain. There were 8 Assistants of whom only Willsher had the higher rating of Assistant Grade 2, Division IV, the other 7 were Assistants Grade 1, Division IV. It is also interesting to note that 6 off the staff, excluding Ashton, were new Commonwealth employees and all 6 were returned soldiers who had commenced work at North Head in 1920. NAA, *Memorandum from the Secretary to the Prime Minister to Director-General of Health*, 22 August 1930, (NAA: A1658, 1121/1/13). This hiring of these ex-servicemen is important evidence of the policy of the Commonwealth Government of hiring ex- servicemen into permanent positions during the inter-war period. These were mostly young men between the ages of 19 and 25 years who had little work experience and lacked skills. An extension of this policy in 1930 was clearly to attempt to help ex-servicemen through the depression and appeared to be an initiative of the Trade Union movement as it provided for preference being given firstly to ex-servicemen, returned sailors and soldiers with satisfactory records of service and secondly members of a Trade Union.

The importance of care of those quarantined.

It is clear from the structure of both Dr Elkington's and Dr Bevington's categorisation of essential work and management of a quarantine station that the procedures dealing with the care of those quarantined were of vital importance to the operation of any quarantine station. Therefore the work patterns and duties for this process to be carried out successfully were spelled out in great detail.²⁰ Work duties relating to the care of those quarantined at North Head were constantly recorded in the Weekly Diaries and Mechanic's Logs, while some of the problems which could arise during periods of active quarantine are demonstrated by reference to the case studies for quarantines of the RMS "Aorangi" which were discussed in Chapter 3.

From the evidence in the work dairies at North Head it is clear that for any period of active quarantine to be successful effective preparatory and on-going work procedures were necessary. Preparatory information relating to the arrival of a vessel, the nature of the illness aboard and the numbers of patients and passengers to be accommodated needed to be received before duties could be allocated to staff members. The Weekly Diaries provide a multitude of examples of these activities. In particular the duties of the Foreman Mechanic and the Boiler Attendant in ensuring that steam was raised on the boilers and that all necessary machinery was in working order were a constant necessity. These preparations were paramount if patients and passengers were to be accommodated and disinfection duties carried out.²¹

Once a ship arrived it was boarded by doctors and the Superintendent or Foreman Assistant to examine the patients, passengers and crew and to verify vaccination status. Information with relation to the numbers of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class or steerage passengers and crew was a vital element if the landing process was to proceed without problems. The importance of this knowledge and co-operation between the ship's company, the officers on the ship and the station was demonstrated during the quarantine of RTeMS "Aorangi" in 1930. With relation to that quarantine failure to provide correct information on the number of passengers, poor communication between the ship and the Foreman Assistant, the landing of 1st class passengers without sufficient warning as

²⁰ Elkington, "Management of Quarantine Stations," 173 – 194.

²¹ NAA. *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, See examples in Vols. 42, 51, 52, 53, 58. Entries such as 27-28.5.1923 – Engine and boiler rooms cleaned, prepared boiler No. 63 for steam. St John lit fire under boiler to generate steam. 24-25.3.1927 Disinfectors cleaned and oiled, check lights and generator, notice boards erected re- closing of station, bell fitted at Gate Keepers cottage.

well as inadequate food preparation and the landing of passengers late in the day created problems which had to be addressed, at head office and station levels. The majority of these problems could have been avoided if ship's officers had adhered to the set procedure for communication and landing.²²

There were procedures in place to attempt to avoid these difficulties. In particular quarantine policy included directives to ensure that passengers, especially families with children were catered for. Supplies for light meals needed to be available especially to women and young children as they came ashore and were held for inspection at the waiting area. Inventories of all cooking equipment were checked and lists of necessary supplies sent to the ship's company as well as checks made on supplies held in stores at the station.²³ Temporary hands were hired and bedding linen, blankets and pillows distributed to accommodation areas. The hospital, isolation and observation areas were readied to receive patients and the launch or Quarantine Tender were made ready to provide daily supplies. Staff were allocated patrol duty to ensure that those quarantined remained within the quarantine area. All of these preparatory duties were evident in the work diary entries over a wide period of time and were especially frequent during the years when there were a significant number of active quarantines.²⁴ This level of preparedness, especially a well-cooked and presented first meal, was seen to do much in mitigating the fears and uncertainties of the passengers.²⁵

In general passengers were admitted and processed according to accommodation lists drawn up by both staff and the ship's stewards. To ensure a free flow of passengers from the ship to their quarters each batch of passengers needed to be of a size which allowed them to be processed before the next batch arrived. Once the new bathing blocks had been erected at North Head passengers underwent preliminary disinfection before proceeding to their accommodation.²⁶ This procedure required staff to oversee the bathing process by escorting passengers, ensuring the bathing process followed procedure and exited by the correct door in the clean area and thence to their accommodation.²⁷ This bathing routine was also carried out for workmen who were

²² See Case studies Chapter 3.

²³ Elkington, "Management of Quarantine Stations," 177 – 180.

²⁴ See Appendix: *Vessels quarantined*

²⁵ Elkington, "Management of Quarantine Stations," 189.

²⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 102 – 103. The two bathing blocks were part of the construction activity instituted by the Commonwealth which took place 1912 – 1917.

²⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 52. Example: Quarantine of SS "City of Palermo".

exiting the station at the end of each week to ensure that they carried no infection with them to the general population.²⁸

In addition, luggage which passengers had access to during the voyage needed to be disinfected. This process required the baggage to be brought ashore, loaded on to the disinfector trucks by staff and then transferred to the disinfecting area for treatment. On completion it was transferred to the luggage rooms on the wharf where it would be available to passengers. Sometimes articles were damaged during disinfection and complaints had to be dealt with by the Superintendent or Foreman Assistant.



Image 11: Quarantine Station Disinfectors No.1 & 2, *Week-end notes Manly Q Station*
www.weekendnotes.com.au

Large quantities of laundry needing to be disinfected and then laundered was a necessary and constant duty during active quarantine. This soiled laundry from the ship, hospital and quantities of passengers' clothes required the raising of steam by the boiler operator and the mechanic all this linen needed to be laundered as soon as possible after disinfection.²⁹ In addition passengers and patients who were eligible for discharge needed to have their personal effects disinfected and then be given the opportunity to check them before undergoing the bathing process. Passengers being released were supervised as they boarded the launch or tender to proceed to Sydney.

The duties connected to periods of active quarantine had general application during each period of quarantine. However, when there were large numbers of passengers,

²⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 47. Example: Quarantine of SS "Runic".

²⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45, 63, 68 Examples: Quarantine of SS "Mataram", SS "Tahatien", SS "Neptune" and patients held for invalid vaccination status.

often with unreal expectations of release, problems and confrontations could occur. In the latter period of active quarantine for air travellers, the smaller groups minimised the levels of discontent.

Administrative changes and general maintenance of the station.

The retirement of Paul Getting as superintendent 1926 provided the opportunity for the Department of Health to institute important administrative changes to the day-to-day running and organisation of the station. A Medical Officer (MO) Dr Brent was stationed at North Head, where the work was to be carried out by the Foreman Assistant under the immediate instructions of the MO. Yet no action was taken to fill the vacant position of Foreman Assistant. If there were any reasons for this they do not appear in the correspondence, and the work of both positions was to be carried out by the Foreman Mechanic (Ashton) along with his other duties.³⁰

The problems which this new regime of administration caused were stated in a letter from Foreman Mechanic George Ashton in 1927,

“I find that I cannot honestly carry out both duties to the satisfaction of the Dept. as required by Quarantine Orders etc. I have carried on for the past few years, but the fact cannot be lost sight of, that Sections on the Administrative side of Foreman Assistant, and the duties of Foreman Mechanic have been neglected, in as much as that while performing the duties of one the other must necessarily be neglected.”
31

In his own defence he pointed out that in fulfilling the combined duties he was in a much more difficult position than former Superintendents, as they had had the support of four senior staff. Also the additional duties of the Foreman Assistant and Coxswain had fallen to him as these positions had been “struck out”. He suggested that the engine driver take on the duties of the engine and boiler rooms with auxiliary plant under his direction. His case was not advantaged by designating himself as the “Officer in Charge” in the final paragraph, as in a hand written comment on the bottom of the

³⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to The Director – General of Health, 13.7.1928* (NAA: A1929, 876/23). During the 1920s the staff consisted of a Superintendent (Getting), Foreman Assistant (Billingham), Foreman Mechanic Montgomery), Coxswain (Gooderson) Engine driver (Christie) 8 Assistants and at times 4 temporary staff. Total 13 permanent staff.

³¹ NAA, *Letter from GW Ashton, Foreman Mechanic to the Acting CQO(G) NSW, 7.12.27* (Canberra: NAA: A1928, 876/23).

letter, Dr Mitchell took umbrage at his use of the term as “pertaining solely to the Resident Medical Officer”³²

As a result of this letter from Ashton, a reorganisation of the work at the station was proposed. This included a Schedule of Duties of the Resident Medical Officer (RMO), the Foreman Mechanic, and duties of the Engine Driver Christie. The details contained in these schedules, except for those specifically related to the duties of the Medical Officer, shed an important light on the breadth of tasks which Ashton had been performing for almost 3 years, and the difficulties he must have faced in endeavouring to cover them all, particularly during times of active quarantine. Also, Dr Metcalfe was not in favour of the new arrangement with the RMO carrying out the duties of a Foreman Assistant as well. He believed the Medical Officers were appointed because of their special qualifications, and their full service needed to be available to the Division. He supported moving two Medical Officers to Watson’s Bay and the appointment of a Foreman Assistant at North Head, and on his recommendation Mr JJ Drew was appointed to North Head in 1928.

These schedules shed light on the work practices, in and out of active quarantine, of the senior staff at the station, as well as the duties of the RMO during times of active quarantine. As a working document the duties specified were all but unworkable, as the allocation of duties to the RMO were overwhelming, consisting of 25 separate sections and 14 extra responsibilities during active quarantine.³³ The duties of the Foreman Mechanic, in essence, spelled out the myriad of duties which Ashton and later Foreman Mechanics carried out.³⁴

The duties of Assistants were also reorganised. The changes were specifically to ensure that the buildings and equipment would be kept in the best possible condition and be ready for immediate use. To do this specific buildings and areas were allocated to individual members of staff, with a regular time each week allowed for attention to this mandatory work, which had to be carried out in addition to their other duties on the station. Each man was to be responsible for the cleanliness of the buildings in his charge.³⁵ These instructions with relation to the duties of the Quarantine Assistants

³² NAA, *Letter from GW Ashton, Foreman Mechanic to the Acting CQO(G) NSW, 7.12.27.*

³³ NAA, *Duties of Resident Medical Officer, Quarantine Station North Head* (NAA: A1928, 876/23).

³⁴ NAA, *Duties of Foreman Mechanic, Quarantine Station North Head* (NAA: A1928, 876/23).

³⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from Acting Chief Quarantine Officer (General) to Foreman Mechanic G Ashton, 16.12.1927* (NAA: A1928, 876/23). Example: Assistant McFarlane is allotted the disinfectant rooms, formalin chambers, bathrooms, waiting rooms, laundry, luggage rooms, changing block on wharf, boatshed and

were put in place immediately, and while there were changes in personnel in the following decades, the basic pattern laid down in these instructions remained in place for work activity on the station during periods other than active quarantine.³⁶

The pattern continued as it had done, but the entries in the diaries were more detailed with relation to the work undertaken by individual assistants, the visits by the doctors and the numbers of passengers and crew of ships quarantined. Also, after a long period of absence, a female staff member was hired to carry out some of the essential duties, but it seems that the working environment was not really inclusive of women. Added to this were the effect of the temporary nature of most of the positions they held.

Under State control of the station a permanent full-time Female Assistant attended to women passengers during active quarantine and in the times between. This position lapsed under Commonwealth control. In this period of reorganisation of work schedules a female candidate was interviewed, visited the station to familiarise herself with the workplace, but declined to accept the job offer. Another applicant, Mrs Bertha Schey, took up the position soon after, working mainly in the linen room, and during periods of active quarantine undertaking the necessary role of bathing the female passengers and contacts. When she resigned her position was filled by Mrs Annie Cotter.³⁷

On Mrs Cotter's resignation the position of Female Assistant was not filled, but women of staff families were judged able to carry out necessary duties in part-time positions. Mrs Erickson, wife of the gatekeeper, was allowed to perform part-time gate-keeping duties on specific Saturdays and Sundays, to relieve her husband. The only women to work in full-time positions between 1964 and 1983 did so as domestics, a time when male staff numbers were decreasing and women were deemed capable of performing domestic tasks.

wharf, and all buildings on the Flat except the engine room and boiler house. Specific areas were allotted with St John carrying out the duties of fireman, and Noonan relieving absent officers in rotation while on annual recreation leave.

³⁶ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols.52 - 53. e.g. for the week 5-9 March 1934 the following duties were recorded for Assistants Kelly and Croft: "Kelly, working on road, filling coal, cleaning 3rd Dining Room, disinfecting cotton, cleaning hospital, clean A1. Croft, chipping weeds, clean out water tables main road, clearing round kitchen near bath and wash house, disinfecting raw cotton. "

³⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 - 51. Mrs Schey appointed 15.1.1921. Mrs Annie Cotter took up duties January 1923.

Extension of work duties – Disinfection of restricted imports

In late 1923 with the benefits of having a Foreman Mechanic a trial run was made of the disinfection of 2 bales of American raw cotton. Officials oversaw the trial and deemed it successful.³⁸ The effects were seen in the following days as a total of 229 bales of raw cotton was disinfected. This was the beginning of what became an essential function of the station in which the disinfecting facilities (the two disinfectors/autoclaves) which were used as essential elements in human quarantine procedures, were also used to treat a variety of restricted imports such as wool, hairs and fibres. The continuity and effectiveness of this work contributed in a significant way to the protection of the community and its expanding economy in the following decades.³⁹

The disinfection of these restricted imports required constant and often heavy manual work, especially with relation to the disinfection of bales of raw cotton, wool and goat hair, as the weight and size of the bales meant that they required careful handling so that the risk of accidents was contained. Large quantities of cotton were disinfected between 1923 and 1935 with wool, and particularly large quantities of goat hair, handled during the 1940s and 1950s. Raw cotton arrived from a variety of countries and the size and weight of the bales determined the difficulty of manoeuvring them from the lighters at the wharf into the disinfecting trucks for disinfection. Once the procedure was completed in order to return the consignment the bales need to be re-loaded on to the lighter. Bales of raw cotton from the USA were usually about 500 lbs., and cotton linters weighted about 560 lbs. Bales from other countries were usually lighter with the majority weighing between 300 and 500 lbs. The size of the bales determined how many would fit into the disinfector, and this affected the cost. While size would have been an important issue for the assistants who were handling them, the cost of USA bales was higher than that of Japanese, even though they weighed much the same, as fewer fitted into the disinfector and so required a great number of charges. The following table demonstrates this clearly.⁴⁰

³⁸ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 50. It was run for one hour at a temperature of 150° F in the No 2 Disinfector. Dr Reid CQO(G), Mr Drew from Berry's Bay and Mr Butler over saw the procedure.

³⁹ NAA, *Questions from Mr WC Wentworth MP, November 1957* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁴⁰ NAA, *Fees and Charges* (NAA: A1928, 360/42). Linters were machines for stripping off short-staple cotton-fibre from cotton-seed after ginning.

Country of Origin	No of bales to each charge - disinfector
India	8
Japan	8
Egypt	6 – 8
South Africa	6 – 8
Papua	6 – 8
New Caledonia	4 – 6
USA	2 - 4

Table 9: Country of origin and number of bales of raw cotton disinfected at one operation ⁴¹

From the direct evidence as to the size of the bales of raw cotton, it is reasonable to expect that the bales of wool and goat hair would have been of similar size. The usual manner of delivery for raw cotton, wool and other goods requiring disinfection was by lighter or launch. With changes to transport and the availability of motor lorries this method of delivery became a more viable option, and almost completely replaced water transport after 1949. Yet delivery by motor vehicle was originally more costly, and was seen to be more damaging to the station roads which were not built for heavy vehicle traffic.

This mode of delivery caused greater difficulty for the staff as with those by lighter or launch bales could be lifted directly to the trucks to be transported to the disinfectors. In addition, the lighters' crew could aid loading/unloading, whereas with the motor lorries there was usually only one driver, and as a result quarantine staff were involved in significantly more handling of the cargo, particularly if a large consignment arrived late in the day. Assistants needed to cover and store the remaining bales stored on the wharf with tarpaulins to protect them from the weather. Steam had to be raised the next morning involving extra work for the boiler attendant and an extra cost to the consignee. ⁴²

This extension of activity happened at a time when periods of active maritime quarantine were still occurring, but at a lower rate, affected by the greater number of stations around the coast and increasing use of vaccination. Yet, it caused difficulties for

⁴¹ NAA, *Fees and Charges*.

⁴² NAA, *Fees and Charges*.

Dr Metcalfe. He noted the frequency of this work and its time-consuming nature pointing out that the routine work of keeping the station in a state of cleanliness and preparedness had increased but the number of staff had decreased. As a result necessary work could not be attended to while highly significant quantities needed to be handled and he therefore requested the employment of more staff.⁴³

Year	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
No of bales	561	410	643	43	393	3632	1131	2976	3017

Table 10: Number of bales of raw cotton disinfected 1928-1936⁴⁴

This request was rejected on the grounds that bales of raw cotton grown in the USA were to be exempted from fumigation, thus decreasing the amount of raw cotton needing disinfection.⁴⁵ Undeterred, he presented up to date figures for 1936 which showed that only a third of the 4412 bales disinfected during the year were from the USA, and the significance of the remaining total. His request for two new positions, unsurprisingly, was rejected on the grounds that there was no provision for such action in the estimates for the year.⁴⁶ However, this extension of work had an important effect as disinfection of bales filled the gap in instances of large maritime groups being quarantined, and became a highly significant part of daily work, with consignments arriving for disinfection every year 1937-1983.

Dr Metcalfe continued his endeavour to gain staff by detailing the time-consuming nature of disinfecting bales and the difficulties involved in the process. In particular, he pointed out that the number of cases of bales did not indicate the amount of work involved. Each case weighed about 112 lbs. (51 kg.) and consisted of hundreds of bundles of bales usually wrapped in paper. Each box had to be opened and the individual bundles of hair or bales unwrapped and placed separately on trays for

⁴³ NAA, Memorandum from Dr AJ Metcalfe to the Director-General of Health, 25.9.1936, (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1). The building programme had increased the number of buildings, and work to keep these in a state of readiness for passengers, as well as the maintenance of the recreation area, stores and the mechanical area needed constant attention.

⁴⁴ NAA, Memorandum from Dr AJ Metcalfe to the Director-General of Health, 25.9.1936.

⁴⁵ NAA, Memorandum from Dr AJ Metcalfe to the Director – General of Health, 25.9.1936.; NAA, Memorandum from the Director – General of Health to Dr AJ Metcalfe, 30.11.1936 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁴⁶ NAA, Memorandum from the Acting Director– General of Health to Dr AJ Metcalfe, 7.12.1936 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

disinfection. Afterwards the boxes had to be repacked. This was a slow and awkward job and he noted that complaints from consignees occurred very easily. But he foresaw that with the upward trend in demand from business and manufacture would continue.

⁴⁷ His judgement with relation to this section of the expanding economy was correct, with disinfection of goods, especially of bristles, continuing through to 1983.

Increasingly imported goods such as goat hair (in significant quantities), carpets, feathers, orchids ensured that this aspect of work at the station was a constant. ⁴⁸

Nevertheless the handling of these goods involved staff in dealing with quantities of heavy materials and dangerous chemicals. Disinfection of these goods depended on their individual properties. Cotton and wool were disinfected by steam, for which substantial amounts of coal were used in the boilers, creating a heavy manual task for the boiler attendant and his helper. Cyanide disinfection, a task which required staff to undertake training, was used mainly for carpets in the 1940s and 1950s, as well as for special disinfection of particular cases of bristles. With the advent of the importation of live plants, orchids and seeds, methyl bromide equipment was installed in Disinfector No 2, and again training in the use of this extremely dangerous chemical was mandatory, as was the skill required to carry out the procedures on items such as consignments of orchids and squirrel tails. ⁴⁹

At times, consignees made complaints about damage to their goods e.g. wool, bristles, seeds, plants, as a result of the disinfection process. This resulted in inspections by officials from the Department of Trade and Customs, Department of Import Procurement and Dr Metcalfe and officers from Plant Quarantine of the disinfection process. It was not only the goods which could be damaged. Staff were constantly in situations where accidents occurred. During the procedure of transporting bales to and from the disinfectors, as well as opening and re-casing bristles before and after disinfection, the assistants carrying out the work were injured. These types of accidents were particularly prevalent during 1950 - 1951 when as the figure below demonstrates there were significant amounts of goods disinfected.

⁴⁷ NAA, Memorandum from *Dr AJ Metcalfe to the Director – General of Health*, 25.9.1936.

⁴⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 69.

⁴⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 69. The washing of a consignment of orchids was overseen by an Assistant from Plant Quarantine, and a consignment of squirrel tails received special treatment with soda bi-carb and formalin. Dr Metcalfe had to be consulted with relation to the special disinfection procedures for a number of refugee hats, for which he prescribed the use of formalin.

Year	Wool (bales)	Bristles (boxes etc.)	Goat hair (bales)	Animal hair (bales)
1950	594	92	1539	349
1951	1208	124	1929	2673

Table 11: Numbers of restricted goods for disinfection 1950-1951 ⁵⁰

Assistants sustained injuries that required treatment at Manly District Hospital for injured fingers, hands, legs, and bruised backs incurred while manoeuvring bales and disinfecting trucks. Croft had his right hand injured loading bales of goat hair on to a disinfecting truck which ran over his hand and crushed two of his fingers. Roberts injured his right foot loading bales and other workers incurred head and arm injuries operating the moving crane on the wharf. ⁵¹

Maintenance duties - mundane and repetitive work.

Regular day-to-day duties featured during periods between quarantine and involved mundane manual work cleaning up and maintaining the built and natural environment at a suitable standard for active quarantine. The constant efforts of staff kept the station environment in readiness for quarantine they were necessary to ensure, as far as possible, that at North Head those in the healthy ground were catered for and that complaints and problems were minimised. Krista Maglen has outlined some of the problems of quarantines during the late nineteenth century when healthy detainees made complaints about the lack of provision for their needs, especially about inadequate or poorly maintained accommodation. ⁵²

It was also important that the maintenance work extended to the wharf which was the main venue for transport of people, goods and provisions. There were always areas which needed repairing, replacing or painting. Gates and fences, which were an important aspect of all areas, particularly those which helped to ensure the isolation of the sick from the healthy, needed constant attention. As well fences around individual staff houses were repaired and replaced when needed. These provided some protection against the rabbits which invaded vegetable gardens, and helped to establish a sense of

⁵⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 69.

⁵¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 59 – 60.

⁵² Maglen, "In This Miserable Spot Called Quarantine", 333.

individual family identity, a feature which linked these family groups to those in the suburbs, where fenced yards were standard.

Repairs were constantly required to maintain the plant. Boats were varnished and the boat shed received constant attention as boats were the main means of transport and communication in the period before World War 11. Windows were cleaned, painted and their sashes repaired. Verandahs, a feature of almost all the buildings, and one which provided protection and areas of relaxation for those detained, were a constant source of repair work as locks exterior and interior were oiled and checked. During the period when a Forewoman Assistant was part of the staff her duties included dusting, cleaning, sewing, laundry work, making and hanging new curtains, mending mosquito nets and pillows. These all fell into the category of expected female activity. In the years when no Female Assistant was hired, almost all of these tasks became part of the duty of the male assistants.

The horses "Emma" and "Captain" were an integral part of the functioning of the station, providing means of transport within the station area and to and from Manly for stores, transporting the children to school and ferrying staff, doctors and visitors. A staff member was always assigned to stable duty and the horses were well cared for. When necessary they were taken to the gate to be clipped or to have their shoes removed and replaced. When these horses died there was a great sense of loss among the staff, and it was difficult to find suitable replacements for them. Ultimately with the advent of motor transport, lorries and cars became an accepted means of transport. Some contact with the outside world occurred each fortnight as the launch was readied to proceed to Newington Asylum to pick up patients to ferry them to the depot at Woolloomooloo and return. On one occasion two nurses and 26 patients were picked up, brought to the station for a picnic, and then returned to Newington.⁵³

⁵³ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 33 – 43.



Image 12: Quarantine staff at boatshed early twentieth century. NAA: A1851, 1980/1808

Working in a rugged and difficult working environment.

In addition to their allocated duties the environmental problem of bush fires posed constant threats, particularly in the summer months when the exposed nature of the site and the dense scrub, which grew prolifically in the area of North Head, provided excellent fuel in bush fire season. To prepare and to protect against this threat Fire Drill on a regular basis was carried out, usually once a fortnight on a rotating basis, so that the staff were conversant with procedures in various areas of the station. In addition, a fire bell provided early warning, with fire hydrants and fire hoses regularly checked, cleaned and inspected by the Manly Fire Brigade. Once chemical fire extinguishers were installed the staff received instructions in their use, and these extinguishers were slotted in to the maintenance schedule. Fire buckets in all areas were routinely painted and the lettering on them renewed.

Scrub near buildings, fences and along roads and tracks was cut and burned to provide efficient fire breaks. This work was in compliance with orders from Dr Metcalfe and "limited to protecting buildings and fences." Scrub was also cut from the two cemetery

areas to keep these areas in good order, and to protect the headstones and markers from as much harm as possible.⁵⁴

Yet fires occurred and threatened the buildings on the station. One fire broke out behind Assistant Croft's cottage and moved to the area of scrub along the main road. It was contained and put out by the staff. Another occurred in the Roman Catholic College area and burnt very near to the boundary fence, but it was extinguished and there was no damage to the fence or Collins' Flat. Other fires which were not restricted to the quarantine area and a blaze in the area between the Gatekeeper's cottage and the road to North Head required the assistance of military personnel at the barracks and the Manly Fire Brigade.⁵⁵ A more destructive fire originated on the shore between Spring Cove and Store beach, and demonstrated the danger of fire to the predominately wooden buildings on the station. Sparks set fire to the roof of P9, a wooden building which contained eleven rooms and twenty-two beds. The roof of this building was made up of galvanised iron over shingles which caught fire. With the help of Manly Fire Brigade it was extinguished, but considerable damage was done to the roof and rafters. Staff were commended for their successful removal of all the equipment, and saving the building from complete destruction.⁵⁶ The Director of Works expressed the opinion that with the close proximity to other wooden buildings "in concentrating the fire and preventing its spread that a very good save was effected."⁵⁷

Other environmental problems presented themselves, particularly white ant and termite damage which affected most areas of the wooden buildings, including staff cottages, and caused constant damage to fences. In the early years the assistants used homemade preparations to try to counter the effects, but in later years professional firms performed regular inspections and carried out preventive measures.⁵⁸

Concerns for the natural environment of the station, particularly the results of burn-offs and erosion were often expressed. Advice was sought from *The Town Planning*

⁵⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from A J Metcalfe, CQO(G) to The Director-General of Health, 6.1.1931* (NAA: A1928, 876/3).

⁵⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 52-59.

⁵⁶ NAA, *Dr Murray, CQO(G) Sydney to The Director-General Dr Cumpston, 12.1.1933* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁵⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Works Director to Dr Murray CQO(G), 18.1.1933* (NAA: A1928, 876/1/ Section 1).

⁵⁸ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51- 60.

*Association of NSW, the Australian Forest League and the Director of the Botanical Gardens.*⁵⁹

During the late 1930s Dr Metcalfe supported the planting of mainly indigenous trees at the station to improve its environment and to help preserve it from erosion.⁶⁰ More plants were delivered the following years and engaged staff members in digging holes for gum trees planted along the Main Road and other areas. Garden beds and rockeries at the Main Gate and near the Power House on the Flat and laundry helped soften the areas. Christmas Bushes were planted at the front of the Administrative Block at A1. The care of the plants and the watering and weeding of garden beds became a recurring duty for many years, as did the necessity to trim the trees, particularly the coral trees whose wide canopy and their habit of dropping branches created problems for the electricity supply. Over time many of them had to be cut down and the stumps dug out.

⁶¹

Conservation, heritage and instruction.

In addition to care for the environment, the need for conservation of artefacts was recognised and involved staff in duties to protect some of the headstones from the old cemetery by moving them to storage. The rock carvings which had been made by crews and passengers in quarantine from the early nineteenth century on were cleaned and repainted at regular intervals and their historical importance was recognised in the 1920s when a writer and photographer from the *Sun* and *Telegraph* took photos of particular carvings. The Chinese characters on the rocks near the Luggage Room were chiselled out and tar painted, to increase their longevity and clarity.⁶² Conservation work with relation to these carvings continued through to the 1980s, but it appeared it was becoming a losing battle against the elements.

⁵⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, (Sydney), January 1, 1931. A letter to the editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald* about the effects of "burn offs" and bush fires which had "burned away the timber and scrub until little greenery ... remains on the headlands." The writer argued forcibly that Commonwealth tree experts would be able to handle the problem effectively "before the sand starts moving, something might be done to restore some of the vanished beauty of the headland.

⁶⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director- General of Health*, 7.9.1928 (NAA: A1928, 876/3). About 300 trees were delivered from the Botanical Gardens and planted. They consisted of wattles, tree ferns, coral trees, pine, silky oak, palms red bottle brush and others.

⁶¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 51– 60. Trees and plants arrived August 1928.

⁶² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 52, 60 – 61, 66.

There was also recognition of the important role which quarantine played in the maintenance of public health with bi-yearly visits from Professor Harvey Sutton and students from the University of Sydney Department of Public Health and Tropical Medicine, as well as yearly visits from Mr Palazzo and Technical College students. These groups attended lectured by the Foreman Assistant and/or the Foreman Mechanic about fumigation and disinfection techniques. In the late 1940s Drs Murray and Sherwin from the University of Sydney, School of Medicine, attended the station to survey the work being undertaken. In 1933 and 1935 Papuan medical students under the care of Dr WM Strong, Chief Medical Officer in Papua, were housed at the SIH while studying at Sydney University to become certified native medical assistants. As well as providing for the daily needs of the visitors and students, specific staff saw to the care of guinea pigs, rabbits and bandicoots which were an essential part of Commonwealth Serum Laboratories' research activities. They not only fed and built hutches for them, but constructed boxes to ensure that they safely survived their rail journey to the laboratories in Melbourne.⁶³

World War 11 - effects and change.

During the war years little changed with relation to the duties of the assistants, who dealt with periods of active quarantine, including the quarantine of the crew of the "Queen Mary" in 1941. However, the experience of war affected life at the station in ways which had not occurred during World War 1, when there was only passing reference to it in the daily diaries of the workforce. Duties were extended to providing escorts for officers from the Australian and American armed forces, and undertaking necessary preparation of living areas to be occupied by military units including use as a Military Convalescent Hospital in 1940, the occupation of the 1st class area by Army troops for Darwin in 1941, occupation of the SIH by 2nd Garrison Battalion from 1942 till the end of the war, while the 3rd class area housed army personnel in 1942.⁶⁴ This occupation by the Army affected the work pattern of the station, including plans to move the staff, as it was mooted that they would have little to do. This expected lack of work did not eventuate, but to ensure that quarantine stores were protected some were moved to Abbotsford Animal Quarantine Station, and Assistant Woodward transferred there to be in charge. Special duties were initiated with the arrival of evacuee children

⁶³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 53-54.

⁶⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 55-58.

from Great Britain in October 1940. They were housed in the 2nd class quarters (Lyne's Buildings) and the SIH until settled with families. In late 1942 accommodation had to be provided for 78 German Naval POWs and 48 Garrison Guards. As this group left, 89 Portuguese refugees from Timor were housed until moved to other accommodation.⁶⁵

As the war years came to an end the station was placed in a wholly different patriotic context. Permission had been given for the filming of the opening scenes from the film "The Overlanders" to take place at the station. North Head was to be used to re-construct the evacuation of Wyndham, as it was seen to be impracticable to take company and equipment to Wyndham for such a small sequence. Only the wharf, foreshores and building alongside the shore were used. A 500 ton naval vessel and crew HMAS "Innisfail" tied up at the wharf, and the roof of a building at the wharf carried a painted sign "Australian Meat Export Pty. Ltd." Cast members were transported daily to the station during the week of filming. This production had full backing from the Commonwealth Government, which, however, required recognition in the credits. The staff rubbed shoulders with the eminent director Harry Watt and the actors.⁶⁶

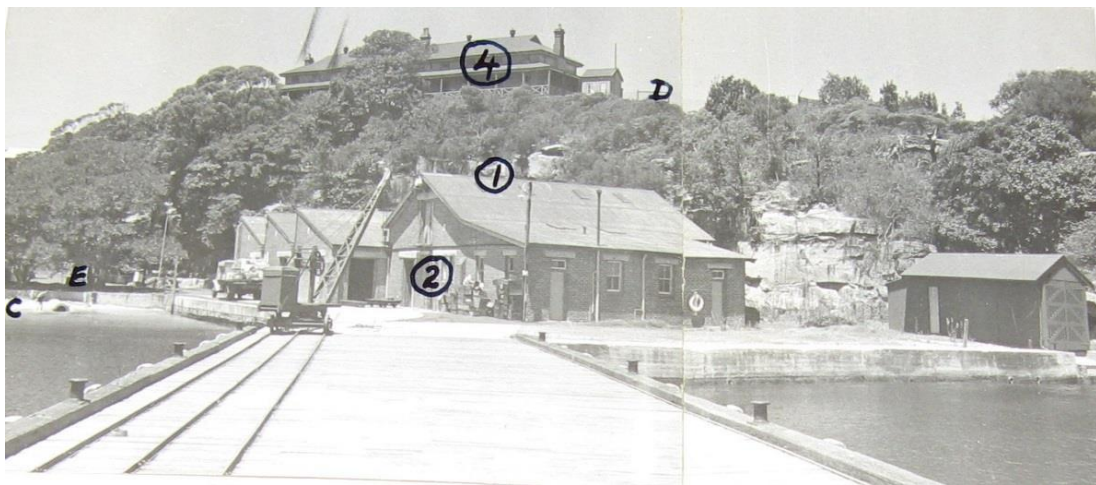


Image 13: Picture of the wharf and luggage store area marked out by film makers for "The Overlanders". NAA: A431, 1946

⁶⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 55-57; NAA, *Memorandum from Deputy Director of Health NSW to Director – General of Health*, 11.4.1950 (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1).

⁶⁶ NAA, *Letter from Harry Watt to Dr Cumpston*, 26.2.1945 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1, A432, 1964/147).

Integrated duties dictated by air travel, Immigration policies and a modernisation programme.

In the post-war period the decline in maritime quarantines encouraged the belief among the local public that the station was no longer necessary. This stance has also been adopted by historians' statements that periods of active quarantine no longer occurred, with the exception of a cholera outbreak aboard a Qantas jet and a suspected smallpox case aboard the "Sakaki Maru" in 1973. Periods of active quarantine were clearly designated as such in the Weekly Diaries and the Register of Admissions and Discharges. This evidence has been dismissed with such statements as:

"For long period the station was unused. In 1973 the number of passengers quarantined because they were not able to produce current vaccination certificates against smallpox, cholera or yellow fever was 122, with an additional 122 contacts, but by 1975 the number had decreased to 76 with 2 contacts." ⁶⁷

and, with relation to the staff and their duties:

"By then the staff at the station had been reduced to eight people... Their duties during the quarantine of the "Sakaki Maru" were described ... as patrolling boundaries, fumigation of the ship and her cargo of bristles, washing linen, and clean the buildings." ⁶⁸

In reality, duties such as those described above were a usual part of the daily working day of the station in the period 1951- 1983, as they had been in the preceding years, underpinning the daily preparedness which supported the operation of the station throughout the twentieth century. Department of Health officials constantly pointed out the continued threat of infectious disease such as smallpox, cholera, yellow fever and the instances of plague in other countries as the major diseases, which the increasing numbers of passengers on ships and aeroplanes which were arriving in Australia could introduce. Even though there were areas especially the USA, Canada and the Pacific from which travellers were exempt from smallpox vaccinations, concern remained as to the number of persons who arrived by air with invalid or no international certificates of vaccination. The only options for these people were to be vaccinated or

⁶⁷ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 127.

⁶⁸ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 127.

place themselves under quarantine surveillance, both options required time spent in quarantine at the station.⁶⁹

From 1951 on unvaccinated passengers were admitted to fulfil the designated period of quarantine. These periods were clearly recorded in the diaries and Admission Register as “In Quarantine” or “Active Quarantine” and required staff duties associated with the quarantine.⁷⁰ However, during this post-war years these periods of quarantine were not the exclusive work carried out, as duties involving other methods of defence against the introduction of diseases which were carried on at the same time, often involving staff in working longer days and frequent week-ends and public holidays. The arrival of ships and plane loads of migrants from Europe, along with regular tourist activity, during the European Foot and Mouth outbreak, required the disinfection of baggage and clothing, and initially the bathing of passengers who came from affected areas.

Once this threat had receded quarantine activity between 1966 and 1983 occurred almost exclusively with the holding of passengers whose vaccination status was invalid, and the need to constantly source stores to provide for their needs. However members of staff were also engaged in fumigating ships docked at wharves in the harbour. This fumigation work was carried out over a number of days in every year 1953 - 1974. Yet, on average, during this period the number of permanent staff dropped to nine. The heavy manual nature of work duties must have taken a toll on the staff especially during the station’s modernisation programme in the 1960s. This programme aimed to update the facilities at the station, so as to make them more comfortable for those detained, and involved the staff in heavy demolition duties, as a number of unserviceable and superfluous buildings were removed.⁷¹

Essential workplace activities 1951 – 1983.

That there was constant activity at the station in the period 1951-1984 is clearly evidenced from almost 2000 entries recorded in the Register of Admissions Vol. 2. In addition staff undertook the regular duties of disinfection of restricted goods, the operation of the plant and maintenance related to the upkeep of the station.

⁶⁹ *Annual Report of the Director – General of Health, 1969*, Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, Vol.4, 1969 (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1969), 81.

⁷⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 58-69; NAA, *Register of Admissions*, Vol. 2 (NAA: C525 Vol.2).

⁷¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 58-69.

Care for those quarantined continued to be an essential element of the function of the station. The importance of the extension of protection against disease was demonstrated with four separate group admissions which occurred during late January through to late March of 1951. All related to KLM and BOAC planes which had influenza and dysentery among those aboard. The care and quarantine of these passengers and crew required the oversight of the MO Dr Gard, included an inspection of facilities by a Qantas officer as well as the employment of two nursing sisters to care for the patients in Isolation and Observation areas, as well as two of the wives of staff to undertake the duties of cook and domestic.⁷²

Contrary to received belief, from the beginning of 1952 active quarantine duties were a regular part of daily station activity, and the following chart sets out the main activities with relation to quarantine activities for the four decades of the 1950s -1980s.⁷³

Areas of work	1952-1959	1960-1969	1970-1979	1980-1983
1. Persons bathed, clothes and baggage disinfected	402			
2. Clothes and baggage disinfected	3990			
3. Baggage disinfected	13 176	7959		
4. Patients "Pax" admitted and released	26	543	1274	314(Sept)
5. Persons accompanying	5	74	407	18
6. Ships	272	141	8	-
7. Aeroplanes	15	310	917	215
8. Days worked Saturday/Sunday/Public holidays	86	64	252	67

Table 12: Quarantine activity 1952-1983⁷⁴

The "bald" statistics above demonstrate a continuous but changing mode of activity over the four decades, and demonstrate the changing nature of travel as the use of ships for tourist and migrant activities declined and was replaced by air travel. However,

⁷² NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 60; NAA, *Register of Admissions* Vol. 2. The nurses were Sisters Murphy and Jones, and the staff wives were Mrs MacMahon and Mrs.Nutter.

⁷³ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 125 – 126. Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 55.

⁷⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 60-69. NAA, *Register of Admissions* Vol. 2.

a more meaningful understanding of these changes can only be arrived at by taking into account the external factors influencing these activities.

The activities of the 1950s and 60s were closely linked to the Foot and Mouth epidemic in Europe, at the time when the post war immigration programme was delivering large numbers of migrants to Australian ports. The actions taken to protect Australia from its incursion included the introduction of a policy to suspend air travel and to mandate migrant travel by ship, in an endeavour to gain enough time for the virus to perish. Also policy mandated that migrants, their baggage and clothing were to be disinfected before landing. In particular, those migrants who had been working in rural areas, or who had been working with live animals and who were to take up jobs in rural Australia, were to be escorted to a quarantine station and to be bathed and disinfected before re-joining the ship and landing.⁷⁵ That this procedure was being carried out is clearly evident from the above figures with 402 persons, baggage and clothing being disinfected between March and June 1952, and a concentration on the disinfection of clothing and baggage while the threat of Foot and Mouth continued through the 1960s.

This high level of disinfection activity is evident in the significant numbers (3990) of passenger clothing and luggage disinfected up to 1954 and the a total of over 13 thousand pieces of luggage disinfected in the 1950s, and over 7 thousand pieces of baggage were disinfected in the 1960s. This was hard manual work and often required at least 5 staff to complete the process. Examples in the following figure demonstrate the continuous activity of this work and the number of man hours necessary to carry out and complete the whole disinfection/fumigation process. These are random examples highlight particular instances of this activity, however there are approximately 320 entries with relation to this aspect of work during this period demonstrating its continuity and importance in protecting the community from instances of disease.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ NAA, Earle Page Minister of Health "Confidential" to Department of Health, Quarantine Foot and Mouth (NAA: A4940, C640); NAA, Hayes, Secretary Department of Immigration to the Secretary Department of External Affairs (External Communication Division), 11.3.1952 (NAA: A445, 200/4/5).

⁷⁶ NAA, Register of Admissions Vol. 2.

Date in	Date out	Time in	Time out	No of men x no of hours =	No of baggage
17.5.1955	17.5.1955	8.00am	11.30am	5 x 3 ½ hrs. = 16 ½ hrs.	87
5.6.1955 Sun	5.6.1955	8.0am	8.00pm	7 x 12 hrs. = 84 hrs.	520
10.7.1955	10.7.1955	9.00am	8.15 pm	7 x 5 ¾ hrs. = 40 ½ hrs.	500
2.6.1956	2.6.1956	9.00am	1.30pm	6 x 4 hrs. = 24hrs	166
16.6.1956	16.6.1956	9.00am	12.30pm	6 x 3 ½ hrs. = 21hrs	156
29.5.1957	29.5.1957	9.00am	3.00pm	8 x 6 hrs. = 48hrs	186
24.7.1959	24.7.1959	8.00am	12 noon	5 x 4 hrs. = 20hrs	113
11.7.1960	11.7.1960	7.30am	12 noon	6 x 4 ½ hrs. = 27hrs	195
7.2.1961	7.2.1961	9.30am	12 noon	4 x 2 ½ hrs. = 10 hrs.	49
14.6.1962	14.6.1962	10.20am	2.00pm	4 x 4 hrs. = 16hrs	158
15.5.1963	15.5.1963	9.15am	12 noon	5 x 2 ¾ hrs. = 13 ¾ hrs.	49
28.7.1964	28.7.1964	10.00am	11.40am	4 x 1 ¾ hrs. = 7 hrs.	151

Table 13: Examples of man hours worked with relation to disinfection of baggage 1955-1965 ⁷⁷

Some of the confusion over, or the inability to recognise the period after 1951 as one of active quarantine, has come about because of the essential difference between those detained in quarantine in this period, and those who had been detained in earlier times because they were suffering from a quarantinable disease, or were considered to be contacts. The majority of these patients, excluding the suspected female cholera patients from SS “Strathmore” in 1962 and the cholera patients from Qantas flight QF 736 in 1972, were not ill but had invalid vaccination status, and thus posed a recognised possible risk of spreading smallpox, cholera, typhus, or yellow fever, and under quarantine regulations were to be detained in quarantine for a specific number of days.

⁷⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 62 – 65; NAA, *North Head quarantine station log books*, Vols. 26 – 29.

With the lessening of the threat from Foot and Mouth, the majority of patients being admitted to the observation block were those who had invalid vaccination status for smallpox, although there were some whose cholera and typhoid status was also invalid. These patients were not ill and arrived singly or in small, often family groups. Many of those detained had young children or infants for whom, parents may have viewed vaccination to be unsafe, although in the late 1960s and early 1970s changes were made to policy and “infants under 12 months were exempt from Australian smallpox vaccination requirements for air travellers.”⁷⁸

With all patients under the supervision of nurses, the care of these younger children, as well as their older counterparts, must have required patience and skill on the part of the nurses, to keep them safe and entertained in a rugged and potentially dangerous environment. It would appear that Sisters Sullivan, McNeil, Carruthers and Goodwin were very good at providing this type of care, as they were often recorded as the nursing sisters for these minors, who, though mostly accompanied by a family member were sometimes in the complete care of the nurses, and at times the female domestic attendants at the station.⁷⁹

The numbers detained in each decade are quite significant, particularly the 1970s when air travel became more available and affordable, but were lessened by the advancements in medical procedures which resulted in the containment or eradication of smallpox and the protection through vaccination for typhus, cholera and yellow fever. However, dealing with these patients required constant duties on the part of the quarantine staff, including admitting and discharging them at all hours of the day and night, as well as ensuring that accommodation was constantly in a state of readiness. Staff numbers in this period were never greater than 9, dropping to 6 after 1977 and 5 in 1982. The patients of this period represented, almost exclusively, those who arrived from yellow fever areas and had invalid vaccination status.

One interesting effect was the necessity to hire female staff, other than the nurses, to oversee, and at times, provide companionship for female patients, who needed to be bathed and detained in quarantine. But there was no restoration of the position of female attendant, as these women, usually two at any time, fulfilled the role of

⁷⁸ *Annual Report of the Director – General of Health, 1970*, Vol. 4, 1970 (Melbourne: Commonwealth Parliamentary Papers, Vol. 4, 1970), 707.

⁷⁹ NAA, *Register of Admissions* Vol. 2.

domestics carrying out many of the cleaning duties which had been the preserve of the Assistants. Many were displaced persons who had been resident in the migrant camps before taking up duties at the station. Mrs Connolly wife of Assistant Connolly was the only member of staff families who undertook this role for an extended period. Patients were housed in a smaller number of buildings than had been the norm during much earlier quarantines, mainly in those buildings which had been modernised and refurbished. S1 must have offered quite reasonable accommodation as it was the place where the Director-General stayed when in Sydney from Canberra.⁸⁰

Foreman Assistant Lavaring jokingly compared the accommodation at North Head with one of Sydney's most expensive hotels even though North Head did not offer modern luxury accommodation as most of the buildings dated back to 1912. His description pointed out the salient features, but also recognised the cost in monetary terms. There were no thick carpets, fancy fixtures or expensive furnishings. But the floors were "buffed to a shine and the windows and French doors admit a lot of natural light when the venetians are open." The rooms were made as comfortable as possible, with recognition of the fact that cleanliness and repeated disinfection were a prime concern. However it was the service which compared favourably with any five star hotel. Two fully-trained nursing sisters were assigned to each passenger or family group, and they went into quarantine with them. They assumed complete care, and ensured that isolation was maintained day and night. These nurses also performed household chores and prepared all meals for their charges. As stores were brought in each day those in quarantine could have, within reason, anything they liked at an average food bill of \$130 a fortnight for one person and \$190-200 for a family. The quarantine of these persons was an expensive exercise for the government, from which they made no profit. However the patients could enjoy the quiet and relaxation of their time in quarantine.⁸¹

With ever decreasing staff numbers wider duties needed to be undertaken once the Immigration Detention Centre (IDC) began operation in 1919, including the disinfection of linen and blankets used by the detainees. Staff were also allocated cleaning duties at A20 (IDC) which was sometimes left in a frightful state.⁸² They also had to deal with

⁸⁰ NAA, *Register of Admissions* Vol. 2. The most popular areas for family groups were those in the hospital precinct H3 – H7, and single passengers or couples were accommodation P10 – 13, as well as previous staff cottages S1 and S2.

⁸¹ Herb Lavaring, "Quarantine: Counting the Costs" *Health. Journal of the Australian Department of Health* 25, no. 1 (1975), 31-34

⁸² See Appendix J: Quarantine staff cleaning duties at the IDC after discharge of detainees.

problems caused by visitors who often let their children run wild, or failed to comply with the rules and regulations of the station. These problems resulted in Foreman Assistant Lavaring being moved from the usual house occupied by the Foreman Assistant to the Gatehouse. It was imperative that someone in authority oversaw the coming and going of people to the station.⁸³ Rosters for Home Duty Officers were instituted by Divisional Office in 1974 which required 24 hour surveillance of the area and extra shifts needed to be worked after regular hours by a small number of the staff. This seemed to have a deleterious effect on this group of staff, as sick leave increased markedly.

Year	Number of staff	Total: sick leave - days
1979	6	34
1980	5	81
1981	5	115
1982	5	90
1983	5	145

Table 14: Sick leave days 1979 – 1983⁸⁴

Regular duties and the need constantly to provide supplies for the patients as well as the disinfection of restricted goods which occurred right through to August 1983, seemed to take up all the available time and the stress seems to have expressed itself in the increased number of accidents to staff while carrying out their duties.⁸⁵

Conclusion

The station entered the twentieth century better able to face the necessary duties and challenges its staff encountered as a result of the improvements which had been made to both the built environment and administration in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The rhythms of daily work which was carried out reflected its nature and role as a workplace throughout century. Yet, this is a neglected element of the station's history, possibly having been all but ignored because of the mundane and manual

⁸³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 68 -69. .⁸³ Once Lavaring retired in 1973, S7 the Gatekeepers' cottage was not occupied, and it needed to be checked twice a day by an Assistant.

⁸⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 69 – 71.

⁸⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 68 – 70.

nature of its everyday tasks. However, while there was a continuity of activities, change also occurred during the administrations of the NSW Board of Health and the Commonwealth Departments of Trade and Customs, and the Department of Health. Even with the effects of change from State to Commonwealth control, and periods of pandemics/epidemics, war and technical change the four categories of essential activity: care of those quarantined, the disinfection of goods, the maintenance of the built and natural environments and the operation of plant formed an inter-related and inter-connected basis for workplace activity. Besides carrying out active quarantine procedures mandated by the *Quarantine Regulations* there were times of difficulty and challenge not only from passenger groups but also in dealing with extreme situations of active quarantine.

The continuing role of providing protection against incoming diseases, was extended with the introduction of duties to disinfect restricted goods as well as carrying out the disinfection of passengers and their goods in times of active quarantine. This type of work became a constant for almost the whole of the century and played its part in the expanding national economy. Duties related to maintenance of the built and natural environment and the operation and maintenance of the plant contributed to securing a state of constant preparedness which was necessary to instituting active quarantine at short notice.

The post-war period has been written off as a time of decline and inactivity. However, analysis of the significant number of admissions for active quarantine provides evidence of continued and constant vigilance exercised against the importation of infectious diseases, particularly through the quarantining of those with invalid vaccination status against smallpox, cholera and yellow fever. But, threats were also present and linked to the government's immigration policies through the arrival of migrants from areas in Europe where Foot and Mouth disease was present. These significant heavy and labour intensive work activities involving passengers, luggage and footwear. All underwent preventive disinfection procedures which kept this potentially extremely harmful disease out of the country.

The spread of vaccination world-wide, and the decline in the number of countries infected with smallpox brought about changes to the requirements for vaccination. This resulted in decreasing the number of those quarantined, and had run-on effects with relation to the number of permanent staff at the station which dropped to five, during

the latter years. Stresses on the staff from the effects of extended duties became evident with sick leave increasing markedly. However, it was the cost of maintaining activity at the station and the provision of an infectious diseases hospital in Melbourne which brought work at the station to a standstill. The contributions of the station staff to this working station during the twentieth century will be addressed in Chapter 5.

Section 2: A Working Station

Chapter 5 - The “forgotten” or “hidden” workforce, 1912 – 1983

The previous chapter demonstrated that throughout the twentieth century a permanent staff, of varying numbers, was employed at the station to carry out quarantine activities and maintain the place in a state of ever-readiness for active quarantine. However, because of their lack of status, power and position, the contributions of these workers and their daily endeavours have been lost in studies by historians and conservation planners whose focus has been on the establishment, administration and growth of the station as well as the plight of those who were detained in quarantine.¹ Except for a few isolated references, this workforce and the role they played has been almost completely ignored.²

Yet, if there is to be a wider understanding of this station as a place, it is important to explore the working lives of these people, who have been portrayed narrowly as performers of basic, almost trivial tasks, and as persons who were attracted to a place of isolation and solitary work in the manner of lighthouse keepers.³ These men, and the few female assistants, were an extremely small proportion of the overall workforce which made up the quarantine service, and their lives and work during the twentieth century has been neglected, all but ignored.

The history of this place, particularly its social history, needs to be explored in wider terms than has previously been the case, as it represents a broader canvas for the study of the station and its workforce, particularly in terms of “localism”. This is achieved by exploring social aspects of this group of workers to reveal the relationship between these “forgotten” or “hidden” people and their everyday working lives and the significant role this local station played in the wider national context.

This chapter extends an explanation of the station’s role as a working station begun in Chapter 4 to include the lives of the resident workforce. This focus helps to enliven and humanise the history of the station, by broadening the existing picture which has mainly

¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*; Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 14 – 57, 58 – 82.

² Foley, *In Quarantine*, 113, 123, 127; NPWS, *SHNP North Head Quarantine Station Understanding the Place – Being in Quarantine*, (Sydney: NPWS, 1992), 86.

³ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 100.

depicted the work and roles of important individuals involved in quarantine administration.⁴ A wider picture allows for a better understanding of a sense of place through providing a window of explanation and interpretation of the history of the station as a place of life and work for ordinary workers.⁵

The workforce at North Head was extremely small yet it was the largest and longest-serving of any Australian quarantine station. Their working lives provide evidence of the human experience of their identity as quarantine assistants. The following discussion of their lives as workers at the station endeavours to retrieve something of these “forgotten” and “hidden” lives in the manner of Margaret Rodwell whose study on nineteenth century pastoral workers was mentioned in the introduction to the previous chapter. Like her, I aim to extend and broaden the sense of place and demonstrate how work patterns and a challenging work environment influenced social relationships in the workplace. A discussion of traditional areas of wages, hours of work and leave entitlements links the experience of these workers to the general working population, while some insights into the experiences of individual workers highlight specific elements of working culture at the station, particularly the ancillary role played by women. The evidence, while mostly impersonal and fragmentary, provides some insights into the working lives of a staff who contributed to the protection of the population from incoming disease and whose efforts have been largely unacknowledged.

The hierarchy of management.

As the previous chapter demonstrated, as a place of quarantine and of work this station was not a static place. Levels of change occurred both in its administration and its operation, as the rhythm of work and life was influenced by official policy, the changing nature of the activities and the work of staff who manned its operation throughout. Initially, its incorporation into a Commonwealth Department in 1912 placed its administration in that hierarchical structure under the leadership of Dr W Perrin Norris as Director of Quarantine with Dr Reid appointed as CQO(G) NSW and Superintendent PE Getting appointed to replace JF Vincent, to oversee the day-to-day running of the

⁴ . Greg Patmore, “Working Lives in Regional Australia,” 2; Tim Cresswell, *Place a short introduction*, 63 – 70.

⁵ Cresswell, *Place a short introduction*, 72. The theorist Massey sees at least three interconnected ways of thinking of place: (1) A close connection between place and a singular form of identity. (2) A desire to show how the place is authentically rooted in history. (3) A need for a clear sense of boundaries around a place separating it from the outside world.

station. With Dr Norris' resignation in 1912 Dr Cumpston took up the appointments of Director of Quarantine, and as Director-General of the Department of Health in 1921.⁶

For the workforce at North Head, the two most influential heads of the Department of Health were Dr Cumpston until his retirement in 1945 and Dr AJ Metcalfe who had held the position of CQO(G) NSW, until he was promoted to the position as Director- General in 1947. He held that position until retirement in 1960. Both Drs Cumpston and Metcalfe had personal experience of North Head as a functioning station. Dr Cumpston had developed a familiarity with the station during the smallpox and influenza epidemics and continued during his tenure as Director-General to oversee its functions making regular tours of inspection and residing there while in Sydney.

Dr Metcalfe's personal experience of the station and familiarity with staff, their duties and living conditions, had been acquired during his tenure as CQO(G) NSW, before his elevation to the position of Director- General. At times this was clear in his decisions relating to housing and work related problems which affected the staff at North Head. In dealing with these he demonstrated a personal understanding of the issues staff were dealing with.⁷ Later Director-Generals lacked this personal engagement and relationship with the operation of North Head, and the connection with the decision makers was through Head Office in Sydney and its Deputy Director of Quarantine.⁸

The structure of staff personnel.

After passing into Commonwealth control administration of the day-to-day organisation and running of the station was in the hands of PE Getting as Superintendent and its management was constantly overseen by the CQO(G) NSW or his representative. Following Superintendent Getting's retirement the title was changed to that of Foreman Assistant, a title which continued to designate the resident assistant in charge until the station's closure. But the overall responsibility for the station lay with the Officer-in-Charge, a doctor, who was appointed as Quarantine Officer.

⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 101-103.

⁷ Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, *List of Permanent Officers of the Commonwealth Public Service 30 June 1912, No 62* (Melbourne: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1912). See for example NAA: A1928, 876/23, George Ashton's letter in which he informed Dr Metcalfe of the difficulties he was encountering undertaking the work of both Foreman Mechanic and Foreman Assistant and NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2 Staff claims resulting from difficulties and expenses incurred during a period of active quarantine.

⁸ The title CQO(G) changed to that of Deputy Director in the post-war period.

Yet it was the position of Foreman Assistant, which was essential to the carrying out of day-to-day activities, order and organisation of the station with ultimate decisions made from above. However, the two Superintendents and seven Foreman Assistants, plus one Acting Foreman Assistant, who carried out this role between 1884 and 1983, have received only passing mention. These men often served for long periods overseeing demanding times of active quarantine while adapting to the changing demands brought about by extended quarantine activities, a developing economy, improvements to transport and the provision of temporary housing for non-quarantine purposes.

Unfortunately there is not sufficient documented evidence to develop substantial individual biographies of each of these men. However, by widening of the term “biography” as Pred has demonstrated, to incorporate a group, a biographical formation can be ascertained through “the links between individual life histories” and “macro-level social phenomena and social change” both at the station itself and at national level.⁹ This development of a group biography enlivened by information on specific individuals offers a way in which a wider understanding of this human side of the functioning of the station can be explored and developed.

Positions of authority and skill.

The day-to-day management of the station at North Head throughout the twentieth century was in the hands of the Superintendents and Foreman Assistants shown in the following table.

⁹ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 292. Pred identifies three empirical foci which underpin his theory of place as historically contingent process and aid in research. (1) institutional projects and the impact they had on daily paths, (2) the formation of biographies and (3) a sense of place.

Name	Title	Date of Appointment	Date term finished	Years served	Reason
Vincent JF	Superintendent	2.3.1884	25.3.1911	27	Retired
Getting PE	Superintendent	23.12.1911	22.5.1925	14	Retired
Moss HS	Foreman Assistant	30.10.1934	11.11.1942	8	Retired
Drew JJ	Foreman Assistant	10.9.1928	11.4.1934	6	Retired
Ashton G	Foreman Assistant	1920	12.5.1925	(5)	Foreman Mechanic (new position)
		12.5.1925	8.9.1928	(3)	Foreman Mechanic – both positions
		9.9.1928	5.3.1943		Foreman Mechanic
		6.3.1943	1.12.1954	12	Foreman Assistant Retired
Newton AG	Foreman Assistant	16.12.1954	17.3.1961	6	Retired
Clegg HCC	Foreman Assistant	17.8.1961	9.4.1962	8 months	Died in service
Poole RO	A/Foreman Assistant	25.6.1962	26.10.1962	4 months	Promoted to RO Darwin
Lavaring H	Foreman Assistant	22.2.1963	2.12.1975	12	Retired
Walker Roy	Foreman Assistant	1.3.1981	Closure - 1983	2	Station closed

Table 15: Superintendents/ Foreman Assistants Quarantine Station North Head 1898 – 1983 ¹⁰

¹⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69. NAA, *North Head Quarantine Station Log Books*, Vols. 4-29 (NAA: C527).

Each of these men who carried out the role of managing and maintaining the station during the twentieth century came to the position with a background in public health and/or the quarantine service. In particular Superintendent Getting, the first Commonwealth appointee, had wide experience having risen to the position of Sanitary Inspector in the NSW Department of Public Health, Sydney. This position had provided him with the requisite experience in administration, sanitary science and engineering relating to disinfection and fumigation, as well as a background in hospital arrangements and maritime sanitation seen as necessary for the position of Superintendent at the station. He was strongly supported in his appointment by Dr Reid, the chief administrative and executive officer for NSW, who considered him the best man for the job.¹¹ In the following years those who were appointed to the position had a variety of essential experiences and pertinent qualifications, often gained at the station at North Head as Foreman Mechanic as the following table demonstrates.

Name	Office	Date commenced	Date finished	Reason
Cornelius	Assistant Storekeeper	21.6.1883	28.8.1911	Retired
Williams HH	Foreman Assistant Grade 2	16.8.1911	28.8.1912	Suspended Suspected of smuggling. Reinstated and transferred to Western Australia.
Billingham F	Foreman Assistant Grade 2	28.6.1912 1913 confirmed	6.10.1921	Promoted F/Ass Newcastle
Ashton G	Foreman Mechanic	1920 (New office)	5.2.1943	Promoted F/Assistant
Newton AG	Foreman Mechanic	5.4.1943	16.12.1954	"
Clegg HCC	Foreman Mechanic	23.2.1956	20.3.1961	"
Walker Roy	Mechanic	18.8.1961	1.3.1981	"

Table 16: 2nd in charge North Head 1900 – 1983¹²

¹¹ NAA, Application for permanent employment Department of Trade and Customs, as Deputy Superintendent of Quarantine Sydney. Salary £360 to £400 pa – 27.9.1910. Commonwealth Public Service Act 1902 (NAA: A465, M7379).

¹² NAA, Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence, Vols. 30 - 69.

To be appointed as Foreman Mechanics at North Head applicants were required to have fulfilled the necessary criteria of being competent, responsible in the carrying out of orders, and ensuring that the station was kept in readiness for instant use. As one of the longest serving in this position, George Ashton demonstrated all of these criteria and served as Foreman Mechanic from 1920. For a period of 3 years after Mr Getting retired he undertook the leadership role at the station juggling both jobs to the best of his ability, as is evident in the entries from the work diaries and mechanic's logs. But fulfilling both positions was clearly too much to be expected of one man, and JJ Drew was appointed as Foreman Assistant in late 1928.¹³ Ashton continued in the role of Foreman Mechanic until he was promoted to the position of Foreman Assistant in 1943. He served in this role until his retirement in 1954, having undertaken leadership roles at the station for 34 years of his working life.

Others served shorter terms and Horace Clegg, one of the most conscientious officers in his roles as Foreman Mechanic and Foreman Assistant, suffered a heart attack and died while carrying out the role of Foreman Assistant. Others such as Roy Walker who was Foreman Assistant at the time of the closure of the station gained most of his working knowledge and skills during his working life at North Head.¹⁴

Permanent staff – Quarantine Assistants.



Image 14: Quarantine Station North Head: Quarantine Assistants circa 1930, *Explore the history of Q Station Manly, Sydney* www.qstation.com.au

¹³ NAA, G Ashton, *Foreman Mechanic to A/g CQOG per RQO, 9.3.1928* (NAA: A1928, 876/23).

¹⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69; NAA, *Quarantine Station North Head Log Books*, Vols. 4 – 29.

The number of permanent staff was small compared with other workplaces, but when compared to other stations North Head was the largest and longest established and had the most staff numbers. It is important to note that while there is some evidence concerning those in positions of authority at the station, it is not possible in most cases to individualise the staff. However, their work relationship to the station and the activities they carried out can be discussed in general terms, thus developing a perspective on their working lives as quarantine staff and providing a glimpse into their status and contributions to daily activity.

Decade	Av. No. of staff	Decade	Av. No. of staff
1900s	10	1950s	9
1910s	10	1960s	9 +2 Doms (11)
1920s	13	1970s	8 +1 Doms (9)
1930s	11	1980s	5 + 1 Dom (6)
1940s	11		

Table 17: Average number of staff by decade 1900 -1983 ¹⁵

Overall, except for the 1920s, the average staff in the pre-World War 11 period was 10, but this number declined markedly in the 1980s. There was continuity of work, with temporary staff hired during times of long or large active quarantines. This continuity of work prevailed even throughout the World War 11 period, when the Army took over much of the station. At this time Dr Metcalfe was concerned about the effects the decrease in the amount of shipping had on the volume of work available to staff members. But the disinfection/ fumigation of restricted imports and the fumigation of ships in the harbour, including naval vessels, filled the gap.

Contrary to the received wisdom that the station was idle and stagnant post – World War 11 periods of active quarantine continued. ¹⁶ However, these differed from the large ship loads of passengers quarantined earlier, and involved individuals and often family groups who had invalid vaccination status. Admitting, accommodating and caring for this almost daily intake of passengers, resulted in constant and continued activity for

¹⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69. See Appendix H: Yearly totals of permanent staff at North Head 1900 – 1983.

¹⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 125-6. Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 53 – 55.

the staff, who had to adapt to patients arriving and being discharged at all hours of the day and night.

As has been discussed in the previous chapter the fumigation and disinfection activities instigated to protect against the threat from the Foot and Mouth epidemic which was sweeping Europe at the height of the migrant intake during the 1950s and 1960s added to the work load of staff. This and active quarantines resulted in changes to the areas of the station used and the refurbishment of those to provide more modern and adequate accommodation. The need to hire nurses to care for those quarantined arose as well as the need for female ancillary staff. These female ancillary staff carried out most of the cleaning duties, which had been mostly performed by the male staff in the post- World War 1 period. But while women had held the full time position of Female Assistant before 1912, particularly when the station was in the control of the NSW Government, the women hired in this period were classified as “domestics” and mostly carried out household duties. Yet, there were recurring instances of their being called upon, with the unavailability of nurses, to fulfil duties such as attending to quarantined women and children, and providing company for them, activities which previously would have been the preserve of female attendants.¹⁷

Challenges of an isolated workplace.

Employment at North Head came with benefits for the permanent staff with accommodation provided at a reasonable rent, and job security. But the processes of quarantine as well as daily maintenance presented difficulties which added to the isolation that was part of their daily lives, including the changing nature of both in its work patterns and its procedures. These changes impacted on the staff with the working and living environment producing situations where difficulties could and did arise for staff members and their families.¹⁸ During periods of active quarantine families were separated as wives and children were compelled to leave before the yellow flags were raised, and were not permitted to return until the flags were lowered to signal the end of quarantine. Alternative accommodation had to be found for families with school children or members who were working outside the station. This accommodation was often costly. In one instance in 1904 Mrs Erickson, wife of Assistant E Erickson, requested permission to stay working as a temporary hand, such as a nurse or cook. She

¹⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 63 – 69.

¹⁸ NAA, *Payment of overtime during Active Quarantine* (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

and her three children were ordered to leave before the arrival and quarantine of SS "Empire". However, during the quarantine of SS "Malwa" she was hired as a cook for the temporary staff, as were other members of families in many other instances of active quarantine.¹⁹

The stresses on assistants and their families during active quarantine were more forcibly expressed during the quarantine of RMS "Mooltan" in June 1949, a period in which large scale active quarantines had declined. Eight Grade 1 Assistants put in a written application to the Senior Commonwealth Medical officer (SCMO) for extra payment of 10/- per day during the period of active quarantine. They believed their claim was not unusual as extra payments to assistants had been made during previous periods of active quarantine. They based their case on a series of related difficulties and expenses including: (a) loss of amenities and liberty, (b) cost of living increases and in particular (c) the extra cost of living expenses. To support their claim for the three elements they put forward specific examples: including lack of social activities, reliance on rations from the station and the cost of alternative accommodation for families who were required to leave.²⁰

Dr Wiburd, Senior Commonwealth Medical Officer NSW, (SCMO) could see no reason for supporting this claim and argued that "it ... should be regarded as part of the normal duties of employees at the station to work at irregular intervals under active quarantine conditions."²¹ He agreed in principle and recognised that "it has been an accepted rule that traditional compensation is not made in respect of such isolation." However, demonstrating an understanding of the work carried out by assistants during active quarantine, he added the statement that "it does not seem unreasonable however,

¹⁹ NAA, *Service and Holiday Register North Head Quarantine Station* (NAA: C532, NA1984/19) Vol.76 1898-1911); NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 44, 49, 52, 67, 68.

²⁰ NAA, *Letter from Beed, Clegg, Bearpark, Croft, Newton, Fuller, MacMahon, Abberfield Quarantine Assistants, Grade 1 to SCMO 6. 6. 1949* (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2). "(a) No provision is made to compensate employees and their families for loss of their usual entertainment and social activities which can only be had at the Station. Regulations demand that no employee shall leave the Station area when in active quarantine, thereby depriving us of freedom of movement. (b) This is brought about by the stoppage of the usual practice of selecting one's food and other requirements for the family and home, a very important economic fact. (c) The extra expenses are incurred by having to make arrangements for accommodation of school children and members of the employee's family who work outside the Station

²¹ NAA, *Memorandum from DD of Health, RW Wiburd to Director-General of Health, 9.6.1949* (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

during an active period of isolation, some compensation should be made.”²² While this complaint was unusual at the time it was made, earlier complaints had been made during the period of Superintendent Vincent in 1903 with relation to overtime worked by staff disinfecting ships, which received much the same reply from the Permanent Head of Treasury that “the work has to be attended to when it presents itself, and cannot be otherwise regulated ... There would be no difficulty in allowing time off in lieu, but I am not aware that any application for it has been previously made.”²³ In the same year QO Dechow complained that he had been required to drive Mr Vincent to Manly after working hours when he was not engaged in public business. Mr Vincent was advised by Head Office to make his own arrangements and that he “should not call on QOs for such service.”²⁴

Staff complaints and difficulties about the functioning of any work place are common, but the unexpected suicide of Assistant William Hay must have spread anxiety throughout the small community, as it seems there had been no indication of his actions. He was buried in the 3rd Quarantine Cemetery, and his wife and family had to leave the station with their furniture after a police inquest and his burial.²⁵ There is no indication of any official action with relation to providing help to this family.

While this was an unexpected death, other staff families had experienced loss of family members. Two children of Storekeeper Cornelius died at the ages of 20 months and 9 years as well as the 4 month old son of Assistant Christie. Superintendent Vincent experienced the death of his wife and her sister within the same week in 1902. Both were buried in Manly Cemetery, as was the wife of Assistant William Phillips who died in Sydney Hospital in 1903, leaving Phillips to care for their three children.²⁶ Possibly because of the inherent dangers of their work place, others became ill during the epidemics of the plague and influenza and received the care of the medical staff and some of their fellow staff members, including wives, sisters and daughters, who became part of the temporary staff in a variety of jobs. For some, either the demands of the job or other stresses, led them to go AWOL for a number of days, for which they were

²² NAA, *Memorandum from A J Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Public Service Board*, 28.10.1949 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

²³ SRNSW, *Memorandum from Permanent Head of Treasury NSW State Government*, 19.11.1903 (SRNSW: Board of Health Quarantine Books 5/5853).

²⁴ SRNSW, *Memorandum to Superintendent of Quarantine*, 27.11.1903 (SRNSW: Board of Health Quarantine Books 5.5853).

²⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 34.

²⁶ NAA, *Register of deaths at Quarantine Station* (NAA: C526).

suspended. Considering the highly structured and disciplined environment of the workplace it was unusual that some staff became insolent and insubordinate. They were dismissed or suspended from duty.²⁷ Others, including a temporary cook during the smallpox epidemic in 1915, who found working in the stressful and isolated situation of the hospital and isolation block too much to bear and resigned, citing interference from Mr & Mrs Willsher in their positions of Attendant and Nursing Sister.²⁸

The workers and daily work patterns.

Work patterns during times between periods of active quarantine required staff to undertake tasks to ensure the readiness of the station through maintenance of plant and the built and natural environment. Overwhelmingly these daily tasks involved manual work which fell into both unskilled and skilled categories. A random example of tasks allocated during any week, besides when the station was in active quarantine, demonstrates the manual nature of tasks undertaken during one day. That many of their tasks were seen as unskilled labouring activities by members of staff is evident in that Assistant Taylor recorded his occupation on the Electoral Roll as “labourer, Quarantine Station North Head”.²⁹

“**Ashton** General maintenance and supervision; **Christie & Hood** repair hospital fence; **McFarlane** paint tie rods on verandahs in Cabin; **Noonan** stables and carting soil for palm beds; **Croft** making road in Healthy Ground ready for top dressing; **Woodward** cleaning baths in P5, Cabin and planting palms; **Taylor** sick; **Bearpark** fixing wire guards around palms and dislodging bees from P10 block; **McKenzie** annual leave; **James** painting in Cabin Enclosure; **St John** boiler attendant; **Erickson** gate duty.”³⁰

Staff with skills were often allocated tasks in accord with their expertise. Sackley had qualifications as a painter and was allotted painting tasks on a regular basis to ensure that the buildings, especially the hospital which was deteriorating for want of paint, and other buildings in the same condition were painted.³¹ However, the number of workers with qualifications at higher level skills were few, and those who possessed qualifications and/or certificates, particularly in relation to mechanical engineering and

²⁷ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 45, 64.

²⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 43 – 45, 47, 52, 58, 64, 67. See Appendix H: Yearly totals of permanent staff at north Head 1900 – 1983.

²⁹ Commonwealth Electoral Roll, Warringah, 1928.

³⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 52.

³¹ NAA, *Memorandum from CQO(G) to the Director – General of Health 30.8.1930* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

sanitary procedures, occupied the positions at the top of the staff ladder.³² Even for these, opportunities for promotion were limited. But some like Billingham, Dechow, James and Kelly, all of whom had certificates from the Royal Sanitary Institute as Masters of Rivers Harbours, transferred to higher positions. Others who had no qualification such as Bearpark, Croft and Taylor served the whole of their working life as Grade 1 Assistants at North Head.

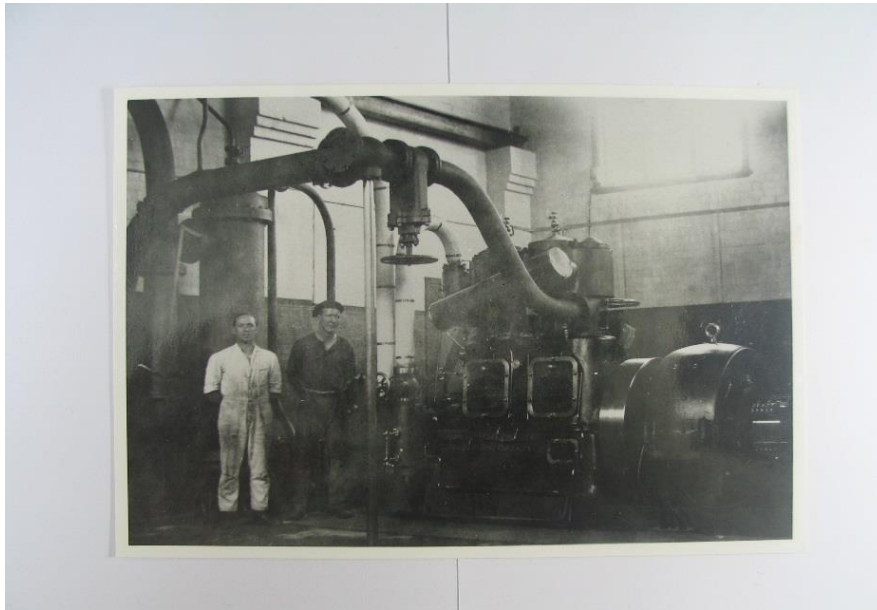


Image 15: Assistant Montgomery Engineer, Power House 1916 and another member of staff NAA: A1851, 1980/1808.

Wages, overtime, hours of work and leave.

During times of economic downturn and depression the permanence of their employment provided security for the workers and their families. Wages and hours of work were set by Commonwealth Public Service rates, and over time conditions improved in line with the situation in the wider community. However, the gap between the level of remuneration for Superintendent and Assistants was noticeable. In the early decades Assistants Grade 1 received wages slightly above that of a labourer on the basic wage, which had been instituted by the *Harvester Judgement* 1907 and established payment of 7/- per day or £2/2/- a week for an unskilled male worker averaging a yearly wage of about £109/2/-. This had increased to about £200 pound in 1920, but

³² These position included: Superintendent/Foreman Assistant, Foreman Mechanic, Engine driver, Storekeeper or Boiler Attendant

unemployment in the 1920s and the depression of the 1930s saw a drop of 10% in real wages which is reflected in the wages for Assistants in the table below. There are no specific indications of wages after the 1930s but with increased prosperity in the post-war period basic wages would have followed the upward trend, but even then evidence from the MacMahon and Beed families demonstrated that making do was difficult.³³

Office	Salary 1911	Salary 1922	Salary 1933
Superintend/Foreman Assistant	£360	£498	£348
Foreman Mechanic		£228	£324
Senior Assistant	£156	£192	£238
Assistant	£138	£168 - 174	£230- 238

Table 18: Salary pay scales 1911 – 1933³⁴

The regular working day conformed to that of the general workforce. Staff during non - quarantine periods worked a 6 day 8 hour day week “unless some work is urgently required to be done, then it is understood that all hands must hold themselves in readiness to work day and night if necessary”.³⁵ In 1903 it was also pointed out that “for the continuous efficiency of the establishment ... it should be noted that all hands resided on the station” and could be called upon to work until finished and could not be restricted to daylight hours.³⁶ Changes occurred with the implementation of the 5 day week in July and October 1931, resulting in hours of work for Mondays from 7.15am to

³³ John MacMahon, “The MacMahon Family 1945 – 1957” *Manly Quarantine Station* http://www.manlyquarantine.com/Residents_McMahon.html accessed August 20, 2011. He stated: “To bring up a family on a labourer’s wage was always a difficult task. Every second Thursday was payday for Commonwealth Government employees including those at the Quarantine Station ... the Pay Clerk gave out the envelopes ... I can recall that Dad would bring the envelope home with all the bounty – a net £16 to meet all expenses and support the family for a fortnight, and to save for a house when the time came to retire and leave the Quaro. It was therefore important to supplement wages by being as self -sufficient as possible. NAA, *Immigration Restriction Act – General- Isolation Hospital North Head* (NAA: A1658, 556/2/6/Part 1.) In a letter to PM Chifley Assistant Beed’s daughter states that it is difficult for the family to make ends meet.

³⁴ Commonwealth of Australia Gazette, *List of Permanent Officers of the Commonwealth Public Service*, 1911, 1922, 1933. Pay scales were not available after that date.

³⁵ SRNSW, *Memorandum from President of Board of Health regarding Leave of Absence to Quarantine Officers*, 31.3.1884 (SRNSW: Board of Health Quarantine Books 5/5853).

³⁶ SRNSW, *Memorandum from the Permanent Head of Treasury*, 19.11.1903 (SRNSW: Board of Health Quarantine Books, 5/5853).

5pm, and the rest of the week from 7.30am to 5pm with a 45 minute lunch break. In the 1960s starting times changed to 8am.

Specific duties related to the need to secure the quarantine area from the general public, included patrol duty on the weekends, and consisted of warning unauthorised persons off the beaches.³⁷ This duty continued throughout the operation of the station, but changes in the 1920s resulted in two staff members rostered on duty Saturday afternoon, Sundays and public holidays patrolling the boundaries of the station. Other staff were off duty. With the introduction of a five day week one officer undertook patrol both days, and a gatekeeper was on duty during week days as well as after hours and weekends.³⁸ In carrying out this duty the staff members wore their official uniform, jacket, cap and badge, which gave them an air of authority to deal with the general public.

Patrol duty, and particularly the role of the gatekeeper, which was transferred to the Foreman Assistant Lavaring, became more onerous with the establishment of the Immigration Detention Centre at A20 in 1959. There were constant arrivals and departures of detainees and their escorts, as well as a constant stream of visitors. With the closure of this centre in 1974 a new duty, designated as the "Home Duty Officer" (HDO), was instituted. While patrol duty had been recompensed with in lieu leave, significantly, this duty received payments. Only specifically designated officers were rostered for duty outside normal hours of the working week in 8 hour shifts on a 24 hour basis. This new duty did not negate patrol duty, and meal breaks had to be co-ordinated, so that at all times one officer was on duty. At the inception of this duty only four officers were officially nominated but this duty was operational from 1974-1976 when the total number of staff was 8 and in the following years it decreased to 6.³⁹ As a result its elite nature of this duty broke down, as with one staff member on patrol duty, almost all members of staff were rostered on duty each day. This duty required the staff member to "remain in attendance at his place of employment overnight and /or over a non-working day." The onerous nature of this duty was mitigated by the significant rates

³⁷SRNSW, *Memorandum from the Permanent Head of Treasury*, 19.11.1903.

³⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69.

³⁹ These officers were Foreman Assistant H Lavaring, Mechanic R Walker, Assistants T Beitzel and K Beitzel.

of overtime pay. Hourly rates were set and total weekly overtime ranged for Assistants Grade 1 to Grade 4 Assistants from \$125.96 to \$178 per week.⁴⁰

The disinfection and fumigation of luggage was an area of overtime work which became regular as the shipping companies needed to have disinfected luggage back to ships quickly. This resulted in a considerable amount of overtime worked by the staff, usually on weekends throughout the ten years from 1954 – 64.⁴¹ Overtime for this work was recorded but there is no mention as to how the particular staff members were recompensed. However, for overtime worked in the fumigation of ships in the harbour, away from the station between 1957 and 1974, staff were recompensed by “stand down” time usually the following day. Depending on the time the fumigation took out of usual working hours this “stand down” could vary from one to over five hours.

In the 1970s when the numbers of staff had dropped to 8 or below, this time off would have eaten into the available hours necessary for staff to fulfil their regular duties. By 1977 the staff numbered just 6, and it must have been difficult to cover the regular maintenance duties, care of the quarantined patients, the fumigation of goods, and fulfil the HDO roster a duty which was involving many of the staff. “Flex Time” provided some relief for staff when it was incorporated into their working week in December of 1977. This innovation became a permanent feature of the Australian Public Service in June 1976, and allowed, generally, for a working day of 7 hours 21 minutes in a 5 day week, with flexible starting and finishing times. It also instituted a 9 day fortnight which gave staff the opportunity to accrue sufficient time off to have three day weekends, or a day off during the week. “Flex time” was embraced by the staff at North Head and along with patrol, HDOs and sick leave became a feature of the final years of operation.⁴²

Leave and entitlements.

There were benefits which came with employment at the station. Throughout, each staff member was entitled to 3 weeks’ annual leave allocated, usually by ballot held in the November of each year for the following year. As there was little leeway for this leave to be held over, especially in periods when active quarantine was a regular occurrence, and in periods when the number of permanent staff was small, the

⁴⁰ NAA, *Memorandum to Mr HG Lavaring, Foreman Assistant QSNH from Director NSW Louis J Wienholt, 23.8.1965* (NAA: C702 Whole Series, Quarantine Station North Head Miscellaneous Papers.)

⁴¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69.

⁴² NAA, *Flexible Working Hours* (NAA: D1949 83/1/1).

Superintendent/Foreman Assistant was encouraged to see that all staff had taken their leave when it fell due each year.⁴³ During the period of epidemics leave was deferred until it was certain that the worst of the epidemic was over. In consequence of the particular nature of work at the station, staff members were required to return from annual leave if a period of active quarantine occurred. They were able to continue their leave at a later date; however this must have been disruptive for families and clearly demonstrates the exigencies of the nature of work at the station.

The different rhythms of work and the dangers of dealing with infectious diseases, as well as the accidents which occurred to staff while performing their duties, highlighted the importance of sick leave. A cursory glance at the amount of sick leave recorded in the diaries provides an impression that a lot of this type of leave was taken. Yet, a detailed analysis of total leave taken by all staff, especially in the post war years, reveals that while there are instances of over a hundred days taken in a number of years, these were the result of serious illness requiring hospitalisation, or accumulated sick leave being taken prior to retirement. Assistant Phillips walked to Manly Cottage Hospital in 1909 with appendicitis. He had 39 days of sick leave as a consequence, in the following years (1910, 1915, 1917, 1921) he was admitted to hospital for a total of 167 days. This must have imposed extra stresses and strains on him as his wife died suddenly in 1903 and he had children to care for. In 1961 Foreman Assistant Clegg was hospitalised with a heart problem and needed to take extended sick leave. He returned to work after successful surgery, but died a few days later in April 1962.

In addition work at the station included the ever-present threat of accidents. These occurred with regularity and ranged from sprained ankles, injured limbs and fingers to tick bites and accounted for a days of sick leave, and full and half days were needed for ex-servicemen from both wars to attend appointments with repatriation doctors and dentists. However, in the period from mid-1970s to 1983, when staff numbers had decreased and the closure of the station was mooted, the number of days of sick leave increased. Considering the smaller numbers of staff and the amount of duty which had to be undertaken, it is not surprising that sickness increased, especially for Mrs Connolly who had temporary status and was the single domestic to carry out duties from 1973-

⁴³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69.

1983. She must have not been able to accrue her sick leave, as she took sick leave in an escalating pattern 1980-6 days, 1981- 24 days, 1982- 28 days and 1983-102 days. ⁴⁴

As it was necessary for staff to live on the premises housing was provided in the form of staff cottages at a rent, 10% of salary per annum. This was a boon particularly in post – World War 11 years when housing shortages were acute, and assistants who were ready to retire were unable to acquire alternative housing. In almost unusual reaction Head Office in Sydney was sympathetic to the plight of employees and allowed continued occupation for a period, rather than turning them out without any housing to go to. ⁴⁵ These timber cottages usually contained living space, a verandah, bathroom and three bedrooms. Fittings were basic and repairs, such as leaking roofs, were carried out if needed, but were usually left until the occupant moved out and a new assistant and his family were ready to move in. This could involve the installation of re-used but newer stoves and bath heaters, and repairs to the ubiquitous termite damage.

Who were the staff who manned this station during the twentieth century?

Foley has described the staff members as those “ who possessed common characteristics of sturdy self-reliance, a willingness to co-operate with reasonable requests and an equally strong willingness to challenge what seem to be unreasonable requests.” ⁴⁶ This description falls short of providing any personal sketches. Yet, it is possible to fill in some of the gaps and retrieve some of the individual characteristics of those who spent part or most of their working lives at the station, and in doing so remove in part the almost complete anonymity which has hidden them as workers and individuals.

The early decades of the century there were staff members who had experience in working in public health, or service areas, as well as those who had necessary maritime skills. Their skills were amply used in the Observation and Hospital Enclosures during the epidemics and periods of active quarantine. ⁴⁷ During World War 1 a Commonwealth Government policy promoting precedence to the employment of ex-servicemen was

⁴⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 30 – 69.

⁴⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd to Director – General. Occupation of Official residence by a retired officer*, 27.2.1947 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

⁴⁶ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 100.

⁴⁷ NAA, *Service and Holiday Register Quarantine Station North Head* (NAA: C532, NA1984/19, Vol. 76, 1898 – 1911). Billingham transferred from the Coast Hospital having been appointed to North Head as coxswain. On gaining the certificate of Master of Harbours and Rivers he was placed in charge of the Quarantine Tender, Christie was appointed as the engine driver

instituted and a number of staff members returning from World War 1 were hired. Their occupations previous to joining up were more varied than those who had been hired in the pre-war period. Of those who commenced work at North Head after 1917 only Sidney Ayris Thorn enlisted while working as a Quarantine Assistant at North Head. Following World War 11 again ex-servicemen who had served overseas and within Australia filled vacancies on the staff. The following table demonstrates the wide variety of previous occupations of some of the staff from war service files.

Marine engineer	Rigger/ wire splitter	Porter	Stock Rider
Marine stoker	Ironmonger	Carter	Labourer (5)
Seaman	Storeman packer	Painter	MD (3)
Motor mechanic	Clerk (3)	Farmer	

Table 19: Former occupations of employees who were ex-servicemen ⁴⁸

These men brought not only their previous experience in a variety of occupations to their work at North Head, but also their experiences of war, which for some of them meant effects of wounds or disabilities including deafness, effects of enteric fever, trench fever, trench feet and broken bones, necessitating visits to Repatriation doctors.

⁴⁹ Their average age on enlistment was 25, excluding those such as Ashton, Newton Mac Mahon and Dr Blumer who were of the age to enlist for both wars.

The following examples of staff who enlisted demonstrate not only their determination to enlist, but also some of the effect of war on the individuals and their families.

Foreman Assistant Moss had been part of the NSW contingent to the Boer War, enlisted for World War 1 and embarked as part of the 2nd Light Horse Regiment for Gallipoli. ⁵⁰

Sapper Hood was just 18 years 6 months in October 1917 when he enlisted, and permission for him to embark with the AIF, was unconditionally given by his father, his mother being dead. ⁵¹ William MacFarlane Bevington (later Dr Bevington) enlisted in September 1916, but as he had falsely declared both his age as 18 and occupation a medical student. He was charged with providing false information and ordered to forfeit

⁴⁸ NAA, Series B2455, B883, B884 (NAA: B2455, B883, B884).

⁴⁹ NAA, *Croft, Harry Albon* (NAA, B2455 Croft HA); NAA, *James, Richard Henry* (NAA: B2455 James Richard Henry); NAA, *Bearpark, Henry Thomas* (Canberra: NAA: B2455 Bearpark HT); NAA, *Taylor, James* (NAA: B2455 Taylor J); NAA, *Moss, Herbert Saville* (NAA: B2455 Moss Herbert Saville); NAA, *Ashton, George* (NAA: B884 N233781).

⁵⁰ NAA, *Moss, Herbert Saville*.

⁵¹ NAA, *Hood, William Harrison* (NAA: B2455 Hood WH 21641).

two days' pay and discharged for being under military age. His correct age at this time was 16 year 7 months.⁵²

Others like St John, born in Tipperary, Ireland, seemed to be uncertain of their names and ages. On enlistment in February 1916, he gave his name as Thomas Dwyer aged 38 years 10 months, and his status as single. In a Statutory Declaration the next month he declared that his name was Thomas St John, and that he was married with two children living with their mother in Liverpool, England. He made an allotment to her of 4/- per day and served in Egypt. He was discharged in November 1917 suffering from heart trouble and "the inability to do drill on account of stiffness and disability due to his age" which was recorded as 53 years. He retired in 1937 at the age of 64, having carried out his duties as the boiler operator at North Head conscientiously and effectively. These volunteer soldiers present a microcosm of the myriad of reasons for "joining up" from adventure for the young, possible patriotism for those who were older, a penchant for military service as some had had previous experience in cadets, or a certain wage of which a weekly contribution could be allocated to mother or wife and children.⁵³

Continued medical oversight of the functioning of the station at North Head was an integral part of its operation and some of the doctors who carried out this duty had personal experience of station day-to-day working life. They also brought their experiences of war with them, and perhaps increased their understanding of some of the problems of their fellow ex- servicemen who carried out the daily work load.⁵⁴

One of those ex-servicemen was Alexander Salkeld who was part of reinforcements sent to the 1st Battalion, which was fighting at Gallipoli. An unusual personal note in the work diary for Anzac Day, signified his status as an original Anzac. Many years later in 1967 his widow wrote to request his commemorative medallion expressing her

⁵² NAA, *Bevington, William MacFarlane* (NAA: B2455 Bevington WMAF).

⁵³ NAA, *St John, Thomas (aka Dwyer, Thomas)* (NAA: B2455 St John Thomas).

⁵⁴ NAA, *Blumer, George Albert* (NAA: B884, N469616). Those such as Dr Wiburd and Dr Wienholt rose in the Service to the highest managerial positions. Drs Blumer and Wiburd served in the AAMC, Blumer in France and Dr Wiburd in Sinai, Palestine and Syria in the AAMC 2nd Light Horse Regiment. Dr Blumer was awarded the Military Cross in 1918. An extract from a report in the *London Gazette* was sent to his wife, and stated that the award had been bestowed for "conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty." Dr Brent enlisted in 1914 as a private as he was still a medical student. He served for 7 months in the 1st AGH, returned to complete his medical degree and embarked again for overseas service in France having attained the rank of Captain in 1917. There was not the same option of choice to enlist in WW11, but it is interesting to note that staff members Ashton and Newton both having served in WW1 re-enlisted at ages 52 and 45, as did Drs Blumer and Wiburd.

understanding of her own and her husband's experiences of war and its results, "He was one of the unlucky soldiers who got nothing when he came back. He was amongst the first at the landing."⁵⁵

Others served in World War 11. Wheldon had enlisted in the permanent forces before the outbreak of war in 1938 and served in the Air Force as an air bomber and, on discharge, was described by his superior officer as, "a solid type ... of strong and forceful appearance he has been a good average officer."⁵⁶ Assistant Cook joined the Air Force in 1942 and attained the rank of Leading Aircraftsman. He served at Richmond Air Base and was the only North Head staff member to die.⁵⁷ Abberfield joined the staff at North Head after having served in Port Moresby, Torres Strait and Thursday Island.⁵⁸ William Sallis served in New Guinea and was part of the occupying forces in Japan until 1949, serving 1073 days of Active Service overseas.⁵⁹ These men brought a wide variety of war experiences to their work at North Head and it is interesting to note that Moss, Ashton, Newton, Clegg and Lavaring all rose to the position of Foreman Assistant, having learned endurance and application in the military phase of their lives.

These basic stories of men whose endurance dealing with difficulties had been forged in their experiences of war, provide a way of bringing some life and light to the reality of these members of staff who often served long terms working at North Head. Their pride in having served in the armed forces was clear and evident in that they wrote letters to the Army Medal Section requesting their medals, or replacements for those which had been lost or stolen, often many years after they had returned to civilian life.⁶⁰

⁵⁵ NAA, Salkeld, Alexander (NAA: B2455 Salkeld Alexander); Australian War Memorial, Encyclopaedia. "The Anzac Commemorative Medallion and Badge". [http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopaedia/anzac/medallion/\(30/5/1012\)](http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopaedia/anzac/medallion/(30/5/1012)) accessed May 10, 2011. "In March 1967 Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, announced that a commemorative medallion and badge was to be issued to surviving members of the Australian Defence Force who served on the Gallipoli Peninsula, or in direct support of the operations from close off shore, at any time during the period from the first ANZAC Day in April 1915 to the date of final evacuation in January 1916." This medallion featured Simpson and his donkey.

⁵⁶ NAA, Wheldon, Francis Christopher (NAA: A9300 Wheldon FC).

⁵⁷ NAA, Cook, Edward James (Aircraftsman I) (NAA: A705, 166/8/236). He died in the RAAF Hospital at Richmond Air Base 15.9.1944. His death certificate recognised his contribution to the quarantine service.

⁵⁸ NAA, Abberfield, Raphael Dudley, NP3375 (NAA: B4717 Abberfield/ Raphael Dudley).

⁵⁹ NAA, Sallis, William (NAA: B883, NX204310).

⁶⁰ NAA, Beed, Henry John (NAA: B883 NX6351); NAA, Moss Herbert Saville; NAA, Salkeld Alexander (NAA, B2455 Salkeld Alexander); NAA, MacMahon Francis Joseph (NAA: B884, N73039); NAA, Sallis William (NAA: B883, NX204310).

However, there were many more staff members who had not serviced in the armed forces, and it is all but impossible to resurrect any of their individual stories as evidence which may have been available has been lost or destroyed through lack of perceived importance or space to archive it. From entries in the diaries it is possible to suggest some characteristics based on the tasks they were allotted on a daily or weekly basis. Bearpark must have been good with animals as he was constantly rostered to care for the covies, rabbits and bandicoots which were bred for experiments carried out by the Commonwealth Serum laboratories. He must have also been a conscientious cleaner as he cleaned A1 the administration block each week. Taylor must have been good with horses as he was constantly rostered to look after them and the stables. Croft, a recognised “loner” must have been able to endure the solitary work at the SIH when he was appointed there while Willsher was on furlough.⁶¹ However, there were a myriad of different jobs to be undertaken and it is difficult to award distinguishing characteristics to individuals just because they carried out certain tasks.

Some insights into the working lives of individual staff members.

However, some personal work files have survived, those filed under the letter “W”, and some which relate to the interactions of Foreman Assistants or Mechanics with higher authority. These documents reveal elements of work practice and some of the personal characteristics of these men, as well as their dealings with members of the bureaucracy. The information contained in these files is limited, mainly because of its bureaucratic nature, but it does reveal glimpses of who they were and their interaction with the wider society in which they lived, as well as elements of personal naivety in some of their actions.

Enemy aliens? – Getting and Erickson.

Paul Edmund Getting accepted appointment to the position of Superintendent of Quarantine at North Head November 11, 1910 transferring from the NSW State Department of Public Health. Dr Norris who had set out the necessary criteria for appointment stated that the successful applicant would need good knowledge of sanitary engineering and of chemicals. His opinion of Getting was expressed on a note relating to his appointment, that he was “fortunate in securing the services of so

⁶¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*. Vols. 50 – 51.

competent a man.” In his opinion “he was by far the best applicant and the most competent man in Australia in his line.”⁶²

In 1918 the Directors of the Royal Packet Company in Batavia, Java wished to send to Mr Getting a gold watch and chain, a present from the Company, in appreciation for the assistance he had given to the native crew of SS “Tasman” during their stay (quarantine) in Sydney during April 1918. There were difficulties in importing the watch and chain into Australia, and Mr C Van der Linde, the Director sought a way to overcome these by seeking the help of “His Britannic Majesty’s Consul-General Batavia Java” who sent a dispatch to the Governor General. The difficulties were that Public Service Officers were specifically forbidden to accept such gratuities. The suggestion was made that the Company, if it so desired, could send a “letter of appreciation addressed to the officer concerned.” The letter of appreciation was duly sent and forwarded to Mr Getting.⁶³

Yet, in the same year he was required to put forward a deposition, instituted by the Security Service, as charges of enemy sympathies had been made against him. He was one of a group of 370 Public Servants who were deemed enemy subjects and as such were investigated. These investigations reflect both the treatment of ‘aliens’ during the war, and wide-spread anti-German attitudes and activities in the community.⁶⁴ Those interviewed were required to provide details of their work, rate of pay, period in government service, details of their parents’ and their grandparents’ birthplaces and nationalities, details of their wives and families, and any adult males who had enlisted, as well as any connections with Germany. This whole action at the latter part of the war reveals, as Gerhard Fischer has noted, an ongoing attitude of almost paranoia about German spies abroad in society, fuelled by the ability for anonymous complaints to be made to authorities.⁶⁵

In his deposition in May 1918, he stated under oath, that his name was Paul Edmund Getting, and that he had other names which were Alfred Leon. He was 53 years old, married with one boy 19 years old. He stated that he was born in Paris, France, his wife at Araluen NSW and his father and mother in London. He had little idea where his

⁶² NAA, *Application for permanent employment Department of Trade and Customs, as Deputy Superintendent of Quarantine Sydney, salary £360 to £400 pa. 27.9.1910 Commonwealth of Australia Public Service Act 1902* (NAA: A465, M7379 P E Getting).

⁶³ NAA, *Getting, PE* (NAA: A11803, 1918/89/834).

⁶⁴ Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the homefront experience in Australia 1914 – 1920* (St Lucia, Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 56.

⁶⁵ Nadine Helmi and Gerhard Fischer, *the Enemy at Home German Internees in World War 1 Australia* (Sydney, NSW: University of New South Wales Press Ltd, 2011), 17 – 28.

grandparents had been born, but thought it was England and clearly stated that “I have no knowledge that I have ever been descended from a German family.” His situation must not have been helped by the fact that his father’s name was Adolph, and that he spoke both French and German, having attended school in Germany. In Australia he had worked in the Government Service in the NSW Artillery, the Police Force, the Board of Health and the Commonwealth Public Service. One of his two sons was killed on active service in 1917, and his other son was a midshipman in the Royal Australian Navy also on active service.

Charges against him were based on evidence from a man who had known Getting at the Board of Health, but had not seen him for over seven years. His evidence relied on hearsay including that Getting was a German, had been in Germany, was a Prussian officer and his mother had been a Lady-in-Waiting to the Empress of Germany. Another testimony derived from a colleague of twenty years before. This testimony relied on the fact that he had seen a photo of Getting as a Prussian Officer, a Lieutenant, in the Germany Army. After giving his evidence he added that he had never heard any disloyalty from Getting and that he (Getting) was “as loyal as any other man” and that his sympathies were with the British. He knew of his loss of one son in the war, and hoped the other would come home safely. He had not willingly taken part in this hearing, and had only come to state his respect for and knowledge that Mr Getting had done his duty as a citizen of NSW.

In a final statement Mr Getting stated that, “Getting is an English name, I have never met anyone else with the same name. The only relations I have are in Paris. They have lost two sons in the French Army.”⁶⁶ This must have been a difficult time for Superintendent Getting as the station had undergone constant activity with the smallpox epidemic 1913 – 1917, the admittance of VD and TB patients and active quarantine of ships. On a personal level the charges must have caused concern and anger in a man who had completed years of committed public service, and who had lost to enemy activity his eldest son. He continued in the position of Superintendent until his retirement in 1925, thus negating the focus of these spurious and divisive charges.

In much the same manner Assistant Erickson, who had served on the staff at North Head from 1903 to 1914 and was the gatekeeper, was also caught up in this investigation. His family was from Norway and his wife had been born at Patterson River, NSW. Erickson

⁶⁶ NAA, *Paul Getting, Disposition* (NAA: A387 192).

had been naturalised in 1888 in Warwick, Queensland and his Baptism Certificate confirmed his birth in Bergen, Norway. His eldest and only son had just turned 18 and had enlisted in the AIF. As there is a large blue tick on this deposition, it appears that he was decreed to be a loyal subject.⁶⁷

H H Williams – naivety?

The possible effects of the isolation of their work at the station, problems which could arise when dealing with the healthy passengers, and the individual characteristics of the men were evident in the case of Foreman Assistant HH Williams who was suspended under charges of smuggling.⁶⁸

In a period of considerable smuggling activity, particularly with relation to some of the Chinese who had become wealthy smuggling opium into Australia, this was a serious charge.⁶⁹ Customs Detective Donohoe in the years between 1904 and 1911 had been instrumental in the bringing to court many charged with the entry of prohibited immigrants and prohibited imports, particularly opium into Sydney.⁷⁰ So unpopular did he make himself through his diligent and almost obsessive application of his duty that in 1924 “he was suspended from duty and retired”.⁷¹ It was Detective Donohoe who was instrumental in having this charge brought against Williams.

Williams had been suspended from duty and did not appear before a Committee of Inquiry. His solicitor suggested that “Mr Williams did not intend to appeal against the

⁶⁷ NAA, *Erickson, Edward Martin: Gate Keeper Quarantine Station North Head* (NAA: A387, 152). His deposition was also made in May 1918. He was aged 53 years, had been employed in State and Commonwealth Services for about 27 years.

⁶⁸ NAA, *HH Williams – Foreman Assistant Quarantine Branch, Sydney* (NAA: A465, R6151). Charges brought under *Section 46 Commonwealth Public Service Act 1902*. It was stated that he was: **(1)** On 26.6.1912 guilty of disgraceful or improper conduct in contravention of the *Customs Act 1901-1910* smuggled certain goods to wit: 1 roll pongee silk, 3 pieces white silk, 1 rose bowl, 1 blue kimono, 2 yards grey silk, 3 yards striped silk, 2 embroidered jackets, 1 pink kimono, 2 blouse pieces (white silk), 2 blouse pieces (crepe) 2 sets furs, 1 printed kimono, 3 cigarette cases, 1 cigarette cases (silver), 1 cigar case, 2 silver vases. **(2)** That Williams was guilty of disgraceful or improper conduct in that he conveyed without reasonable excuse certain smuggled goods. **(3)** That he had in his possession certain smuggled goods

⁶⁹ David Day, *Contraband and Controversy* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1996), 82.

⁷⁰ NAA, *Gordon, Ernest v Donohoe, John Thomas Tamplin* (NAA: A10071, 1906/21); NAA, *Preston Charles Frederick v Donohoe, John Thomas Tamplin* (NAA: A10071, 1906/22); NAA, *Hill, Edgar v Donohoe, John Thomas Tamplin* (NAA: A10071, 1911/20); NAA, *Alexander, Ernest v Donohoe, John Thomas Tamplin* (NAA: A10071, 1906/55).

⁷¹ Day, *Contraband and Controversy*, 145.

decision of the Court owing to the heavy expense involved.”⁷² Donohoe gave evidence of Williams’ actions in intending to take two packages belonged to a Mr Darby to the *Hotel Australia*. Darby had arrived aboard SS “Yawata Maru” with his wife who was a patient at the station. It was clear that Williams should have known better than to remove articles for which duty was payable.

Darby when questioned stated that he had not had any dealings with Williams, other than asking him to bring the packages to the *Hotel Australia*. The Chairman of the investigating board believed that Williams was guilty, but the majority of the Board were of the opposite opinion. In Police Court Williams and Darby were charged with contravention of the *Customs Act*, and fined £25 with costs of 5 guineas. This was an extremely heavy fine amounting to almost 10% of Williams’ salary. The findings of the majority of the Board were that Williams had no clear conception of his responsibility and duty when he offered to convey the bag and box to Sydney, and taking into account his obliging disposition, it was difficult to believe that he would wilfully neglect duty and knowingly acted dishonestly. The only course therefore open was to remove the suspension of Williams.⁷³ He was reinstated, but transferred to Western Australia to a position of Assistant Grade 3 in 1916 where he continued his duties in the years that followed.

Assistant Willsher – Difficulties in gaining promotion.

Assistant Willsher had a long running career at North Head beginning in 1890, often filling positions of responsibility for long periods of time, caring for the sick in the station hospital and for often young soldiers, at the SIH. Early in his career he made some mistakes and was punished for them quite harshly. In April 1903 the Board of Health sanctioned Willsher’s suspension from duty on the charge of drunkenness, an extremely serious offence. Its seriousness was compounded by the fact that Willsher could at any time be isolated in the hospital enclosure, unsupervised in a way which was not the case for the other officers performing general duties. In Dr Ashburton Thompson’s opinion Willsher had been a good officer, and not an habitual drinker. He expressed the hope that Willsher’s disgrace in this instance would make him more cautious in the future, and he refused to recommend dismissal, and directed that he should be transferred to

⁷² NAA, HH Williams.

⁷³ NAA, HH Williams.

the Coast Hospital, and his position filled for the time of the suspension by a warder from that hospital, Edward Erickson.⁷⁴

Willsher's attempts to gain a promotion to higher grades and the concomitant salary increases provide excellent examples of some of the problems of dealing with large bureaucracies. In his case his occupation as a warder and then male nurse placed him in a minority position. Between 1913 and 1918 he carried on an almost continuous battle for reclassification of his status.⁷⁵ His claim was based initially on the difference in rates of pay received, for the same duties, while under State administration to those instituted by the Department of Trade and Customs. Highlighting his nursing duties during the plague, smallpox and other "highly infectious diseases", and the knowledge and skill necessary to undertake these duties as well as the effects of long periods of isolation which accompanied these duties, he requested to be placed on the same pay scale as the coxswain and driver of the launch. At this time his status was Grade 111 on a salary of £138 less 10% for quarters and entitled to an increment of £6 later in the year. At the time of transfer his salary had been £120 pa, with quarters, uniforms, fuel and light to £40. On the Commonwealth rate at transfer his salary was £126 less 10% for quarters. Billingham the coxswain in 1913 was receiving £156 less 10%, so there was a considerable upgrading of salary if Willsher was successful.⁷⁶ Superintendent Getting supported the application as a Senior Assistant, pointing out that he was a "most useful officer" and that no other officers had his qualifications, and that his duties were "most exacting" and isolating.⁷⁷

The bureaucracy in the persons of the Comptroller General and the CQO(G) focused on the budget, and while acknowledging that Willsher was an excellent officer, required him to pass the examination of the Australian Trained Nurses' Association for male nurse before his regrading could be considered.⁷⁸ This sentiment was echoed by Dr Cumpston even though Willsher qualified for this membership. He would not accept the basis on which Willsher had been accepted as a member and continued to demand that

⁷⁴SRNSW, *Board of Health Quarantine Books*.

⁷⁵ NAA, *Letter from Alfred Henry Willsher to Superintendent of Quarantine*, 30.4.1913 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁷⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Acting Director of Quarantine to Superintendent of Quarantine*, 13.6.1913 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁷⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Superintendent PE Getting to CQO(G) NSW*, 7.10.1913 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁷⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from the Comptroller-General to Director of Quarantine*, 2.3.1914 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

“Assistant Willsher should pass the examination of the *Australian Trained Nurses Association* (ATNA) for male nurses” which of course was not possible, having been granted the required status.⁷⁹

Willsher’s problems being recognised as a registered male nurse were not uncommon among serving nurses who had been practising in the period before 1896 when the first exams for nurses were carried out. The Board of Health had issued a regulation which “specified that all nurses appointed in future should hold a certificate of competency from a recognised training school.” Letitia Ford, a senior nurse at the Coast Hospital, and the senior nurse at the quarantine hospital during the plague, experienced problems even greater than those faced by Willsher. She had been appointed in 1886 and had risen to be Head Nurse in the infectious diseases division. She had been Acting Matron of the hospital and been in charge of the North Head hospital during the bubonic plague, and demanded that she be issued with a certificate in light of her experience, and the senior positions of responsibility she had undertaken. As she was unable to use the title of Deputy Matron the regulation had affected her chance of becoming a matron at another hospital. In her case the Board of Health relented and issued her with a certificate, and this enabled her to take up a position of Matron in 1905.⁸⁰

Willsher’s attempt at re-classification was still alive in 1916 at which time Dr Cumpston called for a statement of duties and supporting evidence. Superintendent Getting referred again to the periods of isolation Willsher endured while nursing patients, especially cases of smallpox which had been plentiful during the 1913-1917 epidemic, as well as overseeing the Lock Ward carrying out all duties including bathing, disinfection, assisting, under supervision, in laboratory work and overall care of the patients including making up drugs.⁸¹ The re-classification to Senior Assistant was recommended but the re-classification was put off to a “later date” possibly in 1917.

The re-classification of his position to Senior Assistant was finally in place in March 1917, involving an increase in salary range to £162-169. Perseverance had paid off, but the struggle and his heavy nursing duties had taken their toll. Early in 1918, with his annual

⁷⁹ NAA, *Letter from AH Willsher to the Superintendent*, 23.6.1914 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48); NAA, *ATNA Rules and Regulations 1911* (NAA: A1928, 1023/48); NAA, *Memorandum from Director-General to the CQO(G) NSW*, 13.7.1914 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁸⁰ Cordia, *Nurses at Little Bay*, 16-17.

⁸¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Superintendent PE Getting to CQO(G) NSW*, 1.2.1916 (NAA: A1928,1023/48).

leave still 9 months away, Willsher requested a month's leave without pay to regain his health, as it has been 10 months since he had leave away from the station.⁸² By 1921, after 31 years of continuous service, he was showing the effects of nursing venereal patients and requested 6 months furlough with full pay. However, it was extremely difficult to replace him, as there was no one with his experience or expertise. Furlough was granted, but his replacement Bearpark had no experience in looking after venereal patients, but was capable of covering the administrative tasks at the SIH.

Refreshed from his leave Willsher again tried to gain re-classification, as in his position it was extremely difficult to "maintain effective discipline ... as the wages of the staff under me are higher than my salary."⁸³ In this instance his application was supported by both Drs Cumpston and Reid, but he was again unsuccessful.⁸⁴ In 1930 having reached the age of 65 his employment was ended "at the close of business" on May 29, 1930. He received a payment equivalent to 6 months' salary £156, and a pension of £125.3.0 per annum.⁸⁵ He did not live long in retirement at Artarmon, and in 1934 his widow Mrs Annie Elizabeth Willsher was granted a half pension of £62.11.6.

Woodward – perseverance, but insufficient qualifications for promotion.

Problems with the bureaucracy were not confined to one person as there were constant applications for re-classifications of positions including the attempts by Assistant Woodward in an effort to have his special skills, gained as a seaman, recognised with reclassification. This account also demonstrates the perseverance which these men required if they had any chance of success.

Woodward began his service at Berry's Bay in 1920 as Mr G Woodward receiving a salary of £132 pa. Confusion soon ensued over his name. Having been appointed as Mr George Woodward, his name on admittance was entered as Lord Lionel Woodward, but his name was Lord Noel Woodward and George his nickname.⁸⁶ This was not his only problem. His probationary period had to be extended because he could not supply a birth certificate. There was no record in the register at Somerset House, London of his

⁸² NAA, *Letter from AH Willsher to CQO(G)*, 16.1.1918 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁸³ NAA, *Letter from AH Willsher Seamen's Isolation Hospital, North Head*, 10.1.1923 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁸⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from HA Earl to the Director-General of Health*, 9.8.1923 (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁸⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from P Rees, Secretary Superannuation Board to the Director-General of Health* (no date (NAA: A1928, 1023/48).

⁸⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from the Director-General of Health to Comptroller General*, 21.9.1920 (NAA: A1928, 1023/61).

birth at Swansea, and he did not possess a baptismal certificate. In this situation it was decided that he needed to make a Statutory Declaration.⁸⁷ On account of his poor eyesight he requested a transfer to North Head in 1927.

In 1934 his application for re-classification was based on the specialised nature of the work he carried out. This entailed being in full charge of the fire appliances of which there were 44 hydrants and 85 extinguishers, including chemical fire engines. With experience of sailing ships, he was also assigned the rigger work, which included splicing wire stays for masts, maintaining the wire cable for the funicular railway and the wire runner for the portable crane, as well as carrying out all wire and rope splicing. He was in charge of all sail making work, repairing and making tarpaulins to cover the life buoys as well as palm and needle work.

This application for promotion had been prompted by a circular from the Department of Health which advised that ability would be given preference over seniority for future promotion.⁸⁸ With no accredited certificates to back up his position, he was unsuccessful in this bid, as it was decreed that the work he carried out was only a small proportion of his routine work.⁸⁹ During World War 11, after the midget submarine attack on the harbour, Woodward thinking of the safety of his wife and daughter, saw that they left the station to live in another part of Sydney. This action, with relation to the evacuation of women and children from the station, was seen by Dr Metcalfe CQO(G) as desirable, and was not an unusual action in the Manly area, where many residents left their harbour-side residences to live in what were seen to be safer areas. Woodward decided he did not need to remain in the staff cottage S12, and took up residence in the single men's quarters S1, requesting a subsequent reduction in his rent to that rate.⁹⁰

With the Army in possession of much of the station during the war years it was necessary to move stores such as blankets and bed linen to the Animal Quarantine depot at Abbotsford. As Woodward had no family in residence at North Head, and as he was seen as dependable and conscientious officer he was placed in charge of the Abbotsford Animal Quarantine Station during the war. However by 1944 his health was

⁸⁷ NAA, *Letter from LN Woodward to CQO(G)*, 2.2.1921 (NAA: A1928, 1023/61).

⁸⁸ NAA, *Letter from LN Woodward to Public Service Inspector, through Officer-in-Charge*, 4.12.1934 (NAA: A1928 1023/61).

⁸⁹ NAA, *Memorandum CQO(G) to Director- General of Health*, 28.3.1925 (NAA: A1928, 1023/61).

⁹⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from CQO(G) to Director- General of Health*, 19.2.1942 (NAA: A1928, 10/61).

deteriorating and he was forced to resign, stating that he would like that to take effect by the end of March of that year, but on advice from his doctor he withdrew his resignation and applied for 3 months sick leave. This was granted on full pay and his retirement, aged 65, commenced at the end of his period of sick leave January 20, 1945.

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The Gate Keepers – unequal pay for equal work.

In an area which had restricted entrance, even during times of non-active quarantine, the position of the gatekeeper at the main gate was an essential activity. The duties consisted of opening and shutting the gate for permitted entries, and preventing unauthorised persons entering the station. With relation to this position the actions of those in power were supportive when dealing with men who had retired from public service, but were still able to carry out the necessary requisites guarding the gate. This contrasted markedly with the value placed on women's work with relation to the same activity as is demonstrated in the following table.

⁹¹ NAA, *LN Woodward to CQO(G)*, 14.3.1944 (NAA: A1928, 1023/61).

Name	Dates of service	Amount of payment	Status
Erickson Edward Martin	1914 – 1928	£126 per annum	Retired Quarantine Assistant.
Erickson Dorothy Mrs	1915 - 1928	£26 per annum – relief on Saturdays, Sundays & Public holidays	Wife of Gatekeeper
Sackley Mrs	1928 – 1932	£25 - £20 per annum	Wife of serving Quarantine Assistant North Head
Rawlings Andrew	1932 - 1937	No pay or allowance – occupation of Gatekeeper's cottage	Serving Quarantine Assistant – Master of Launch Berry' Bay.
Southall Joseph William	1937 -1942	£26 per annum , free occupation of Gatekeepers' cottage	Military pensioner of £2 pension per week.
Pearson Mrs	1945 – 1964	No remuneration – Rental paid at 10% of husband's salary.	Wife of ex Quarantine Assistant North Head, now serving clerk in Department of Health- Rental of cottage £37 10% Of husband's salary.
Lavaring Herbert F/Assistant	1964 - 1975	\$104 per annum	F/Assistant North Head. Allowance for duties outside normal hours.

Table 20: Gatekeepers 1914 – 1975 ⁹²

On retirement from his position as Quarantine Assistant, Edward Erickson took up the position of gatekeeper. He received the highest pay of any of the gatekeepers, and his wife received £26 per annum for relieving him on week-ends and public holidays. The power of the bureaucracy and the real exploitation of women's work began with the employment of Mrs Sackley in 1928 on a salary which was considerably less than that paid to Mrs Erickson for weekend work. Initially, Dr Metcalfe had supported an allowance of £75 per annum for the wife of a member of staff, and her husband to be paid an allowance of £26 to relieve every second weekend. ⁹³ But, Dr Cumpston's stance devalued the worth of the women gatekeepers suggesting that if an assistant's wife was

⁹² NAA, *Salary Registers 1912-1921*, Vols.8 – 12 (NAA: P418/1); NAA, *Payment of overtime etc. During Active Quarantine* (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2); NAA, *Occupation of Official residences by retired officers* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2); NAA, *Memorandum L Wienholt, Deputy-Director NSW to Director-General of Health, 23.6.1964* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

⁹³ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health, 12.1..1928* (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

appointed she might have a daughter or “some other person who could act for her on alternate weekends, and so fix an allowance to cover her entire duty.”⁹⁴ When Mrs Sackley was appointed at an allowance of £25 per annum and residence in the Gatekeeper’s cottage, Dr Cumpston expected that her daughter or mother could cover for her if she was absent supposedly for no remuneration, indicating the prevailing attitude in the Department to the lesser value placed on women’s work, whatever the age.⁹⁵

Within two years Dr Metcalfe was willing to support a claim for a salary increase, but Dr Cumpston would not countenance it, imposing more duties on Mrs Sackley and a 20% reduction of the allowance.⁹⁶ She was not the only female exploited. An invalided ex-serviceman John William Southall married with three children on a pension was appointed on a salary of £26 pa and free rental. His hard-working and industrious wife was judged capable of managing the gate. She carried out the duties until her husband’s services were terminated for unsatisfactory behaviour.

The post-war housing shortages played their part in Mrs Pearson, wife of a serving officer, a clerk at Head Office in Sydney, carrying out this role with remuneration of £26 per annum and a rental of 10% of Pearson’s salary.⁹⁷ She fulfilled the role of gatekeeper for 19 years until 1964, taking no holidays except when her husband was on leave and could undertake gate duties. There was no record of her being paid any allowance after 1947.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from Director-General of Health to Dr Metcalfe*, 16.11.1928 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

⁹⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health*, 12.12.1928 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2). The duties for periods of non- active quarantine were spelled out in much greater detail placing the responsibility for prevention of unauthorised persons entering or leaving the Station, the collection of permits, and the cleanliness of the changing store, the watering of plants near the main station.

⁹⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health*, 15.2.1930 (NAA: A1658 1126/6/2); NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Cumpston to Dr Metcalfe*, 20/2/1930 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2); NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, Instructions to and duties of Gatekeeper at NHQS*, 4.4.1930 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe CQO(G) to Director-General of Health*, 25.7.1932 (NAA: A1658 1126/6/2).

⁹⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd to Director-General of Health. Occupation of Official residences by a retired officer*, 27.2.1947 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe Acting/Director-General to Senior Commonwealth Medical Officer*, 28.3.1947 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

⁹⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from Senior Commonwealth Medical Officer to Director-General of Health*, 27.2.1947 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

However, a different approach was taken by the bureaucracy with the changes brought about at the station with the setting up of the Immigration Detention Centre at A20. To ensure tightened security, the gate keeping duties outside normal hours became part of the duties of Foreman Assistant Lavaring, who occupied the gatekeeper's cottage and was paid an allowance of £104 pa to carry out attending the gate outside his normal hours. The number of detainees and visitors outside normal hours increased and this duty was estimated to account for 80 hours a week. Lavaring carried out this duty until he retired in 1975 and the IDC had closed.⁹⁹

Temporary workers - mostly female

During the periods of epidemics and the active quarantine of large vessels temporary staff were hired often on a day-to-day basis to provide necessary services. This staff consisted of both males and females hired from outside sources. The women, particularly in the years before the laundry was mechanised, worked as laundresses. Those whose services were seen to be adequate were often rehired for work during periods of active quarantine. Opportunities for temporary employment were also taken up by members of the resident families and included wives, sisters, sons and daughters whose wages helped to contribute to the family resources. William Phillips Jnr was hired as a temporary cook, messenger and telephone attendant at various periods between 1912 and 1914. His duties included boarding the Quarantine Tender to take messages to Head Office in Sydney. On one of these instances a notation in the diary stated that "he was wearing his first pair of long pants." His sister also acted as the Nurses' Maid during the smallpox epidemic in 1913. Some of the wives acted as temporary cooks.

Under Commonwealth control the permanent position of Female Assistant did not appear to have been seen as necessary or important, especially as during the epidemics numbers of nurses were on hand to attend to women and children quarantined. It appears that this was not an essentially attractive job, for when Superintendent Getting attempted to hire someone for this role, his first choice made a tour of the station and decided against accepting the position.¹⁰⁰ A Mrs Schey was hired as a Female Assistant in April, 1921, and for the next 19 months she worked in the linen room, mending, taking stock and tending to the linen. In time of active quarantine she also took over the

⁹⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from Louis J Wienholt Director NSW to Director-General of Health*, 23.6.1964 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

¹⁰⁰ NAA, *Quarantine Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 51.

duties related to care for the doctors and the upkeep of the Drs' Cottage. The tenure of Mrs Schey was short. She resigned after taking her annual leave in December 1922.¹⁰¹

No Female Assistant was hired to replace her, and during periods of active quarantine the women folk of the male staff were hired as temporary workers to attend to the quarantined women and children, and any other essential quarantine duties. However, it was in the latter half of the century, particularly during the periods of quarantines for migrants from ships and family groups with invalid vaccination status that it became essential for female assistants or domestics to be in attendance on a more permanent basis, as external factors influenced the isolation, work and staff of the station.

The need for female employees became abundantly clear to the authorities with the quarantine of a Mrs Alice Orman in May 1951. As an airline passenger who had not been vaccinated, and as a conscientious objector to vaccination, she was escorted by car from Mascot to the station. She refused accommodation and "finally demanded to be vaccinated and released." Vaccination was carried out and she was returned to Mascot.

¹⁰² Later in that year the quarantine of a KLM liner had necessitated the hiring of two domestics. The hiring of these women demonstrated the intake of people who had migrated as displaced persons after the war and the readiness of these women to undertake jobs including domestic chores. Both were displaced persons from Greta Migrant Hostel near Maitland.¹⁰³ There had been no hesitation on the part of migrant authorities in sending these women to the station as there were two temporary female assistants in residence who could "chaperon them and look after their domestic duties.

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¹⁰¹ NAA, *Quarantine Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 50 – 51.

¹⁰² NAA, *Memorandum from Deputy-Director of Health NSW to Director-General of Health*, 31.5.1951 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

¹⁰³ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.59; NAA, *Kolodziejczyk Helena* (NAA: A12043 Kolodziejczyk Helena, Polish) Anna Kowal took up duties as a cook but was found to be unsatisfactory,¹⁰³ and Helena Kolodziejczyk undertook domestic duties.

¹⁰⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from Deputy-Director of Health NSW to Director-General of Health*, 31.5.1951. These were Miss Lydia Otti and Mrs Trofimov both displaced persons who had been hired during the quarantine of influenza passengers from a BOAC liner. Both these women could speak and read English quite well, both applied for and were granted naturalisation in the mid-1950s. "; NAA, *Family File, Kirchhoff Rudolph, Lydia Loreida Otti* (NAA: SP1122/1, N1959/30153). Miss Otti was an Estonian who had been part of the enforced workforce sent to Germany during the war and had arrived in Australia in early 1951. In 1952 she married Rudolph Kirchhoff, also an Estonian displaced person and as Mrs Kirchhoff undertook the duties of temporary and part-time female assistant at the Station 1952-1954, while working in the Pharmaceutical Benefits Section in Sydney

At any other time it would have been difficult to send an unaccompanied female to the station as there would have been no female domestic service available. The bureaucratic solution to this problem revealed the same attitude to securing the services of the women of station staff at a reduced price, as the hiring of a gatekeeper had. However, at this time none of the wives of staff was willing to undertake the task, even in an emergency, thus making emergency arrangements impossible. It was clear that the bureaucracy had no desire to appoint a permanent person, but it was understood that “unfortunate publicity might be likely, given that the detention of a single female in an empty building, in an institution staffed only by men, was occurring “especially in the likelihood of the passenger protesting strongly against proceedings”, and so the two domestics Otti and Trofimov had to be retained until other arrangements could be made.¹⁰⁵

In the view of the bureaucracy if the wives and families of staff could be enlisted to undertake the necessary duties including the provision of meals to single passengers, that would be an ideal arrangement. Each female was to be approached directly from the Deputy Director’s Office, and interviewed separately, so that there could be no misunderstanding as to their willingness to undertake the duty or not. To make the proposition a more attractive payment for getting meals would be made. The urgency of the situation was clear as it was decreed that each of the eligible females was to be interviewed, individually as soon as possible.¹⁰⁶

There was opposition to this plan, and the wives most of whom had young children declined the offer. However, it was the attitude of the men which was most telling, and demonstrated clearly the male understanding of a women’s place and occupation in the 1950-60s as none of the husbands was agreeable to his wife’s neglecting her own household and family duties to undertake the proposed work.¹⁰⁷ The remuneration for the required work was seen to be too little, and so it seemed unlikely that any assistance could be expected from the wives.

¹⁰⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from the Deputy- Director of Health, NSW to Director-General of Health* 31.5.1951.

¹⁰⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from the Acting Director-General of Health to Deputy-Director of Health* NSW 21.6.1951(NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2). They would be paid at 11/6 per day for one case, 10/6 per day for each of two cases, 9/6 per day for three or more cases. If the wives were willing to act as companions they would be payed the salary equal to that of a female attendant.

¹⁰⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from the Deputy-Director of Health, NSW to Director-General of Health* 2.7.1951 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

In a situation where a decision had to be made, Miss Otti was approached to undertake the role of Female Attendant at the station. To facilitate this position she was provided with accommodation in one of the cottages S1, at a rate of £3 p.a., but was to be responsible for her own food and travel arrangements.¹⁰⁸ It was clear that duties at the station did not interfere with her work at Medical Benefits, as between May and October 1953 she performed the duties as attendant for 37 ½ hours of which only 11 ¼ hours were during normal office hours. Her work was satisfactory and her the Public Service Inspector was willing to allow the arrangement to continue until circumstances changed, or her position at the station was either terminated, or the Medical Benefits Section need her undivided time.¹⁰⁹

However, in 1953 while Miss Otti now Mrs Kirchhoff, was still undertaking these duties enquires were made by two of the wives about the scope of the duties and scales of payment. These included acting as Female Attendant during disinfection and fumigation of female migrant passengers and also acting as a companion when necessary. The remuneration for the supply of meals became a more attractive proposition.¹¹⁰ However, Miss Otti continued to work under her married name Kirchhoff. This caused unrest among the other families as her husband visited the station frequently, and stayed on week-ends. In particular, she was occupying a furnished house S1, and enjoying free fuel, light and radio.

This situation caused Dr Metcalfe to decide that as Mrs Kirchhoff had no regular work at the station, it would be preferable to make *ad hoc* arrangements with the local hospital for whatever staff was required. The quality of her work was not questioned, but in a small and isolated community this caused discontent and came at a time when active quarantine arrangements were changing. As well a large programme of rehabilitation and modernisation was occurring to provide better and more adequate accommodation for those quarantined. All of these factors were causing a great deal of disruption at the station. The need to keep the morale of the staff high became extremely important, and Dr Metcalfe instructed Dr Wiburd, Deputy- Director NSW, to ensure that the

¹⁰⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from Deputy-Director of Health, NSW to Director-General of Health* 17.7.1951(NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

¹⁰⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from FJ McIntyre, Public Service Inspector to Director-General of Health* 16.2.1954 (NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2).

¹¹⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr A J Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Commonwealth Public Service Inspector, Sydney*, 3.12.1953(NAA: A1658, 1126/6/2). Allocations of, 16/- for one meal, 14/6 each for two and 13/- each for three or more. Employment was to be on a casual basis of hourly rates and a 12 ½% loading.

requirements of the station were met promptly, and to see that meetings between the Foreman Assistant and Head Office in Sydney should occur on a regular basis. This Dr Metcalfe hoped would decrease the feeling of isolation, and sort out problems as they occurred as well as engendering a feeling of inclusion in the decision making process.¹¹¹

Conclusion.

Studies of the Quarantine Station at North Head have focused on its development and operation particularly with relation to the growth and importance of public health measures during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Importance has also been placed on immigration and the plight of those quarantined, as well establishing links to policies of isolation and exclusion and their influence on national consciousness. However, while these are important elements in their own right, this focus tends to cast light only on the important people such as Dr Cumpston and problems which occurred during the bubonic plague and influenza pandemics. The area of station life with relation to the workers and their families has been overlooked in the process of concentrating on these larger issues. In particular, studies have all but excluded the reality of the station as a workplace and a home to the human workforce who manned it. Casting of light on the lived experience of this group of workers provides a broader and humanising focus related to the history of the station which has been almost completely neglected.

This chapter traced the roles of some of the important individuals who made decisions concerning the operation and administration of the station. The “forgotten” or “hidden” workforce which contributed to the functioning of the station in the twentieth century has been addressed to redress the imbalance in earlier histories of the station. Although small in number, this workforce carried out quarantine activities which provided protection for the general population throughout the whole period of its operation during the twentieth century.

Even though the work diaries included little personal detail yet, analysis of the extant evidence of work practices and those who carried them out has allowed this workforce to be retrieved from the obscurity to which it has been confined. This has made it possible to come to an understanding of some of the difficulties which staff faced, the manual and routine nature of the work, as well as traditional areas of hours of work,

¹¹¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to Deputy-Director of Health, NSW Dr Wiburd 3.2.1955* (NAA: SP1874/3, 92/1/1 Part 1).

wages and entitlements. In this way a window is opened into the daily lives of the staff and their families in what was a physically and socially isolated working environment with details of the lives of staff members adding to this picture of how social relationships were constructed at the station and through interaction with the bureaucracy.

This group of people were not transient quarantined passengers or patients, but were the continuous human face of quarantine at the station. The recounting of their contributions and their stories provides a balance to established studies. While this workforce lived and worked in the specific spatial and natural environment of the Quarantine Station at North Head, and carried out its distinctive practices and processes establishing a sense of place which influenced their lives and behaviour. However, within the wider social and geographical community there were those who constantly agitated to close down or remove this workplace to an alternative setting, an area which the following Chapter 6 will explore.

Section 2: A Working Station

Chapter 6 – “Not in our back yard” – Attempts at removal 1881 - 1984

Chapters 4 and 5 discussed the role and importance of the work patterns and the “hidden” or “forgotten” workforce who manned the station. This chapter continues to explore the station as a workplace but in a very different sense to that which has been explored thus far. Instead of focusing on the daily rhythm of work and the workforce which carried it out I will focus on the station as a quarantine workplace within the spatial setting of its urban locality. Again Pred’s theory of place is useful in positioning the station itself and its workforce as functioning as a quarantine workplace within the wider spatial setting of an urban community. The relationship between this workplace’s activity and situation close to the suburb of Manly can be examined in light of Pred’s understanding of place as involved in “a process whereby an endless dialectic between practice and social structure expresses itself locally” as the “dominant institutional projects – the daily paths and life paths of participants and their imprint on the landscape” come into contact with other dominant institutional power structures.¹ In this context this chapter will explore the oppositional and acrimonious relationship which existed between the station and its role as an active workplace, the local suburban and the wider urban and commercial communities throughout the period 1881- 1984.

Throughout the period of its operation, especially following the smallpox epidemic of 1881 through to its closure in 1984, this station was subjected to concerted attempts to achieve its removal. By the turn of the century the station’s location had become less isolated, as Manly’s suburban development and profitable tourist trade made it a desirable place to live and holiday. Also, North Head offered attractive potential for development on several levels. This was an area with access to both harbour and ocean beaches, spectacular views and the lure of extensive financial benefits for private enterprise once having achieved rights to occupation of the land.

¹ Pred, “Place as Historically Contingent Process,” 292.

This chapter outlines the ways in which opposition to the station's continued presence, associated with the perceived risks of infection spreading to the local and wider community, were fuelled by newspaper coverage which highlighted the case for removal and agitation from local politicians and residents for the removal of the station to an alternative site. In particular, in the post-World War 11 period, this local opposition increased as Manly Council and land agents recognised the potential the area of North Head presented as an almost unique area for public recreation and/or fulfilling the real estate developer's dream.

The aggressive and ongoing role of the Member for Wakehurst, the Hon. WC Wentworth, is highlighted as he used his political position to advance his plans for the use of the whole of the North Head area including the quarantine area. His efforts were linked to the effects of social change brought about by the intake of migrants and the need to create hostels for them, expanding population numbers and the development of areas of physical and social infrastructure through the provision of housing and jobs. These provided politicians like Wentworth with the opportunity to call for the resources of North Head to become available for almost any other public or private pursuit than quarantine. The stance taken by the Director-Generals of Health is highlighted to demonstrate their opposition to either moving or closing the station, and reveals their belief in the continuing need for quarantine and their unwavering support for continued quarantine activity at North Head. The role of the Army in gaining use of the Seaman's Isolation Hospital and North Fort for defence activities is outlined as are the actions of a wider group in campaigning for part of the area to be given over to public and recreation purposes. This wider group maintained their strong opposition to the incursion of private enterprise. Throughout, the role of the press and politicians in endeavouring to move or close North Head station is shown to be pivotal, as was the stance of the Department of Health in retaining the station to fulfil its protective role until 1984.

From its continued operation it is clear that there was no real intent on the part of the Department of Health to sanction the closure of the station. However, for the period 1908 -1948, the communications between those who called for closure and /or removal, and the official standpoint of opposition to movement or closure are contained in files which have been mislaid or lost, and so the understanding of this period and the interaction between the two groups is limited.² The official opposition to closure can be

² NAA, *North Head Quarantine Station* (NAA: SP351/1, CL1392 Part 1, 1909 – 1948). File missing since 1997.

assessed readily in the period 1948 -1974, as the files which set out the arguments for the continued operation of the station at North Head have survived. In this post-war period concessions had been made by the Department of Health to make the stations at Albany, Bunbury and Hobart available for immigration purposes, while during the 1950s Broome and Thursday Island had also been withdrawn from use. This variation in policy did not apply to North Head.³

The Quarantine Station North Head – move it or close it: the role of the press.

Calls for removal of the station were clearly worthy of interest and input from the press, especially as it had all the intrinsic elements necessary to create a climate of fear among the people of Manly and the wider population. It presented a fine opportunity for state politicians to take the fledgling Commonwealth to task over quarantine and lack of co-operation. During the smallpox epidemic of 1913-1917 this heightened to the point that, medical staff and nurses at the Quarantine Hospital, who were from state institutions, were replaced with Commonwealth staff, as the Commonwealth took over complete control. The reports in the press, however one-sided, provocative or argumentative provide an insight into the stance for and against removal/closure and at times reveal elements of the arguments which were advanced by both sides.

A perusal of the newspaper articles supports the premise that there appears to be a close relationship between the episodes of epidemics in the early decades of the twentieth century, and the calls for closure or removal. After the myriad of problems which occurred during the smallpox epidemic of 1881, when the station was still under the control of the State Government, an enquiry was established, overseen by the Health Officer and Medical Adviser to the Government. It was commissioned to look into “the condition of the quarantine station at North Head and the propriety of altering the present quarantine regulations”.⁴ There were many areas of the report which addressed the inadequacies of the station which were demonstrated during the epidemic, and included suggestions to redress these. But, overall the report expressed support for the policy of quarantine and its role in protecting the community from diseases such as smallpox, cholera and typhus. At this time the station was at a distance

³ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Secretary THE Hayes, Department of Immigration, 16.10.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum from A J Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Minister, Quarantine Policy and Quarantine Statistics, 6.10.1959* (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1).

⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 12, 1883.

from settled areas of Manly and Dr Mackellar in his report argued that the present site “was admirably adapted for the purpose (of quarantine).” There were those who saw disadvantages in this proposal of keeping the station where it was, and suggestions were made for it to be moved to Dangar Island or Terrey’s Point at Cowan Creek in the area of Broken Bay. All of these sites were judged to have some of the necessary conditions and requirements, but lacked proximity to suitable railway transport.⁵

As a result of this report a considerable amount of work to improve the facilities at the station was carried out and, by 1884, an article in the *Australian Town and Country Journal* could claim that “the old Quarantine Station is now scarcely recognisable save by its immediate surroundings and landmarks.”⁶ But this type of positive reporting was not the norm. By the end of the decade the residents of Manly were agitating for the removal of the station to a position further north on the peninsula.⁷ Such agitation was grist to the mill of the *Sydney Morning Herald* journalists who reported, in a highly emotive way, that the meeting in Manly sought to “condemn the present site ... as prejudicial to the best interests of the borough ... to urge its speedy removal to some more suitable position.”⁸ This argument, which was put forward by the people of Manly, was to be echoed in following years.

The most resonating theme was that “such close proximity to Manly is a danger to the health and interest of the residents and also to the visitors from all parts of the colony.” The danger was seen to lie in the “filth” and “refuse” from quarantined ships which was a source of “loathsome disease germs which might be scattered for a considerable distance”, a present danger in a place known for its beauty and health-giving resorts. Importantly, the effects on tourism were having serious financial consequences which could increase in the future. The beauty of the area lent itself to promoting further avenues of financial gain and popular acclaim, particularly if the whole promontory was to be sold, and developed, and the station removed to Broken Bay, a suitable site at a distance from Manly. The clinching argument in the late 1880s was that there had been a case of smallpox in Manly, and it could only have originated from the quarantine station. No further proof was needed.⁹ A year later, when questioned in parliament

⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 12, 1883.

⁶ *Australian Town and Country Journal*, (NSW), March 8, 1884.

⁷ *South Australian Register* (Adelaide), January 25, 1887.

⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney) June 19, 1888.

⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney) June 19, 1888.

about the removal of the station, Sir Henry Parkes played for time and agreed that removal was desirable, if a suitable site could be obtained.¹⁰

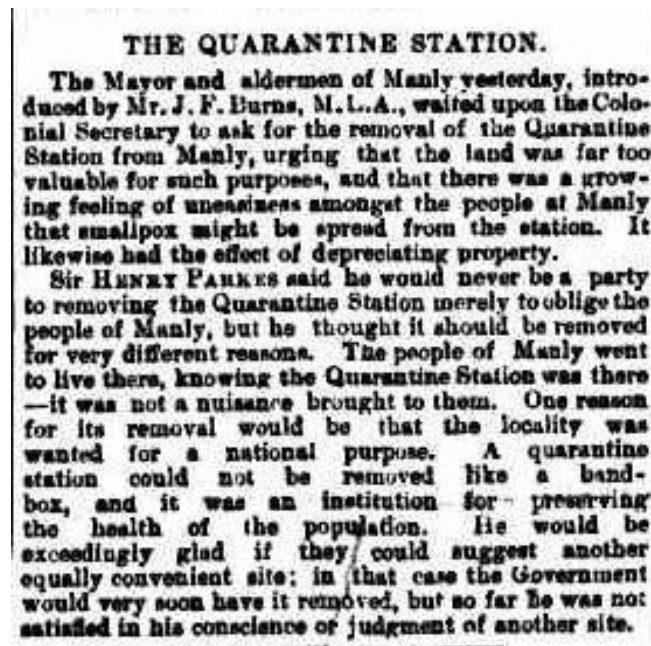


Image 16: “The Quarantine Station”, *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 21, 1890
<http://nla.gov.au/n.a.news-article-13763997>

The constant agitation of the 1880s received an impetus from the plague epidemic of 1900-1. The large numbers who were detained at the station and the virility of the disease, as well as the number of deaths and the alleged laxity of administration, which allowed contact between those quarantined and the general public, were all used as evidence of the necessity of removal, especially from residents of the northern suburbs. But it was the reaction to the advent of federation which clearly demonstrated one of the most influential underlying driving forces. A deputation to the Premier “urged that it would not be wise policy for the State Government to hand over this valuable site, worth a quarter of a million to the Federal Government.”¹¹

Continued agitation required a response from the new Commonwealth Government, and as representatives of the northern suburbs made clear to the Minister for Customs, the removal to somewhere in Broken Bay was a necessity. The deputation was promised that the Minister would look into the matter, as the Commonwealth was anxious to do “whatever was most suitable to the State Government and the people of

¹⁰ *Singleton Argus* (NSW) April 3, 1889.

¹¹ *The Advertiser* (Adelaide), June 15, 1901.

Sydney.” It appeared that promises and delaying tactics were still the best way of dealing with the problem.¹² This seemed effective in dealing with on-going entreaties from representatives of Manly whose fears focused on the belief that North Head would become the main quarantine depot for the eastern states. The arguments for the “unrivalled “nature of the site and its potential as a public recreation area were acknowledged by the Federal Attorney - General (Mr Hughes), but he argued that without specific facts and figures with relation to the perceived problems, and an assessment of the impact on all classes of people, the only option open to the Commonwealth Government in 1910, was to put the data before the Minister for Customs.¹³

Further calls for removal occurred with the rumour publicised in the press that a lazaret was to be established at North Head. This aroused indignation and fuelled strong opposition in Manly, particularly from the Council, and notable Manly figures. They were not alone, NSW federal members supported by members from other states spoke in the House of Representatives deploring the fact that a smallpox patient had been brought over 1800 miles down the east coast to North Head, when she should have been quarantined at a port to the north. A similar case in the following year increased the anger and added to the previous arguments, as well as instigating the belief that the spirit of the Constitution was being violated, in that Queensland was being given preference over New South Wales, by being protected from the risk of infection.¹⁴ In an unvaccinated population the danger of infection was serious, and this was seen to be increased by the seemingly lax administration at North Head. It was alleged that officers and crew of a boat, which ran daily from Sydney to North head, mixed with the patients at the station, and then returned to the city where they could spread the disease. It was also rumoured that patients bored with life at the station, where they were provided with all necessary creature comforts, escaped to Manly for entertainment and the returned climbing the wall near Blue Fish Point.

This prompted an ominous precursor to actions during the interwar period in Europe, when it was proposed that all inmates should be made to wear a yellow suit to identify them, and deter them from escaping to Manly.¹⁵ The Minister for Customs recognised

¹² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May12, 1908.

¹³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 16, 1910.

¹⁴ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 9, 1913.

¹⁵ *Singleton Argus* (NSW) September 11, 1913.

that there were problems in the quarantine service, but argued that quarantine was the last service to be transferred to the Commonwealth, and rather than removal of the North Head station there were plans to overhaul the service, improve the facilities at North Head, and establish new quarantine stations at Townsville and Brisbane.¹⁶ This caused the Member for Manly to deplore the fact that his repeated calls for removal in the House of Representatives had met with no satisfaction, and that the Minister had made clear that there was little prospect for any change, until a suitable site was found, especially one which met the commercial requirements of the port of Sydney.¹⁷

Fear of infection.

While the smallpox epidemic of 1913-1917 had fuelled the demands for removal from local parliamentary representatives and the powerful in Manly, they had had little to no effect. The station continued to operate and protect against infectious diseases, a function which underlined the demands for its removal, preferably to Broken Bay or Jervis Bay. This perceived public danger of its operation was increased by the advent of the influenza epidemic 1918-1919. The local press clearly saw the propaganda benefits of the stoush which was occurring between the State and Commonwealth Governments over the operation and site of the station. Those opposed argued that the population of Manly had increased in numbers, and the station was not as isolated from suburban life, holiday makers, and city life, as in earlier times. State parliamentarians and prominent medical men of Manly argued strongly for its removal, particularly as the large numbers of returned soldiers quarantined posed a danger of a breakout, which could expose the community to infection “however vigilant” the quarantine authorities were.

¹⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), July 19, 1912.

¹⁷ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), December 6, 1912; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), September 30, 1913.



Image 17: "Quarantine Station. Manly Demands Removal" *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), June 6, 1912 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article1536077>

The effects of the disease entering the community would be catastrophic.¹⁸ In particular, this could happen if a ship the size of SS "Medic" collided with other vessels while anchored in quarantine in the harbour.¹⁹ These calls were bolstered by the added focus of Mr AAC Cocks MLA, NSW on the profit which could be gained if the then 600 acres of the station could be sold at £1000 per acre, rather than a constant "source of dread at the gates of the city."²⁰

Within weeks the wider Australian press recognised the importance of the story and the effects of the nature and danger of this epidemic. The centre of the protest moved from Manly to the city where a public meeting was held in the Town Hall to "vigorously demand the removal of the quarantine station from North Head", preferably to Lion Island in Broken Bay where there were "plenty of sharks to make it dangerous for any person to try and break bounds."²¹ The press pointedly highlighted the view of the State Member for Manly, Dr Arthur, who laid the blame for many of the deaths on "Medic" to

¹⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 22, 1918.

¹⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 26, 1918.

²⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 27, 1918; *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 26, 1918.

²¹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), December 4, 1918.

the actions of the Commonwealth authorities, “who had kept the men cooped up when they should have been sent ashore.”²²

The plight of soldiers quarantined at the station gained further press coverage when the men of “Argyllshire” refused to remain in the quarantine area revolted and marched out. This provided the press and opponents of government policy with emotive and graphic examples of the stress put upon the returned soldiers who had been ordered into quarantine. A captain who had travelled home with troops on a troopship registered his support for the discipline of the Australian soldier and stated he understood their disappointment at being unable to join loved ones. This first-hand knowledge struck the right note and underpinned the argument that the Commonwealth Government should show respect for the troops and remove both them and the station.²³ However as 1919 wore on with increasing numbers of influenza patients needing care, the Commonwealth was committed to using the station for the purposes of public health, and had no immediate plans for its removal.²⁴

A deputation to the Minister representing both Manly Council, the City Council of Sydney as well as northern and inner city municipalities requested removal of the station had little success besides being promised that the Acting Prime Minister and the Minister for Trade and Customs would make an inspection of the station, but no further promises were made.²⁵ However, this attempt at removal of the station did elicit a strong response. It was reported in the *Western Mail* (Perth,) that there were those among the ship owners who were convinced that “any change in the site would make quarantine more expensive and inconvenient” and would “create a very serious hardship”, as none of the proposed sites could offer “safe and convenient anchorage”. In addition this group argued that trade would suffer, costs would rise, and primary producers and other related interests would be affected. These arguments relating clearly to the economy and trade appeared, at the time, to convince interested parties as well as the government that removal of the station was not an economically wise move.²⁶ By 1924 as the militarisation of North Head increased the opposition group in Manly had two departments to deal with. These were the newly established Department of Health and the Department for Defence effectively more than doubling

²² *The Advertiser* (Adelaide) December 4, 1918.

²³ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 28, 1919.

²⁴ *Western Mail* (Perth,) March 14, 1919; *Brisbane Courier* (Queensland), March 13, 1919.

²⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney) November 24, 1923.

²⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), December 6, 1923.

their difficulties. They now had to deal with Dr Cumpston the Director – General of Health, and Sir Neville Howse the Minister for Department of Health and temporary Minister for Department of Defence, both of whom were strongly opposed to any proposal of removal.²⁷

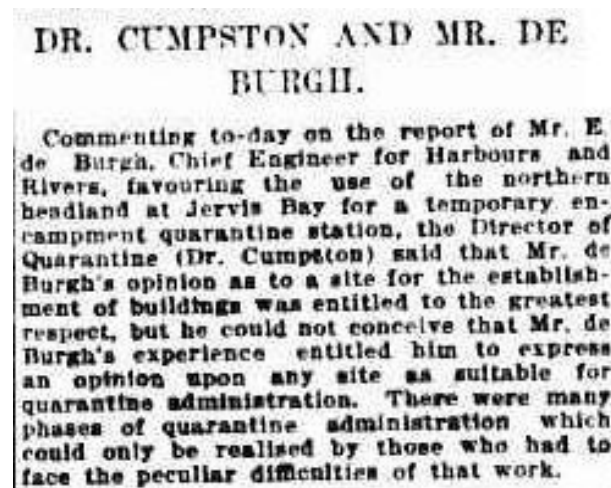


Image 18: "Dr Cmpston and Mr De Burgh," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), February 2, 1919 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article15825368>

Undaunted further deputations continued to press the previous arguments adding that in other countries such as the USA quarantine areas were situated on isolated islands, or had no contact with the land. The huge cost of £1500 a week to run the station was evidence of the inappropriateness of its continued operation at North Head as "the property could be converted into the finest playground in Australia."²⁸ While these deputations did not achieve a programme of removal, they had a measure of success. While not being prepared to remove the station in 1929, Sir Neville Howse, in a letter to Mr Parkhill MP for Manly, wrote that he had decided to recommend to Cabinet the setting apart of practically half of the quarantine area (321 acres), with an additional 100 acres when a water service was available, for public and recreation purposes, creating the Parkhill Reserve.²⁹

Other considerations with relation to the use of the area occupied by the station than those which had been occupying the minds of Manly Council and local politicians, were linked to its position on the harbour and the development of military activities in the

²⁷ *The Register* (Adelaide), August 14, 1925.

²⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), January 21, 1928.

²⁹ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), May 15, 1929.

area. *The Navy League NSW Branch* applied for permission to hold a camp on Collins Flat to conduct training for 20 cadets led by 3 officers in the use of naval cutters which were used as training ships as well as providing transport. While Dr Cumpston was willing to approve this, he sought the advice of Dr Metcalfe the local CQO(G). He pointed out that April was a period when numbers of vessels were quarantined and considered it an unsuitable time for permission for the camp to proceed within the precincts of the station.³⁰ This group was unsuccessful in its attempt to use an area of the station for military purposes. However, a request from the Defence Department for use of the 3rd class quarters to house 160 men who were taking part in a camp at the Barracks at North Head was forwarded, again at a time when quarantines were likely to occur and so posed problems. This time Dr Metcalfe was able, with approval from Dr Cumpston, to offer the “loan” of the SIH for the necessary period. This was possible as, if a quarantine occurred, the area would not need to be used except in the unusual conditions of two ships being held at once. The SIH was isolated from the rest of the station, was self-contained, had four dormitories, kitchen and dining room and would lend itself to the purpose of this camp. There would be no call on the resources of the station as the army would supply its own equipment.³¹

Attempts to harvest/benefit from its resources.

The inter-war period saw not only the development of wider army structures and activities at North Head, but also the effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s. With an ever shrinking workforce, and the necessary broadening of areas through which the unemployed attempted to eke out a living, the natural products of the flora within the quarantine area were targeted with requests to harvest the Yellow Grass Tree Gum. The first request to harvest this resource came from a potential employer of ten men, as it presented a sole opportunity for employment for them all. The stump of this plant was used extensively in varnish making. As this plant grew plentifully on the station, Dr Metcalfe sought permission for these activities from Dr Cumpston who was at first, amenable, but sought to know if the trees would be destroyed when the resin was collected. He was under the impression that the process involved the complete destruction of the tree and was averse to any process which would involve destruction

³⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from the Director-General of Health to Dr Metcalfe CQO(G)*, NSW, 1.4.1930 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director-General of Health*, 7.4.1930 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³¹ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health*, 5.4.1936 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

of native plants, especially as it had always been the plan to retain the area as a reserve for native flora.³²

In quick succession, each revealing elements of widespread unemployment, other requests, often eliciting the support of local MPs, for permission to carry out the same activity were made. Emmanuel P Walters wanted permission to provide employment for himself and his son. He had 30 years' experience in this type of work, and was willing to pay the licence of £4/10/- per month if granted permission.³³ The willingness to pay the cost of the licence points to this work as reaping substantial monetary rewards, and the reason others like FJ Thomas, a returned soldier, were also anxious to harvest the gum. Thomas had appealed to his local member WM Hughes MP to support him. In his letter to the Minister, Hughes demonstrated his understanding to the problems of the unemployed during the depression, as well as his antipathy to the role of the officials in the Department of Health to whom "the REGULATIONS are a Holy Writ", and pleaded "to let this poor devil work so that he may live."³⁴ Another applicant, possibly having been alerted that the areas was a sanctuary, was willing to fill in the holes dug while extracting the gum, so that the growth of the young trees would not be affected. He guaranteed to not interfere with anything than the grass trees.³⁵

The number of applications submitted by mid-1932 had some effect as Dr Metcalfe was willing to grant approval for the collection of resin in certain areas, under strict supervision, as he felt there would be no permanent harm to the vegetation, and the trees were presently growing in abundance. There were precedents for this as permission had been granted to a party of Germans before World War 1.³⁶ However, to protect the environment, Dr Cumpston was not willing to grant approval, citing the destruction of the plants during the collection of the resin, and the deleterious effects on neighbouring plants. His position was based on the premise that there were "many

³² NAA, *Letter from JG Tribolet "Fernlea" Chard Rd Brookvale to Dr Metcalfe, 7.6.1930* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1); NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe, CQO(G) NSW to Director-General of Health, 11.6.1930* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1); NAA, *Director-General of Health to Mr A Parkhill MP, 31.7.1930* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³³ NAA, *Letter from Emmanuel P Walters to the Superintendent Quarantine Station North Head, 5.7.1930* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³⁴ NAA, *Letter from WM Hughes MP to the Minister for Health, J McNeill MP, 31.5.1931* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³⁵ NAA, *Letter from H Harvey to CQO(G) Sydney, 2.5.1932* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 4.5.1932* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

other areas around Sydney where the industry could equally well be followed.”³⁷ As a result both Mr Harvey and Mr Thomas were refused permission. This refusal had nothing to do with quarantine regulations, but possibly, taking into account the continued calls for its closure, and the belief that “in the future North Head might become a public reserve, and as the only large reserve around Sydney where native flora had been allowed to remain undisturbed” the collection of gum which destroyed the trees and surrounding flora, was not considered wise and should not be permitted.³⁸

Other attempts were made during the 1950s to gain permission to use the area for specific groups or to use it as a base for commercial enterprises. Again the support of local members was sought to add weight to the requests. In one instance a fisherman (an ex- policeman) from Bondi requested entry with his fishing equipment and crew. This request was supported by his local member as the industry in which he was engaged was an important one and again the retention of work for the man and his crew, and the benefits for the community were stressed as important considerations. Another request involved leasing 100 acres to establish a Public Golf Course, which would be one of the most beautiful links in Sydney. These requests were denied. However, a request by Wentworth for the use of the facilities of the station for the Jubilee International Girl Guides’ Camp as alternative accommodation if the site at Narrabeen experienced heavy rain, received approval, and, if not used for quarantine purposes, accommodation for 500 guides from all nations would have been available at very short notice.³⁹

It was possible to mount coherent arguments to refuse requests for the use of the native and accommodation resources of the quarantine area. However, propaganda which portrayed the quarantine service and the station in particular, in an extremely poor light, could not be ignored. One such event occurred with the publication of a book “Freeman of Stamboul” by Angus and Robertson in 1934. This was the autobiography of Bernard Freeman, a record of his adventures or “travellers’ tales” which “needed no little stretch of the imagination to believe them.” He wrote about the

³⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from JHL Cumpston, Director –General of Health to Dr Metcalfe, CQO(G) NSW, 6.5.1932* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³⁸ NAA, *Reply from the Minister for Health to WM Hughes MP, 15.7.1931* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

³⁹ NAA, *Letter from John Armstrong to Sir Earle Page, Minister for Health, 13.1.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Letter from WC Wentworth to the Hon. HL Anthony, Acting Minister for Health, 25.7.1951* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Reply from Hon. HL Anthony, Acting Minister for Health, 2.8.1951* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

important people he met e.g. Nellie Melba, Sarah Bernhardt, Caruso and Gordon of Khartoum, as well as his earlier adventures in the Middle East.⁴⁰ But it was his recounting of his quarantine experiences which raised Dr Cumpston's ire as he took exception to the sections which dealt with quarantine of 'Niagara' in 1918. There were assertions made with relation to the state of the station, its infrequent use and that "fear and panic reigned supreme" as inadequate staff failed to control the "rough element" and "women were badly used." Cumpston's position was that, "These statements can be proved to be so far from the truth that they constitute a most serious reflection on this Department and on the officers responsible for the administration of the quarantine station."⁴¹ A thinly veiled threat to take public action to contradict these statements, which were "very much to the detriment of Australian prestige aboard" brought a prompt apology from Angus & Robertson. They were sorry that the passages were not deleted from the Australian edition, and assured him that they would be eliminated from the Second Edition which was to be soon to be published.⁴²

In recognition of Dr Cumpston's concerns for the service, Dr Metcalfe provided detailed comments with relation to the content from the relevant pages, and wrote that the author was an "old gentleman aged 81 who wrote the book relying on his memory rather than an accurate diary, for the dates of events mentioned are hopelessly mixed."⁴³ The horror stories connected to the voyage of "Niagara" were easily refuted, as were the claims about the extended lack of use of the station, as well as the assertions that beds and mattresses were full of snakes. Dr Metcalfe agreed fully with the author who claimed that on release to Sydney he had to "contrive many excuses and tell many lies," and had written his book in the same fashion.⁴⁴ This type of fictional recounting of life in

⁴⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November 4, 1933.

⁴¹ NAA, *Letter from JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health to Angus and Robertson Sydney*, 23.1.1934 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁴² NAA, *Letter from Angus & Robertson to JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health*, 24.1.1934 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁴³ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G), NSW to Director-General of Health*, 31.1.1934 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁴⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G), NSW to Director-General of Health*, 31.1.1934. *The West Australian* (Perth), March 17, 1934. Bernard Freeman author of "Freeman of Stamboul" a self-dubbed "Professor" died in Melbourne 3/10/1934 at the age of 81. He was a Turk who had been educated in Alexandria, could speak seven or eight modern languages, and travelled widely. He wrote in a flamboyant and egotistical style and his memoirs were seen to be eminently readable. He had met many of the personalities of his day, "Chinese" Gordon, RL Stevenson, Madame Melba, Caruso, Sarah Bernhardt and Louis de Rougemont. His books also included notable experiences such as mutiny at sea, the revolution in Honolulu, and a massacre of white settlers by Red Indians.

quarantine has gained credence in the general community, and while clearly made up of exaggerations and tainted evidence, it was grist to the mill of pedlars of the extraordinary urban myths related to the history of the station.

This befuddled author was not the only person to use fabricated evidence or alarmist tactics to attempt to convert the quarantine area for other purposes. Local MPs and Manly Council had played a significant part in attempts to remove the station in the early decades of the century, and in 1946-8 the MLA for Manly, ED Darby, and Manly Council were keen to see the removal of the station to gain access to the land as a building site, to open up North Head to the public by way of a re-opened scenic road, and in the interim to provide temporary housing, preferably to ex-servicemen.⁴⁵ Darby argued that there were increased international controls of infectious diseases, thus making the need for a quarantine station unnecessary.⁴⁶ His error in this matter was purposefully pointed out to him by Dr Metcalfe who stressed the increased importance, at that time, of the part played by the station in maintaining the quarantine barrier.⁴⁷

Hon. WC Wentworth's crusade.

The baton was then passed to the Liberal Member for Wakehurst, Hon. WC Wentworth, who carried out the campaign with vigour and commitment, initially not to have the station removed, as this had proved unsuccessful in the past, but to have the area conceded to more useful purposes. The 1950s was a period of housing shortages, an increased intake of numbers of immigrants, and inadequate public services such as hospital accommodation. As the Liberal candidate for Mackellar, Wentworth's sights were firmly on the local area and in particular the quarantine station. He produced a Leaflet: *Quarantine Station Scandal – Idle Buildings should be Hospital and Maternity Block*, as part of his election campaign, setting out the reasons why the area should be converted to this use. He was supported in his drive to convert the station into a pavilion type hospital, which was urgently needed for chronic and sub-acute cases, by Dr Schlink the chairman of Prince Alfred Hospital. His argument revolved around the premise that the residential section of the station had only been used for one day since

⁴⁵ NAA, *Letter from LC Wellings, Town Clerk Manly Council to Hon. PC Spender MHR*, 9.12.1947 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/4).

⁴⁶ NAA, *Letter from ED Darby, MLA for Manly to Hon. PC Spender MHR*, 16.12.1946 (NAA: A461, L437/1/7).

⁴⁷ NAA, *Letter from AJ Metcalfe, Acting/ Director-General of Health to the Secretary Prime Minister's Department*, 10.1.1947 (NAA: A461, L437/1/7); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Acting/Director-General of Health to the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department* 30.12.1946 (NAA: A1658, 864/9/4).

1938 for the quarantine of “Mooltan” which was only a convenience, and was not a necessary instance of quarantine, and that there was no reason to keep a station which was permanently empty.

In addition he detailed five areas which demonstrated that because of the significant changes which had taken place in the previous 50 years that quarantine was no longer necessary. The focus of travel had changed from ships to air, thus making the Coast Hospital or Jervis Bay effective quarantine facilities if necessary. There were monetary advantages to be gained by using the station as a 500 bed hospital, as well as providing a maternity block for a growing area. He noted that support for this hospital came from *the RSS&AI League of Australia, (Manly-Warringah District Council) and Warringah Shire Council*.⁴⁸ Support for Wentworth’s proposal for the establishment of a hospital also came from Dr Wallace Freeborn from *Royal North Shore Hospital*. He had been part of the military team which had worked in a 250 bed hospital in the Saloon area during World War 11. He believed that taking over portion of the area for long standing patients or convalescents would be a tremendous help to the hospitals of the North Shore, especially if plans were provided for the evacuation of the area with 24 hours’ notice, to provide for a period of quarantine.

However, he saw problems with the physical set -up of the station, the need for more amenities and the ability to attract staff: medical, nursing and general. As the scheme would need the approval of the Hospital Commission and a Director- General unlikely to approve the change, he did not think an overly optimistic view was appropriate.⁴⁹ Not deterred by the problems which could arise, Wentworth wrote to Sir Earle Page, Minister for Health, setting out his vision for the hospital which he thought could be run by the NSW Hospital authorities. He received a reply, which had all the elements of delaying tactics, suggesting that the best way to deal with his suggestion was to send it for consideration to the National Health and Medical Research Council.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director of Health NSW to Director-General of Health, 7.12.1949* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1). RSSILA Returned Sailors and Soldiers Imperial League of Australia founded – 1916 (QLD, SA, TAS and VIC) NSW admitted 1917, WA 1918. RSSAILA, name changed to Returned Sailors’, Soldiers’ and Airmen’s Imperial League of Australia.

⁴⁹ NAA, *Letter from Wallace Freeborn, RNS Hospital to WC Wentworth, 14.7.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁵⁰ NAA, *Letter from WC Wentworth to Sir Earle Page, 10.8.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum from Sir Earle Page, Minister for Health to WC Wentworth, 10.8.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

At the same time Wentworth, ensuring a two pronged attack, had demanded from the Minister that the first and second class quarters at the station, and any other buildings or work that needed to be done, should be used to house migrants. To achieve this he suggested that a big fence should be built to isolate the area from that necessary for quarantine which would be, in his estimation, quite suitable for present quarantine needs. In an emergency the area used by migrants could be vacated in six to ten days. This left only steerage, Asiatic and crews' quarters, which Dr Metcalfe regarded as quite unsuitable for 1st class passengers. In addition, Dr Metcalfe as the Director- General of Health, pointed out to the Minister that he was not prepared to alter the present quarantine system without a direction from the Government , and that this would require parliamentary sanction to alter the *Act*.

At a meeting with Dr Metcalfe and the Minister, Mr Wentworth made it clear that in his opinion none of this was needed. He disagreed with Dr Metcalfe's assessment of the continued need for present quarantine system and the role of the States in any proposed changes. With certainty and bombast he informed Metcalfe that he regarded his views as "fundamentally wrong, if not dishonest; that (he) had the attributes of all public servants that what I have I hold; that the views of the State Health Departments needed re-educating and the views of the Deputy Director of Health were also archaic." He argued that his knowledge of quarantine procedures was such that Dr Metcalfe could "tell him nothing."

In such a situation the Minister supported his Director-General and informed Wentworth that "he was not willing to permit the community to run an unnecessary risk" of disease such as smallpox or plague. He was, however, willing to consider the approach to the Minister for Labour and National Services for the hand-over of the Seaman's Isolation Hospital for the housing of migrants. When questioned about his interest in migrants Wentworth, clearly motivated by political gain, stated that his desire to get the sewerage in his electorate was dependent upon a pool of labour being stationed in the area. Hence three or four hundred living on the station would achieve this. His plan to establish a hospital on the station had been put on hold for the time being, and his plan for the installation of a sewerage system being undertaken quickly had probably missed its opportunity.⁵¹

⁵¹ NAA, *Letter from Dr Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to Dr Redshaw, For Your Information, 25.10.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

This missed opportunity was not Wentworth's final stand. By State election time in early 1953 the issue of the ownership of the land the station was occupying offered an opportunity for Wentworth, the Manly Council and the State government to put forward alternative plans for the area. The Minister, Sir Earle Page, had intimated to Wentworth that he desired definite proposals as to the minimum area of Commonwealth land to be released and the purposes to which it would be put. However, as any land released would be adjacent to an operating quarantine station and a military facility, this impinged on the interests of the Department of Health and the Department of Defence. He suggested the formation of advisory committees with representatives from the Departments of Interior, Health and Army combined with representatives from the NSW State Government, Cumberland County Council and Manly Council to represent local interests. These would be approached through the proper channels to prepare a definite proposal.⁵²

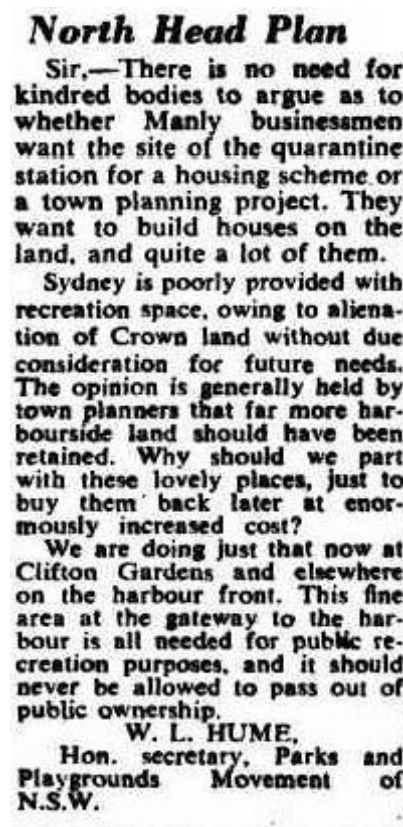


Image 19: "North Head Plan," *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 18, 1953
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article18362187>

⁵² NAA, Letter from WC Wentworth MHR to Sir Earle Page, Minister for Health 2.1.1953.
Enclosure Draft: To Town Clerk Manly County Council (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

Wider group interests in removal.

The local press having gained access to this information again raised hopes, particularly among the aldermen, of the acquisition of some of the quarantine area. The issues relating to the lack of need for a quarantine station in a period of modern scientific health research were again raised, and the solution floated in the form of a ship, moored in Botany Bay, to handle all quarantine cases.⁵³ But there were local interests who saw more profitable and positive alternatives than the formation of committees. Suggestions were made by a local business man, ready to act as honorary secretary, for the formation of a company or syndicated group composed of businesses from the Manly District whose objective would be to select alternative sites, make an offer to purchase the quarantine area, and construct a new station at Frenchs Forest to which internees could be transported in special ambulances. This was an avenue for banks and businesses to make an assured profit.⁵⁴

This local interest did not go unnoticed and spawned opposition to public land being taken over for private residential interests. Protests were voiced to the Premier of NSW, the Minister for Health and Manly Council on behalf of the Parks and Playgrounds Movement in early 1953. This group was alarmed at the possibility of the loss of public property. Their stand was that if the station was to be moved it was imperative that the area should become a reserve. The 50 year efforts of Manly to have the station shifted did not justify the use of this land for private housing. This position was attacked in the press by the President of the Town Planning Association of NSW citing the North Head project as a well -designed town planning scheme for an area which was presently waste land. It would benefit and save the Manly district from an approaching crisis particularly with relation to the future of the ferries. This problem for the Manly and Port Jackson Ferry Co. could be solved by the right use of this valuable asset at North Head.⁵⁵ At the same time the Chamber of Commerce expressed a much less materialistic venture, that in the event of the closure of the station, the Far West Homes should be built anew in the area.⁵⁶ By 1955 the National Trust and its affiliated organisation strongly opposed

⁵³ *Manly Warringah Times* (Manly), January 29, 1953.

⁵⁴ *Manly Daily* (Manly), February 7, 1953

⁵⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), March 3, 1953.

⁵⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director, NSW to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health, 11.2.1953* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

the plans by Manly Council and the local Chamber of Commerce to extend the residential area at North Head by handing over some of the quarantine area to those motivated by business interests only “with no thought to the national interests in other directions....”⁵⁷

The situation escalated to State Government level as a result of representations made to the Minister for Lands with relation to the area. This prompted a letter from the Acting Premier to the acting Prime Minister requesting that if the quarantine area would no longer be needed, this area, which was still in the ownership of the State, could provide much needed land for recreation and other purposes.⁵⁸ This opened up areas of problems not only with the Department of Health but also the Departments of Defence and the Interior. The Army was in need of a barracks to house a unit and had plans for the SIH area, which had been granted to them by the Department of Labour and National Service with permissive occupancy for two years. They also required the use of the area adjoining this hospital area.⁵⁹ Possession was accomplished, but the transfer of this land as a Defence Reserve had never been gazetted as such, being omitted from the Defence Reserves and Estates which were handed over to the Commonwealth from the State at federation. To ensure that the Commonwealth had control of the area, an interest rate payable annually was assessed on the value of the land, in the form of a lease or permissive occupancy agreement. Full transfer from the Department of Health to the Department of Defence occurred in 1954 relieving Health from the cost of maintenance of the buildings and jetty.⁶⁰ The Department of the Army held strongly to the view that no part of the North Head Area should be ceded to the State. Also, they argued that no part of the area, excluding the two areas leased by Manly Council, should be made available for use by the public.⁶¹ In the resulting transfer the SIH and all adjoining land was handed over to the Army, but Store Beach and foreshore, a strip of

⁵⁷ NAA, *Letter from the National Trust of Australia to Minister, Department of Health*, 6.1.1955 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁵⁸ NAA, *Letter from the Acting Premier to Acting Prime Minister*, 28.5.1953 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁵⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from A J Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Secretary of the Army*, 6.6.1953 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum from Secretary, Department of the Army to Director-General of Health*, 19.6.1953 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Minister, Department of Health*, 24.8.1954 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Sinclair, Secretary to Minister for the Army to Secretary Prime Minister's Department*, 16.7.1953 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

land north of the main gate and the gatekeeper's cottage, as well as all the quarantine reserve area remained part of the quarantine area.⁶²

Other Commonwealth Services also regarded the station as a means of providing accommodation for their needs. The Commonwealth Investigation Branch was eager in 1955 to have a place to hold their residential training courses for senior and junior officers. Dr Metcalfe was agreeable to an inspection of the station. He instructed Dr Wiburd to facilitate this and suggested the use of the Lyne's buildings together with its recreation rooms, and the use of the 3rd class dining room which was seen as unsuitable but the 1st class area was considered as most suitable.⁶³ In response Dr Wiburd made the "strongest possible protest (to Dr Metcalfe) against making these quarters available for occupation by the Investigation Branch."

This stance was based on the demands of the quarantine system to have a functioning station immediately available. While these occupants would be willing to leave with reasonable notice, the advent of air travel had produced a situation where the passengers and crew of a plane could need to be quarantined at an hour's notice. He cited the example of KLM migrant planes which carried over 70 passengers. They frequently arrived at night when there was no possibility of holding people at the aerodrome or anywhere else other than the quarantine station.

As well airlines travelled via India and Pakistan. Both countries were sites of epidemic quarantinable diseases, as was the East Indies which was controlled by Indonesia. It had a population where the mass immunity was declining and could be the site of future epidemics. He added to his argument by citing the fact that smallpox was still a danger, and he cited a recent case that had been quarantined at Fremantle. The warnings which were possible when the threat came from sea travel, as had happened in the past year, were effective, but these did not apply to air travel. Present quarantine activities were successful at detecting and dealing with the odd case of a quarantinable disease, however, it was also necessary to be able to segregate the contacts. He proposed that the only area suitable for the Investigation Branch was the 3rd class area, which had the value of being some distance from the 1st class area, and possibly the use of the 2nd class

⁶² NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to the Chief Property Officer NSW, 15.9.1953* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶³ NAA, *Letter from RW Whitrod, Director Commonwealth Investigation Branch to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health, 28.6.1955* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to RW Whitrod, Director Commonwealth Investigation Branch, 30.6.1955* (NAA: A1658, 894/9/1 Part 1).

block on the condition that it be evacuated within 12 hours of active quarantine.⁶⁴ Dr Metcalfe was willing to try to co-operate and suggested the use of the Lyne's building as "more or less semi-permanent headquarters" and the 1st class dining room and amenities, as well as the 3rd class dining room if necessary. There was something to be gained from this in the long run as Mr Whitrod was willing to install modern equipment in the kitchen.⁶⁵

By 1957 Wentworth had not given up hope of achieving his goals of either having the station closed down and/or obtaining other uses for the land it occupied. He submitted a number of questions inquiring into the running of the station and the need for its retention. These elicited detailed answers from the Department of Health, which in essence spelled out quarantine procedures and the necessity of its retention as an active quarantine station, with a commitment to the present policy and procedures. Difficulties which could arise in the future in the implementation of quarantine procedures could not at the present time provide reasons for closure, removal or other activities. This stance was supported by argument which pointed out that North Head Quarantine Station was an essential part of the Australian Quarantine System, with endorsement from the Cabinet and the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC).

The importance of preparation for human quarantine at any time was stressed, along with evidence of constant plant and animal quarantine activities through the disinfection of imported restricted goods e.g. bristles, plants and fibres. Human quarantine activities had been effective in Australian ports in the preceding years in providing protection against smallpox and the Asian flu epidemic. This had prevented the spread of these diseases into the community. With relation to the area occupied it was pointed out that there was little opportunity for sacrificing any land, as the present area occupied by the station was not large. It had been depleted over time: before World War 11 the Quarantine Reserve had been handed over to the Army for the North Head Coastal forts, the area of Parkhill Reserve had been given over to public use and the SIH had been released to the Army. What remained was the bare minimum,

⁶⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director NSW to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health*, 7.7.1955 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health to Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director NSW*, 8.7.1955 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

essentially the land on which the buildings stood, and there was no possibility of reducing the area which, at that time, consisted of only 120 of the original 900 acres.

In answer to a question about the use of the buildings for conventions and holiday purposes, it was made clear that this had happened, but rarely. In particular the Army had used the area extensively during the war. However, convention and holiday use would defeat the object of having a place always ready for immediate use in time of active quarantine. The difficulties of sharing quarantine areas with the Army in Melbourne had been an education in the problems which could occur, including the fact that buildings were left in a state unusable for quarantine purposes. It was abundantly clear that such mistakes with relation to army occupation should not be repeated. The unequivocal position of quarantine authorities at this time was that, “unless the Government proposed to abandon the present system of quarantine the station must be maintained for this purpose and this purpose only.”⁶⁶

In following questions Wentworth queried the merit of transferring the sterilisation activities to another site, e.g. the Animal Quarantine site and /or the transference of quarantine to another site. These questions elicited answers supported by factual evidence demonstrating that no other site, including the Animal Quarantine site had the facilities to handle the work of sterilisation, and added that there was already significant agitation to remove that site to a less thickly populated area. That medical science had made advances to deal with infectious diseases was recognised, but the reality of the present situation was that air travel had “increased rather than decreased the need for quarantine stations.” In the specialised opinion of the authorities any fundamental change in the system would put the population at risk, as cases of smallpox were still the cause of deaths in Europe and England where contacts were allowed into the general population.⁶⁷

The function of the Quarantine Station North Head in 1957 was spelled out in the following manner.

“Sydney Quarantine Station is the key station on the eastern coast. Sea and air routes from America end at Sydney as do the lines from the Asiatic areas. Similarly the airlines from Europe- though screened at

⁶⁶ NAA, Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director NSW to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health, 6.8.1957 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁶⁷ NAA, Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director NSW to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health, 6.8.1957.

Darwin, terminate at Sydney, while the British mail boats travelling via Bombay and Ceylon also terminate in Sydney.”

A case of smallpox on a vessel from America would necessitate the use of the Station to its full extent. This has happened before. The introduction of a case of quarantinable disease from Asia is a constant threat to the country. Outside the requirements for human quarantine the steam sterilising plat at the Station is constantly in use treating restricted imports such as wool, hair, fibres. Many hundreds of bales area treated each year. “⁶⁸

Wentworth had his answers. These clearly demonstrated that the official position was that the station was to be retained as a necessary part of the quarantine system and during the late 1950s threats from influenza and smallpox demonstrated the need for the continued operation of the station. Plant quarantine became a part of the work of the station with a glass house erected to maintain certain plant produce introduced for propagation in Australia in quarantine.⁶⁹

Allocation of an area to Department of Immigration.

At the same time the Secretary, Department of Immigration requested permission to use one of the buildings (A20), the Staff mess, as a detention centre for illegal immigrants awaiting deportation. The Minister for Immigration had been concerned with the housing of these illegal immigrants in State gaols, as they were not criminals. He expected that this section of the station would be used from time to time in the future. This aspect of the history of the station will be discussed in Chapter 8. As had happened in the past Manly Council expressed concerns to the Minister for Health citing the usual arguments including the declining need for the retention of the station in a period when advances in medical science with relation to infectious diseases, the proximity to suburban life and changes to methods of communication and transport. Any retention of the station was seen as short sighted. In addition the tourist potential of the site, which had already been included in an extensive Town Plan developed for civilian development, was cited as essential to the national economy. Thus in no uncertain terms the Council made it clear that the establishment of a Detention Centre

⁶⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from Dr Wiburd, Deputy Director NSW to AJ Metcalfe, Director-General of Health*, 6.8.1957.

⁶⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from Deputy Director NSW to Acting/Director-General of Health* 5.6.1958 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

was met with dismay, and as with the quarantine station there were “more appropriate areas readily available to the Commonwealth.” ⁷⁰

Again, having met with little success the Council turned to the support of Mr Wentworth. They expressed specific concerns about the deportees, and demonstrated that they had not given up in securing the quarantine area. While acknowledging that the area of the present site had been reduced, questions were raised about the number of new buildings or additions which had been erected since 1945. This tack had little success as the only building erected had been the glass house. Not deterred, the focus then moved to the numbers of persons working and residing on the site, the future of the Police Training College functioning at the SIH, the use of buildings for non-quarantine activities and when positive steps to close the “use of this glorious headland for quarantine purposes.” ⁷¹ The answers to these questions did little to help the Council’s attempts, as the Police College was under the control of the Department of Army and the numbers of employed persons were either quarantine employees or children of employees. ⁷²

As previously, throughout this latest attempt to have the station removed or closed, to provide access to the area of land for local interests, the Commonwealth Government maintained the position that it had no intention of vacating North Head Quarantine Station. Its position was clear; no consideration would be given for many years to come, because of the important part the station played in protecting the Australian population against the importation of disease from overseas countries. Any question of what would become of the area, if and when it did become available, was seen to be purely hypothetical. ⁷³ This position of the Commonwealth Government with relation to the retention of the station was bolstered by both the use of A20 as a detention centre for

⁷⁰ NAA, *Letter from Manly Municipal Council to the Hon. DA Cameron, Minister for Health*, 21.11.1958 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part1).

⁷¹ NAA, *Letter from Manly Municipal Council to WC Wentworth*, 20.5.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁷² NAA, *Memorandum from WM Bevington, Acting/Director, NSW to Director-General of Health*, 15.7.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum from Louis J Wienholt, Acting/Director of Health, NSW to Director-General of Health*, 19.5.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

Number of families on Station -10; Total number of persons – 36; No of breadwinners employed by Department of Health – 9, No of breadwinners employed elsewhere – 5. These include 3 public servants employed by PMG Department; 1 Public Service Inspectors’ Office -1 Department of Primary Industry; 1 Lab Assistant Sydney University; 1 Clerk employed by JR Love Ltd., Wholesale Merchants.

⁷³ NAA, *Letter from DA Cameron, the Minister for Health to the National Trust of Australia*, 19.6.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

housing illegal immigrants prior to their deportation, and the refurbishment of the accommodation areas in order to provide more suitable living conditions for those quarantined because of their invalid vaccination status.⁷⁴

The first illegal immigrant detainees arrived at the station in June 1959 and the final group was escorted out for deportation in June 1974, thus ensuring a continued use of that section of the station. While there were never great numbers of detainees held at any one time, overall during the 15 years of operation the total numbers were significant and there were periods when there were at least 17 or more detainees housed and awaiting deportation. This was particularly true during 1959, 1963, 1969 and 1970 -1974.⁷⁵

It also became clear during the late 1950s and early 1960s that a continuous flow of people who did not fulfil the vaccination criteria for entry to Australia would need to be quarantined for the necessary periods of isolation. No longer could the standard of accommodation, which had been allowed to deteriorate, and which was originally built to cater to large marine passenger vessels be seen as suitable passengers who were accustomed to a higher standard of commercial tourist accommodation. This necessitated a review of all aspects of accommodation at North Head. As a result 11 buildings were sold or demolished and tenders were advertised for an extensive rehabilitation programme of the buildings which would be used to house detained passengers.⁷⁶ During a period of over two years contractors worked to upgrade the hospital and observation areas and to provide a standard of accommodation which passengers might expect from first class hotels, as well as bringing the ancillary services up to an acceptable standard.⁷⁷ New furniture was installed as well as necessary

⁷⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from Louis J Wienholt, Acting/Director of Health NSW to Chief Property Officer NSW*, 12.8.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁷⁵ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police at Detention Centre Manly 1959-1964* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1); NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police at Detention Centre Manly 1955 – 1968* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2); NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police at Detention Centre Manly 1951 – 1977* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 3).

⁷⁶ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 63-69. Buildings demolished: H12; P8, P20, P21, P25, P26, S3, S8; A3, A4, A19 (A38 a shed). Buildings renovated S2 S6, S9, S16, A20, H7-11.

⁷⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Louis J Wienholt, Acting/Director of Health NSW to the Chief Property Officer NSW*, 1. 4.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1); NAA, *Memorandum for Louis J Wienholt*,

equipment for dining, lounge and kitchen areas to provide for the care of up to approximately 250 persons.⁷⁸

However, even with the Commonwealth Government's determined stance with relation to retention of the station Wentworth was not deterred. He continued to apply pressure for the release of the whole of the area on which the quarantine station was situated to be released. But by this time he was also making a claim to the areas occupied by the Army.⁷⁹ A firm negative reply from the minister evoked a response accusing the officers of the Department of Health of vested self-interests and calls for an open inquiry, as well a thinly disguised threat that the whole matter could become an embarrassment to the government.⁸⁰ In his reply the minister suitably admonished the suggestion and pointed out that quarantine policy and procedures to protect the whole community were more important than the wishes of a myopic local council, commercial interests or the admirable desire of groups to preserve the natural state of the whole area.⁸¹

With the main risk of infection still being smallpox a report from the NHMRC clearly supported the retention of the station in its renovated state and argued that the unvaccinated state of the population, the closure of minor stations in Albany, Bunbury, Broome and Thursday Island and the fact that all surplus land at North Head had been given over to other uses. After "mature consideration of all aspects" a Cabinet decision in 1961 supported retention. However in 1963 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that the Premier of NSW, Mr Heffron had asked the Commonwealth Government to return the quarantine reserve area to the State as no formal leases existed. Again the Commonwealth held its position with relation to the necessity of protecting the health of the community, and stated that the whole of the quarantine area was to be available to them indefinitely.⁸²

⁷⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from WM Bevington, Acting/Director of Health NSW to Dr Redshaw*, 30.10.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1). Accommodation: Hospital – 32; Observation 16; General (i) 191, (ii) 212.

⁷⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from GM Redshaw to the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department*, 25.7.1960 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁸⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from Donald A Cameron, Minister for Health to WC Wentworth*, 7.9.1960 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁸¹ NAA, *Memorandum from Donald A Cameron, Minister for Health to WC Wentworth*, 22.9.1960 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

⁸² *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), August 28, 1963; NAA, *Letter from Prime Minister, John Gorton to Premier NSW, Mr Heffron*, 31.3.1964 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

Further attempts by both Wentworth and Manly Council to question the necessity of retention of the station also failed. The argument that the quarantine risk to Australia was increasing rather than decreasing in the mid-1960s through the faster speed of international air traffic and the larger passenger loads on both planes and ships could not be refuted. As well the national economy could potentially be damaged through the spread of infections to the animal population. Therefore no concessions could be granted with relation to the restrictions relating to the clearance of incoming vessels. Added to this was the continued active role North Head was playing in the quarantine system, as well as the large capital expenditure which would be required to transport the facilities even if another suitable location could be found.⁸³

Detainees continued to be housed at A20 until its closure in 1974. In the same year international health measures, which had all but eradicated infection from smallpox through vaccination, meant that fewer travellers needed to be quarantined on entry to Australia. However there was still the need to protect against yellow fever, and there was a constant flow of passengers to the station until late in 1983. This however, was at a cost and realising the force of economic arguments, Herbert Lavaring as Foreman Assistant, pointed out in the mid-1970s that the cost of quarantining people at North Head was at such a level that eventually the government would have to come to some other arrangement.⁸⁴ The answer for the Commonwealth was to return the station to the NSW Government in 1984.

Conclusion.

In its functioning as a place of quarantine activities the Quarantine Station at North Head encountered constant opposition to its continued existence in its spatial urban setting. Groups including Manly Council, local MPs, Manly dignitaries and the Commonwealth Departments of Health and Defence were situated in opposing power relationships as attempts were made to have the station relocated or closed. These opposition groups reflected a variety of motives including the fear that diseases present on the station could escape into suburban Manly and the city at large often aided by the press when groups escaped from the station during periods of active quarantine. However, arguments based on these fears became less valid with the end of the period

⁸³ NAA, *Memorandum from Harrie W Wade, Minister for Rehabilitation to RWC Swartz, Minister for Repatriation 11.6.1964* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

⁸⁴ Lavaring, *Quarantine: Counting the Costs*, 31-34.

of epidemics in the early decades, and there had been no adverse effects from jaunts to Manly by escapees.

Power relationships also reflected the ambience and substantial attributes of the area of North Head which if the working station was no longer there, offered enticement to groups desiring the rights for commercial development or public use. These attributes of the area became the focus of politicians, Manly Council and in particular the Hon. WC Wentworth who never flagged in his attempts to secure the station or sections of it for projects which reflected the changing nature of society and in particular the needs of his electorate. His arguments that its purposes and operations were anachronistic and unnecessary in an age where medical advancement had replaced the need for an operational station met with opposition from the Director-Generals of Health who supported the continued operation of the station as a working entity. However, while unsuccessful these efforts at removal, based heavily on the marine quarantine role of the station, did not fully take into account the rapidly changing nature of travel or the role which the station played in the protection of primary industries or the continued vigilant role it played in serving as a place of refuge for those who had suffered from the exigencies of war and natural disasters which will be the focus of the chapters in Section 3.

Section 3: A temporary place of refuge or respite

Chapter 7 – Those Sheltered

Studies of the Quarantine Station North Head have been centrally focused on its role as a maritime quarantine station carrying out the enforced nature of quarantine practices and procedures.¹ These practices have been linked to national immigration and citizenship policies which aimed to keep out those seen to pose a threat to the population.² These adverse reactions to quarantine have been highlighted in much of the writing relating to nineteenth and early twentieth century quarantines, with evidence drawn from periods of active quarantine at North Head.³ However, these meta-narratives have obscured other relevant stories of quarantine and as important as these perspectives are, they offer only a partial understanding of the changing role of the quarantine area at the station which can be seen in Pred's conceptualisation of place as "becoming".⁴ This and the following chapter examine how the daily paths of individuals brought them to the station and reveal some of the "path-project intersections" between their individual lived experiences and macro-level political and social phenomena as the station extended its protective role to provide a temporary place of refuge or respite for groups of people affected by external wars and an internal natural disaster.⁵

These were instances when those taken to North Head Quarantine Station did not arrive and reside there suffering from the emotions of fear and distress which had been the lot of many detained there, particularly during the bubonic plague, smallpox and influenza

¹ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 124-128.

² Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last. The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880 - 1988*. (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1988); Bashford, "At the Border: Contagion, Immigration, Nation"; Bashford and Strange, "Asylum-seekers and national detention"; Curzon, *Times of Crisis. Epidemics in Sydney 1788-1900*.

³ Foley, *In Quarantine*; Maglen, "Quarantined," 317-336; Curzon, *Times of Crisis. Epidemics in Sydney 1788 - 1900*; Bashford and Strange, "Asylum-seekers and national detention".

⁴ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 279 - 280. Pred states, Place ... always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space.... It is also what takes place ceaselessly that contributes to history in a specific context through the creation and utilization of a physical setting."

⁵ Pred, "Place as Historically Contingent Process," 292.

pandemic. In fact, for times during the period from 1940 on, it was a place of refuge or respite as military personnel, refugees and survivors of Cyclone Tracy were housed and cared for. This chapter explores the station's role as a Commonwealth facility providing temporary accommodation and care for these diverse groups. This extension of the station's protective practices to groups not suffering from quarantinable diseases also reveals the contradictory nature of the functioning of this place of quarantine as there were those present among these groups some who in earlier times would have been excluded because of their race or state of health, but in these instances were given shelter and care.

In a period of national growth these non-quarantine functions reveal aspects of Australia's quarantine history previously overlooked. They reveal how quarantine and this station became caught up in the changing face of Australia, as well as key moments of involvement in wars and governmental response to those needing refuge and a natural disaster. This extension of the functions of the station came about in a period of evolving change as maritime quarantine declined and fumigation and disinfection of restricted goods increased. In addition, in the post-war years periods of active quarantine which countered the threat of incoming disease had increased rather than decreased as result of the growth of air travel and the effects of migration policies.

This period also demonstrates something of the changing nature of the role of quarantine stations and the national effort to protect against invasion from external enemies when the nation became involved in World War 11 as the station was occupied by sections of the armed forces. This was the largest and longest resident group of all those who needed temporary accommodation. Military personnel had been provided with hospital accommodation during World War 1, but during World War 11 large numbers of the military occupied much of the station for the duration of the war. This resulted in what often became strained co-operation between quarantine and military requirements. In addition the exigencies of war saw temporary accommodation provided for ships' crews whose vessels had been requisitioned, or whose service had ended. These groups of sailors posed different problems because of who they were, and the difficulties of accommodating them while the military were also in occupation. A group of Portuguese evacuees from Timor who were 'friendly aliens' and guests of the

Commonwealth Government were also housed for a short period.⁶ Their contribution to the war against the Japanese has been until lately, unrecognised, and their time and treatment in Australia casts light on the role of the Security Police during wartime, and governmental response to allies. Australian involvement in the Vietnam and Indo- China wars resulted in foreign policy decisions which brought refugees and orphans from Vietnam, and refugees from Indo-China to the station and highlights both governmental and popular responses to these refugees. The wholesale destruction of Darwin by Cyclone Tracy resulted in a group of evacuees finding a temporary home at the station and provides a link to the experiences of these internal evacuees.

In essence all these groups came from places of need, often fleeing from fear and confrontation, to a place of respite at the quarantine station. Because of the categorisation of these disparate groups as non-quarantine functions these events receive only passing reference in Foley's work, and in other works which use her work as a blueprint.⁷ However, the acceptance, care and provisioning of these groups as part of Commonwealth responsibility and as an extension of the functions of the station are an important part of the history of the station. The housing of these groups, usually only for short periods, demonstrates that while established and functioning as a place of isolation and exclusion, the influence of international and national events also influenced the life and work of the station, and widened the scope of protection and vigilance, particularly during times of war. As with the majority of those who spent time quarantined at the station the evidence for these groups provides only some personal details and very little information on how they reacted to their period of residence at

⁶⁶NAA, Any non-British subjects – foreign nationals living in Australia were designated as 'aliens'. During the world wars the Australian Government required all 'aliens' to register with local authorities. The first period lasted from 1916 -1926, and then again between 1939 and 1971. During the wars those who were immigrants from countries forming the axis powers were regarded as 'enemy aliens'. During WW11 the refugees from Timor were regarded as 'friendly aliens' on account of Portugal's neutrality. They were represented in Australia by the Portuguese Consul and their upkeep was to be paid for by the Portuguese government. (NAA: Alien Registration fact sheet) <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/explore/migration/alien-registration.aspx> accessed January 1, 2013.

⁷ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 127-8; Cornwall & McArthur, *From Quarantine to QSTATION*, 56; Paul Davies Pty Ltd. *Sydney Harbour National Park Quarantine Station detailed area conservation management plans: final report submitted to NSW Heritage Office for final endorsement/ prepared for NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service* (Sydney: National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2001); Peter Freeman Pty Ltd, *Sydney Harbour National Park Quarantine Station Conservation Plan/ prepared for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service* (Sydney: National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2000).

North Head. But along with the soldier who left his initials carved into the window sill of the 3rd class dining room they all contribute to its sense of place.

Military Occupation – 1940 – 1945.

During the inter-war period the military presence in the area of North Head had increased and throughout the war military units were the largest and longest resident group at the station with their presence between 1940 and 1945 highlighting the interconnection between protection from disease and protection from enemies during war.⁸ In the first instance during July 1940 accommodation was requested from the Department of Health for a short period, to provide a convalescent hospital for troops. In a spirit of co-operation Dr Metcalfe suggested the Lyne's buildings and the SIH, along with their ancillary areas such as kitchens, dining rooms and annexes. However, the distances between these two buildings was too great and resulted in a military decision to use only the Lyne's Buildings as the convalescent hospital. All catering, medical arrangements and costs including breakages would be handled by the Department of the Army.⁹

With two distinct commonwealth departments engaged in the same area it is not surprising that a conflict of interests occurred almost immediately. In addition to the Lyne's Buildings, the military, acting through their Minister, wished to occupy the whole of the adjacent 1st class area. This action clashed strongly with the requirements of the *Quarantine Act* under which the station was required to be ready at any time to deal with an active quarantine. The situation required co-operation and flexibility from both Dr Metcalfe and the Defence Department Medical Officer. This was achieved with the military obtaining the use of the whole of the 3rd class accommodation, and several empty cottages which could be fitted with stretchers. This move involved quarantine staff being assigned to carry out the removal of all the two and three- tier bunks from the 3rd class area, vacating the staff dining room and the single men's quarters, and the connection of all military occupied areas to electricity. While the continual use of

⁸ NAA, *Letter from DAQMG (GD) HQ Paddington to Dr AJ Metcalfe 17.11.1942* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13). Periods of Military Occupation of Quarantine Station North Head: July/August 1940 Convalescent Hospital; 10.3.1941 – 8.10.1942 1st class area occupied by troops for Darwin; 7.1.1942 – 20.4.1942 3rd class area occupied; March 1942-1945. The SIH occupied by 2nd Garrison for the duration of the war.

⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Deputy- Director of Medical Services Victoria Barracks Sydney, 4.7.1940* (NAA: A1928, 1183/13); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO (G) to Director- General of Health, 11.7.1940* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

electricity for the military was a necessity, Dr Metcalfe was unwilling to allow unskilled personnel to run the plant, or to call upon the quarantine staff to be on duty all night. Eventually, the Department of Defence agreed to meet the expenses, and two electricians were sent to run the plant for both groups.

Because it was a functioning quarantine station it was necessary that the military would be required to evacuate occupied areas at short notice if a period of active quarantine occurred. This situation did not appear to pose a problem as the health authorities recognised that military personnel would have been aware of the danger of any contact with quarantinable diseases. However, Dr Metcalfe also believed from previous experience, that it would take the staff many days to clean up, wash all linen and blankets and restore the necessary buildings to a state ready for occupation.¹⁰ Even at this early stage of military occupation there were stresses and strains at play between the two groups who were operating within different parameters.

The complex practical effects of operating as a military establishment as well as a quarantine station became evident very early in the period, particularly with relation to the necessity of having sufficient accommodation to handle a vessel ordered into active quarantine. An event such as this would necessitate the evacuation of the military from the 3rd class accommodation, and require time for staff to replace the two- tier bunks which were stored on the verandahs outside each room. This problem did not apply to the hospital and observation areas which could be put into use immediately, as they had been kept free from the military. In addition, because the Lyne's building was functioning as a military convalescent hospital it could not be evacuated. It was therefore vitally important that it was completely barricaded to isolate it from the rest of the station. In a period of active quarantine this arrangement would provide immediate accommodation for roughly 152 passengers and 350 crew members. However, in the event of the quarantine of a large military transport with full complement aboard, the full co-operation of the military authorities would become essential.¹¹

¹⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health, 11.7.1940.*

¹¹ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 17.7.1940.*

The potential available accommodation for use in a period of active quarantine included use of 1st, 2nd class for passengers and 3rd class areas for the crew as well as the hospital and observation areas for patients and medical staff

As the war continued, so did the problems. By early 1941 the military requested to occupy the 3rd class quarters again. This time it was for about 250 men for 6-8 weeks, as the area they had been occupying at the showground was needed for the Easter Show. These were troops, not convalescents who needed to be housed. With pressure from the Minister for the Army, accommodation had to be handed over to these new recruits waiting to be sent to Darwin.¹² But the occupation of these buildings continued, and, by May Dr Metcalfe reported that there “had been no suggestion that there is any intention of them vacating the station”. As the arrangement had been made between Dr Cumpston and the Secretary, Department of the Army, he could take no action in this matter.¹³ In addition a group of 170 Canadian naval ratings and 20 officers needed to be quartered. As they had no equipment they needed to be supplied from station stores and facilities, including linen and cutlery, a dining room, a kitchen and staff mess room. This brought about a difficult situation which was not welcomed by station management who had previous experience of the results of temporary military occupation. In that case when presented with the accounts for damages, the Department of Defence had regarded the quarantine officials “as thieves and robbers” when presented with the account for breakages and losses, and instituted “a special inquiry into the matter.”¹⁴

While these events presented difficulties the military was undeterred and made a new request for accommodation at the SIH to house 400 troops of all ranks for six weeks. These men were undergoing special courses of instruction in defence activities on the coast. This request evoked an affirmative response from Dr Cumpston, but, earlier experiences had demonstrated that clear lines of action needed to be set. He detailed specific aspects which needed to be considered including setting a defined period of stay, careful use of equipment and cleanliness, effecting the repairs from their former occupation.

Whether these conditions were adhered to must have seemed irrelevant when in early 1942 a further 300 - 600 men were to be housed in the 2nd class quarters. Military authorities were then clearly in control of most of the station with the exception of the steam disinfection and hospital areas. These problems were not exclusive to North

¹² NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director-General of Health, 10.3.1941* (NAA, A1928 1181/13).

¹³ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 6.5.1941* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

¹⁴ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 13.3.1941* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

Head. Other quarantine stations were also experiencing military occupation, including Lytton, Thursday Island, and the VD facility in South Australia.¹⁵

There were subsequent effects rising from the presence of the military. The amount of work available to staff was affected, and an adjustment to their services was contemplated, though not acted upon. However, as the gatekeeper had had no duties to perform his tenure was ended. Staff were also affected by measures to ensure that quarantine equipment was protected by transporting a large quantity to Abbotsford Animal Quarantine Station. To ensure that this valuable equipment was protected and to oversee the interests of the quarantine service Woodward was transferred there as resident assistant.¹⁶

Dealing with the Australian military authorities and attempting to assist in the deployment and training of the Allied forces presented difficulties, with constant compromises and inconveniences for quarantine officials. However, the threat of having to also deal with US Army and/or Navy authorities in 1943 was a step too far. In reply to instructions from the Minister for Health who had discussed the matter with the Prime Minister, Dr Cumpston informed the Liaison Officer at Victoria Barracks, Paddington that the quarantine station could not be made available to the US armed forces. This was a situation in which quarantine administration would be “completely disorganised and absorbed by the US ... and continuation of the normal services of this Department would become impossible.”¹⁷

As was to be expected this was not the end of the matter, as it became clear that accommodation, some 300 - 400 beds, were needed for both Australian and American troops - malaria cases from New Guinea. The military hospital at Medlow Bath was not able to cope, and the station was the only possible place left to house this large influx of troops for an estimated time of 2 – 6 months. General Fewtrell inspected the station and was satisfied that it would suit their requirements, until the American Hospital at Herne Bay was completed. To protect quarantine interests, staff were ordered to remain in their cottages and carry out routine duties under the leadership of Mr Ashton

¹⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health to the Secretary Department of the Army Melbourne, 19.11.1941*(NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

¹⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health, 17.3.1942* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13). This included 100 stretches and mattresses, 700 blankets and sheets, cutlery, crockery and other pieces.

¹⁷ NAA, *Letter from JHL Cumpston, Director-General of Health to Capt. E Harrison, Liaison Officer L of C Area Paddington NSW, 31.12.1942* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

who would exercise his normal duties with relation to water, sewerage, electric light and fire-fighting appliances. The buildings on the Flat were to remain in quarantine hands, and the Garrison Battalion, which occupied the SIH, would have to vacate it if an active quarantine occurred. In light of previous difficulties when attempting to maintain a degree of friendly co-operation with the Army, and as a result their failure to pay for damage and breakages which had occurred, the Department of Health stipulated that it would not supply any blankets, linen, crockery, cutlery or other appliances. However, all buildings and hospital facilities except the 1st class accommodation would be made available, and thus provide between 400 - 500 beds.¹⁸ In an emergency the station could take 2500 sick and wounded, if necessary.¹⁹ Importantly, a verbal agreement made between Major General Fewtrell and Dr Metcalfe in early 1943, reserved the use of the station as a hospital for Australian troops only, with immediate occupation when the time arose. It would not be available to any other organisation without the mutual consent of the Command Head Quarters.²⁰

With the arrival of General MacArthur, US sights were trained on occupation of the station. In a spirit of co-operation with the allies a US inspection of the area and buildings was arranged. The purpose of this visit was not disclosed, but Dr Metcalfe thought it might be in connection with the large numbers of servicemen on leave from the tropics who were finding it difficult to get accommodation. However, he was adamant that he would oppose any move to a take- over of the station by the Americans.²¹

This uneasy and sometimes fraught association with the military during periods from July 1940 till late 1944 required co-operation and willingness to provide the resources of the station and SIH for the care of the sick and wounded, as well as a training and resource facility for the military engaged in a world war.²² Difficulties did occur and

¹⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from the Chief Auditor to AJ Metcalfe*, 6.8.1942 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13); NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health*, 8.1.1943 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

¹⁹ NAA, *JHL Cumpston, Notes relating to the North Head Quarantine Station*, 15.1.1943 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

²⁰ NAA, *Letter from Major General Fewtrell, Victoria Barracks Paddington NSW to Dr Metcalfe* 26.2.1943 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

²¹ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Dr Cumpston, Director-General of Health*, 16.3.1944 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

²² NAA, *Letter from DAQMG (GD) HQ Paddington to Dr AJ Metcalfe* 17.11.1942 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13). Periods of Military Occupation of Quarantine Station North Head: July/August 1940 Convalescent Hospital; 10.3.1941 – 8.10.1942 1st class area occupied by troops for Darwin;

strong stances had to be taken, but while conscious of the need for this war use, the demands of the *Quarantine Act*, and the necessity of being able to function for quarantine purposes were never far from the minds of the Department of Health officials who were making the necessary decisions to protect their rights and facilities of the station.

Accommodating diverse groups

As well as providing for military personnel, as a Commonwealth facility the station was called upon to provide necessary functions and accommodation for other groups, who through the exigencies of war, particularly during 1940-42, were in need of temporary housing. This eclectic group included the first group of children evacuated from Britain, the crews of the “Pierre Loti” and the “Queen Mary”, German Naval Prisoners of War, and Portuguese refugees from the Japanese occupation of Timor.²³

Sections of the Weekly Diaries for the period from August 1940 to August 1941 are missing, so the day-to-day details relating to the housing of the British children and the ships’ crews are not available, but diary entries with relation to the Portuguese refugees show that these undertakings were slotted into the general working day with little fuss.

²⁴ Dr Metcalfe was particularly eager for the military to be able to complete the installation and extension of the electricity supply during July 1940, not only for military use, but also for the period when the children evacuated from England would be in residence.²⁵ In addition Dr Cumpston made it clear to the military that it would not be possible for any further convalescent soldiers to be received at the station after August 1940, as with the arrival of the children, the whole of the quarantine area, including sections of the SIH, needed to be under the control of the Department of Health.²⁶

British evacuee children – HMS “Batory”

As a result of effects of the outbreak of World War 11, German successes in Europe and the possibility of invasion of Britain government actions were taken to attempt to protect the children of Britain through evacuation procedures which placed children

7.1.1942 – 20.4.1942 3rd class area occupied; March 1942-1945. The SIH occupied by 2nd Garrison for the duration of the war.

²³ NAA, *Memorandum from CR Wiburd, Deputy-Director NSW to Director-General of Health, 11.4.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1).

²⁴ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 55-57.

²⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, (CQO(G) to Dr Cumpston, Director of Health, 11.7.1940*.

²⁶ NAA, *Letter from HVC Throsby, Minister for Health to Major Frost, DADMS Eastern Command, 12.8.1940* (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

from areas which would be prone to invasion from sea and aerial bombing in safer zones. While the majority of children were evacuated internally there were schemes which sent children overseas to the Dominions, including Australia. One of these schemes overseen by the *Children's Overseas Reception Board* (CORB) with the support of the British Government organised the evacuation of the British children who were sent to Australia.²⁷ Late in July and August 1940 as part of the *Overseas Children Scheme* information and nominal rolls of British children who were to be evacuated were sent to each of the Australian states which were to receive them.²⁸ They were to set sail on HMS "Batory" on 5 August 1940. Each child had been assigned a CORB Identification number. However, these nominal rolls underwent changes as children's places were cancelled and additional children took their places. The information supplied included a Nominated Name and Address column which provided the name and address of a friend or relative in Australia. However, it was apparent to the authorities in Britain that parents had the general impression that if they could provide a name their child/children would receive preference in booking a place. It was surmised that many of those nominated had not been consulted and therefore might not be in a position to care for extra children. To mitigate this, it was suggested that those nominated should be informed before the ship arrived to ensure that the nominated family was willing and able to provide for the evacuee child.

While earlier nominations for children had been made from Australia, only a few of those were included in this first evacuation. The UK government reserved the right to decide who would be on the list. Consideration had been given to the area in which the child lived, as some areas of England were more vulnerable to attack than others. While this was an important part of the war effort, "Batory" was needed as a troop carrier, so that once it arrived in Australia its ports of call would be limited to Fremantle, Melbourne and Sydney. Transfers to Adelaide and Brisbane would be by rail, and by ship to Hobart. For each of these destinations, the numbers would be limited to those

²⁷ Angus Calder, *The People's War* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1969), 37 – 49. Carlton Jackson, *Who Will Take Our Children? The British Evacuation Program of World War II* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2008), 3 – 5.

²⁸ NAA, *Overseas Children Scheme* (NAA: A659, 1943/1/4132).

The Children's Overseas Reception Board scheme (CORB) as it was called in Britain, sent 577 British children to Australia in 1940. The purpose was to keep children safe from harm at a time when authorities thought Britain was going to be invaded. Around 3000 children were sent to Commonwealth countries and it was hoped that many more would go, but the evacuations were stopped when two ships to Canada were torpedoed with 77 children's lives lost.

who had furnished names and addresses of relatives or friends.²⁹ For the majority of the children New South Wales and Victoria became their homes. Importantly, to protect this voyage, British authorities made it clear that it was imperative that “no public announcement was to be made until the arrival of the children.”³⁰

The children ranged in age from 5 to 15 with fairly equal numbers of boys and girls. The majority were aged between 9 and 13 with smaller numbers of younger and older children. In all 241 children were landed at Sydney with 206 allocated to NSW, and 35 for Queensland.³¹ They had been accompanied throughout the journey by 39 escorts made up of a female dentist, 10 nurses, a chief escort (male), 15 female escorts, 2 male escorts, 1 RC clergyman and 2 female Salvation Army Officers. The escorts were to return to England as soon as transport was available. However, a plea was made for interested parties to offer them hospitality while they were in Sydney.³²

The voyage was long leaving Liverpool 5 August 1940 and arriving in Sydney 16 October 1940. “Batory” was a small Polish ship and the slowest in the convoy which was escorted by an RN Cruiser. The speed or lack of it was set by “Batory”. The passengers endured heavy weather in the North Atlantic Ocean and seasickness was widespread. With better weather the children had the experience of eating Polish food, something they were unused to, particularly stewed beetroot. However, the journey to Cape Town provided more pleasurable experiences as the weather became warmer, and flying fish, dolphins and sea birds could be viewed when on deck, as well as the opportunity in Cape Town for the children to go ashore for a party at Government House. The ensuing journey through the heat of the tropics in a vessel made for journeys in cold northern climes made life in the 3rd class area difficult. In more pleasant weather, as the ship sailed south, the escorts ensuring that the children were kept busy with lessons, entertainment, lots of music and the production of a weekly magazine “The Albatross” which was donated to the Australian War Memorial.³³ The voyage and life on the ship

²⁹ NAA, *Memorandum from the Official Secretary to the Secretary Premier's Department, Adelaide, South Australia, 31.7.1940* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

³⁰ NAA, *Cable to the High Commissioners' Office London, 10.8.1940* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

³¹ NAA, *Letter from JA Carrodus, Secretary to GD Martin, 21.8.1940* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

³² NAA, *Letter from W Garnett, Representative in Australia, Children's Overseas Reception Board to the Secretary Department of the Interior, 30.9.1940* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

³³ lively Davidham, “The Batory Story. WW2 People's War. An archive of World War Two memories – written by the public, gathered by the BBC” <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ww2peopleswar/stories/26/a7683726.shtml> accessed February 3, 2009; NAA, *Letter from THE Hayes to JH Honeysett, Department of the Interior, 28.2.1941* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

has been chronicled in a book titled *The Singing Ship* by Meta Maclean an escort who organised the music for the children during the voyage. This engagement with music, especially singing became an extremely important part of the life of the ship and helped to create bonds between the children and lessened their homesickness. But musical activities also forged connections and friendships with the soldiers on the ship many of whom had survived Dunkirk, as well as with the Polish captain and crew.³⁴



Image 20: “British Evacuee Children Reach Australia” *Border Watch* (Mt Gambier SA) October, 19, 1940 <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article78104035>

The arrival at Fremantle provided evidence of the welcome which the children received, but also it signalled the beginning of the breaking up of the whole group as 56 children were put ashore to be placed with families.³⁵ A further 156 children for Victoria went ashore at Melbourne accompanied by 16 for Adelaide and 18 for Hobart. These latter groups were to be transported to South Australia and Tasmania. Finally at Sydney 206 of the children were to be placed with families in NSW, while 35 were to travel by train to Brisbane.³⁶

Having ensured that this first group of children had arrived safely and the British Government assured by the Commonwealth Government that the “people in Australia

³⁴ Meta Maclean, *The Singing Ship: an odyssey of evacuee children* (Sydney & London: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1941). See also, John Welshman, *Churchill's children: the evacuee experience in wartime Britain* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) for accounts of evacuee children with the focus on mainly evacuation within Britain.

³⁵ NAA, *Secret Memorandum from JA Carrodos to Comptroller-General of Customs, Department of Trade and Customs*, 30.8.1940 (NAA: A1539, 1940/W/13958).

³⁶ NAA, *Letter from W Garnett to the Secretary, Department of the Interior*, 30.9.1940 (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582); NAA, *MV “Batory” Passenger List - passengers – Sydney* (Sydney: NAA: C1115 16 October, 1940; ‘Batory’). See Appendix N: British evacuee children on board HMT “Batory” arriving in Sydney October 16, 1940.

were eagerly awaiting the arrival of the children” it was decided to remove the prohibition relating to the publication of any details relating to the voyage and arrival. This applied to all press outlets, but particularly to the ports at which the children had been landed.³⁷ The press and the general public received the news of the arrival with joy and welcome for the children. The *Sydney Morning Herald* for November 12, 1940 featured an article which highlighted the music and cheers which had greeted the children, and the important processes of placing them in foster homes with families who were hoping to carry out the responsibilities of looking after these children to the best of their ability, and as the article put it, they “got on with the job”.³⁸

As there is no specific list of those children for NSW, only the passenger lists for incoming passengers to Sydney, it is difficult to be completely accurate as to the actual make-up of this group. There were 131 boys and 100 girls ranging in age from 5-15, with the greatest numbers between the ages of 8-14, often in what appear to be family groups. From the combined list it is possible to show that as with the whole group, English children were by far the majority with a significant group of Scottish children, and a small number from Wales and the Isle of Wight. There were also two Australians and one Irish boy. It is interesting to note that one child was designated not only by his nationality, but also by his religion. He was designated as “English/Jewish” as was the custom with ship’s passenger lists at the time.³⁹

Those who were to stay in NSW were taken to Newtown Public School where they underwent medical examinations and psychological tests to help to grade them into the correct classes at school. Those with guardians nominated by their parents were handed over to them to begin their wartime lives in Australia. Those to be placed with foster parents were transported to the quarantine station. During the next ten days of their stay Child Welfare Department Officers interviewed, assessed and placed the children.⁴⁰ Life at North Head must have been very different for these children after their wartime experiences and the length of the journey. The proximity of the busy harbour offered a source of endless enjoyment, as well as providing a beach setting for

³⁷NAA, *Memorandum from CW Bateson to the Chairman of the Press Gallery, Parliament House, Canberra, 16.10.1940* (NAA: A659, 1940/1/6582).

³⁸ *Sydney Morning Herald* (Sydney), November, 12, 1940.

³⁹ Appendix N: *British evacuee children aboard HMS “Batory” arriving Sydney 16.10.1940.*

⁴⁰ Davidham, “The Batory Story.”

swimming, games and picnics. Special arrangements had been made for the accommodation of both boys and girls.

While the group experiences of the voyage have been recorded by Meta Maclean one of the escorts who accompanied the children and the organiser of the musical experiences during the voyage, individual experiences in Australian and NSW homes must have been diverse, and the stories of these evacuees have not received the same attention as the experiences of the evacuees within Britain.⁴¹ However, there is evidence of some of the experiences of an evacuee in Sydney. David Walker was an English boy of 13 who having arrived on “Batory” was placed with foster parents. He seemed to have fared well and received care, friendship and respect from the two families he lived with.⁴² Yet, placement was a lottery and prejudices existed evidenced by the request from a woman from Norfolk Island who asked for a child who was “English or Scotch, not Welsh.” She added “I do not mind how plain looking or naughty she is as long as she is physically and mentally sound.”⁴³

One Welsh girl established a lasting Australian connection. Eleanor Harris, the eldest child in the group, travelled with her siblings, two brothers and a sister aged 13, 10 and 7. While waiting at the quarantine station to be allocated to a foster family she met Jack Woodward, the stepson of Noel Woodward a Quarantine Assistant working at the station. Staff and children of staff were not supposed to mix with the passengers, but Jack, who was 20 and had enlisted in the Army, noticed this girl and somehow they became friendly and wrote to each other regularly throughout the war. When he returned from the war they married in Camberwell, Victoria.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Meta Maclean, *The Singing Ship: an odyssey of evacuee children*; BS Johnson, ed., *The Evacuees* (London: Gollanez, 1958); Harold J Smith, *War and Social Change: British Society and the Second World War* (Great Britain: Manchester University Press, 1990).

⁴² Davidham, “The Batory Story.”

⁴³ NAA, *Letter from Anne Elizabeth Greenwood from Norfolk Island to the Deputy Administrator, Captain FX Stoop, Department of the Interior, 20.6.1940* (NAA: A518, FZ112).

⁴⁴ Anthony Woodward, “Eleanor Harris” <http://manlyquarantine.com> accessed February 2, 2009. This story was contributed by Anthony Woodward - Eleanor and Jack Woodward’s son.

Housing ships' crews

The provision of accommodation of ship's crews did not elicit the same positive reactions from officials as those with relation to the evacuee children. As early as November 1939 enquiries were made from shipping companies to house the crews of SS "City of Brisbane" and SS "City of Winchester". The companies were willing to pay rent, maintenance and take responsibility for the men. In both cases other arrangements were made.⁴⁵ But, in late 1940 with an ever increasing need for shipping for both military transports and trade, action was taken, following a request from the UK Government and, after consultation with the Free French, for the requisitioning of "Pierre Loti" a French ship plying Pacific ports. Once requisitioned and transferred with registration as a British ship, it flew both the British and French flags.⁴⁶ A government representative interviewed the crew and offered them service under the Free French Movement as part of the Allied cause. Those who agreed were to sign a declaration and receive payment of wages. Unwilling members were to be removed from the ship, but given no definite time for or place of repatriation.⁴⁷

It became apparent that none of the crew had any sympathy for the cause of the *Free French* led by de Gaulle. As a resistance organisation the *Free French* opposed the Vichy government and the German occupation of France.⁴⁸ This stance by the crew was not an isolated one as the loyalties of groups within the French overseas empire were also undecided between Vichy and de Gaulle. This crew was annoyed that they were seen to be anti- British and also that its support for De Gaulle should have been taken for granted. In reality, the authorities were concerned that the crew would attempt to sail

⁴⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to the Director-General of Health, 1.11.1939* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁴⁶ NAA, *Secret Cablegram from the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, London to Prime Minister's Department 30.10.1940* (NAA: A2676, 574 Attachment 2).

The "Pierre Loti" sailed between Noumea and Australia. This ship was seized in Sydney 12.12.1940. Its requisition specified it for use in trades under the control of the *UK Ministry of Shipping*.

⁴⁷ NAA, *Secret Inwards Teleprinter Message from the Secretary, Prime Minister's Department to the Secretary, Department of Defence co-ordination, 2.11.1940* (NAA: A2676, 574 Attachment 2).

⁴⁸ Peter Calvoceressi and Guy Wint, *Total War. Causes and Courses of the Second World War* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1972), 313 – 314. The Vichy Government concluded an armistice with Germany in June 1940. The Free French developed out of personal and local protests against the occupying German enemy and developed along two lines which merged. Firstly, in France, local groups formed and formed alliances with other local groups. Secondly, beyond France, de Gaulle used the remnants of an army, the undecided loyalties of the French overseas empire and the force of his own personality to create a new French regime whose authority would be accepted by all who were fighting against Germany, including Britain and Russia.

the ship to Indo-China, even though they had only eight days fuel on board. As well the authorities feared sabotage. The only options available to them were for the crew to leave the vessel peacefully, or to remove them forcibly under naval guard. In that case the Commonwealth Government was obliged to provide accommodation and maintenance.⁴⁹ Before a decision was made the Master and crew informed the Collector of Customs that all officers and crew wanted to be taken off the vessel and accommodated ashore. The officers were found hotel accommodation and the crew moved to the station, where they were housed with independent cooking arrangements.⁵⁰ Any expenses incurred were charged to the Department of Customs.⁵¹ This was seen to be a purely temporary measure until the men were to be moved.⁵²

The problems of housing these groups were clear in early 1941 as Dr Metcalfe, attempting to find more accommodation at the station for the military, complained that he already had about 50 mainly Arab and some Tonkinese members of the crew of the “Pierre Loti” living at the SIH compound.⁵³ It appeared that there was no immediate prospect of “getting rid of them.” Officials of the Customs Department had nowhere to put them if they were forced to leave the station. The military, while eager to find accommodation for 250 men, was not willing to accept Dr Metcalfe’s offer to share the area of the SIH with “Pierre Loti” crew.

The actions of the officers presaged larger problems as their actions raised fears of enemy activity. They had been found lodgings in the Kings Cross and Eastern Suburbs and became the subject of investigations having been reported for creating “a disturbing influence” on local residents, mainly ex-patriate French, who were regarded by authorities as pro-Vichy supporters of the enemy. The most prominent officer was Dr Michel the ship’s surgeon who was living at King’s Cross. He formed acquaintances with a group of influential people including the wife of Commander Urquhart and Mademoiselle Prevost, a teacher of French at Ascham School, Edgecliff, who was thought to be passing on her pro-Vichy attitude to her pupils. Another whom he

⁴⁹ NAA, *Secret Cablegram from Prime Minister’s Department to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*, 5.11.1940 (NAA: A2676, 574 Attachment 2).

⁵⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to Director-General of Health*, 3.4.1941 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁵¹ NAA, *Secret Cablegram from the Secretary, Department of Defence Co-ordination to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs*, 6.11.1940 (NAA: A2676, 574 Attachment 2).

⁵² NAA, *Memorandum from the Director-General of Health to CQO(G) Sydney*, 2.11.1940 (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁵³ NAA, *Memorandum from AJ Metcalfe to Director-General of Health*, 27.2.1941 (NAA: A1928, 1181/13).

influenced was Mr EP (Pierre) Redmond of Vaucluse who was married to the daughter of a “well-known” pastoral family. They were all expressing anti-British and pro-Vichy sentiments, allegedly following the stance and “persuasive eloquence” of Dr Michel.⁵⁴ The General Representative in Australia of the Free French Forces, Andre Brenac expressed his “displeasure that they (the six officers)” had not been “sent out of Australia”, to Saigon, as they were having a disruptive influence on the local French, and anything which could be done to hasten their departure was welcomed.⁵⁵ Tentative plans were made by the Security Service to intern these men as “enemies de jure” in preference to repatriating them.⁵⁶ However, they were repatriated to Saigon, via Manila in June.⁵⁷

During the same period it became necessary to provide accommodation for the crew of the “Queen Mary”. The manager for the Cunard Company’s big ships requested help from the Minister for Health to house 230 members of the crew whose articles for HMT “Queen Mary” had expired in early March 1940. These crew members had chosen not to renew for a further twelve months, apparently to join the forces in the UK. The company was responsible to house, feed and pay them until they arrived there, and was reluctant to “turn 200 odd men loose in Sydney as it would not be good for the men or Sydney.” Dr Metcalfe was willing, if he was granted authority, to accept 80 in a block accommodation at the SIH, which at the time was also occupied by the crew of “Pierre Loti”. As the navy was about to evacuate their personnel from 3rd class quarters, possible accommodation was available for another 80-90 crew members.⁵⁸ The military was not willing to allow this accommodation to be passed over to the crew. The only viable area for 80 seamen was at the SIH, under specific conditions which included the

⁵⁴ NAA, *Letter from DRB Mitchell, Inspector to Lieutenant-Colonel R Powell MC, ISGS Eastern Command, Victoria Barracks, Paddington, 23.5.1941* (NAA: C320, F29).

⁵⁵ NAA, *Letter from Andre Brenac, General Representative in Australia of the Free French Forces, 27.5.1941* (NAA: C320, F29). At the bottom of the page on which this letter was written was the slogan: “Tanks and Planes for De Gaulle” Fund.

The six officers were: **Pierre Albessard**, Captain, “Manhattan” Roslyn St, Elizabeth Bay; **Louis Andre**, “Vanderbilt”, Chief engineer, Barncleuth Square Kings Cross; **Auguste Riette**, Purser, “Euston Hotel” George St, Sydney; **Paul Joseph Michel**, Ship’s Surgeon, “Vanderbilt” Barncleuth Square Kings Cross; **Henri Robin**, Chief Officer, 19 St Neots Avenue, Potts Point; **Louis Raud**, Wireless Operator, “Vanderbilt” Barncleuth Square Kings Cross.

⁵⁶ NAA, *Memorandum from the Director Security Service to ISGS Eastern Command, 10.6.1941* (NAA: C320, F29).

⁵⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Powell, Lieutenant-Colonel, General Staff, Intelligence, Eastern Command, Victoria Barracks, Paddington to Director Security Service, Canberra, 10.6.1941* (NAA: C320, F29).

⁵⁸ NAA, *Letter from FH Dawson, Cunard White Star Limited to the Hon. Sir Frederick H Steward MP Minister for Health, 28.3.1941* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

Company being completely responsible for catering, cooking and medical attention, as well as any other services required by the crew. Discipline and control was to be constantly maintained, the buildings were to be kept in a “clean and healthy fashion” and quarantine staff would not be available to provide assistance. All expenses for goods, including breakages or losses, were to be the responsibility of the Cunard White Star Ltd.⁵⁹

These crews eventually left their accommodation. However, it is not possible to put a precise date to their departure as the diaries for the year August 1940 –August 1941 have been lost. There is evidence in late August 1941 of continued military occupation and quarantine activities with relation to the disinfection of 480 mattresses and 29 bags of pillows for the “Queen Mary”. There is also mention of military units taking over the SIH, and, as there is no mention of the crew members who had been waiting for repatriation at the SIH. It can be supposed that both groups had been found suitable travel arrangements.⁶⁰

German POWs

Two markedly different groups arrived in late 1942. The first was made up of German Naval Prisoners of Wars (POWs) and their guards and the second, evacuees from Portuguese Timor. Both groups found refuge at the station. What marked them out as being different from those who had preceded them was the fact that they had experienced war as participants on opposite sides caught up in a hostile environment engaged in total war. On December 9 the 2nd Garrison Battalion inspected the Lyne’s Buildings and in following days the military erected wire around both buildings and the kitchens were supplied with stores. This preparation was for the arrival, by bus of 78 German Naval POWs and 49 2nd Garrison guards. They were in residence 8 days when, with their guards, the POWs were transferred out.⁶¹ There is no specific information in the sources with relation to these men, possibly to keep their presence secret from the local population, and discovering their identities without any indication of their names or of their vessel/s is all but impossible. Their reactions to their surroundings, the harbour, the closeness to suburban life in Manly and the station itself, possibly with no

⁵⁹ NAA, *Letter from AJ Metcalfe, CQO(G) to the Manager, Cunard White Star Ltd., 3.4.1941* (NAA: A1928, 876/1 Section 1).

⁶⁰ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.56.

⁶¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol.56; NAA, *Memorandum from CR Wiburd to Director-General of Health, 11.4.1950* (NAA: A1658, 874/1/1 Part 1).

information as to its use, could have been very different from any other group of people who were detained there.

Portuguese evacuees from Timor

A very different group of evacuees, 89 Portuguese subjects were the next to take up residence. They had been evacuated from Portuguese Timor to Darwin aboard Australian and Dutch ships, and then travelled via Brisbane to Sydney. They arrived by bus at the station mid- morning December 23, 1942, and needed to be accommodated until a decision was made as to their ultimate destination in Australia. Official policy had determined that this group because of their lack of English and their mixed race would not be able to be integrated into the Australian community. It was therefore proposed to "scatter" them in the future with some going to other states. At a security level this was also to prevent any large group activity or to ensure against any information they had of the Australian military situation in Timor being leaked or made available to Japanese spies or agents living in Australia. As friendly aliens, and guests of the Commonwealth Government, they needed to be registered, and the Department of Labour and Industry was responsible for all arrangements and their care.⁶² As the majority could not speak English they were also in need of an interpreter.

This evacuation of Australian military personnel and refugees had developed out of the failed military strategy which had been implemented by the Government in the Asia-Pacific region during 1941. Japanese successes in Singapore, Malaya, Rabaul and the Dutch East Indies had caused the death of many AIF personnel or their imprisonment as prisoners of war. The only fighting force to survive the onslaught was the 2/2 Independent Company stationed in Portuguese Timor. This small group of 400 soldiers aided by Portuguese and Timorese partisans was successful in carrying on a guerrilla war against the Japanese during 1942. Paul Cleary argues this would not have been possible without the help of Portuguese and Timorese partisans, the mateship with the local people, and especially the young Timorese and Portuguese who volunteered to serve with the Australians.⁶³ Ernest Chamberlain recounting the same conflict recognised the

⁶² Friendly aliens were the subjects of other nations who were supporting the allied cause. NAA, *Report from SC Taylor, Deputy Director of Security NSW to the Commissioner of Police, Sydney, 24.11.1942* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284).

⁶³ Paul Cleary, *The Men Who Came Out of the Ground. A Gripping Account of Australia's First Commando Campaign: Timor 1942* (Sydney: Hachette, 2010), ix-x.

contribution of the young Timorese but also highlighted the significant contributions of the adults: Portuguese, *deportados*, and Timorese.⁶⁴

This group of evacuees was part of a larger group of over 500 whose diversity was clear as they were “a mixed group of Timorese people including priests, nuns, high Government Officials, retired army personnel, ordinary civilians, Indians, Chinese and Timorese natives and twenty-two reputed Portuguese deportees.”⁶⁵ Their evacuation in December 1942 on naval vessels from Timor resulted from the Japanese occupation of Timor during which Portuguese and Timorese residents had suffered loss of life and property. 89 evacuees were temporarily housed at North Head, another 22 went on to Melbourne and 58 were taken straight to a section of the military area near Singleton, known as Bob’s Farm. Japanese occupation of Timor posed security problems for Australia and news of this evacuation was kept secret for as long as possible. As a result a brief news article referring to their arrival and the dangers they had endured during Japanese occupation and the flight from Timor was not released to the media until some six months later in mid-1943. At the same time mention was also made of the role Australian and Dutch naval ships played in the risky evacuation of Australian and Dutch guerrilla fighters, Timorese and Portuguese.⁶⁶

The group of 89 evacuees who arrived at the quarantine station was made up of 38 males and 51 females. The numbers of children out-weighed the adults made up of 9 adult males, and 20 adult females. On arrival at the station they were allocated accommodation in the Lyne’s Buildings P11 and P12 in family groups, and reflected the mixed racial and political nature of the make-up of the larger group of evacuees who took up residence at Bob’s Farm in January 1943. A report to the Security Service delineated the four distinct groups into which the evacuees fell and their racial status:

- Portuguese civil servants and their families
- Portuguese nationals (white) with wives and families (white)
- Portuguese nationals (white) with native wives and children

⁶⁴ Ernest Chamberlain, *Forgotten Men: Timorese in special operations during World War 11* (Port Lonsdale , Victoria, 2010) [http://www.scribd.com/doc/29688334/forgotten-Men-Timorese-in-Special-Operations-during-World War11](http://www.scribd.com/doc/29688334/forgotten-Men-Timorese-in-Special-Operations-during-World-War11) accessed July 8, 2012.

⁶⁵ NAA, *Report from William V Crothers, Camp Administrator to AW Edwards, Department of Interior, Canberra, 17.9.1943 – Bob’s Farm* (NAA: C123/1 1981/1955 Part 2 (Castanheira Albertino).

⁶⁶ *Courier Mail* (Brisbane), July 31, 1943; *Canberra Times* (Canberra), August 2, 1943.

- Natives with native families ⁶⁷

Members of each of the above categories were present among those who were temporarily housed at North Head. Once settled in they were inspected and medically examined by Drs Metcalfe and Gay, and the following day by bio-chemists Drs Mathieson and White for the presence of malaria and tropical diseases, while Quarantine Assistants were allocated to attend to the needs of the group. ⁶⁸

Medical care was on-going. Dr Metcalfe visited them and Dr Gay was resident on the station. Quinine was obtained and administered to patients with malaria. Anna dos Santos was admitted to Manly Hospital, and an adult and boy were transported there for treatment. However, not everyone was pleased with the medical treatment. ⁶⁹ Francisco Mousinho complained that while there the medical staff “derived great satisfaction from examining our blood and our excrements”, he added, “the fact is that I’m full up of all this.” ⁷⁰ The Vice- Governor of Timor, his wife and son, and also Colonel Castilho of the Portuguese Army arrived the 9th January and were billeted in P9. All evacuees were transported to Bob’s Farm January 20, 1943. ⁷¹ While it appears that there was little trouble at the station between the different groups, troubles and class distinctions did occur once the large group was settled in at Bob’s Farm. ⁷²

While the numbers of adult males at North Head was small there were those who fell into the categories above. Housed in P11 was Alfredo dos Santos aged 43, a Portuguese national whose wife was in Portugal. He had been a planter in Timor. After the Japanese invasion he had served seven months with the Australian Army in Timor, having been asked to do so by Major Laidlaw the commander present in Timor. He

⁶⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from Sgt G Caiger, Captain Intelligence Corps to Major Macgregor ISGS Newcastle, Timor evacuees at Bob’s Farm, 16.1.1943* (NAA, ST1233/1 N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

⁶⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 56-57.

⁶⁹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 56-57. Foreman Mechanic Ashton had been given permission to obtain quinine.

⁷⁰ NAA, *Letter from Francisco Mousinho “Canowindra” Glen Innes Rd, Armidale to Hermengildo Granadeiro, Liverpool Camp, 21.9.1943* (Sydney: NAA: C123/1, 21099 Granadeiro Hermengildo Goncalvez).

⁷¹ NAA, *Memorandum from AW Edwards for Secretary, Department of the Interior to the Secretary Department of the Army, 25.5.1945* (NAA: MP42/1, 94/2/811).

Bob’s Farm was a military camp situated in a remote locality approximately 25 miles from Newcastle. Army personnel had been removed from the area, and arrangements were made for the use of a canteen for the evacuees to purchase amenities such as tobacco, cigarettes and toothpaste. As well arrangements were made for an ambulance stationed at Fort Scratchley to transport any cases of serious illnesses to Newcastle hospital.

⁷² NAA, *Urgent Report from Sgt. Shumack and Const. Krahe to the Security Officer Newcastle, 30.4.1943* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

received an Australian Army uniform and equipment and had acted as a soldier alongside the Australians in the AIF and was wounded in the left leg while fighting the Japanese. Once at Bob's Farm he was under review as one of those *deportados* exiled from Portugal in 1927 for anti-Fascist views, and also because he was one of the five who claimed to have served in the AIF who continued to wear military uniform until it was confiscated.⁷³ In his account of the evacuation of military personnel, loyal Timorese and Portuguese who fought with the Australians Paul Cleary names Alfredo dos Santos as one who had fought with B Platoon. Cleary bemoans the fact that during the evacuation, Alfredo was left on the beach "shivering from an attack of malaria", while an escaped criminal who had served as a cook in A Platoon was evacuated.⁷⁴ Dos Santos was evacuated with a later group. In 1942 he applied for registration as an alien resident in Australia. At that time he stated his occupation as a painter. He succeeded in becoming naturalised as an Australian citizen in 1956, having married an Australian citizen in 1949 and was living with his wife and children in Surry Hills. He was one of the few who successfully remained in Australia.⁷⁵

Bank clerk Bezerra dos Santos had been deported from Portugal in 1927. He arrived at North Head accompanied by his (legal) wife, a Timorese native, and six children. In official lists of these evacuees there is constant reference to the status of legal or de-facto relationships, particularly with relation to the *deportados*. In the case of Bezerra dos Santos his marriage to a Timorese, as well as his status as a *deportado* ensured that he was ostracised by the Portuguese in Timor where he was constantly under scrutiny because of his status as a political deportee and his communist views. This scrutiny continued during his time in Australia. When the Japanese invaded Dili he fled with his wife and children for the hills, and was later evacuated from Bataan on a Dutch ship. While at Bob's Farm he was one of a group of *deportados* identified as trouble makers

⁷³ Cleary, *The Men Who Came out of the Ground*, 30. *deportados*- These were political exiles who had been deported by Portugal's fascist government for political subversion. They were stranded in the colony, partly because the money they earned, the *pataca*, had no exchange value. NAA, *Memorandum from Sergeant Shumack and Constable FC Krahe to Security Officer, Newcastle, 16.2.1943* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees); NAA, *Memorandum from Sergeant Shumack and Constable FC Krahe to Security Officer, Newcastle, 26.2.1943* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees). The internees were: Jacinto Estrela, Pedro de Jesus, Francisco Horta, Alvaro Damas, Porfino Carlos Soares, Alvaro Martins Meira, Casimiro Augusto Paiva, Jose Filipe, Antonio Pereria, Bezerra Dos Santos, Albertino Castanheira, Jose Alves Jana, Augusto Cesar dos Santos, Jose da Silva, Granadeiro Hermengildo Goncalves.

⁷⁴ Cleary, *The Men Who Came out of the Ground*, 276-277.

⁷⁵ NAA, *Application for Alien registration in Australia* (NAA: SP11/2 Portuguese/Dos Santos A); NAA, *Application for Naturalisation as an Australian Citizen* (NAA: SP1122/1, 54/20/12170 Alfredo dos Santos).

because they had instigated and taken part in a violent melee at Bob's Farm during which weapons were used to threaten other evacuees. Their political affiliation as members of the Newcastle Communist Party also marked them out as security risks.⁷⁶

Some of the *deportados* like Bezerra dos Santos gained notoriety as a member of the group who went on hunger-strike to protest their internment at Liverpool Internment Camp which had resulted from the trouble they had caused at Bob's Farm. He constantly wrote letters to friends and Portuguese and Australian officials protesting his internment and their failure to release him. Security police saw him as one of the more intelligent *deportados* and as one who worked in the background to ferment trouble. On release from internment dos Santos and his family were part of the Portuguese community sent to Narrabri West accommodated in the Imperial Hotel.⁷⁷ In contrast to those *deportados* who were under constant scrutiny, caused trouble and were removed from Bob's Farm and interned, Manuel da Silva aged 61, had also been deported from Portugal in 1927. But he seems to have avoided trouble and received little special attention from the Security Service. The females of his family were transferred to Armidale in 1943, but he, possibly because of his deportee status, was sent to Narrabri. He and his family were repatriated to Timor after the war.⁷⁸

Francisco Mousinho belonged to a different social group. He was accompanied by his wife and two children who were his niece and nephew. He had been the head of District Office Administration-Civil Administration in Timor as Chief of Post at Same. Security inquiries into the sympathies of some of the Portuguese evacuees noted that Mousinho had been in favour of the Japanese for about four months after their landing. However, he had changed his mind and views in favour of the Australians, but had never really been favourably disposed to Australia. He blamed Australian soldiers for robbing the safe at his Post, but others believed he robbed it himself, as he had never been well-off. But, when he arrived in Australia he had a considerable sum with him, and had blamed the Australians to cover his actions. While some of his friends believed he was not a

⁷⁶ NAA, *Domingos Augusto Bezerra dos Santos* (NAA: C329, 297).

⁷⁷ NAA, *Particulars of relatives in Australia of Portuguese internees* (NAA: ST 1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

⁷⁸ NAA, *Accommodation at Quarantine Station Lyne's Buildings – Evacuees Timor, 23.12.1943* (NAA: C702 Whole Series).

fascist, there were other Portuguese who were convinced he was.⁷⁹ The family was moved to Victoria during 1943 and Francisco to Armidale in July 1943.

Most of the other adult males had held responsible positions in Timor, and appeared to have given little trouble to the authorities, but their political affiliations were monitored. Gasto Vasconcelos, a soldier in the Portuguese Army, had been discharged and received a pension for having sustained an injury to his right leg, which was paralysed. He could only undertake light work, and was accompanied by his wife, her maid and sister-in-law. As part of the “scattering” this family was transferred to Armidale in June 1943.⁸⁰

Francisco Dos Remedios a Civil Servant 2nd class had been employed as a male nurse in Timor. He and his family of wife and three children were “scattered to Victoria”.⁸¹ Jose Casimiro was a farmer and coffee planter in Timor. There is little mention of his activities besides being transferred to Victoria in June 1943, while his wife and four children returned to Bob’s Farm in July.⁸² Aldemar Santos, Civil Servant and Chief of Post at Ainaio, and Marques Jose Eduardo de Abru were known by other evacuees as fascists. Aldemar Santos was alleged to have alerted the Japanese to the position of Australian troops, and was a member of a Portuguese fascist organisation. Silva-Marques was also known as a dedicated fascist who hated Australians and one who would actively assist the axis powers if the opportunity occurred.⁸³

The focus of information on these Portuguese evacuees was mainly from a military and security perspective which highlighted those seen as possible security risks: the *deportados* for their left-wing views, the suspected fascists, potential traitors, and those who could aid the military efforts through being incorporated into Australian military

⁷⁹ NAA, *Secret Report from Sgt. Shumack and Const. Krahe to Security Officer, Newcastle, 5.11.1943* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

⁸⁰ NAA, *Nominal index cards to Timorese evacuees stationed at Bob’s Farm* (NAA: C454); NAA, Portuguese ex-internees (Sydney: NAA: ST1233/N43284). There is only one instance of the use of the word ‘scatter’ however evacuees from the group who were at North Head, and from the larger group of over 500 evacuees groups were sent to different localities, including Armidale, Glen Innes, Tatura in Victoria. From a security service perspective this group posed a potential threat as an agent of the Japanese could have been among them. Added to this was the problem of the situation of Bob’s Farm where it would be possible for members to come and go and receive visitors. Overall there was the constant worry that the security service had a lack of knowledge of the evacuees and their political leanings, especially their connections with the Japanese. Also the Portuguese Government was responsible for their upkeep, so cheaper housing in Narrabri and Narrabri West offered a solution.

⁸¹ NAA, *Nominal index cards to Timorese evacuees stationed at Bob’s Farm* (NAA: C454).

⁸² NAA, *Accommodation at Quarantine Station Lyne’s Buildings – Evacuees Timor, 23.12.1943* (NAA: C702 Whole Series).

⁸³ NAA, *Most Secret Report from Sgt. Shumack and Const. Krahe, 3.4.1943* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284).

action against the Japanese in Timor. For those who did not fit into any of these categories there is little specific evidence, and this applies particularly to the lives of the women and children who were a predominant group among the evacuees. It is also notable that among the group at North Head there were some, mainly maids to de-facto wives, who fitted into the category of mixed race or native Timorese. These two categories made up 80% of the larger group at Bob's Farm.

Among those who were housed at North Head there were those both individuals and family groups who had been affected by the Japanese occupation of Timor. Filemena de Santos was the grandmother of the family of Manuel dos Santos who were located in an adjoining room. She had arrived with Ana dos Santos, aged 12, in her care. Mrs Beatriz Vasconcelos was accompanied by her sister and Timorese maid, all of whom were transferred from Bob's Farm to Armidale as part of the policy of breaking up the group. Celeste Honorio arrived with her four children and was billeted in the same building as her mother Mrs Florinda. Her husband was in the Australian Army and had remained in Timor.⁸⁴ Maria Gonclaves' husband had remained in Timor, and Gracinda Da Cruz's de-facto husband Mariz had been killed by the Japanese. She was Timorese and accompanied her four children who took their father's name.⁸⁵ Margarida Mousinho's de-facto husband Jose Da Silva was a Treasury Officer, who had remained in Timor, but was evacuated later. He was one of those interned who undertook part in the hunger strike at Liverpool to protest their imprisonment. Margarida was also looking after her nephew Rui aged 6 and niece Elisa.⁸⁶

Of all the women who were temporarily housed at the station Domingas Estrela, the mother of four children and the de-facto wife of Jacinto Estrela, one of the *deportados* who was evacuated to Australia in August 1943, has left some of her reactions to life and treatment as a friendly alien evacuee in Australia. She was born in Portuguese Timor and had been transferred with her children from the station to Bob's Farm and from there to Narrabri West. Her husband was one of those interned at Liverpool Internment Camp.⁸⁷ He had taken part in the protest hunger strike. During April, 1944

⁸⁴ NAA, *Honorio Celeste (Portuguese)* (Sydney: NAA: C123/1, Honorio); NAA, *Accommodation at Quarantine Station Lyne's Buildings – Evacuees Timor, 23.12.1943* (NAA: C702, Whole Series).

⁸⁵ NAA, *List of Portuguese evacuees at Imperial Hotel (de-licensed) Narrabri West, 6.2.1945* (NAA: ST 1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

⁸⁶ NAA, *Accommodation at Quarantine Station Lyne's Buildings – Evacuees Timor, 23.12.1943* (NAA: C702, Whole Series).

⁸⁷ John Curtin's Legacy, *Aliens to Australians* <http://john.curtin.edu.au/legacyex/aliens.html> accessed August 8, 2012. Internment camps were run by the military and housed prisoners-of-

Domingas was transferred from the Imperial Hotel Narrabri West to Tatura Internment Camp, Victoria. In May the four children were served with Detention Orders to be also interned at Tatura, as a result of a written request made by the parents so that they could retain custody of their children. This Detention Order was revoked in August 1944 and they were transferred to “Mininbah” near Singleton, where they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the property without the permission of the Deputy Director of Security for NSW.⁸⁸ While at Narrabri West Domingas wrote to another evacuee clearly describing the effect of her experiences,

“... my husband, after suffering so much and facing death almost every day to fight for justice and the right, has been interned in this friendly country. What vast ingratitude it seems incredible, and perhaps if he had been friendly to the combines which are at war with Australia, he might have met a better fate, but, such is life”⁸⁹

While there is evidence of male reactions to their enforced confinement and their mistrust of the authorities both Portuguese and Australian, as well as those who were at the opposite end of the political spectrum, the sentiments above reveal some of the feelings of only one woman. However, as the war continued and families particularly in Narrabri and Narrabri West found it hard to exist on the money they were allocated by the Portuguese government, attempts were made to gain permission by fathers of families to move to Sydney where they were certain they would obtain work, and so be able to supplement their family income.⁹⁰ However, apart from Domingas Estrela’s reflections, the female voices are silent, and the different and difficult circumstances they encountered can only be elicited through the experiences of the men. Restriction Orders for those to whom they applied were removed in August 1945, but they were still subject to the provisions of the Aliens Control Regulations which restricted

war – enemy soldiers, and civilians who were deemed to be potentially dangerous to national security.” Liverpool Internment Camp was the largest in NSW.

⁸⁸ NAA, *Portuguese Internees – Proposed release of balance Groups B and C*, 15.3.1944 (NAA: A373, 3685C). A homestead property known as “Mininbah” was the proposed residence for the Portuguese Internees in Group B and the balance of Group C together with their wives and families on their release from detention. It comprised 13 acres and was located 4 ½ miles from Singleton, 5 ½ by road and 1 mile back from main great northern highway and railway. The nearest neighbour was 1 mile distant. The area in which it was situated was not closely settled.

⁸⁹ NAA, *Letter from Domingas Estrela NF 1774 Tatura No 2, to Mrs Maria Ablino, Coleman’s Private Hotel No 6, Narrabri NSW*, 23.5.1944 (NAA: C123/1, 21612 Estrela Domingas – Portuguese).

⁹⁰ NAA, *Const. Krahe to District Security, Newcastle*, 3/8/1945 (NAA: C123/1, 21611 Estrela Jacinto – Portuguese).

movement without permission.⁹¹ Most of the evacuees were repatriated to Timor aboard the SS “Angola” in April, 1947. However, there were eight who succeeded in blending into Australian society and failed to obey the order to leave. Attempts to locate them were unsuccessful.⁹²

Vietnamese Orphans

Temporary accommodation at the station was also needed for people affected by war during the mid and late 1970s. This was the result of Commonwealth Government decisions and actions with relation to refugees from Vietnam and Indo-Chinese war zones. By early 1975 it was clear that the western powers supporting the South Vietnamese Government were ready to withdraw their forces, and one of the most pressing problems was that of the number of orphans cared for by foreigners who had set up orphanages to care for the substantial numbers of these children. Prime Minister Whitlam made it clear that his government should “play its part in helping to alleviate the hardship and suffering now being endured by the people of South Vietnam.”⁹³ As Australians had adopted numbers of Vietnamese children in the past, and in light of the escalation of the human problems in South Vietnam, he urged the premiers to expedite decision with relation to applications from parents in each state with authorisation from South Vietnamese authorities to adopt Vietnamese children.⁹⁴ The New South Wales premier stated his readiness to do everything possible to assist, as did the other premiers.⁹⁵

⁹¹ John Curtin’s Legacy, *Aliens to Australians*. “All aliens were required to register at their nearest police station while ‘enemy aliens’ were subject to restrictions on their movement beyond their police district and had to report to their Aliens Registration Officer every week... the onus of proof was placed on individuals to show that they were not ‘enemy aliens’ and should not be interned.” NAA, *Deputy Director Security NSW to the Portuguese Consul, 3.8.1945* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex- Internees).

⁹² NAA, *CP Marks, Commonwealth Migration Officer to Commissioner of Police NSW, 12.5.1947* (NAA: ST1233/1, N43284 Portuguese ex-Internees).

⁹³ NAA, *Text of a message sent by the Prime Minister earlier today to all Premiers, 2.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658).

⁹⁴ NAA, *Text of a message sent by the Prime Minister*.

⁹⁵ NAA, *Inwards Teleprinter Message from TL Lewis to the Hon. EG Whitlam, PM. 2.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658). The Premier of NSW, TL Lewis, using the opportunity to score political points stated that NSW was delighted that you have now given a belated recognition of the problems of the people of South Vietnam, and ... has arrangements in hand to receive children and will do everything possible to assist.”

A press statement issued before the children arrived demonstrated the importance of finalising these guarantees from the States regarding adoption and child welfare procedures before the flight could leave Saigon.⁹⁶ Problems of incomplete documentation of the children's details, and physical and medical conditions of some children could make families unwilling to adopt them. The Prime Minister sought assurance from the States that they would accept the number of children for which they had approved families, and that they concurred that normal medical requirements be waived.⁹⁷

Two hundred and nine Vietnamese children and those accompanying them flew from Saigon aboard a RAAF aircraft to Bangkok and then by Qantas 747 to Sydney. Preparations had been made for their arrival April 5, 1975, and accommodation readied for their reception and care at the station until they were allocated to the individual States.⁹⁸ The physical condition of the majority of the children on landing at Bangkok was "mostly fair" with two cases of measles and two of chicken pox. Most had skin infections, some had diarrhoea. Ambulances and hospital care needed to be available on landing, as this complement of children included 80 orphan infants who required immediate hospitalisation, 40 orphan toddlers 2 of whom required immediate hospitalisation, 90 orphan children who required accommodation and 1 child suffering from post-polio weakness.⁹⁹ The children had been accompanied by 14 Borneo Company Ground Hostesses, and a Borneo Traffic Officer who were to return to Bangkok. As well there were 56 adults, made up of Australian Government personnel plus 6 children, orphanage staff who were Australian nationals and 2 American and 2 New Zealand nationals. A Vietnamese, Doctor Lan and her three children were also aboard making a grand total including air staff of 319 passengers.¹⁰⁰

Prime Minister Whitlam visited the station when 87 of the children arrived. Foreman Assistant Lavaring and Mechanic Walker had carried out the admission of the children between 8am and noon. Staff members were rostered on duty attending to them 7am-

⁹⁶ NAA, *Confidential Memorandum from JL Menadue to the Prime Minister, 3.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/657). Families approved and awaiting children from South Vietnam for adoption: NSW: 77, Victoria: 34, Queensland: 8, South Australia: 100, Western Australia: 2, Tasmania: 5, ACT: 20. Total-246.

⁹⁷ NAA, *Press Statement from the Prime Minister, 3.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658).

⁹⁸ NAA, *Telex from the Prime Minister, EG Whitlam to the Hon. TL Lewis MLA, Premier of New South Wales, 4.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658). The children arrived 5.4.1975.

⁹⁹ NAA, *Full Text message received from Morrison, 5.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658).

¹⁰⁰ NAA, *Immediate Telex message 5.4.1975* (NAA: A1209, 1975/658).

9pm during the week end and 7am-10am during the following week days. During the thirteen days they were there they were also cared for by 20 nurses working shifts and 40 volunteers.¹⁰¹ The massive nature of this operation considering the chaotic nature of the procedures in Saigon also posed problems of identification of each of the children. Officials worked to complete health checks and identify and link the children with their adoptive parents. Of those at North Head 39 were successfully identified and linked, while 36 were identified but not linked. This was seen to be because of the inadequate facilities at North Head. However, the team carrying out the work of assessment was harassed by the State and voluntary agency personnel each pressing their individual demands.¹⁰²



Image 21: Young Vietnamese orphan being comforted after injections. Chris Sturt, *Memories of North Head Quarantine Station* www.adoptedvietnamese.org

By April 19 all of the children at North Head had been moved. While there a group of volunteers from *The Creative Leisure Movement* worked tirelessly to care for the children. Their help was readily accepted by the quarantine staff and from breakfast to bedtime this group provided activities and practical help. They dressed and fed the children, escorted them to Manly Hospital for x-rays and treatment, as well as providing lessons in English. Some of the children had disabilities, most had minor skin problems and one was blind. The youngest was a baby 10 days old. It seems that the earlier

¹⁰¹ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 68. There is some confusion over the numbers at North Head. Foley and Cornwall & McArthur state a figure of 115 children. However, NAA, *Minute Paper, Situational Report on the Uplift of Vietnamese Children*, 4.4.1975 (NAA: A1209, 1975/658) states the figures for the total number of children as 209. Of those who were taken to North Head 20 were transferred to hospital the night they arrived because of their malnourished and debilitated condition.

¹⁰² NAA, *Situational Report on the Uplift of Vietnamese Children* 7.5.1975 (NAA: A1209, 1975/658).

experiences of the children had made them resourceful and thoughtful of each other, and these characteristics were evident to both staff and volunteers.¹⁰³ The volunteers and quarantine staff were sad to see them leave, however, the drawings and paintings that had been produced during their stay at the station were exhibited at Grace Brothers' store in Chatswood during July 1975, including one in Vietnamese phrase "A Peaceful World forever".¹⁰⁴



Image 22: Vietnamese orphans being cared for at the Quarantine Station North Head.
Chris Sturt, *Memories of North Head Quarantine Station*
www.adoptedvietnamese.org.

Vietnamese and Indo-Chinese refugees

During the following month the station received orders to be prepared to receive 60 Vietnamese refugees who were to arrive at Richmond Air Base May 17, 1975. Six members of staff worked over the next four days to transfer furniture and equipment for their arrival, while at the same time attending to patients quarantined for inadequate vaccination status, and their regular duties. Diary entries give no indication of these refugees arriving.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ NAA, Nan Bosler, Northern Beaches Supervisor, Creative Leisure Movement, *Children of Vietnam Australia welcomes you* (NAA: A1851, 1980/1808). Foley, *In Quarantine*, 128.

¹⁰⁴ NAA, Bosler, *Children of Vietnam*.

¹⁰⁵ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 68.

Two groups of Indo-Chinese and Vietnamese refugees fleeing from the effects of war in Indo-China arrived two years later. Accommodation areas in P11 and P12 were cleaned, dusted and ready to receive the first group of 52 mainly Laotian and Cambodian refugees June 21, 1977, and staff were assigned working day shifts from 8am-7.30pm. This group arrived in Sydney aboard a Qantas flight. As “boat people” they had arrived in Australian waters aboard the freighter “Leapdal” which had picked them up off the Malaysian coast. The refugees aboard this freighter had been forced to continue their long journey south when their attempt to gain help at Singapore had been unsuccessful. Of the 43 Laotians, 25 were females who were part of family groups varying from four to seven people. Fourteen were very young, aged between 2 and 6 years, while the adult males were mainly in the 30-40 age groups. What is significant about this group is that most of these refugees had relatives in Australia, mainly in Sydney and Melbourne and Perth who acted as their sponsors.¹⁰⁶ The 7 Cambodians were all from the same family and, with the exception of the 3 year old male, were all females. This group had a relative living in Melbourne.

Interaction with refugees again occurred with the arrival of another group of Vietnamese refugees in June, 1977. Staff were again rostered to assist them until they left at 3pm, August 7th. This group of 73 people was also made up of individual family groups, some of whom were interrelated. However, there was a much larger representation of males comprising 60% of the group. Occupations among the adult men varied, including fishermen, salesmen, students, a shoemaker and a tailor and 4 soldiers. None of this group had any relatives in Australia, however, there were some who had relatives in the USA and wished to join them there. There were not as many young children in this group with only 3 under the age of 5 years.¹⁰⁷ While cared for during their stay at North Head there is a lack of information about these people or their journey from their homelands to Australia. There is also no indication of where these “boat people” were moved to, but Villawood and other Immigration camps existed.

¹⁰⁶ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 69; NAA, *Register of those admitted* (NAA: C525 Vol. 2). Loose pages in the back of the book. See Appendix P: Indo-Chinese Refugees ex “Leapdal” at Sydney ex QF2-21.6.1977.

¹⁰⁷ NAA, *Register of those Admitted* (NAA: C525 Vol.2). Loose pages in the back of the book. See Appendix: Nominal Roll – Vietnamese Refugees at Sydney 29.6.1977 ex TN2953.

Cyclone Tracy evacuees

One group who had not trained for or experienced war found refuge at the station from a city which was devastated in much the same way as a war affected area, but this devastation was the result of natural forces. Cyclone Tracy hit Darwin on Christmas Eve 1974, causing widespread damage. Decisions were made to evacuate just over 30,000 people by both road and air, and this had occurred by the end of December. All these people needed immediate accommodation, and approximately 231 of them arrived at the quarantine station. It is clear from the entries in the Weekly Diaries that extra staff had been hired including 3 nurses who commenced duty on Christmas Day, and the two sons of Foreman Assistant Herb Lavaring, commenced duty as temporary hands December 28, 1974. Referencing a Department of Health publication Foley states that the evacuees arrived on Boxing Day, however diary entries designating shifts for the staff on that and the following days, do not have the full complement of permanent and temporary staff rostered on till the 27th.¹⁰⁸ In addition the *List of Darwin Evacuees* drawn up by the *Australian Capital Territory Police* shows that the majority, 83%, of those who stayed at North Head were evacuated on December 27 to disembark in Sydney. Others continued to arrive until January 7th, including the Copely family of nine accompanied by a friend and her daughter.¹⁰⁹

This group provides a possible microcosm of the larger group of evacuees and provides an insight into the chaos surrounding those evacuated from the devastated city. Females made up just over 60 % with adult females making up almost 50% of that group. Adult males made up a much smaller group accounting for less than 10% of the overall evacuees at the station. Family groups had the greatest representation, usually mother and children e.g. the Baere family of mother and 3 teenage children. However there were family groups of children e.g. the De Santis family included 14 year old twins, and four females aged 10, 7, 5 & 4 years. The Lindburg family was one of the few complete families. The Hoare family included the grandfather, and the Francis family a grandmother. This diverse group also included two brothers Abu Assi who were

¹⁰⁸ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 68.

¹⁰⁹ Australian Department of Social Services, *List of Darwin evacuees: Introduction* (Canberra: Dept. of Social Security, 16.11.2007) <http://www.territorystories.nt.gov.au> accessed October 3, 2012.

proceeding to Damascus from the station. One baby Francis Honeysett was admitted to the station hospital. ¹¹⁰

There is no definitive entry in the diaries to show when some or all of these evacuees were able to leave the station for more permanent accommodation, something which for many of those housed at North Head must have presented extreme difficulties. The temporary service of the Laving brothers terminated January 1st and diary entries for the week 6-10 January indicate that work such as cleaning and laundry which was normally done when a period of quarantine was ended was being carried out. However, staff shifts which had been instituted December 12, 1974 continued until January 20, 1975 when a temporary cleaner Mrs Sapitan was hired to assist Mrs Connolly who usually carried out the domestic work. The hours the Foreman Assistant and his staff worked demonstrate the increased work load they carried, as at this time there were people detained in quarantine for invalid vaccination status. ¹¹¹

In the post Cyclone Tracy era questions have been raised about the adverse effects of Colonel Stretton's decision to reduce Darwin's population to 10,500 through evacuation of the residents. ¹¹² At the time the decision was understandable and the group who stayed at the quarantine station represented only a small fraction of the total 30,000 evacuees. Yet, their experiences must have been, in many ways, representative of those of the larger group, their homes destroyed, their families often separated and traumatised. For children, travelling in family groups or with strangers, the chaos and confusion of travel and staying in unusual places, must have been confronting. However, while the oral histories which have been collected focus on the experiences of the cyclone itself and its immediate effects, the experiences of evacuation seems to have been neglected, possibly from the difficulty of assessing these from such a large, widely scattered group, or the immediate problems of resettlement on return to Darwin. The long term ill effects on those who were evacuated have been one of the areas of academic and public health focus. One initial study measured the stress levels

¹¹⁰ *List of Darwin evacuees.*

¹¹¹ NAA, *Weekly Diaries of Duty and Occurrence*, Vol. 68. For the Public Holiday 27.12.1975 F/Assistant Laving worked 12pm-11pm, Mechanic Walker from 12 midnight to 2 am then 12.30 pm-7 pm, Ass Palmer 12 midnight -2 am, then 8 am-7 pm, Ass Cook 12 midnight -2 am, Ass K Beitzel 12 midnight -4 am, then 7 am-7 pm, Ass Kemp 12 midnight -4 am then 7 am-7 pm. In the following weeks the midnight to 4 am shifts remained, as did shifts to midnight, but day shifts were usually 8 am-5 pm with some staff being permitted to take recreation leave in the week beginning 13.1.1975.

¹¹² Cyclone Tracy, *Evacuation, Initial evacuation response*

<http://ntlapp.nt.gov.au/tracy/basic/Evacuation.html> accessed September 12, 2012.

brought about by the primary impact of the cyclone, the effects of evacuation and the varying effects on those who stayed, those who left and returned and those who never returned.¹¹³ This research highlighted the need for the establishment of general health and mental health services to deal with the on-going trauma resulting from the cyclone and the importance of the use of this evidence as forward planning to deal with the consequences of exposure to natural hazards.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

These non-quarantine functions while not specifically linked to quarantine policy and procedures form part of the history of the station and its function as a Commonwealth Government facility. They demonstrate the continued influence of national and international events on the life and work at the station. The protection provided to the population from imported diseases, through quarantine procedures during the nineteenth century continued in a more structured way during the twentieth century. But, while continuing to provide that protection in the second half of the century, the infrastructure of the station and its ability to house those in need of temporary accommodation through the vicissitudes of war and natural disaster, were all part of the continued vigilance exercised through the functions and continued operation of the quarantine station at North Head. However, Chapter 8 will show that while these groups of non-quarantinable people found temporary refuge, there were those who were detained, not for protection against spreading disease, or for refuge in temporary housing, but because they were illegal immigrants who wished to stay in the country. As a result of the illegality of their entry into the country they were detained at the North Head Detention Centre prior to deportation possibly for many a time of respite from the uncertainty of their sojourn in the wider community.

¹¹³ ER Chamberlain et. al., *The Experience of Cyclone Tracy* (Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981).

¹¹⁴ *The Response to Cyclone Tracy- Evacuation* <http://ntlapp.nt.gov.au/tracy/basic/Evaluation.htm> accessed October 18, 2012; *Migration Act 1958. The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year of 1958. The Third Session of the Twenty-second Parliament of the Commonwealth with tables and Index*; Chamberlain et. al., *The Experience of Cyclone Tracy*, 33-40, 49 – 53.

Section 3: A temporary place of refuge or respite

Chapter 8 - Those detained

The preceding chapter explored the extension of the working life of the station through the provision of protection and refuge to groups of people, mainly evacuees, affected by Australian involvement in international events and a natural disaster. This chapter will also demonstrate links to the wider international community through a focus on particular elements of immigration policy with relation to a specific group of prohibited immigrants who were housed at the Immigration Detention Centre (IDC) which was established and operated at North Head Quarantine Station between 1959 and 1974. Their detention and deportation was effected under sections of the *Migration Act 1958* as part of Commonwealth immigration policies, particularly the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* which underpinned the White Australia Policy.¹ However, during the period in which the IDC operated the White Australia Policy was gradually abolished with the *Migration Act 1958* affecting the status and outcomes for those detained at North Head.

2

This chapter addresses the establishment of the detention camp at the station as an important and neglected element in the history of the station in the twentieth century. In contrast to the internment camps of World Wars 1 & 11 which were established for security reasons and protection against internal and external enemies, this IDC was established to process a particular group of prohibited immigrants who were liable to be detained and deported.³ Pred's focus on the formation of biographies also underpins this chapter through the exploration of the intersection of lives of individual detainees with macro-level political and social phenomena related to immigration policy.⁴ The

¹¹ Barry York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901 – 2002. An Annotated Chronology Based on Official Sources* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia Department of the Parliamentary Library: Information and Research Services, 2003), 1.

² York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901 – 2002*, 2.

³ NAA, *Wartime internment camps in Australia*. (NAA: no date given)

<http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/internment-camps/index.aspx> accessed 20 February, 2012;

⁴ Pred's focus on the formation of biographies not only focusses on individuals but can be the biographies of groups, other living creatures, natural phenomena and manmade objects. 281.

objectives of the Detention Centre at North Head will be explored in order to develop an understanding of the functioning of this Centre particularly with relation to the numbers of detainees held, their identities and their treatment. Some details of detainees' experiences before entering Australia, during their period of liberty and while in detention pending deportation will be described to create a partial understanding of their lives before arriving in Australia and why they chose to become prohibited immigrants.

In her study of present day detention centres Amy Nethery argues that, like Aboriginal reserves and civilian internment camps, immigration detention centres like the one at the North Head Quarantine Station held inmates "not for what they had done but for who they were."⁵ In this chapter I will use three case studies based on Pred's concept of place for three individuals and the power relationships in which they were placed to determine the extent to which Nethery's thesis is true for these detainees held within the quarantine station at the IDC, North Head.

Historical context

During the period of the functioning of the IDC at North Head 1959 -1974 immigration policy operated under the *Migration Act 1958* whose object was "to regulate, in the national interest, the lawful entry and stay of people in Australia. Non-citizens who wanted to visit Australia had to apply for and be granted a visa to enter Australia."⁶ Those who entered without a valid visa were un-lawful non-citizens, and unless they were granted permission to stay, they were to be removed as soon as practicable.⁷ Detention Centres which had been established to accommodate those who overstayed or breached visa conditions had existed in Melbourne and Brisbane before 1945, but prior to 1976 prohibited immigrants taken into custody in Sydney were detained at North Head and Long Bay Gaol. Once established it was changing immigration policies after 1973 which brought about the closing of the IDC at North Head. Immigration selection procedures were challenged especially after the defeat of US forces in Indo-

⁵ Amy Nethery, "A Modern-day concentration camp': using history to make sense of Australian immigration detention centres" in *Does History Matter? Making and debating citizen ship, immigration and refugee policy in Australia and New Zealand* eds. Klaus Neumann and Gwenda Tavan 73 (On line ANU E Press, 2009) <http://epress.anu.edu.au?p=109651> accessed April 9, 2012.

⁶ Australian Government, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Media. Fact Sheet 82 – Immigration Detention* (Canberra: Australian Government), 1. <http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/82detention.htm> accessed April 2, 2012.

⁷ Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship, *Media, Fact Sheet 82*, 4.

China created a crisis during which refugees fled from these areas and other areas seeking asylum.⁸ With the continuous arrival of refugees, it was evident that there was a need for “an approved and comprehensive set of policy guidelines ... to be applied to refugee situations.” At the same time there were people designated as prohibited immigrants who needed to be accommodated in specially designed security areas before being deported. In the main these people had overstayed or breached their visa conditions.⁹ A detention centre was established at Villawood, Sydney, in 1976 to deal specifically with the 48 people who were awaiting deportation at that time and thus replaced what had been a specific centre for young men at North Head.¹⁰

Nethery’s contributions are part of an emerging scholarship on detention centres which link immigration detention policies and practices in the past with those of today. Indeed her arguments are very similar to those of Klaus Neumann, leading historian of wartime internment and refugee policies. Neumann has pointed out the importance of these links and argues that there is an absence of an informed assessment of past policies and practices to guide and inform present decisions.¹¹ He argues that “we are better able to understand the nature of Australian immigration detention centres if we explore the characteristics of civilian internment camps, quarantine stations and Aboriginal reserves.”¹² He highlights the importance of recognising the “differences between Australian detention facilities that were operating 50 years ago (such as Sydney’s North

⁸ York, *Australian and Refugees, 1901-2002*, 2 – 5. The White Australia Policy remained a guiding principle of Australian immigration until its gradual abolition between 1966 and 1973. During WW11 Asian evacuees were received into the country but repatriated as soon as the war was over. Those who resisted were repatriated under the *War-time Refugees Removal Act 1949*. York concluded “It was the colour of skin that mattered. Post-war migration policies saw the arrival of displaced persons 1947-1954; anti-Communist Hungarians from 1956-1958; Czechs and Slovaks in 1968; Chileans – political refugees from the anti-Communist pro-Western regime in 1973. The White Australia Policy was abolished in 1973; York, *Australian Refugees 1901 – 2002*, 17 – 18. 1976 an Australian team was sent to Thailand to process Indo-Chinese refugees – 568 accepted and admitted. Civil War in Lebanon produced death and displacement. Visas were granted to relatives of Australian residents, who had suffered extreme hardship as a result of war, provided they met health and character requirements – 800 admitted.

⁹ Australian Government, *Media*, 4. These included (1) people who required entry permits and who had entered without them; (2) people whose temporary entry permits expired or were cancelled while they were still in Australia; (3) people exempted while in Australia; (4) People convicted of criminal offences overseas or who have been deported from any country or who suffer from certain disabilities whose entry permits do not bear special endorsements.

¹⁰ York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901 -2002*, 16 – 17.

¹¹ Klaus Neumann, “Afterword” in *Does History Matter? Making and debating citizenship, immigration and refugee policy in Australia and New Zealand*, eds. Klaus Neumann and Gwenda Tavan, 145 (Online: ANU E Press, 2009) <http://epress.anu.edu.au/?=109651>

¹² Neumann, “Afterword”, 146.

Head detention centre)... and the immigration detention centres at the turn of the twenty-first century.”¹³

While quarantine stations have featured in both Neumann’s and Nethery’s work as an element in the examination of the role of places of incarceration, the IDC at North Head has received little other acknowledgement than a sentence in an Information and research services paper for the Australian Parliamentary Library Information and Research Services, and a footnote in Neumann’s work.¹⁴ However, if as Neumann argues, there are understandings to be learned from the past, especially with relation to immigration and citizenship policy, issues of the administration of the IDC at North Head, legal procedures, the length of time detainees were held there, and the treatment of adults and children are areas which could inform an appreciation of the historical evolution of quarantine as well as present practice.

IDC North Head – establishment.

The IDC at North Head Quarantine Station was opened in 1959 as a result of a decision of the Minister for Immigration in a period following the passing of the *Migration Act 1958* which abolished the dictation test and replaced it with an entry permit system.¹⁵ However, there were still prohibited immigrants in the country who did not hold valid entry permits. In NSW the only place in which this particular group could be detained up till 1959 was Long Bay Gaol.¹⁶ Those who were held at North Head were a specific group of men, often young men, who had jumped ship at ports in Australia and were attempting to stay in the country without having gained an entry permit. This situation had been recognised by the Minister and this IDC was established for the “sole objective ... to ensure that men (particularly young men) whose deportation” had been approved by the Minister, “because of their having entered or remained in Australia without proper authority, should not be thrown into gaols and there forced to associate with criminals, to the possibly great detriment of their characters”.¹⁷ These detainees were

¹³ Neumann, “Afterword”, 147.

¹⁴ Nethery, “A Modern-day concentration camp”, 66; York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901 – 2002*, 18 Neumann, “Afterward”, 147.

¹⁵ York, *Australia and Refugees, 1901 -2002*, 13.

¹⁶ Australian Government, *Media*, 1. – 2. Government policy in the past has excluded children and families from detention in Immigration Detention Centres; David Dutton, *One of Us. A century of Australian Citizenship* (UNSW Sydney NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 2002), 159 – 160. Dutton makes it clear that the immigrant was the male, and his dependants might include a fiancée, or wife, daughters and sometimes a sister, mother or aunt.

¹⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from THE Hayes to Director General of Health, 26.11.1958* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1). The only other Immigration Detention Centre for this type of “prohibited

to be housed in A20 an isolated building in the station area. Use of the building was expected to be intermittent, and it was to be used solely to detain non-criminals such as stowaways and members of ships' crews who have not been guilty of any offence except their illegal presence in Australia".¹⁸ From this official perspective it would appear that they were being detained and deported for what they had done.

They were to be held mainly under Sections 38 and 39 of the *Migration Act of 1958*. Under these sections of the Act "an officer may, without warrant arrest a person whom he reasonably supposes to be a prohibited immigrant, and a person so arrested be... kept in custody¹⁹ The arrested person may be held in custody as a deportee ... and held in custody as the Minister or an officer directs –

- (a) pending deportation until he is placed on board a vessel for deportation;
- (b) at any port or place in Australia at which the vessel calls after he had been placed on board; or
- (c) on board the vessel until her departure from her last port or place of call in Australia. "²⁰

However, a circular relating to the newly published *Commonwealth Police Gazette* in 1960 pointed to detention and deportation also on the basis of who the detainee/deportee was. These included prohibited immigrants, deportees and deserters from the Services and included the following categories:

- (a) Persons against whom deportation orders have been made
- (b) Non-Europeans who are prohibited immigrants by desertion or other illegal entry
- (c) Iron-Curtain Nationals who are prohibited immigrants
- (d) Southern Europeans who are prohibited immigrants. "²¹

immigrant" at a quarantine station was at Woodman Point in Western Australia, established at the same time. See NAA: K403, W59/1208; PP280/1, IM1958/59/806.

¹⁸ NAA, *Acting Director General of Health to Minister for Health* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

¹⁹ *Migration Act 1958. The Acts of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia passed during the year of 1958. The Third Session of the Twenty-second Parliament of the Commonwealth with tables and Index*. Section 38(1) (Canberra: Commonwealth Government Printer, 1958).

²⁰ *Migration Act 1958* Section 39 (6).

²¹ NAA, *Immigration- Publication of details of prohibited migrants in Police Gazette Supplement Box 125* (NAA: C3939, N1960/75120).

Many of the detainees at North Head were deserters from ships and therefore prohibited immigrants upon whom a deportation order could be made. Some fitted into the other categories above.

The establishment of the IDC on the station, even though it was clearly aimed at holding non-criminals was not welcomed by all. There was opposition to the setting up of this Centre, particularly as it was on the grounds of the station whose existence at North Head had been opposed by state and federal politicians as well as by Manly Council and local developers.²² This opposition was as unsuccessful as had been the attempts to bring closure to the continued existence of the quarantine station.²³ An earlier plan to set up a detention centre at the SIH in 1949 in a period of immigration procedural change reflected the need to find a suitable place to accommodate non-criminal detainees including families who were held prior to deportation. This policy reflected decisions which had been made by the Department of Immigration that they (the detainees) “should be detained rather than remain at large”.²⁴ To hold these detainees securely plans to modify the SIH were drawn up which included a 6’ paling fence to be erected on two sides, a stone wall on the third side, and another fence on the bay to maintain detainees in custody. Floodlights, barbed-wire and cells for trouble makers who would be transferred to Long Bay Gaol were also important elements for overall security. While these plans for use of the SIH did not eventuate, the overall security plans possibly provided a blueprint for the physical layout of future centres.²⁵ This attempt at setting up a detention centre was unsuccessful for a number of reasons including the Director-General’s desire to retain the SIH as part of the quarantine area, the Army’s wish to continue the daily use of the jetty attached to the SIH, and Manly Council also had its own plans for the area.²⁶ However a detention centre within the station became a reality in 1959.

²² NAA, *Memorandum from Hon. WC Wentworth to Earle Page, Minister for Health*, 8.4.1954, *Questions posed by WC Wentworth MP, November, 1957; Manly Council to WC Wentworth MP*, 25.2.1959 (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 1).

²³ See Chapter 6.

²⁴ Dutton, *One of Us*, 128 -129; NAA, *Memorandum from THE Heyes,, Secretary Department of Immigration to Works Director, Department of Works Sydney*, 29.8.1949 (NAA: A1658, 556/2/6 Part 1).

²⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from THE Heyes*, 29.8.1949.

²⁶ NAA, *Immigration Restriction Act – General- Isolation Hospital North Head* (NAA: A1658, 556/2/6 Part 1).

Detainees held 1959 – 1974:

To develop biographical data and to test Neumann's assertion that the past policies and procedures which were carried out at the IDC at North Head could influence present policies related to detention centres one of the areas which needs to be explored is the number of prohibited migrants who were processed there 1959 -1974.²⁷ However, it is difficult to provide accurate numbers as there are gaps in the surviving files, and no overall collated figures for the whole period. It is possible from the evidence available to calculate approximate totals for most of the years from 1959 -1974, and these figures from North Head reveal a pattern of non-criminal prohibited immigrant entry and deportation.

Year	No of detainees	✓ Missing sections of Commonwealth Police files
1959 – June –Dec	51	✓
1960	30	✓
1961	56	✓
1962	35	✓
1963	51	✓
1964	138	✓
1965	260	
1966	263	
1967	206	
1968	204	✓
1969	221	✓
1970	291	✓
1971	265	✓
1972	149	✓
1973	154	✓
1974	7	✓
Total	2391	✓

Table 21: Number of detainees by year²⁸

²⁷ Neumann, "Afterword", 126-127.

²⁸ NAA C528; C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2, Part 3; C3939, N1960/75120; C3939, N1965/75058; C3939, N1971/75154.

By comparison with the numbers held in detention centres today they are small, but, it must be remembered that this was a detention centre for only one class of detainees, young men who had committed no criminal acts, and were usually deserters from ships.

Any attempt to fully examine the number of those detained at the North Head IDC runs into problems of evidence. It can be seen from the above table that totals for each year between June 1959 and February 1974 can be provided but there is a significant degree of missing information.²⁹ Only for the years 1965-1967 is there fairly substantial information as to the numbers, names, length of stay and living conditions of the detainees, reflecting the government decision to repatriate all seamen who had deserted from ships.³⁰ The absence of written reports for partial periods could reflect the fact that the detention centre was not meant to operate at all times. It was to be opened to house detainees when necessary and closed when all had been deported.³¹ Accepting that accurate figures are not possible, the total of 2391 non-criminal detainees passing through the Centre over 14 years points to a substantial number of young men, wishing to remain in Australia, for a variety of reasons, some of which will be described later in this chapter.

It is also difficult from the evidence to determine how many of those detained at the Centre were deported. Some entries clearly state that the detainee was deported having been escorted from the Centre and placed aboard a ship or plane. However, many entries give no indication of the eventual decision and note the departure of the detainee by stating "Escorted from the Centre" with no further explanation. It would seem logical that those who were escorted out, with no other designated place of transfer, were deported. The following figure demonstrates this phenomenon.

²⁹ For example entries for 1959 commenced in June and the period from 13.12.59-22.2.1960 is missing, and for 1963 seven small sections together with a much longer section.

³⁰ NAA, *Memorandum from GM Redshaw, Deputy Director-General of Health to the Commonwealth Director of Health Sydney, 2.12.1964* (NAA: A1658, 874/9/1 Part 2).

³¹ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1). See entries for October, November 1962, and February 1964.

Year	No of detainees	Deported / Escorted from Centre/Out	Released to Australia	To Long Bay	Escapees
1959	51	41	-	1	-
1960	30	12		2	1
1961	56	45	1	1	-
1962	35	29	-	-	-
1963	51	38	-	-	2
1964	138	99	3	4	2
1965	260	210	7	12	6
1966	263	239	12	2	-
1967	206	176	18	-	
1968	204	170	13	3	-
1969	221	185	-	-	-
1970	291	235	-	-	-
1971	265	230	-	-	-
1972	149	66	-	-	-
1973	154	97	1	-	-
1974	7	9	-	-	-
Totals	2391	1989	55	25	18

Table 22: Designated outcomes for detainees

It would appear from the table above that the years when more specific entries were written, e.g. 1964-1968, provide more information as to outcomes experienced by the detainees at the Centre. It also demonstrates that there were detainees who were released to Australia. Taken at face value, these entries appear to show that some detainees were permitted to remain and become residents, and possibly achieve citizenship. However, following entries show that while given freedom to be in Australia at a certain date, at a later date these detainees were deported e.g. Richard Bernier was to be deported in 1964 but released on a Canadian passport. As the Master of the ship he was to join refused to take him, he was released until other arrangements could be made for deportation. As reasons for release are not given in the files it is difficult to

provide reasons for the release of individual detainees, however, it often occurred after a court appearance or an interview at the Department of Immigration. Overall the percentage of those released is very small, reflecting the difficulty of a successful outcome under the *Migration Act of 1958*.

Some were escorted temporarily to the Medical Section of Long Bay to be treated for VD, others were removed for being “trouble makers, or in the case of one detainee, for being the “leader of the trouble makers”. A few served sentences of 55/60 days to fulfil sentences imposed by the court for offences committed after their illegal entry, and having served their time they were escorted back to the Centre to be deported. Others had aggressively taken part in a scuffle, and a group of English detainees were removed to Long Bay for having burnt graffiti into the mantel piece of the Recreation Room.³² One way of resisting deportation was to attempt to escape. Escapes occurred over the years and while some escapees were recaptured, and other returned voluntarily giving themselves up, there were some who have never been recaptured.³³

Nationality of detainees.

The nationality of some of the detainees is recorded but, in a substantial number of cases this is not so. With certain names, particularly those which appear to be Greek and Asian, educated guesses can be made, and assumptions made with relation to overall patterns of illegal migration with relation to this group, for the period 1959-1974.

³⁴ It would appear that problems in home countries such as unemployment and political instability became the catalyst for attempting to gain residence in Australia, particularly for those who could join relations or friends living in here.³⁵

The detainees came from perhaps forty different nations. However, for many of these the number is extremely small e.g. Japanese, White Russian, Hungarians and French

³² NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2). In hindsight this seems to be an example of extreme punishment for acts of graffiti. There is surviving evidence of graffiti on the walls of the Recreation Room in A20 done in a later period, and there is no indication in the Police files that the perpetrators were punished for their actions.

³³ NAA, *Escape of five Detainees Manly Detention Centre 7.4.74 IMM (immigration)* (NAA: C1070, N74/1360).

³⁴ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police at Detention Centre Manly* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part2, Part 3). Surnames similar to other denoted as being Greek, and given names such as “Demetrios”, “Hristos”, “Ioannis”, “Konstantinos”, “Athanassios” occur often in those whose nationality has been recorded. See Appendix R: *No of IDC detainees per nationality*.

³⁵ Period of the repressive rule of the Generals in the mid to late 1960s

Canadians.³⁶ But there were much larger numbers of Greeks, Chinese, Fijians including Fijian Indians and the British. New Zealanders were also repatriated.

Greece	China	Fiji	UK	New Zealand
193	87	50	33	16

Table 23: Totals by known nationality of the five largest groups of detainees 1958 – 1974.

In compiling the table above the number of detainees has been calculated on overall nationality and demonstrate that many were seamen who jumped ship. Others were stowaways. Both groups illustrate the prevalence and importance of international shipping to the economy during the period, and the relative ease of desertion from a ship in port, especially by those who wished to find work and a better standard of living than they had in their home country.³⁷

Length of stay

One aspect of quarantine which affected both those quarantined and the detainees was length of stay. During the years of its operation the detainees at North Head experienced a variety of periods of stay, ranging from one day to over a hundred. But from the entries recorded in the Commonwealth Police files the process of court visits, custody warrants and deportation orders seemed to be carried out in an efficient and humane way. Detainees were escorted to court for the elements of their case to be heard and legal process put into place with relation to deportation. Often it was only the shipping company's inability to find a berth on a suitable vessel for the deportee which slowed the process.

Contemporary *QSTATION* materials relating information about quarantine procedures often stress the length of time victims suffering from infectious diseases, and their contacts, were forced to remain isolated in quarantine from the rest of the population to ensure against the spread of disease. In this promotional material the period of forty days, the term which originally gave quarantine its name, takes on the biblical

³⁶ NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2; C3939, N1960/75120; C3939, N1965/75058; C3939, N1971/75154

³⁷ NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2, Part 3; C3939, N1960/75120; C3939, N1965/75058; C3939, N1971/75154.

implications of a time of horrific incarceration.³⁸ During the twentieth century very few patients experienced such a long period of quarantine. But, some of the detainees were held at the IDC for longer periods than forty days. These results are significant in comparison to the equivalent number of examples for those held in quarantine, as the longest quarantine period experienced by passengers who were did not have valid vaccinations was 14 days.³⁹

There is no explanation in the reports for the extended length of stay for the detainees. However, under the sections of the *Migration Act 1958* there were clear administrative procedures, and it was specifically stated that once the Deportation Order had been signed and served on the detainee, the Shipping Company had thirty days to arrange for the travel arrangements for the deportee.⁴⁰ As many of the detainees had jumped ship or were stowaways, it was incumbent on the Shipping Company from whose ship the detainee had entered Australia illegally, to comply with the law. However, there must have been other reasons for the long stay of these detainees. One explanation with relation to Yugoslav detainees is that official communications had not been finalised in 1973, and this hindered the process of deportation for these detainees. But, this would have affected only a small number of detainees awaiting deportation. Possibly, some were endeavouring to use the provisions of the *Migration Act* to put forward their reasons to be granted permission to stay.⁴¹ The nationality of only 24 of 34 of these long-stay detainees is able to be determined. Of those the majority were Europeans with 11 Greeks, 7 Chinese, 2 Fijians, 3 Yugoslavs and 1 Italian.

³⁸ *QSTATION* pamphlet, (Sydney: 2007). See Gensini, et. al., "The concept of quarantine in history: from plague to SARS," *Journal of Infection* 49 (2004): 257. "The term quarantine is strictly related to plague and dates back to 1377, when the Rector of the seaport of Ragusa officially issued a 30 day isolation period for ships, that became 40 days for land travellers, probably because the shorter period was not seen as sufficient to prevent the spread of disease. Italian number for forty (quaranta) became the term for quarantine."

³⁹ NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2, Part 3; NAA: C3939, N1965/75058.

⁴⁰ *Commonwealth Government Acts 1958, Migration Act 1958* Section 22(1).

⁴¹ NAA, *Immigration – Monthly Return to CO of Deportees detained 14.3.1973* (NAA: C3939, N1971/75154). *Instructions to Officers*: Returns of all persons currently in Immigration custody awaiting deportation ... In addition we require the names of deportees who are on a reporting basis pending finalisation of arrangements for their movement. Information is not required concerning those deportees whose whereabouts are unknown or others whose departure is not imminent. e.g. Yugoslav deportees for whom authority for re-admission to Yugoslavia is still awaited.

Daily functioning of the IDC:

While the IDC was under the control of the Department of Immigration the day-to-day routine which ensured the custody and care of the detainees was in the hands of the Commonwealth Police. When the Centre first opened in 1959 those in daily charge were designated as *Peace Officers* and the Centre named *Detention Centre at North Head*. From March 1961 the title of those in charge changed to *Commonwealth Police Force*, and the Centre was designated as the Immigration Detention Centre. Throughout the whole period aims, functions and duties remained much the same, and contain elements of custody and care which could inform immigration and detention policies today, and provide an interesting contrast to the contracting out of services to private enterprise in detention centres in the twenty-first century.⁴²

When set up the Centre was to function and remained open, when necessary, to house small numbers of detainees for a short period of time. There were periods, sometimes for weeks, when it was closed and needed to be reopened when new detainees arrived.

⁴³ Officers were rostered on for one of three shifts and detainees arrived at any time during the day or night. Even if there was only one detainee, as was the experience of Wong Yew, procedures were followed. He was issued with bed linen, in this case, two extra blankets, supervised and checked on at half-hour intervals as well as being issued writing material and taken out for exercise. Yet, the psychological effects of detention and pending deportation were evident and recognised. Wong Yew was “very quiet” and a “little dispirited” but he gave no trouble during his time at North Head.⁴⁴

In line with other prison type facilities, detainees were fingerprinted and personal property of a valuable or dangerous nature was confiscated and kept in a safe.⁴⁵

However, detainees were permitted to purchase goods, if needed, and an off- duty officer would do the shopping with the necessary funds taken from the detainee’s personal account. Visiting family members or friends made contributions to the

⁴² NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part2); NAA, *Immigration – Publication of details of prohibited migrants* (Sydney: NAA: C3939, N1960/75120); NAA, *Immigration – Internal Audit of North Head Detention Centre* (NAA: C3939, N1965/75058); Australian Government, *Media*, 5.

⁴³ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports of Commonwealth Police 10.4.1961, 1.12.1961, 25.1.1962* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁴⁴ NAA, *Immigration-Weekly Reports form Commonwealth Police 26.6.1959* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁴⁵ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

detainee's account to provide for these extra purchases. Officers from the Department of Immigration as well as high-ranking police officers carried out frequent inspections of the detainees, buildings and equipment. During these inspections the health of the detainees was noted and any complaints listened to. Only seldom were there any complaints recorded and, as a much repeated sentence in the reports stated:

"Detainees appear in good health, three hot meals served, no complaints."⁴⁶ While the veracity of this appraisal leaves room for conjecture, and with the lack of evidence it is difficult to read the silence, there is evidence that detainees did make complaints which were listened to and addressed. In one instance a group of Asian detainees complained to the duty officer that they did not like the type of food they were being served, two detainees had refused to eat it, and the group asked to be able to cook rice and vegetables. As a result communication was made to an immigration official who gave permission for the first meal to be taken away. Detainee, Sun Fai was allowed to cook that meal with rice and vegetables supplied for them, and a later group of Asian detainees was permitted to cook for themselves.⁴⁷

As well as responding to individual requests and difficulties, the carrying out of administrative process continued. Photographs were necessary so that individual passports would be in order when detainees were escorted for deportation. Some detainees were escorted to *Trevaire Studios* in Manly and at other times a photographer from that studio entered the Centre to take the photographs. This was an important action, as when deportation was to be carried out, all the paperwork, including passports, needed to be exact as was evident when three Fijian detainees were escorted to Mascot for deportation to Suva. They had to be returned to the Centre, as there was no authority to enter Fiji. An authority must have been provided, as on the following day they were again taken to Mascot and deported. However, there was no indication of their destination.⁴⁸

Attention was paid to the personal cleanliness and presentation of detainees. A barber from Manly visited the Centre to cut detainees' hair, and after a group of British detainees were reported to be in an unclean state, showers on entry were mandated.

⁴⁶ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁴⁷ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 17.7.1959* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁴⁸ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 22.6.1967* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 3).

The police/military nature of the Centre clearly demonstrated itself through these mandatory nature of tasks such as shaving. This was done under supervision and was part of the necessary daily routine. Refusal to accede to these directions resulted in confinement to quarters until after evening meals.⁴⁹ To ensure the cleanliness of the area, all officers were “asked to ensure that the shower room was cleaned up after use by every detainee.”⁵⁰ Measures were taken as a result of some detainees failing to get out of bed, or to change out of their pyjamas. It was mandated that all healthy detainees had to be dressed and attend meals. They were not permitted to stay in the dormitory area until after 2pm each day. There is no hint of this being as a result of depression on the part of the detainees, but was closely linked to the fact that one of the detainees had needed to be treated for tuberculosis and had been confined to bed, and other detainees were trying it on.⁵¹ However, there were detainees who found their situation difficult and became morose and withdrawn. Others who were designated as “trouble-makers” were seen to be acting to disrupt the established order and cause contention among the other detainees.⁵²

However, the procedures with regard to children demonstrate valid elements of humanitarian treatment.⁵³ An English boy, who had been escorted in to the Centre, was escorted out almost immediately to the Sydney Metropolitan Boys Centre at Albion St Sydney, and kept in custody pending deportation. This young man’s father had been contacted in England, and had concurred with his deportation which occurred on December 20, 1966.⁵⁴ Another was released to the care of the *Big Brother Movement*, a group with experience of helping young men, while another was escorted to Children’s Court.⁵⁵ A Greek youth was escorted to a Children’s Shelter, and young Asian man was

⁴⁹ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 3.8.1961* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁵⁰ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 22.4.1961* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁵¹ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 19.4.1962* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁵² NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 21.4.1961* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1). See Michael Trubody a British detainee who used obscene language when ordered to stop banging his head against the wall and creating a nuisance of himself. He was also in the practice of taking the radio into the dormitory to the annoyance of others.

⁵³ Nethery, “A modern-day concentration camp”, 68.

⁵⁴ NAA, *Condon, Robert Edward {British migrant, immigration file}* (NAA: SP1122/1 N1960/15039).

⁵⁵ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 28.9.1967* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2); Big Brother Movement Ltd, Youth Support since 1925, *History*. <http://www.bbm.asn.au/index.php?pageNum=37> accessed March 13, 2013. Founded in 1925 this movement brought young English men to Australia where they were trained in farm work at

accompanied to the *Waverley Nursing Home* to visit his grandparents prior to being escorted from the Centre.⁵⁶ It would appear that the environment at the IDC was recognised as unsuitable psychologically and/or physically for children.

Access to legal and consular help was available. Detainees had the right to meet with officially sanctioned visitors. These included legal counsel and visits from consuls or their representatives. The number of entries describing these types of visits demonstrates that they were a common occurrence, and sometimes occasioned special attention from the officers on duty. Four Hungarian stowaways requested to ring their consul, but were refused – no reason for this refusal was entered. Attempts made to contact them from the *Hungarian Freedom Fighters* (a Nazi orientated organisation) were also refused and the on-duty officers were advised “to take careful precautions regarding the security of these men “(the Hungarians). No further information is given, but the presence of these men must have raised fears at the height of the Cold War of both communism and fascism.⁵⁷ However there were frequent visits from consuls for Greece and China, as these were two of the countries with the largest number of detainees. Consuls for Spain, Japan, Canada, USA as well as the Dominican Republic, Sweden, Norway and Denmark visited their countrymen when requested.⁵⁸

It is also interesting that many of the detainees received visits from family and friends, evidence of the numbers of displaced people who had settled here and the effects of migration policies in the post-war period driven by the imperatives of population increase, assimilation and economic advancement.⁵⁹ Official permission needed to be granted from the Department of Immigration before visitors could attend a half-hour

various government run training farms e.g. Scheyville NSW. The Depression and WW11 caused breaks in the flow of candidates. After 1947 until 1982 this movement settled 12 000 lads in Australia. From the 1950s on many took up work in the city. The average age of these young men was 16, although later in the 1970s it went up to 20 years of age. In 1983 the sponsorship scheme was terminated, but the BBM continued to initiate youth support programmes, often helping homeless children, and instituted awards allowing Australian youth to visit the UK and further their careers; NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 16.2.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 3).

⁵⁶ NAA, *Immigration – Monthly Returns to CO*, 7../1974 (Sydney: NAA: C3939, N1971/75154); NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 16.4.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁵⁷ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 2.12.1959 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁵⁸ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 1.11.1961, 29.3.1962, 3.5.1962, 15.11.1964, 3.12.1964, 8.3.1966, 11.12.1966 and 31.10.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2).

⁵⁹ Dutton, *One of Us*, 59 – 60.

visit.⁶⁰ They brought clothing, tobacco, cigarettes, money and news of relatives. The actions of some visitors raised suspicions and orders were issued for them to be searched before meeting the detainee. Instructions were issued that officers needed to keep these visitors under surveillance and that they were to be “accommodated at a position near the table where officers are to facilitate supervision”.⁶¹

At times trouble occurred because of the large number of Greek detainees. One group of resident Greeks arrived to visit their countrymen without having gained the required permission to visit. Warnings were given by Commonwealth Police officers and Mr Lavaring, Foreman Assistant of the quarantine station that they were trespassing and were required to leave the area. Unwilling to do this they had to be escorted from the station. Later, they returned, entered the area, and stood outside the Centre having shouted conversations with the Greek detainees who congregated on the enclosed verandah. Eventually they were escorted from the premises by the Manly Police. These problems affected the quarantine staff as well as the officers on duty and demonstrate that while the detention centre was situated in an isolated part of the station, active supervision by the quarantine staff was a constant necessity.⁶²

One of the most important recurring problems was the state of health of some of the detainees. Problems of headaches and slight feelings of illness were dealt with by granting permission to stay in bed, and a dose of two Aspro, while a detainee badly infected with lice required the disinfection of the area and the disinfection of “blankets and bed linen with a strong solution of Phenyl and hot water.”⁶³ The more serious cases required permission for a doctor to visit, or for the detainee to be escorted to a doctor in Manly or to Manly Hospital. These escorted visits ranged from complaints such as treatment for infected ears and eyes, badly swollen feet, skin irritations and infections, to more serious cases of appendicitis, surgery, asthma attacks, urinal colic, a hair line fracture of the skull, pains in the chest and breathless, daily injections for VD and pneumonia.⁶⁴ Special attention was given to detainees with serious conditions such as

⁶⁰ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 15.10.1963 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁶¹ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 27.2.1962, 12.4.1962 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁶² NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 30.6.1965, 2.7.1965, 3.7.1965, 7.7.1965, 1.8.1965 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2)

⁶³ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 23.5.1961 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2)

⁶⁴ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from C.1.1968*, 1.9.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2).

an addiction to pethidine. An entry for another detainee stated that he was “requiring special supervision as he appeared to be unstable”, and another who “was troublesome, as he thought he had cancer.” When treated at Manly Hospital he was found to have a cyst which required surgery. The success of this procedure resulted in the detainee becoming compliant and happier.⁶⁵ One detainee was referred to Prince Henry Hospital and another to Randwick Hospital, both at the request of the doctor at Manly hospital.⁶⁶ Other less serious, but important visits were made for detainees to receive vaccinations for smallpox and/or cholera prior to deportation. From the constant recording of the state of health of the detainees, this element of care by the officers at the Centre appears to have been central to their overall supervision of the detainees.

There were problems which could not be solved by a visit to a hospital. Scuffles and fights occurred and while some were not serious, even though in one a participant received a cut to the forehead and under the right eye, a reprimand from the inspector finalised it. Others resulted in detainees being sent to Long Bay Gaol or to No 4 Police Lock-up in the city.⁶⁷ Trouble makers caused more concern for the authorities when there were larger numbers in detention and when there was a substantial group of the one nationality. One group of Chinese detainees caused trouble by refusing to get out of bed, and declining to eat meals and were generally difficult to handle. These behaviours appeared to be linked to their length of stay, as their attitude changed when informed of their deportation the following day.⁶⁸ Trouble also occurred when there were large groups of Greeks held at the Centre. Their failure to cease disruptive activities resulted in five of them including the “leader of the trouble makers” being escorted to Long Bay Gaol. Individual detainees also posed problems. One Chinese detainee was described as, “appears to be a trouble maker and all officers are warned to have as little conversation with him as possible.” A Greek detainee tried to leave through the main door, “stating that he wanted to go to Sydney”. On being restrained

⁶⁵ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 26.3.1962, 28.12.1962, 1.4.1966 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2).

⁶⁶ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 15.11.1965, 5.3.1962 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2).

⁶⁷ NAA, *Immigration - Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 20.5.1965, 28.3.1967, 27.1.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁶⁸ NAA, *Immigration- Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 14.8.1965 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

he resisted violently and had to be carried back to the dormitory and handcuffed, before he would allow the door to be closed.”⁶⁹

While some detainees bore their detention with forbearance, there were those who intended and carried out escapes, which on the whole were not very successful. Only one Greek and some Tongans were successful in escaping and avoiding capture. The first to escape and stay at liberty for a short period of time was a New Zealander who escaped February 22, 1960 and was recaptured on March 3. He was deported quickly after that on March 5, 1960.⁷⁰ Two Greek detainees escaped at night through a window in the toilet in the shower area. This resulted in a loss of liberty for all, as the remaining detainees were locked in the recreation room. Arrangements were made for them to be bedded down there. The other Greek detainees became “quite unsettled and minor arguments broke out.”⁷¹ One escapee gave himself up and the other surrendered to police within two days. An interesting result of this escape was that other Greek detainees who “felt they had lost privileges because of the misconduct of the two escapees” attacked them and “minor scuffles broke out.” Orders were given that “the younger of the two had to be protected at all times. He was bedded down separately from the other detainees in the Recreation Room.”⁷² However the escape had had an unsettling effect on the other detainees and all officers had to deal with “constant bickering” and demands that “they should be allowed to walk in the fresh air outside.”⁷³

Evangelos Dimas’ escape attempt in 1956 was more successful initially. He remained at liberty until 1966 when he applied for permission to remain in Australia. In this application he was supported by Solon Baltinos, General Secretary of the *New Settlers’ Federation of Australia*. However, permission to stay was not granted and Dimas was apprehended and deported.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 25.8.1965, 27.9.1967 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2); NAA, *Immigration – Monthly Returns to CO*, 31.8.1973 (NAA: C3939, N1971/75154).

⁷⁰ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 22.2.1960 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁷¹ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 4.4.196 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁷² NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 5.4.1965 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁷³ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 9.4.1965 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁷⁴ NAA, *Evangelos Dimas* (NAA: SP1122/1, N1964/15535 Evangelos Dimas).

The most successful escape was made in 1974 in the period when the life of the detention centre was coming to a close. At night, May 5, five Tongans escaped by climbing through a hole they cut in the ceiling, and after removing the tiles from the roof of A20 made their escape from the Centre and the quarantine area. The officer on duty had not heard anything as the Tongans had been singing and dancing. The quality of the music was described by Mechanic Roy Walker as “really good”. Mr Walker’s version of this escape states that the escapees went to Manly Hospital to visit some Tongan nurses they knew there, and two were recaptured. Commonwealth Police files however indicate that three of the escapees were successful in blending into the inner-city Tongan community and then possibly escaping by stowing away, or were hidden on a ship destined for Tonga. Searches of ships bound for Tonga failed to locate them and the case remains an open one with the Commonwealth Police.⁷⁵



Image 23: Five Tongan escapees. Cutting from *Newcastle Morning Herald* NAA: C1070, N74/1380.

Provision of meals.

It is evident from some of the earliest entries for the Centre in 1959 that administrative problems arose over seemingly small matters. The overall responsibility for the provision of meals lay with the Department of Immigration. While appearing trivial in relation to the other elements of life in confinement, it has been seen to add to the

⁷⁵*Concep, The Quarantine Station Newsletter* (Sydney: NPWS, May 1986), 9-10; NAA, *Escape of five detainees Manly Detention Centre 7/4/74 IMM* (NAA: C1070, N74/1380).

physical damage experienced.⁷⁶ In this early period of operation the number of detainees was small and consisted mainly of Chinese. They had difficulty eating the Australian food which not part of their regular diet.⁷⁷ They requested a different diet and, detainee Wong Yew, was given permission to prepare the meals. However, while he continued to cook for the Chinese detainees, the food, mainly rice, was purchased by the cook with money contributed by the detainees. As other nationalities were escorted into the Centre, Mrs Newton wife of the Foreman Assistant was pressured to provide meals for these detainees. This situation in which the women folk of the quarantine staff were pressured into providing services, when needed, was not new, and mirrored the use of resident women, often reluctantly, for often paltry wages, once a permanent female attendant had been deleted from the staff. For 85 meals supplied during mid-1959 Mrs Newton was paid £42/10/- and in following years she agreed to supply meals only for one or two persons, if urgently required.⁷⁸

The situation required a substitute to be found. Mrs Coote the wife of Constable Coote of the Commonwealth Police agreed to supply meals on the same basis as Mrs Newton. This agreement was for the supply of 3 daily meals costed at 10/- for one detainee and to 6/- each for five or more detainees. But in November 1960 this arrangement failed as the Cootes had to leave their accommodation at the SIH which was taken over by the Commonwealth Police for a Training School. An alternative had to be found. Again the authorities turned to the females of the families of the quarantine assistants. They were canvassed as to their willingness to provide meals on the monetary basis of 10/- for one detainee to 30/- for five. None of the wives would undertake this task as “they were already working full or part- time, or because of family commitments.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Nethery, “A modern-day concentration camp”, 68. Nethery argues that these problems stemming from confinement include: razor wire or electric fences; remote location; constant surveillance; insufficient showering, toileting and cooking facilities; lack of adequate access to mental and physical health care; inhumane treatment by staff; the right of staff to punish detainees which include the removal of human rights; the lack of distinction between the treatment of adults and children. From the official entries in the police weekly reports, while some of these elements affected the detainees, many of the more serious elements do not seem to have applied to the detainees at North Head.

⁷⁷ NAA, *Immigration- North Head Detention Centre Provisions for Meals* (NAA: C3939, N1959/75220). Provisions included: butter, flour, rolled oats, tomato sauce, custard, baked beans, spaghetti, barley, split peas, mixed fruit, potatoes, bread, milk, vegetables.

⁷⁸ NAA, *Immigration – North Head Detention Centre* (NAA: C3939, N1959/75220).

⁷⁹ NAA, *Immigration – North Head Detention Centre, 14.10.1960*.

The catering section of the nearby Commonwealth Police School was then canvassed unsuccessfully, and it appeared that the only solution was to provide a cook from Scheyville Migrant Camp. However, in 1965 when the Centre took in a group of detainees, the Stores Officer had to go to Manly to buy provisions so that the detainees could get their own meals for that day. The problem of supplying meals continued to be ongoing, and a solution proved difficult as there was no one interested in undertaking the role. The Minister for Immigration cited a number of reasons for this including: the arrival of detainees at any time with meals needing to be supplied at short notice, the constant variation in the numbers of detainees in the Centre, and the fact that there were periods when the Centre was closed. In addition, the Department of Immigration only supplied a cook when there were more than five detainees at the Centre, as it was not economical to do this for smaller groups.

A convenient solution for Chinese detainees was found with a local Chinese cafe willing to deliver suitable foodstuffs in containers which could be warmed up at mealtimes. But this did not provide meals for the other detainees, and makeshift solutions had to be relied on.⁸⁰ However, during the following years when there were substantially greater numbers of detainees at the Centre cooks from Scheyville Camp carried out the duty, and when the numbers were small or a cook was not available Mrs Nisbett wife of Commonwealth Police Officer W Nesbitt supplied three hot meals a day.⁸¹ Three English detainees informed the Officer-in-Charge that “the food served at this establishment (by Mrs Nisbett) was of excellent quality,” yet, again there were complaints about the English style meals.⁸² One detainee, Ng Yau, reported that they were upsetting his stomach, with the result that “a special meal of rice was prepared by the cook, and was eaten by Ng Yau in the Recreation room.” This complaint called for a more effective solution, and resulted in an official direction from the Department of Immigration that, “in future all Chinese detainees were to be served rice with the usual fare served at mid-day and evening meals in order to deter any further occurrence of this nature “. ⁸³ Some regularity appears to have occurred with Mr Joe Oscziak, a migrant displaced

⁸⁰ NAA, *Immigration – North Head Detention Centre*.

⁸¹ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/ 75071 Part 2). Department of Immigration Cooks: Joe Osiczak, Alfonso Justica Ruiz, Steve and Tony “kitchen useful”.

⁸² NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 16.4.1961* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁸³ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police, 28.12.1965* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

person from Scheyville Migrant Camp, fulfilling the duties of cook with the help of a kitchen hand. For one kitchen-hand the temptations of free food became too much. He was searched as he was about to leave the Centre and four pieces of cake and four chops were found in his bag. The food was retrieved and his services were dispensed with immediately.⁸⁴

Who were the detainees? What had they done?

Between 1959 and early 1974 a significant number of detainees were held at the IDC. While their names were entered in weekly reports specific information about the individual detainees was not recorded, and unless the detainee had dealings with the state police or the Immigration Department it is very difficult to unearth any personal information about them or their reasons for entering Australia illegally. Some information can be gleaned from *Correspondence Files of the Commonwealth Investigation Branch Files* controlled by the Australian Federal Police, and the entries in the *Commonwealth Police Gazette*.⁸⁵ These files sometimes provided a photo of the prohibited immigrant with some relevant details with relation to date and place of birth, height, colour of eyes and hair. This information was distributed by the Commonwealth Migration Officer to the Commissioners of Police and the Commonwealth Investigation Service thus making identification easier for both Commonwealth and local police.

The information in many of these files is extremely limited and gives only a glimpse of the stories of the detainees, however they do provide some evidence with relation to the variety of nationalities, method of arrival, work experience and/or skills, physical features and sometimes the reasons for attempting to stay in Australia. Many were ship's deserters as were two Fijians Sakula O'Brien and Vereia Fapiana.

Sakula O'Brien (aka Jack O'Brien, aka Jack Maua) arrived in Sydney per SS "Lakemba" and deserted the ship. He was described as a Category "A" prohibited immigrant, born at Amau Vaitapu GEIC April, 131933; 5'11" tall with black hair and eyes. He had a scar

⁸⁴ NAA, *Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police*, 28.7.1968 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 2).

⁸⁵ NAA, *Correspondence files with WA prefix* (NAA, PP302/1); NAA, *Immigration – Publication of details of prohibited migrants in Police Gazette Supplement – Box 125* (NAA: C3939, N1960/75120).

on his left chin. Apprehended 25/11/1959 he was escorted to North Head March 2, 1960, and deported some time in 1960.⁸⁶

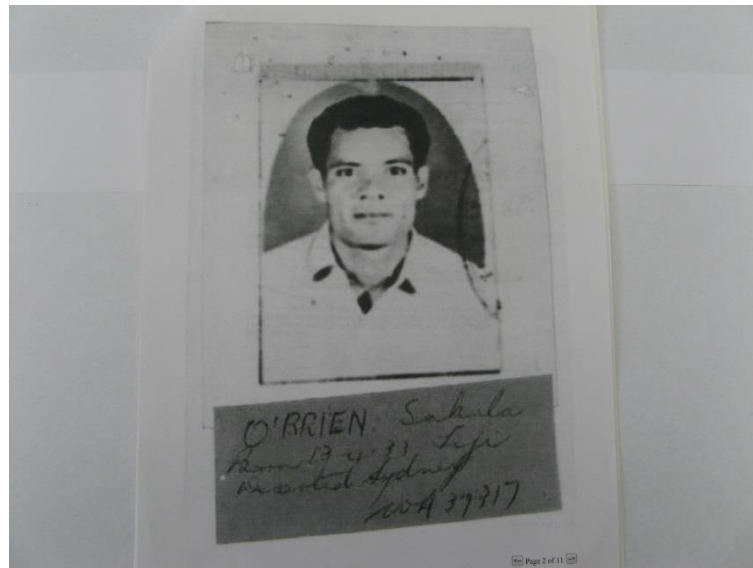


Image 24: Detainee Sakula O'Brien. NAA: PP302/1, WA37317.

Verea Fapiana was also a ship's deserter from SS "Suva" in August 1957. He showed a determination to take up residence in Australia. While his whereabouts were still unknown in May 1958, he was apprehended in October 1958 and escorted in to North Head pending his deportation. He had been sentenced to six months imprisonment at the Court of Petty Sessions Phillip St Sydney and convicted of being a prohibited immigrant. His Deportation Order was signed and he was placed on a Canadian Pacific aircraft on November 26, 1958.⁸⁷ However, he returned, was apprehended and again escorted in to the Centre in August 1959.

⁸⁶ NAA, Sakula O'Brien [aka Jack O'Brien, Jack Maua] Fijian [arrived Sydney 7.8.1958 per Lakemba] (NAA: PP 302/1, WA 37317).

⁸⁷ NAA, Fapiana, Varea [aka Thomas Teihana] (NAA: PP302/1, WA36634) A native of Tuakoi, Rotuma, Fiji, born 1933, 5 foot 4 inches, black hair and black eyes.

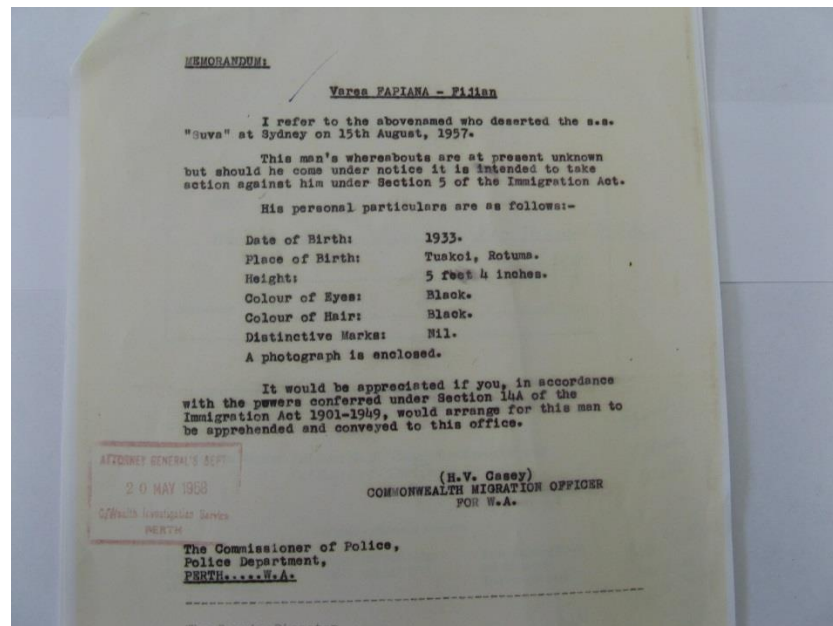


Image 25: Official description of Verea Fapiana – Fijian NAA: PP302/1, WA36634.

Detainees were permitted certain privileges and while at North Head he and another detainee Ben Katuu received a series of visitors. Two Group Certificates from employment he had undertaken before being apprehended were also sent to the Centre and secured by the officer in charge. Immigration Officers ensured the collection of these moneys for detainees who had payment due from employers. The confined conditions lead to disruptions and Fapiana became involved in a fight with another detainee. Both were reprimanded for their involvement. He was deported October 1, 1959 with Fijian Ben Katuu.⁸⁸

Others chose to stowaway but were apprehended and returned to the ship. However David Craig Taylor, a stowaway on SS "Monowai" from New Zealand, having been apprehended and lodged at the Centre pending deportation had little intention of staying. On the same day as he arrived he escaped, dressed as the official details recorded "wearing black V-neck cotton shirt, green trousers, yellow thong footwear." ⁸⁹

⁸⁸ NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1); NAA, *Ben Katuu[aka Kaituu] arrived Sydney 10.4.1957 per Suva* (NAA: PP302/1, WA36236); NAA, *Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police* (Sydney: NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1). Another deserter left the SS "Suva" on 10.4.1957. He was a British Polynesian Ben Katuu aka Ben Kaituu. He was born at Saulel, Rituma 8.3.1933, and was detained at the Centre at the same time as Fapiana. They both received frequent visits from two men and two women, and during one visit had their photos taken at the front of the Centre. Katuu had enough money to purchase a five pound suitcase for his belongings prior to be deported. Both were finger printed prior to their deportation on the SS "Lakemba" 1.10.1959.

⁸⁹ "NAA, Immigration – Weekly reports from Commonwealth Police, 22.2.1960 (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

He was recaptured and deported May 24, 1961. There is no explanation of what his situation was in the months between recapture and deportation, but it is possible to propose that he was sentenced to a prison term.

Image 26: David Craig Taylor – escapee NAA: PP302/1, WA37994.

Rocco Infantino, an Italian from Reggio Calabria, Italy arrived as a tourist per SS “Roma” at Sydney in 1957 is an example of one of these detainees. By late 1958 his whereabouts were unknown and his description was posted as a suspected prohibited immigrant, as he had failed to comply with the requirements of the Department of Immigration.⁹¹ A Commonwealth Investigation Service memo of 9 March, 1959 pointed

⁹¹ NAA, Rocco Infantino (NAA: P302/1, WA36889). A native of Palmi, Reggio, Calabria, Italy, born 1917, height 6', brown hair, brown eyes. Special Inquiry is requested by the Commonwealth Immigration department for the present whereabouts of the above mentioned who is a suspected prohibited immigrant. If located, to be apprehended and escorted to Perth and the Commonwealth Immigration Department notified immediately. Correction – height 5'6".

out that Rocco had been traced by the Sydney Office.⁹² He was escorted in to the Centre September 2, 1959 and deported the next day.⁹³

Considering the number of detainees who have been identified as being held at North Head during its period of operation there are many more examples of who they were and what they were accused of doing, most were classified as a prohibited immigrant under the *Migration Act 1958*. However, there were those who because of their particular circumstances and interaction with the Immigration Department have left us more detailed accounts of their actions as prohibited immigrants, and the obligations of the shipping companies from whose ships these detainees had deserted or left. The following case studies provide evidence of the variety of motives of just three of the detainees who were held and deported from the Centre. As Neumann has pointed out, “any attempt to look to the past for guidance ought to be informed by the expectation that there is more to the past than can be seen through a ‘presentist’ telescope.”⁹⁴

Case Studies.

One of these detainees was Lau Man Pan, a Chinese British citizen from Hong Kong. Report of his prosecution under the *Immigration Act 1901 – 1949* Section 9 was given at the Court of Petty Sessions Sydney in May, 1956, and the defendants Agents Gilchrist, Watt & Sanderson Pty Ltd were fined £103/2/-, as Lau Man Pan had deserted from SS “Jason” in January 1956. There were set administrative and practical procedures in place which were relevant in Lau’s case. As a result of his illegal entry he was designated a prohibited immigrant and was therefore liable for deportation as a non-European illegal entrant. An order for his deportation could be made and once signed, when he was located, officers could take him into custody as a deportee pending investigation into the presence of any unusual circumstances. No action for deportation could be taken without the case being personally confirmed by the Minister.⁹⁵

⁹² NAA, *Rocco Infantino*.

⁹³ NAA, *Weekly reports from Commonwealth Police, 2.9.1969* (NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1).

⁹⁴ Klaus Neumann, “Afterword”, 145.

⁹⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from THE Heyes to the Minister for Immigration, 13.10.1959* (NAA: A466, 1956/62062).

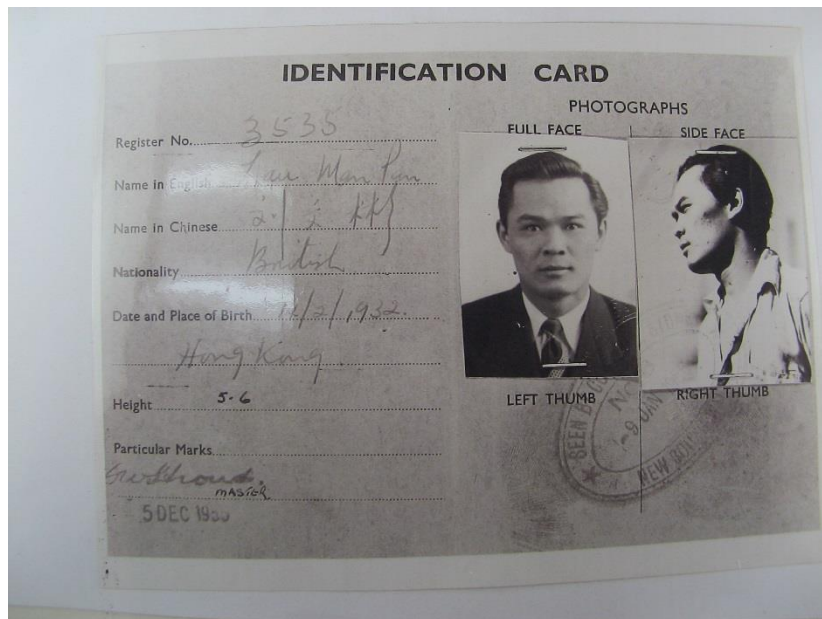


Image 27: Identification card for Lau Man Pan NAA: A446, 1956/62062.

Lau Man Pan had illegally entered Australia at Sydney. His family and wife were in Hong Kong and he had been helped when he came ashore by Lee Cheung, a friend from Hong Kong. His stated reason for desertion was that, “he had heard good things about Australia and decided to stay”. His work record while at liberty demonstrates that he was resourceful in gaining employment and fitted in with his co-workers who were unwilling to provide officials with information about him. After coming ashore in Sydney he had travelled to Queensland and had gone to work at Hong Sing & Co. in Stanthorpe.⁹⁶ Unluckily for Lau, a resident police officer reported his employment in the area. When an Immigration official and Police Officer made “extensive and discreet inquiries from the management and employees” the only useful information they received was that the Chinese man was known as “Barney” and that he had returned to Sydney.⁹⁷ However, he had gained employment at the *Sun Sun Restaurant*, Wattle St O’Connor, Canberra, and had been working there about two months when he was apprehended and taken in custody at Canberra Police Station in October 1959. In answer to interview questions he stated that he went by the name of Barney Lowe and that his employer Mr Riley (Ri Lee) had not asked him if he was an illegal. Lau had heard from a friend, “that Riley was looking for men to work in his cafe.” He had been paid £29 a week and had been able to live at the cafe area for free. Asked why he had given the officers an alias

⁹⁶ NAA, *Interview of Lau Man Pan by Sgt. L Blaney, 14.10.1958* (NAA: A446, 1956/62062).

⁹⁷ NAA, *Memorandum from TM Nulty, Commonwealth Migration Officer to Acting Secretary Department of Immigration 1.7.1957* (NAA: A466, 1956/62062).

as Chang Yen Hang he replied that, “he was frightened and didn’t think anyone had that name”.⁹⁸

As a result of the information given during the interview the decision was made that Lau Man Pan had “advanced no special reason as to why he should be permitted to remain” and as there were no special circumstances the recommendation was that his deportation be effected.⁹⁹ The decision made, the apparatus of administration moved into action. He had saved money from working during his stay, and an officer accompanied him to collect his belongings, obtain a taxation clearance, and withdraw his savings of £170/10/- from his two bank accounts. He requested that the money be given to his friend Lowe Chow to be transmitted to him at a later date, and took £25 with him. In a hand-written police account it was noted that during these transactions his friend Lowe Chow and Mr Riley were allowed to be present throughout all these procedures and were able to attend to his welfare.¹⁰⁰ From this hand-written note which did not appear in any of the formal communications, it appears that the officers escorting Lau had acted with personal courtesy.

The agents for the ship from which Lau had deserted were given the regular 30 days to provide transport for him. However, there was no time to obtain a visa to Hong Kong, and as no extension of time was granted, and, with the shipping company facing a fine of £500, Lau was transferred to Brisbane to be put aboard SS “Agamemnon” which was sailing for Singapore.¹⁰¹ Legally and in line with immigration policy Lau Man Pan was deported because of what he had done, he had entered the country illegally. However the deportation order was also because he was a non-European illegal entrant, even though at this time the *Migration Act of 1958* had introduced a “simpler system of entry permits and abolished the dictation test.”¹⁰² So it appears that he fulfilled both of Nethery’s categories of who he was, and what he had done.

⁹⁸ NAA, *Interview of Lau Man Pan by Sgt. L Blaney*.

⁹⁹ NAA, *Memorandum to the Minister for Immigration, 15.10.1959* (NAA: A446, 1956/62062).

¹⁰⁰ NAA, *Hand-written account, 15.10.1959* (NAA: A446, 1956/62062).

¹⁰¹ NAA, *Memorandum to the Minister for Immigration, 4.11.1959* (NAA: A446, 1956/62062).

¹⁰² Australian Government, Department of Immigration, *Media -Fact Sheet 8 – Abolition of the “White Australia Policy* (Canberra: National Communications Branch, Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2012).

David Hillhouse.

Another detainee who spent time at North Head IDC, David Richard Hillhouse, was deported for very different reasons, and his case provides evidence of extremely different motivations both for entry to Australia and deportation. Hillhouse was English, married and an assisted migrant. He had travelled to Australia with his wife and daughter, both English. He possessed skills having been employed as a demonstration officer for the Ministry of Transport, for *Bond Shoreless Fuels and Morris Electrical Engineers* as a winding tester. He and his family had been sponsored by a married couple living in Merrylands NSW, who had offered Hillhouse a job.

However, in order to gain migration acceptance the Hillhouse family was required to attend a compulsory interview in England, and his later troubles with Australian immigration officials began there. Interview notes stated that the couple were well-presented and keen to settle in Australia and following a medical clearance were approved for migration to Australia. But, the paperwork remained unfinished, as the authorities required a copy of their marriage certificate. No certificate had been handed in at the interview, but Hillhouse claimed that it had been sent in weeks earlier. Later, official permission to travel by air was granted when Hillhouse provided a marriage certificate from the Liverpool Lancashire, Liverpool Registrar Office for himself and his wife Rauni Anita Hillhouse, neé Spencer. The family migrated to Australia in December 1966.¹⁰³

The problem was that David Hillhouse had a wife, but it was not Rauni. He was unhappy in his marriage and had separated from his wife who refused to divorce him. In order to provide the authorities with a wedding certificate for himself and Rauni, he impersonated a detective investigating forged certificates to get an inside view of the Registry. Later, he broke in and stole a book of blank certificates and was then able to produce a certificate for the migration authorities.¹⁰⁴

An investigation into the robbery led to an inquiry by British authorities and the Australian Department of Immigration which, with information from his wife, placed the Hillhouse family as resident at Merrylands, NSW. Action was taken to secure his

¹⁰³ NAA, *Application for assisted passage* (NAA: A446, 1967/15629).

¹⁰⁴ NAA, *Report from Essex County Constabulary, 2.2.1967* (NAA: A446, 1967/15629).

deportation on charges of impersonation of a police officer, breaking, entering and stealing, and creating a false marriage certificate. Although his employer and friend Brennan tried to deflect the police Hillhouse, his wife and child were taken into custody and escorted to Granville Police Station where a deportation order was served. His defacto wife was given the option of staying in Australia, or returning to England. She was offered assistance and advice from a social worker who noted that the child was only 9 months old. Rauni asked to return to the UK with Hillhouse. The family group departed Sydney for London in April to be met by the English police who charged Hillhouse with a number of offences.¹⁰⁵

An article in the *Daily Sketch* June 1, 1967 was published under the heading, "I forged a marriage form to emigrate. Man tells court." This article detailed the sorry story including Hillhouse's plea of guilty and his admission that, "I was almost driven insane and did not know which way to turn; I was so desperate that I was driven to do this." The judge empathised and stated that Hillhouse had "had more than your share of misery as a result of this one act." David Hillhouse was put on probation for three years, but there was light at the end of the tunnel. His wife was now ready to give him a divorce, and he and his new family could look forward to the future.¹⁰⁶ In this case it is clear that David Richard Hillhouse was deported for what he had done, not for who he was.

Benoit Raymond Bernier.

Benoit Raymond Bernier (aka Richard Bernier) a Canadian Trainee Bank Accountant aged 21, was also held at North Head awaiting deportation. He and another Canadian of the same surname, but no relation, Hillarie Bernier were stowaways on a Norwegian ship SS "Mercia".¹⁰⁷ Both reported that they had few employment opportunities in Canada, and wished to live somewhere with better weather and the opportunity to settle down in Australia. They had informed their families in Canada that they were residents of Australia, with no mention of being detainees. On arrival at North Head both were wearing clothes which were badly torn and no longer serviceable. Arrangements were made to issue each with a pair of trousers and a shirt before they were deported.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ NAA, *Memorandum from the Chief Migration Officer to the Secretary, Department of Immigration Canberra*, 14.2.1967 (NAA: A446, 1967/15629).

¹⁰⁶ NAA, *Daily Sketch*, Chelmsford, 1.6. 1967 (NAA: A446, 1967/ 15629).

¹⁰⁷ NAA, *Bernier Benoit Raymond* (NAA: SP1122/1, N1964/17942).

¹⁰⁸ NAA, *Memorandum from JD Davis, Superintendent 1/C to Commonwealth Migration Officer, Elizabeth St Sydney*, 24.12.1964 (NAA: SP1122/1, N1964/17941).

Both were transferred to Adelaide and put aboard SS “Mercia” sailing for Saudi Arabia.

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It would appear that this was a straight forward case of illegal entry as stowaways and their deportation occurred under Section 36 of the *Migration Act 1958-1964*. However, later that year Richard Bernier returned and made application for a Temporary Entry Permit for residence in Sydney, which was granted. In his application he set out his educational standard, banking and accounting skills as well as proficiency in English and French. He also tended a good reference from the Master of SS “Ariel”, the ship he had returned on as a crew member. His entry permit was extended and he applied for permanent residence which was approved. In 1975 he applied for Australian Citizenship including the details of his marriage in 1970 to an Australian citizen, Christine Pamela Crokett, from whom he was legally separated, with the divorce to be completed within three months. His address at that time was in Hurstville, and he was working as the Manager of the *Australian Tavern* in *Centerpoint*. He took the Oath of Citizenship October 22, 1975. Bernier, who had been deported for what he had done, made good and successfully became an Australian resident citizen.¹¹⁰

While these are only three cases of over 2000 detainees, and each case would have its own individual story to tell, it would appear that there is validity in Nethery’s argument when used in generalised terms for this and other institutions of immigrant incarceration. However, from the examples above, it is clear that it is an extremely difficult and complex endeavour to divide the two elements of her argument that these detainees were deported “not for what they had done, but for who they were”. This is clear not only for the three cases above, but also for the numbers from the many nationalities of detainees: British, Europeans, French Canadians, Pacific Islanders and Chinese all of whom were deported. An analysis of some of the available files for the over 2000 detainees who were held at North Head demonstrates the complexity of their stories and casts light not only on its inhabitants, but also the power relations inherent policies and procedures which governed its establishment and daily operation.

¹⁰⁹ NAA, *Telegram*, 7.1.1965 (NAA: SP1122/1, N1964/17941).

¹¹⁰ NAA, *Application for Australian Citizenship*, 12.8.1975 (NAA: SP1122/1, N1964/17942).

Operating on station grounds

While the IDC occupied an isolated section of the quarantine area it affected the working life of the station. The constant movement of detainees in and out involved Foreman Assistant Lavaring being ordered to move to the Gatekeeper's cottage. In this situation he would be able to maintain the isolation of the station area and exert his authority over arrivals and departures of both official entries and those of unwanted and illegal visitors to detainees and those quarantined. In addition, quarantine staff had to undertake cleaning and fumigation duties of goods and the IDC building, which often meant they had to deal with unpleasant situations.¹¹¹ The presence of sometimes extremely unhappy detainees, including the Indonesians who have left graffiti on the walls; a testament to their discontent, and the unruly and difficult groups of illegal visitors, must have had an effect on the staff and their families living on the station.¹¹² Added to this the numbers who came and went including security personnel, tradesmen detainees being escorted in and out, as well as their visitors, were significant and required constant supervision from both the Commonwealth Police and quarantine staff.

Conclusion.

The IDC at North Head was a feature of immigration policy 1959 – 1975. The over 2000 detainees who were housed there were a specific group mainly of young men from many nations who were seen to have committed non-criminal offences and for whom incarceration in Long Bay was seen to be deleterious. Overall their length of stay was short and there were clear administrative and judicial procedures in place to determine the outcome of their futures in Australia. While mainly seamen who had deserted their ships and had entered the country illegally they represented a large number of nations. It appears that many saw Australia a place where they could have a better life as the evidence demonstrates that often detainees had relatives and friends, migrants who were settled in the community. Overall responsibility for these detainees lay with the Department of Immigration but their day-to-day care was administered by the Commonwealth Police, who were answerable to the Commonwealth Government, and their treatment, while in line with custodial procedures, appears to have been humane.

¹¹¹ NAA, *Weekly Dairies of Duty and Occurrence*, Vols. 63-68; NAA, *North Head Detention Centre – Provision of meals*, 22.2.1961 (NAA: C3939/2, N1959/75220) See Appendix J: Quarantine Staff cleaning duties at the IDC after discharge of detainees.

¹¹² Sydney University, *Translations of graffiti on the walls of A20*.

Possibly this attention to day-to-day care is one of the areas which Neumann sees as a “guide to inform present decisions.”¹¹³ Besides fitting the categories relating to prohibited migrants in the *Migration Act 1958*, it is difficult to ascertain individual reasons for the deportation of these detainees, yet, the evidence relating to the three case studies demonstrates the complexity of the reasons for these young men becoming prohibited immigrants as well as for their deportation.

Due to changing immigration policies after 1973 the need for the operation of the IDC declined and in late 1974 the last of the detainees were escorted out to various destinations and the Centre closed its doors. This closure of this Centre did not bring an end to quarantine activities at the station. For another decade periods of active quarantine continued and the disinfection activities were a constant activity. But, by 1974, the spread of smallpox was virtually conquered and other quarantinable diseases such as cholera, yellow fever, typhus and leprosy were being brought under control. New quarantinable diseases such as Lassa fever and Marburg virus diseases presented threats which demanded medical attention not available at quarantine stations. Added to this the cost of retaining the station when a new infectious diseases specialist hospital had been built in Melbourne and opened in 1982 the continued role of the station could not be supported on either medical or economic grounds.¹¹⁴

At an official ceremony in March 1984 the Quarantine Station at North Head ceased to function as an operational station and was handed back by the Commonwealth Government to the NSW State Government to be managed by NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service as part of Sydney Harbour National Park. Due recognition was given to the contribution the station had made to the history of New South Wales and the nation, and both governments promised to ensure its heritage status. But in the following years, even though the NPWS attempted to conserve both the built and natural environments, governments failed to provide adequate funds and the built environment in particular fell into a state of disrepair. In order for the NSW State Government to be able to meet the needs of conserving the station it instituted action to lease the site to private operators.

¹¹³ Neumann, “Afterword”, 146.

¹¹⁴ Foley, *In Quarantine*, 129.

In 2006 the site was leased, for adaptive reuse to the Mawland Group, a heritage/cultural tourist operation. Following extensive renovation and refurbishment the site re-opened to the public as *QSTATION* in 2008 offering a range of visitor services including accommodation, food and tours. As a business, Mawland's priority was to ensure that the investment would pay for itself. Providing hotel style accommodation and facilities for twenty-first century clients was necessary. Presentation of the history has also been driven by a commercial imperative. Apart from the built environment, the significant history of the quarantine station across two centuries has contracted to populist ghost tours which not only echo the more disastrous and sensational quarantine episodes of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also emphasised the ghoulish and fear-inducing aspects of quarantine. While these provided a more stable source of income and attraction to visitors, along with the hotel business, restaurant and functions, they obscured the rich fabric of quarantine history at the site and perpetuate an essentially narrow historical memory. In particular, important parts of the station's twentieth century history have been lost.

Conclusion

When the Quarantine Station at North Head closed in 1984 it had been the oldest, largest and longest serving station in Australia. To that point it had been a place of diverse quarantine activities, a place of life and death, a place of work and a place of refuge or respite. For much of its 160 years of activity, it was at the front line of disease containment. Part of a network of coastal stations, positioned at the very entrance to Sydney Harbour, it was enmeshed in what Alison Bashford describes as a cordon sanitaire. It also played a part in the wider global story of disease control and containment. As such its history is deeply significant to a nation whose isolation and distance has not always ensured immunity and protection. Both the State and Commonwealth Governments recognised the importance of the site's historic significance on the station's closure and return to State hands in 1984. Yet, in the intervening decades the history of the site has been compromised by commercial imperatives on the one hand, demanding that the station 'pay' its way, and an approach which has not only focussed on the nineteenth century story, but interpreted its history through the lens of public health, immigration and the exigencies of white Australia on the other.

It was with the handing over of the station to private operators in 2006 that the genesis of this thesis arose. A heritage/cultural tourist operator, Mawland Group, leased the site and, following extensive renovation and refurbishment, the station reopened in 2008. Packaged as *QSTATION* it offered a range of visitor services including accommodation, food and historical tours. With specialist input Mawland conserved the built and natural environment but conserving the cultural history of the station proved to be more challenging. Initially dramatic and interactive activities, some of which were based on disastrous quarantine events in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, were offered to the paying public. These appear to have been successful but were mostly short lived and the void has been filled with a focus on the hotel business, restaurants, weddings and tours, including ghost tours, which have effected a more stable source of income and attraction for visitors. The populist historical image which the station now exhibits is thus one of a place of fear, confinement and a ghostly nineteenth and early twentieth century past. The lost story of the twentieth century is exacerbated by the view that the station was in complete decline following the drop in maritime quarantines after the mid-1930s.

Yet, as this thesis has demonstrated, while the nature of quarantine activity changed during the course of the twentieth century the station was never in complete decline. Indeed, the twentieth century history of the place is a rich story of continued protective activity from the threat of disease through active quarantine procedures, effective disinfection of imported goods and provision of temporary accommodation for diverse groups affected by war, natural disaster and immigration policies. Far from a purely ghostly site, the station was a place of work, life and death, of shelter and refuge against the backdrop of some of the most important social and political changes in the nation's twentieth century history.

Recovering important threads of the station's twentieth century history has been central to this thesis. However, instead of considering the ongoing history of quarantine through the prism of immigration and white Australia which has dominated the historiography of quarantine to date, this thesis has utilised the work of human geographer, Allan Pred, and his radical theory of place. In particular, Pred's notion of place as a constantly changing or "becoming" human product has provided a way of understanding the station not as a static set of buildings and /or purely an agent of isolationist and exclusionist policies and practices but as a place of human endeavour which provided protection against the spread of disease and was constantly adapting to changing circumstances. Because of the diversity and interrelated nature of the activity of the station during the twentieth century place also provides a way of drawing together the separate threads of quarantine activity, work and what have been designated as non-quarantine activities.

Critical to Pred's concept of place are three empirical foci: the daily paths of participants and the power structures in which they operated, the importance of biographies and sense of place. While utilising one or more of these foci in each chapter this thesis has concentrated on three areas of activity which were embedded in the station's functioning in the twentieth century: quarantine activity, the station as a work place and the station as a place of refuge or respite. With an emphasis on the human face of quarantine the analysis has broadened from a narrow focus on those quarantined to the human workforce and those they cared for in the front line of defence against disease.

The first section of this thesis recorded the station's continued operation as a place of protective activity through periods of pandemics/epidemics and also through continued occurrences of active quarantine right up to the closure of the station. The breadth of

these activities and the roles of the staff who carried them out were demonstrated through exploration of the functioning of the station during heightened activity in the early years of the century, case studies of active quarantines in the inter-war period when large numbers of passengers and crew were involved and some of the difficulties staff had to face. The recovery of these stories and threads challenged the perception of the station as virtually redundant after the mid-1930s and the decline in maritime quarantine. This challenge has been supported by evidence that the station continued to provide protection from incoming disease, and responded to challenges to public health as well as the changing social, economic and political exigencies of the nation. In addition the importance of continued active quarantines in the period when air transport took over from maritime quarantine was stressed as well as the protective effect of disinfection of goods, clothing and restricted imports, areas which have been overlooked in the post-World War II period.

In detailing and defining the role of the station as a workplace a new perspective on quarantine history has been established. This is important as a history of the station as a working station has been almost totally neglected in works which focus on the fear of disease which has dominated and continues to be generated in some *QSTATION* promotional material. While the evidence of individual stories in these chapters was limited by the paucity of personal details in the official documents, and the lack of personal diaries or letters, it was possible to explore details of the daily work tasks, and those who carried them out keeping the station in a state of ever readiness for active quarantine, and recognise the mundane nature of much of the work carried out by a relatively small staff. The exploration of the humanity of the workforce allowed for a development of a broader sense of place for the workplace and its people in the context of quarantine and the wider workforce.

The role of the station as a workplace and its situation in the urban setting of Manly has also been explored in the context of the contested nature of the station's operation throughout the twentieth century. This focus has widened the sense of place through adding texture to the station's functioning within the power relationships in which it operated by revealing the acrimonious relationship which existed between the station workplace and the local suburban and wider communities. The concerted attempts to remove the station demonstrated not only the fear of infection which fuelled opposition but also the important physical properties of North Head and the station's position

within it which lured developers, environmentalists, protectors of public land and local politicians to support an ongoing campaign for the station's closure or removal.

This thesis has also argued that in passing over the role the station played as a Commonwealth facility providing temporary refuge or respite previous studies have neglected a part of the history of the nation and the station. The extension of the station's protective role during World War 11 and the post-war period when groups affected by war and natural disaster needed shelter demonstrate not only the effects of national policies on the life of the station, but also the way in which the station adapted to provide care for these groups while continuing its quarantine activities. The human faces of children, men and women in need are uncovered as is the humanity of the significant numbers of young men who, as illegal immigrants, were held prior to deportation in the detention centre which functioned within the station's confines between 1959 and 1974.

In recovering important aspects of the forgotten twentieth century story of the Quarantine Station North Head this thesis has thus extended an appreciation of the changing nature of quarantine itself. The shift from State to Commonwealth control also encompassed a broader shift in the nature of quarantine activity itself as the practice of isolation for protection of the body politic broadened. Quarantine became embroiled in practices of disinfection to ensure protection of industry and land, it became embroiled in practices of immigration, detention and asylum. Far from being irrelevant, if anything, the twentieth century story adds important textual layers to understandings of quarantine hitherto absent in the literature. Importantly, it qualifies present historiographical approaches which have promoted a narrow view of the history of quarantine as a story of isolation, exclusion and enmeshed in the racialising discourse of white Australia. By utilising a theory of place this thesis has recovered the important connection between the station as a set of buildings on the landscape and the people who inhabited them. Above all, it has unveiled the human dimensions of quarantine.

The story told in this thesis uncovered the ways humans have interacted with quarantine during the twentieth century from both inside and outside the quarantine gates and fences. This is not just about the people who were detained – suspects with disease – it is also about people who laboured, were sheltered and found refuge there. In this way, and in keeping with Pred's concept of place the twentieth century station

has been seen as neither a fixed nor static set of features visible on the landscape, but as a human product constantly changing and adapting to challenges and changing circumstances and demands.

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TIM P 3 PART1 *Timor (Portuguese) Occupation of 1, 1941 - 1942*

TIM P 16 *Portuguese Timor Evacuation of Portuguese from Timor
since 8/9/42, 1942 – 1942*

*National Archives of Australia: Department of Internal Affairs; A989, Correspondence
files, multiple series with year prefix [main correspondence files series of the agency],
1942 – 1945; items*

1944/731/1 *Evacuation of Portuguese Nationals form Timor [2 cm],
1942 - 1945*

*National Archives of Australia: Department of External Affairs [II], Central Office; A1067,
Correspondence files, multiple number series with year and letter prefixes [Main
correspondence files series of the agency], 1942 – 1946; items*

ER46/8/14 PART 3 *Commercial Relations China – Bristles, 1946 – 1947*

*National Archives of Australia: Department of Trade and Customs, Central Office; A1539,
Correspondence files, annual single number with 'W' (War) infix, 1939 – 1950; items*

1940/W/13958 *MV "Batory": Children from United Kingdom, 1940 –
1940*

*National Archives of Australia: Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet; A1209,
Correspondence files, annual single number series (classified) with occasional C
(classified) suffix [Main correspondence files series of the agency], 1971 - ; items*

1975/657 *Adoption of Vietnamese orphans – Uplift flights –
Cables, 1975 - 1975*

1975/658 *Adoption of Vietnamese orphans – Uplift Flight to
Sydney, 1975 – 1975*

1978/165

PART 1 *Human Quarantine arrangements – Policy, 1977 – 1978*

1978/165

PART 2 *Human quarantine arrangements – Policy, 1978 - 1982*

National Archives of Australia, Office of the Representative of the Australia Embassy in china/External Affairs Representative, Hong Kong; A1630, Migration cases files, single number series (Hong Kong), 1949 – 1967; items

7061 *SO Pui-Ming born 29 December 1942: nationality Chinese, 1960 - 1980*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Health, Central Office; A1658, Correspondence files, multiple series (second series) [main correspondence files series of the agency], 1949 – 1968; items

556/2/4 PART 1 *Immigration and migrants – Immigration Restriction Act – Standards of procedure and instructions to quarantine Officer in Australia, 1952 –*

556/8/1 PART1

PART 2 *Immigration Reception and Training Centres – Displaced Persons Centre – Greta – General, 1949 – 1952*

872/1/1 *Quarantine: General Quarantine Human, 1949 – 1967*

872/2/1 *Quarantine Human: General Inoculation & Vaccination, 1948 – 1966*

872/2/2 *Quarantine General Administration: Inoculation & Vaccination Requirements in Australia, 1948 – 1951*

872/2/7 *Quarantine General Administration: Small Pox Vaccination, 1949 – 1960*

874/1/1PART 1 *Quarantine Stations – General – General, 1948 – 1958*

874/9/1 PART1 Quarantine – General – Quarantine Stations – North
Head – General, 1942 - 1960

874/1/1PART 2 Quarantine Stations – General – General, 1958 – 1968

874/9/1 PART2 Quarantine – General – Quarantine Stations – North
Head – General, 1960 – 1966

874/9/3 Quarantine Station – Land and Building works, 1944 –
1964

874/9/4 Quarantine – General – Quarantine Stations – North
Head, NSW – Opening of to public, 1946 – 1948

1121/10/4 Staff – General – Overtime – Time off in lieu of overtime
worked in connection with the fumigation of vessels,
1925 – 1947

1121/1/13 Staff – General – Preference to returned soldiers, 1930 -
1958

1121/11/15

PART1 Staff – General- Public Service Act and Regulations –
Retirement of officers, 1921 - 1961

1121/1/17

PART1 Public Service staff – General – Oaths and Affirmations,
1949 – 1969

1126/5/2

PART 1 Quarantine Officers – New South Wales – Medical
Officers – Sydney, 1941 - 1961

1126/6/2 New South Wales – Quarantine Station – North Head –
Payment of overtime. Sunday pay etc. to quarantine
assistants during periods of active quarantine, 1928 –
1954

1130/1/2 Staff – General – Quarantine assistants, 1950 – 1950

National Archives of Australia: Department of External Affairs [II], Central Office; A1838, Correspondence files, multiple number series [Main correspondence files series of the agency], 1914 – 1993; items

377/3/3/4 Portuguese Timor – Evacuees form Portuguese Timor [36pp], 1945 – 1947

1510/3/68 War Graves – Miscellaneous – Quarantine Regulations, 1960 – 1960

National Archives of Australia: Department of Health, Central Office; A1851, Correspondence files, annual single number series – (portion transferred to ACT Government custody, 1994-1995) [Main Correspondence files series of the agency], 1962 – 1987; items

1963/1288 Quarantine Human – International Certificate of Vaccination - general correspondence, 1963 – 1964

1980/1808 History Quarantine in Sydney, 1978 - 1980

National Archives of Australia: Department of Health, Central Office; A1928, Correspondence files, multiple series (first series) [Main correspondence files series of the agency], 1925 – 1949; items

59/9 Aviation. Active Quarantine of Aircraft for Smallpox, 1941 – 1943

209/1 SECTION 1 Cotton. General Section 1, 1927 – 1941

209/3 Cotton. Measures to prevent the introduction of pests. Section 2, 1927 – 1932

260/25 Diseases on Vessels – “City of Palermo” Smallpox Feb. 1928, 1928 - 1928

260/36 Diseases in Vessels – “Aorangi” Smallpox June 1929, 1929 – 1929

260/37 Diseases on Vessels – “City of Hereford” Smallpox July ’29, 1929 – 1929

260/42 Diseases on Vessels – Smallpox “Aorangi” February 1930

- 260/41 *Diseases on Vessels – “Naldera” - Smallpox, 1930 – 1930*
- 260/44 *Diseases on Vessels. Smallpox. SS “Eastern”, 1923 – 1926*
- 260/51 *Diseases on Vessels. Smallpox on the “Changte” Sept. 1930, 1930 – 1930*
- 260/77 *Diseases on Vessels: Smallpox – RMS “Aorangi” 1935. 1935 – 1935*
- 260/87 *Diseases on vessels. Smallpox – “Changte” 1937, 1937 – 1937*
- 260/96 *Diseases on Vessels. Smallpox “Strathaird” 938. 1938 – 1938*
- 267/1/2 *Venereal Disease: General. Request form Dept. of Army for Statistics*
- 271/5 *Disinfecting & Fumigating Machines – Circular Steam disinfection 1914 – 1914*
- 271/10 *Disinfecting & Fumigating machines. Fumigating barge fitted with Ritchie fumigation for Sydney, 1909 – 1911*
- 274/1 *SECTION 1 `Disinfection & Fumigation of vessels. General. Section 1, 1937*
- 274/55 *Disinfection and Fumigation of Vessels Fatal Accident on US Destroyer “Selfridge” at Sydney, 31.10.1942, 1942 – 1942*
- 274/56 *Disinfection and Fumigation of Vessels Fatal Accident on SS “Karsik” at Sydney on 1.8.1945*
- 360/6
- SECTION2 *Fees and charges. Examination of imported timber. Fees charged by Quarantine Department Stations 1930 - 1935*
- 360/24 *Fees & charges. Transportation charges for cotton fumigated at quarantine stations, 1930 – 1933*
- 360/27 *Fees and charges. Disinfection & fumigation of vessels. Section 1, 1927 – 1932*

360/30	<i>Fees and charges sale of rabbits, guinea pigs etc. to outside bodies, 1928 – 1928</i>
360/42	<i>Fees and charges. Transportation charges for cotton fumigated at quarantine stations, 1930 – 1933</i>
443/11	<i>Health Department – Creation of, 1905 - 1943</i>
458/7	<i>Holidays. Authorised Holidays – time off in lieu-instructions, 1926 – 1930</i>
565/11	<i>Inoculation & Vaccination. Vaccinal conditions of Quarantine Staff & other govt. staff at seaports, 1928 – 1929</i>
666/7	
SECTION2	<i>Millet- European corn Borer (Purausta nubilais Hubner) Importation into Australia with imported millet. Section 2, 1926 – 1939</i>
716/29	<i>Northern Territory - Staff RJV Thompson, 1939 - 1946</i>
796/12	<i>Plague. Scheme to safeguard Public Health in the event of outbreak in Australia, 1915 – 1916</i>
826/5 PART1	<i>Pratique to Vessels. All Vessels Part 1, 1925 – 1928</i>
826/6	<i>Pratique to Vessels. Withholding of pratique unless coloured crew & coloured third class passengers had been vaccinated against smallpox, 1925 – 1926</i>
826/8	<i>Quarantine of Vessels ordered into Quarantine for Smallpox, 1935 - 1935</i>
826/16	<i>Pratique. Question of submitting Police Offices on board vessels before pratique has been granted, 1909 -1909</i>
860/1	
SECTION 1	<i>Quarantine Administration. General Section 1, 1927 – 1942</i>

860/14	<i>Quarantine Administration. Question of Commonwealth assuming responsibility for all Communicable diseases (including venereal disease) arriving from overseas, 1909 – 1914</i>
860/18	<i>Quarantine Administration. Establishment of Quarantine Stations at points on the Eastern Coast of Australia North of Sydney, 1909 – 1914</i>
860/30	<i>Quarantine Administration. Providing of meals at Quarantine Station, 1927 – 1937</i>
861/1	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. General, 1935 – 1935</i>
861/10	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Precautions to be taken to ensure stevedores unloading vessels in quarantine for smallpox, from becoming contacts, 1915 - 1927</i>
861/12	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. "Tanda"- March 1927/ Case of Smallpox, 1927 -1 927</i>
861/13	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Smallpox – "St Essylt", 1942 – 1944</i>
861/14	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Smallpox – SS "Both", 1942 – 1942</i>
861/15	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Smallpox. MV "Clan MacDonald", 1942 – 1942</i>
861/16	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Smallpox – SS "Suva", 1943 – 1944</i>
861/17	<i>Quarantine (Active) of Vessels. Smallpox on SS "Empire Mist", 1944 – 1944</i>
863/16	<i>Quarantine Act & Regulations. Quarantine orders instructions to permanent & temporary quarantine officers, 1928 – 1929</i>
870/2	<i>Quarantine Station General statement of available accommodation, 1911 – 1929</i>

870/3	<i>Quarantine Stations – General Occupation of buildings by persons not officers of the Quarantine Service, 1925 - 1925</i>
870/8	<i>Quarantine Stations General Transfer from various states to Commonwealth, 1909 1924</i>
870/14	<i>Quarantine Stations General. Methods used in washing blankets, 1916 – 1916</i>
870/22	<i>Quarantine Stations General Planting of trees, 1929 – 1929</i>
876/1	
SECTION 1	<i>Quarantine Station North Head General Section 1, 1929 -1942</i>
876/2	<i>Quarantine Station North Head. Opening of reserve to public to view arrival of American fleet, 1925 - 1925</i>
876/3	<i>Quarantine Station – North head – Improvement of the environment of station by planting of indigenous trees, 1925 - 1931</i>
876/6	<i>Quarantine Station - North Head. Requests for permission to visit, 1926 – 1930</i>
876/9	<i>Quarantine Station North Head. Use for treatment of States Patients (Smallpox) during 1913 – 14, 1913 – 1916</i>
876/11	<i>Quarantine Station North Head. Tools for Foreman Mechanic, 1915 – 1916</i>
876/14	<i>Quarantine Station North Head. Landing of Fishermen on Beach, 1916 - 1917</i>
876/15	<i>Quarantine Station North Head. Valuation of properties taken over from state, 1912 - 1912</i>

- 876/16 *Quarantine Station North Head. Admission of members of Military Forces, 1912 – 1916*
- 876/17 *Quarantine Station North Head. Outbreak of fire, 1926 – 1926*
- 876/19 *Quarantine Station North Head. Boats, 1913 – 1923*
- 876/20 *Quarantine Station North Head. Lease of several small areas in Spring Cove North Harbour Manly from Sydney Harbour Trust Commission, 1915 - 1930*
- 876/22 *Quarantine Station North Head. Visits of Inspection, 1927 – 1929*
- 876/23 *Quarantine Station North Head. Re-organisation of the work at the Station, 1927 – 1931*
- 876/24 *Quarantine Station North Head. Agitation for removal of Section 2, 1934 – 1939*
- 876/27 *Quarantine Station North Head. Suggestion for Sailors Memorial, 1928 – 1928*
- 876/30 *Quarantine Station North Head. Site for Governor Phillip Monument, 1933 - 1934*
- 876/31 *Quarantine Station – North head. Transfer of from State to Commonwealth, 1907 - 1925*
- 876/32 *Quarantine Station – North Head. Site for Civil Hospital, 1913 – 1922*
- 951 *Salaries. Deductions form Salary for Commonwealth Conversion and Redemption Loans, 1930, 1930 1931*
- 970/8 *Guinea Pigs for laboratories, 1920 – 1931*
- 995/1 *Smallpox General Section 1, 1925 – 1944*
- 995/7 *Smallpox Case “Arafura” April 1926, 1926 – 1926*
- 1017/8 *Staff – Changes on death of Dr CW Reid, NSW 1927, 1927 – 1928*

1019/6	<i>Staff – General. Temporary. Continuity of employment when engaged in two or more days, 1925 – 1929</i>
1019/24	<i>Staff General. Observance on Armistice Day, 1920 – 1944</i>
1019/31	<i>Staff – General – Officers temporarily transferred with a view to Permancy, 1926 - 1928</i>
1019/39	<i>Staff General. Appointment of certain members of staff in NSW Special Constables, 1912 - 1916</i>
1019/47	<i>Staff – General. Educational facilities for children of officers at various quarantine stations 1925 - 1940</i>
1019/50	<i>Staff General. Pension rights to certain permanent staff officers acting as quarantine officer, 1916 - 1917</i>
1019/87	<i>Staff General. Termination of Employment Temporary Employees, 1930 – 1930</i>
1019/100	<i>Staff General. Oaths and Affirmations, 1913 – 1940</i>
1020/81	<i>Staff Permanent Central Office Dr JHL Cumpston, 1911 - 1943</i>
1023/48	<i>Staff Permanent. New South Wales A H Willsher, 1913 – 1934</i>
1023/57	<i>Staff Permanent, New South Wales Chas Thompson, 1920 – 1934</i>
1023/61	<i>Staff Permanent New South Wales N L Woodward, 1920 – 1945</i>
1023/62	<i>Staff Permanent New South Wales S A Thorn, 1915 – 1920</i>
1037/5	<i>Staff - Establishments Medical Officer, Sydney Duties 1927 – 1928</i>
1037/10	<i>Staff – Establishments Medical Officers on Quarantine Staff, 1929 – 1930</i>

- 1037/12 *Staff – Establishments Co-operation between Human & Animal Quarantine Assistants re Temporary Assistance, 1929 – 1931*
- 1043/19 *Stores Record System North Head Quarantine Station, 1910 - 1925*
- 1100/8 *Tours Dr Norris – visit to United States in 1911 enquiring into advanced methods of quarantine, 1911 - 1911*
- 1130/1
- SECTION 1 *Uniforms – General Section 1, 1911 - 1944*
- 1130/5 *Uniforms NSW [New South Wales]
[administrative arrangements for the provision of uniforms to quarantine staff, 1925 – 1927]*
- 1130/9 *Uniforms - Buttons & Badges [administrative arrangements for the provision of uniforms for quarantine staff [2cm], 1912 – 1948]*
- 1130/10 *Uniforms. Question of issuing two suits of overalls, annually, to the fumigation staff, 1926 - 1926*
- 1043/9 *Stores Records System North Head Quarantine Station, 1910 – 1925*
- 1181/13 *War. Use of Quarantine Station North Head etc. by Defence Department as Convalescent Hospital, etc., 1940 - 1944*
- 1090/11 *Newcastle – installation at residence of Assistant Ball, 1915, 1915 – 1916*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Health, Central Office; AA1968/212, Miscellaneous records pertaining to the history of the Department of Health, 1900 – 1948; items

BOX1/2 Notes on Quarantine procedure for Quarantine Assistants, Sydney 1929, 1929 – 1929

National Archives of Australia: Migrant Reception and Training Centre, Bonegilla [Victoria]; A2478, Non-British European migrant selection documents, 1951 – 1965; items

*HIHNALA EJ HIHNALA Eero Johannes born 11 July 1937 – Finnish-
travelled CHARTER FLIGHT departing Helsinki/Finland on
30 November 1959 under General Assisted Passage
Scheme, 1952 - 1965*

National Archives of Australia: Repatriation Department [I]; A2487, Correspondence files, annual single number series, 1918 – 1929; items

*1919/3090 {Employment of returned men in manufacture of
brooms}, 1919 – 1919*

*1921/10474 [Suggestion for permanent employment in Public Service
of ex-servicemen on temporary staff], 1921 – 1921*

*1921/10786 [Inquiry regarding employment of ex-servicemen], 1921
– 1921*

*1922/3866 [Precautions to prevent spreading of Bubonic plague],
1921 – 1922*

National Archives of Australia: War Cabinet Secretariat; A2676, War Cabinet Minutes without Agenda Files, 1939 – 1946, items

574 ATTACHMENT 2

*War Cabinet Minute No 574 – Requisitioning of SS Pierre
Loti, 1940 – 1940*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A2917, Migrant selection documents, annual single number series with “SD” prefix; items

*SD1973/4947 VUJICIC Marinko – born 1951 – Yugoslavian- [Vienna
office file V/Y1972/6290, 1972 – 1973*

National Archives of Australia: Department of External Affairs [ii], Central Office; A6779, Files relating to South-Est Asia, single number series, 1931 – 1960; items

19 *Miscellaneous Papers Relating to Portuguese Timor
1937 – 1943, 1937 - 1943*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A6980, Secret correspondence files, single number series with block allocation and “S” (Secret) prefix, 1972 - 1974; items

S201383 *Luga Hans Johan, 1962 – 1968*

S250961 *Tongan prohibited immigrants in Australia –
deportation, 1970 - 1978*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Air, Central Office; A9300, RAAF Officers Personnel files, 1921 – 1948, 1939 – 1948; items

WIENHOLT L J *WIENHLOT LOUIS JOHN: Service Number – 277543”
Date of birth – 07 April 1918: Place of birth – Unknown:
Place of enlistment – Unknown: Next of kin – Unknown,
1929 1948*

WHELDON F C *WHELDON FRANCIS CHRISTOPHER: Service Number –
36572: Date of birth – 07 Apr 1915: Place of birth –
NEWTOWN NSW: palce of enlistment – SYDNEY: Next of
Kin – WHELDON LILIAN, 1939 - 1948*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Air, Central Office; A9301, RAAF Personnel files of Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs) and other ranks, 1921 – 1948; items

64464 *COOK EDWARD JAMES: Service Number – 64464: Date
of birth – 12 June 1910: Place of birth - - CANOWINDRA
NSW: Place of enlistment – SYDNEY: Next of kin – COOK
MARIE, 1939 - 1948*

National Archives of Australia: High Court of Australia, Principal Registry, Canberra (Australian Capital Territory; A10071, Full Court case records (NSW), annual single number series, 1903 – 1973; items

1911/20 HILL Edgar versus DONOHOE John Thomas Tamplin, 1911 -1911

- 1912/40 *DONOHUE John Thomas Tamplin versus CHEW YING George, 1912 - 1913*
- 1915/24 *BERWIN Alfred George versus DONOHUE John Thomas Tamplin, 1915 – 1916*
- 1916/40 *SIWERTZ Torkel versus DONOHUE John Thomas Tamplin, 1916 – 1917*

National Archives of Australia: Division of Import Procurement; A10207, General papers of the Division of Import Procurement, 1921 – 1949; items

- L5 *History of division [import procurement] – General, 1942 - 1943*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A11534, Migrant Selection Documents for Displaced Persons who travelled to Australia per General Steward departing Naples 17 March 1949, 1949 – 1949; items

- 424-425 *MUZYCZJA Antoni DOB 28 June 1926; Zofia DOB 23 January 1923, 1948 – 1948*

National Archives of Australia: Governor- General; A11803, Governor General's correspondence relating to the war of 1914 – 1918 [War Files], 1914 – 1919; items

- 1918/89/834 *PE Getting [Manager of Quarantine Station – gift to in appreciation], 1918 – 1918*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A12027, Migrant Selection Documents for Displaced Persons who travelled to Australia per Fairsea departing Bremerhaven 18 April 1950, 1950 – 1950; items

- 1567 – 1568 *KOWAL Mychajlo born 1 November; Anna born 14 May 1927, 1950 - 1950*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A12043, Migrant Selection Documents for Displaced Persons who travelled to Australia per Roma (I) departing Bremerhaven, Germany on 30 October 1950, 1950 – 1950; items

- 842 *KOLODZIEJCZYK Helena born 22 February 1927, 1950 – 1950*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Central Office; A12050, Migrant Selection Documents for Displaced Persons who travelled to Australia per Liguria departing Bremerhaven 19 November 1950 and transhipped at Fremantle to Nelly, 1950 – 1950; items

799 OTTI Lydia born 18 January 1916, 1950 – 1951

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration and Citizenship: A12288, Applications for permission to remain in Australia upon discharge from the British Armed forces lodged both in Australia and abroad (Form49) [and Royal Air Force release letters to British airmen and airwomen), 1946 – 1957; items

4/179 NUTTER Joseph (Army Service No. 7263140) born in Bradford on 15 June 1914; Mother Edith DRURY – Application dated Sydney 5 October 1945), 1945 – 1945

National Archives of Australia: Headquarters, 1 Military District, Commonwealth of Australia (Australian Military Forces; B4/1, Investigations into Queensland persons and organisations suspected of disloyalty, 1941 – 2003; items

66/4/3600 File on Russians, Russian Association, Soviet of Souse in Brisbane: relating to meetings, demonstrations, deportations, prosecutions [papers relate the 'red flag riots' of March 1919], 1919 – 1920

National Archives of Australia: Headquarters, 1 Military District, Commonwealth (Australian) Military Forces; B4/3, Alien registration forms, alphabetical series by nationality, 1916 – 1944; items

ITALIAN

BACHISIO M Bachisio, Maccioni – Nationality: Italian – Alien Registration Certificate No. 327 issued at Babinda, 1917 - 1919

National Archives of Australia: Department of Defence [III], Central Office; B883, Second Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1939 – 1947, 1940 – 1947; items

DX651 THOMPSON RICHARD JAMES VALENTINE: Service Number – DX651: Date of birth – 11 Feb 1917: Place of

*birth – MOONEE PONDS VIC: Place of enlistment –
DARWIN NT: Next of Kin – FLYNN DOLORES, 1929 – 1948*

*NX24126 CLEGG HORACE CHARLES COPE: Service Number –
NX24126: Date of Birth – 11 Nov 1911: Place of birth –
BURWOOD NSW: Place of enlistment – PADDINGTON
NDW: Next of Kin – CLEGG LEILA, 1939 - 1948*

*NX124869 SEWELL WALTER WILLIAM: Service Number – NX124869:
Date of birth – 27 May 1922: Place of birth - MANLY
NSW: Place of enlistment – CHIDLOW WA: Next of kin -
SEWELL C, 1939 – 1948*

*NX129725 GARD JOHN JOSEPH: Service Number – NX129725: Date
of birth – 27 may 1905: Place of birth – INGHAM QLD:
Place of enlistment – Unknown: Next of kin – GARD
THOMAS, 1939 - 1948*

*NX204310 SALLIS HENRY WILLIAM: Service Number – NX204310:
Date of birth – 27 July 1926: Place of birth –
PADDINGTON: Place of enlistment – PADDINGTON NSW:
Next of kin – SALLIS HARRY, 1939 - 1948*

*WX5433 NUTTER JOHN: Service Number – WX5433: Date of birth
– 14 Nov 1911: Place of birth – SWANBOURNE WA:
Place of enlistment – CLAREMONT WA: Next of kin –
NUTTER JOHN, 1939 – 1948*

*National Archives of Australia: Department of Defence [III], Central Office; B884, Citizen
Military Forces Personnel Dossiers, 1939 – 1947, 1940 – 1947; items*

*N233781 ASHTON GEORGE: Service Number – N233781: Date of
birth – 02 December 1889: Place of birth – BALMAIN
NSW: Place of enlistment – MANLY NSW: Next of kin –
ASHTON MILDRED, 1939 – 1948*

*N61207 SURGUY HENRY: Service Number – N61297: Date of
birth – 03 Mar 1887: Place of birth MIMDDLESEX*

England: Place of enlistment – PADDINGTON NSW:

Next of Kin – SURGUY ELLEN, 1939 - 1948

*N70359 MACMAHON FRANCIS JOSPEH: Service Number –
N70359: Date of birth – 02 August 1894: Place of birth –
COUNTY DOWN IRELAND: Place of enlistment –
MARRICKVILLE NSW: Next of kin – MACMAHON LILA,
1939 – 1948*

*N76402 POOLE RAYMOND OSWALD: Service Number – N76402:
Date of birth – 29 June 1910: Place of birth – SOMO
SOMO FIJI IS – Place of enlistment – SYDNEY NSW: Next
of kin - ESTELLE, 1939 – 1948*

*N225777 SULLIVAN FRANCIS PATRICK: Service Number –
N225777: Date of birth - 25 sept 1909: Place of birth –
SYDNEY NSW: Place of enlistment – RADWICK NSW:
Next of Kin – SULLIVAN ELISE, 1939 – 1948*

*N299451 INALL BERTIE: Service Number – N299453: Date of birth
– 20 October 1889: Place of birth – RICHMOND NSW:
Place of enlistment – LISMORE NDW: Next of Kin – INALL
RUBY, 1939 - 1948*

*V379129 NEWTON ALFRED GEORGE” Service Number – V379129:
Date of birth – 20 March 1896: Place of birth – MUSK
CREEK VIC: Place of birth – PORTSEA VIC: Next of kin –
NEWTON DORIS, 1939 – 1948*

*National Archives of Australia: Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office; B2455,
First Australian Imperial Force Personnel Dossiers, 1914 – 1920, 1914 – 1920; items*

BEARPARK

*H T Bearpark Henry Thomas: SERM1182: POB – Sydney
NSW: NOK Bearpark Mrs J, 1914 -1920*

BEVINGTON

*W MACF Bevington William MacFarland: SERN DEPOT Q11530:
POB- Brisbane QLD: NOK – M Hudson Mary, 1914 -1 920*

BLUMER G A BLUMER George Albert: Service Number – Captain: Note – This record consists of an empty envelope only. The contents have been amalgamated with this person's World War 11 service document. The World War 11 service number is VDC N469616 P.T.D. Contact Archives Staff for assistance in requesting this amalgamated record, 1914 – 1920

BROWN A E Brown Alfred Ernest: SSERN 69236: POB Richmond VIC: POE Melbourne: NOK F Brown Alfred E, circa 1914 – circa 1920

CAHILL J M Cahill James Michael: SERN 67833: POB Cessnock NSW: POE West Maitland NSW: NOK M Cahill Mary, circa 1914 - 1920

CHIRVIN P Chirvin Peter: SERN 1932: POB Russia: POE Brisbane QLD: NOK M Chirvin N, circa 1914 – circa 1920

CROFT H A Croft Harry Albon: SERN 15530/21052: POB Sydney NSW: POE Sydney NSW: NOK M Croft Amelia, 1914 – 1920

EDWARDS P G Edwards Percy George: SERN 21852: POB Albury NSW: POE Liverpool NSW: NOK F Edwards Edward, circa 1914 – circa 1920

FAIRLEY R Fairley Robert SERN 94369" POB Glasgow Scotland: POE Liverpool NSW: NOK F Fairley Robert Ireland, circa 1914 – circa 1920

FIDLER A E Fidler Albert Ernest: SERN 3815: POB Prospect SA: POE Adelaide SA: NOK W Fidler Lilian May, 1914 – 1920

HICKS H F

67885 HICKS Hector Fraser: Service Number – 67885: Place of Birth – Albury NSW: Place of Enlistment – Sydney NSW: Next of Kin – (Father) HICKS Thomas Henry, circa 1914 – circa 1920

HOOD

W H 21641 HOOD William Harrison: Service Number – 21641: Place of Birth – Sydney NSW: Place of Enlistment – Sydney NSW: Next of Kin – (Father) HOOD Samuel John, 1914 -1920

MACCROANAN

W H MacCroanan Walter Helmsworth: SERN 1486 67737: POB Edinburgh Scotland: POE Sydney NSW: NOK Turner Thomas, circa 1915 – circa 1920

MCKAY H McKay Harry: SERN 67673: PPOB Sydney NSW: NOK F McKay Patrick, circa 1914 – circa 1920

MORGAN

FREDERICK THOMAS MORGAN

Frederick Thomas: Service Number – 67659: Place of Birth – N/A England: Place of Enlistment – Inverell NSW: Next of Kin – (Father) MORGAN Thomas, 1914 - 1920

MOSELEY

ARTHUR HENRY

Moseley Arthur Henry: Service Number – Colonel: Place of Birth – Hampstead England: Place of Enlistment – N/A: Next of Kin – (Wife) MOSELEY Lena Maud, 1914 - 1920

MOSS HERBERT

SAVILLE MOSS

Herbert Saville: Service Number – 40: Place of birth – Sydney NSW: Place of Enlistment – Flemington VIC: Next of Kin – (Father) MOSS George Saville, 1914 – 1920

PETHERICK

JOHN HENRY PETHERICK John Henry: Service Number – 69370: Place of Birth – Ascotvale VIC: Place of Enlistment – Melbourne VIC: Next of Kin- (Wife) PETHERICK Violet, 1914 – 1920

RIDLEY GEORGE

WILSON RIDLEY George Wilson: Service Number – Depot: Place of Birth – Newcastle NSW: Place of Enlistment – Kurri Kurri NSW: Next of Kin – (Wife) RIDLEY Cecelia, 1914 - 1920

SALKELD

ALEXANDER SALKELD Alexander: Service Number – 2063: Place of Birth – Newcastle Upon Tyne England: Place of Enlistment – Liverpool NSW: Next of Kin – (Wife) SALKELD Agnes Maud, 1914 – 1920

ST JOHN

THOMAS ST JOHN Thomas (AKA DWYER Thomas): service Number – 2631: Place of Birth – Tipperary Ireland: Place of Enlistment – Liverpool NSW: Next of Kin – (Wife) ST JOHN Mary, 1914 – 1920

STOCK JOSEPH STOCK Joseph: Service Number – 21866: Place of Birth – Richmond VIC: Place of Enlistment – Broadmeadows VIC: Next of Kin – (Wife) STOCK Elise, 1914 – 1920

SURGUY HENRY SURGUY HENRY: Service Number – N61207: Date of birth - 3 March 1887: Place of birth – MIDDLESEX ENGLAND: Place of enlistment – PADDINGTON NSW: Next of kin – SURGUY ELLEN, 1939 – 1948

TREACY

THOMAS JOHN TREACY Thomas John: Service Number – 67940: Place of Birth – Meriwa NSW: Place of Enlistment – Sydney NSW: Nex of Kin- (Wife) Treacy Doris Hyacinth, 1914 - 1920

National Archives of Australia: 2 Echelon, Army Headquarters; B4717, PMF (Permanent Military Forces and Army Militia Personnel dossiers, 1901 – 1903; items

ABBERFIELD,

RAPHAEL DUDLEY Abberfield, Raphael Dudley, NP3375, 1884 – 1970

National Archives of Australia: Security Service, New South Wales; C123, World War 11 security investigation dossiers, single number series, 1940 – 1945; items

HONORIO Honorio, Celeste (Portuguese) [born in Portuguese Timor] [Box 611], 1942 – 1942

21093 Prieto, Franciso Creinha (Spanish), [Box 599], 1943 – 1945

21095 Albuquerque, Antonio d'Almeda (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 - 1945

21096 Castanheira, Albertino (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 – 1945

21097 Jana, Jose Alvez (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 -1945

21098 Carraqeco [or Carraqico], Joaquim Luis (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 - 1945

21099 Granderio, Hermengildo Goncalves (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 - 1945

21101 dos Santos, Augusto Cesar (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 – 1945

21102 Saldana, Carlos (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 – 1945

21103 *das Neves, Amadue Carlos (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 - 1945*

21105 *Gordinho, Jose (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 - 1945*

21106 *da Silva, Jose (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 – 1945*

21107 *Fillipe, Arsenio Jose (Portuguese) [Box 599], 1943 – 1945*

21490 *Leque, Suco (Portuguese [born in Portuguese Timor] [box 606], 1943 – 1945*

21595 *da Silva, Alice (Portuguese [born in Portuguese Timor] [Box 608], 1944 - 1944*

21596 *Silvestre, Rosa (Portuguese) [Box 608], 1944 – 1944*

21597 *Rosario, Francisca de (Portuguese [born in Portugal] [Box 608], 1943 – 1944*

21599 *Carraquico, Cremida (Portuguese) [Box 608], 1944 – 1944*

21603 *Pavia, Casimiro Augusto (Portuguese) [Box 608], 1943 – 1945*

21604 *Arranhado, Jose (Portuguese) [Box 608], 1943 – 1945*

21607 *Pereira, Maria (Portuguese) [born in Portuguese Timor] [Box 608], 1943 – 1945*

21608 *de Abreu, Luis Jose (Portuguese) [Box 609], 1943 – 1946*

21610 *Horta, Francisco (Portuguese) [Box 609], 1943 - 1945*

21611 *Estrella, Jacinto (Portuguese) [Box 609], 1943 – 1945*

21612 *Estrella, Domingas (Portuguese [born in Portuguese Timor] [Box 609], 1944 – 1944*

21614 *Damas, Alvaro (Portuguese) [Box 609], 1943 - 1945*

21451 *Filipe, Jose (Portuguese) [Box 606], 1943 -1945*

National Archives of Australia: Deputy Commissioner for Repatriation, New South Wales; C138, Personal case files, single number series (Australian, 1914 – 1918 War), 1915 - ; item

<i>M4043</i>	<i>Bearpark, Henry Thomas [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 14656], 1914 -1972</i>
<i>R4043</i>	<i>Bearpark, Henry Thomas [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 15], 1918 - 1936</i>
<i>M43847</i>	<i>Ashton, George [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 3560], 1920 – 1963</i>
<i>C10566</i>	<i>Fullwood, Albert Lloyd [WW1 repatriation case file] [box 1001], 1962 -1964</i>
<i>M44463</i>	<i>James, Richard Henry [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 15739], 1919 – 1971</i>
<i>R81645</i>	<i>Thorn, Sidney Ayris [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 6151], 1919 – 1953</i>
<i>R101376</i>	<i>Taylor, James [WW1 repatriation case file] [Box 7366], 1919 – 1969</i>
<i>M136543</i>	<i>Wiburd, Carvosso Roy [WW1 repatriation case file], 1973 – 1985</i>
<i>H136543</i>	<i>Wiburd Carvosso Roy [WW1 repatriation case file], 1974 – 1985</i>
<i>M136712</i>	<i>Newton, Alfred George [WW1 repatriation case file], [Box 35996], 1978 - 1983</i>

National Archives of Australia: Security Service New South Wales; C320, Investigation files (Persons and Organisations), single number with alphabetical prefix, 1921 – 1926; items

<i>F29</i>	<i>NSW Security Service file- Officers ex Pierre Loti – French Nationals [0.25cm], 1941 - 1941</i>
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National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration New South Wales Branch; C321, Case files, annual single number series with "N" (NSW) prefix, 1968 – 1974; items

N1969/62973 Zoffo, Yvonne [Dutch migrant, naturalisation file] {Box 447}, 1969 - 1979

N1970/33735 Krallis, Mihail [Box 55], 1970 – 1970

N1970/50876 Matar, Elias [Box 182], 1970 - 1970

N1970/52985 Parashacis, Aggetos [Box 209], 1970 – 1970

N1970/36510 Hammond, Abcul Hadi [Box 77]

N1970/40213 Gebrail, Moussa [Box 116], 1970 - 1970

N1970/54346 Makrodimitras, Spiridon [Box 230], 1970 – 1970

N1971/529 Latu, Tupou [Box 6], 1971 – 1971

N1971/2700 Ngaue, Mele Manatin Ki [Box 33], 1971 - 1971

N1971/30201 Karadonis, Vassilios, [Box 232] 1971 – 1971

N1971/30672 Leopoulos, Georgeous [Box 237], 1971 – 1971

N1971/33833 Hamad, Issan Ismail [Box 267], 1971 - 1971

N1971/11643 Konstantinos, Bekiras [Box 119], 1971 – 1971

N1971/12800 John, Anthony Flambard [Box 132], 1971 - 1971

N1971/51761 Moutsis, Christos (Temp File) [Box 385], 1971 – 1971

N1971/60101 Zervas Anastasios [Box 416], 1971 – 1971

National Archives of Australia: Security Service, New South Wales; C329, Transcripts of internees' appeals before the Aliens control tribunals and Advisory Committees, 1939 – 1945; items

44 Jose Francisco ARRANHADO [National Security (Aliens control) regulations – Objection no. 2 of 1944, AC] [9 pages, box 2], 1944 - 1944

- 169 *Albertino, Abrentes CASTANHEIRA [National Security (Aliens Control Regulations – Objection no 8 of 1944 AC) [4pages, box 6], 1944 – 1944*
- 296 *Augusto Cesar DOS SANTOS (Objection 25 of 1944; AC) [5 pages; box 9], 1944 – 1944*
- 297 *Domingos Augusto Bezerra DOS SANTOS (Objection 9 of 1944; AC) [7pages, box 9], 1944 - 1944*
- 804 *Carlos SALDANAHA (Objection 23 of 1944; AC) [3 pages, box 25], 1944 -1944*

National Archives of Australia: Security Service, Newcastle, New South Wales; C454, Nominal index cards to Timorese evacuees stationed at Bob's farm, Raymond Terrace, 1942 – 1945; one item

WHOLE SERIES Nominal index cards to Timorese stationed at Bob's Farm – security service Newcastle, 1942 – 1945

National Archives of Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission, Head Office; C 475, Television audio visual program material, annual single number series with ARCH (Archives) prefix, 1967- ; items

ARCH o4F/0036 TITLE: [Care of Vietnam Orphans Segment FORMAT.: motion picture film QUANTITY: 1 of 1 reels DURATION 0 hr. 01 min. 42 sec. TYPE: colour 16mm original reversal, sound STATUS: preservation material, 1975 – 1975

National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station North Head, [New South Wales]; C525, Register of admissions and discharges, 1918 – 1983' items

*REGISTER 1918 – 1920 REGISTER OF ADMISSIONS AND DISCHARGES
1918 – 1920, 1918 – 1920*

REGISTER OF THOSE

ADMITTED VOL 2 Register of those Admitted, 1951 – 1983

National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C526, Register of Deaths at Quarantine Station, 1837 – 1962

REGISTER OF DEATHS AT QUARANTINE STATION [Register of Deaths at Quarantine Station], 1881 – 1925

National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C527, Daily log books – North Head Quarantine Station, 1922 – 1965, items

<i>VOLUMES 4 – 29</i>	<i>North Head Quarantine Station log books – 1922 – 1965, Vols. 4 – 29 [Boxes 2 -6], 1922 - 1965</i>
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National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C528, Daily Diaries of duty and occurrence a the North Head Quarantine Station, 1898 – 1983; items

<i>VOLUME 30 – 70</i>	<i>North Head Quarantine Station Diaries, Vols. 30 – 70, 1898 – 1983 [Boxes 1 – 10] National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C532, Service and holiday register, 1898 – 1911; items</i>
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<i>NN</i>	<i>Service and Holiday Register (North Head Quarantine Station), 1898 - 1911</i>
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National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C533, Prescription Book, 1917 -1930; one item only

National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C534, V.D. Hospital Ledger, 1922 – 1928; one item only

National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C562, Register of stores issued, single number series, 1890 – 1900; items

<i>Volume 1</i>	<i>Register of stores issued (North Head Quarantine Station). [Box1], 1884 – 1900</i>
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National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales]; C574, Stores index, alphabetical, 1832 – 1984; items

<i>BUNDLE 1</i>	<i>Stores index, alphabetical [Quarantine Station, North Head, 1914 - 1915</i>
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*National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales];
C702, Miscellaneous papers, 1923 – 1976; items*

WHOLE OF SERIES Miscellaneous papers, 1923 – 1976

*National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head; C1053, Register of goods
issued, single number series, 1900 – 1911; items*

*VOLUME 1 Register of goods issued, (North Head Quarantine
Station). [Box 1], 1900 – 1911*

*National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales];
C1045, Stores ledger, single number series, 1900 – 1911; items*

*VOLUME 1 Stores ledger. (Register of goods received and issued.
North Head Quarantine Station) [Box1], 1900 – 1911*

*National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales];
C1055, Stores receipt books, single number series, 1916 – 1957; items*

*VOLUME 1 Stores receipt book. (Register of goods received. North
Head Quarantine Station) [Box 1], 1916 -1 924*

*National Archives of Australia: Quarantine Station, North Head [New South Wales];
C1056, Stores ledgers – consumables and non-consumables, single number series, 1911 –
1954; items*

*VOLUME 1 Stores ledger (Register of goods received and issued,
North Head Quarantine Station) [Box 1], 1911 – 1916*

*VOLUME 2 Stores ledger (non-consumables), (Register of goods
received and issued. North Head quarantine Station)
[Box 1], 1911 – 1916*

*VOLUME 3 Stores ledger (consumables), (Register of goods received
and issued, North Head Quarantine Station) [Box 1],
1911 – 1916*

*VOLUME 4 Stores ledger (non-consumables), (Register of goods
received and issued, North Head Quarantine Station,
1936 - 1954*

VOLUME 5 *Stores ledger (consumables), (Register of goods received and issued, North Head Quarantine Station) [Box2], 1936 – 1954*

VOLUME 6 *Stores ledger, (Register of goods received and issued, North Head Quarantine Station) [Box 2], 1949 – 1954*

National Archives of Australia: Commonwealth Police Force [II], District Office, New South Wales; C1070, Investigation files, annual single number series with “N” [New South Wales] prefix, 1957 - ; items

N74/1360 *Escape of five Detainees Manly Detention centre 7/4/74 IMM [Immigration], 1963 – 1978*

National Archives of Australia: Australian Institute of Tropical Medicine; C1954, Quarantine Bureau files re bilharziosis in troops, 1920 – 1923; items

BULHYZRZIOSIS/

NSW *Bilharziosis cases – New South Wales [Box 89], 1920 - 1921*

National Archives of Australia: General Post Office, Sydney(also known as Postal Department until 1865) then Postmaster-General’s department, 1865 – 1901; Postmaster-General’s Department, State Administration New South Wales 1901 – 1975); C2629, Post Office History Files, alphabetical series 1828 – 1995; items

QUARANTINE *Quarantine Post Office [Box 507], 1913 - 1988*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs [I], Regional Administration, New South Wales; C3939, Correspondence files, single number series with “N” (New South Wales) prefix, 1952 – 1977 items

N1959/75001 *Immigration – Hungarian freedom Fighters Association and Hungarian Movement [17 pages, box 105], 1959 – 1961*

N1959/75220 *Immigration – North Head detention Centre Provision of Meals, 1959 - 1964*

N1960/75120 Immigration – Publication of details of prohibited migrants in Police Gazette Supplement [box 125], 1960 – 1965

N1961/75071

PART 1 Immigration – Weekly Reports for Commonwealth Police at detention Centre Manly, 1959 – 1964, box 194], 1965 – 1965

N1961/75071

PART 2 Immigration – Weekly Reports from Commonwealth Police at Detention Centre Many, 1965 - 1968

N1961/75071

PART 3 Immigration – Weekly Reports form Commonwealth Police at detention Centre Manly, 1952 – 1977

N1959/75220 Immigration – North Head detention Centre Provision of Meals, 1959 – 1964

N1965/75058 Immigration – Internal Audit of North head Detention Centre [2pages; box 194], 1965 - 1965

N1965/75289 Immigration – Movement Requisition Repatriates and Deportees, 1962 – 1977

N1965/75289

PART 2 Immigration – Movement Requisition Repatriates and Deportees, 1952 – 1977

N1965/75289

PART 4 Immigration – Movement Requisition Repatriates and Deportees, 1952 – 1977

N1971/75154 Immigration – Monthly Return to CO of Deportees Detained Under Section 39 (6) of the Migration Act, 1971 - 1974

National Archives of Australia: Prime Minister's Department; CP103/11, General Correspondence files, 1921 0 1932; items

405 *Quarantine .New South Wales (Correspondence re Quarantine Arrangements for ships), 1919 – 1919*

National Archives of Australia: Division of Import Procurement; CP117/7, Papers of Mr F. Entwistle, 1941 – 1948; items

BUNDLE 9/14 *Powers of Division of Import Procurement, 1941 – 1942*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Information, Central Office; CP815/1, General correspondence files, two number series, 1936 – 1951; items

003.40 PART1 *Films - "The Overlanders", 1944 – 1945*

003.40 PART 2 *Films - "The Overlanders", H Watt, 1945 – 1947*

National Archives of Australia: Department of Services and Property, South Australian Branch – Woomera Office; D1949, Correspondence files, multiple number series, 1962 – 1973; items

83/1/1 *Hours of duty – introduction of flexible working hours [Department of Services ns Property, South Australian Branch, correspondence file ; box 24], 1973 – 1978*

National Archives of Australia: Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office; B2455, First Australian Imperial Force Personnel dossiers, 1914 – 1920; items

DOWLING D A *Dowling Donald Augustus: SERN Lieutenant 1045: POB Farince SA: POE Morphettville SA: NOK F Dowling James Patrick, 1914 - 1920*

National Archives of Australia: Headquarters. 4 Military District [I], Commonwealth Military Forces, Keswick [South Australia]; D2994, Army pay files (1 AIF), alphabetical series, 1914 – 1921; items

FULLWOOD

A 2231 *A FULLWOOD, 1914 – 1923*

FULLWOOD,

A L 11 *A L FULLWOOD, 1914 - 1923*

MOSS HS 3101 H S MOSS, 1914 – 1923

DOWLING, D A

LIEUTENANT Lieutenant D A Dowling, 1914 - 1923

National Archives of Australia: Headquarters, 4 Military District [II], Australian Military force, Keswick [South Australia]; D4385, Army pay files [2nd AIF] single number series with “DX” prefix, 1939 – 1942; items

DX661 Thompson, Richard James Valentine [WW11] pay ledger and history card, 1941 - 1944

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration. South Australian Branch; D4881, Alien registration cards, alphabetical series, 1946 – 1970; items

HOLT STANLEY

BLAKE HOLT Stanley Blake: Nationality American- Arrived Adelaide per O'Bannon 11 May 1960 Departed Commonwealth on 9 July 1960, 1960 1976

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Queensland Branch; J25, Case files, annual single number series with or without “Q” (Queensland) or “QB” (Queensland Brisbane) or “CLF” (Client Files) prefix, 1946 – 1974; items

1951/19596 Poole, Raymond Oswald, 1951 – 1984

1959/5747 Titus Abraham Chung [also known as Choong Tai Tor], 1959 - 1959

1959/12005 Lau Man Pan, 1956 - 1960

1969/6276 HIHNALA, Eero Johannes [Finnish, born 1937], 1969 - 1974

1973/6811 Kai, Ing Low [also known as: Lau Kai Wing, Low Kai Wing, Kevin Low] – born 1926 – Chinese, 1953 – 1974

National Archives of Australia: District Base, Australian Military Forces; J1795, Military Officer's record of service, alphabetical series, 1939 – 1942; items

8/659 O'NEILL Vennard Francis born 5 December 1894 –
military officer's record of service Q140911, 1918 – 1942

9/187 DOWLING Donald Augustus, born 7 July 1895 – military
officer's record of service, 1914 – 1955

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration Western Australian Branch; K403, Correspondence files, single number series, with "W59" prefix, 1959 – 1984; items

W59/1208 [Immigration Department Deportation – general –
Woodmans (Woodman) Point – Detention Centre, 1958
– 1968

National Archives of Australia: Department of Defence [I]; MP367/1, General correspondence files, 1917 – 1929; items

446/8/893 Italian Reservists ex "Medic" – showing death in
quarantine & disposal of men after release, 1918 - 1919

National Archives of Australia: Department of Army, Central Office; MP742/1, General and civil staff correspondence files and Army personnel files, multiple number series, 1930 – 1946; items

94/2/811 Portuguese evacuees from Timor – Occupation of Bobs
Farm Military Camp, 1942 – 1944

National Archives of Australia: Australian Imperial Force, Base Records Office; MT1487/1, service records and correspondence concerning Australians serving with other Imperial forces, World War 1, 1914 -1918; items

MACCIONI B MACCIONI Bachisio – Italian Reservist – dangerously ill
HMAT Medic 25 November 1918, 29 Nov 1918 – 2 Dec
1918

MAGERA G MAGERA G – Italian Reservist – seriously ill HMAT Medic
25 November 1918, 25 Nov 1918 – 25 Nov 1918

NATOLI D NATOLI D – Italian Reservist, 8 April 1958 – 16 April 1958

<i>RIZZO J</i>	<i>RIZZO J – Italian Reservist, - seriously ill HMAT Medic 25 November 1918, 29 Nov 1918 – 29 Nov 1918</i>
<i>SOGLIA J</i>	<i>SOGLIA Joseph- Italian Reservist – died 30 November 1918, 3Dec 1918 – 3 Dec 1918</i>
<i>SECCO A</i>	<i>SECCO A (private) – 3 Draft Italian Reservists, 1957 - 1957</i>

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Western Australian Branch; PP105/1, Correspondence [client] files, annual single number series with “W” prefix, 1946 – 1977

W1956/5088 LEUNG Ching Bor [Criminal investigation], 1956 - 1961

National Archives of Australia: Department of Immigration, Western Australian Branch; PP256/1, Correspondence [client] files, annual single number series with “W” prefix, 1948 – 1985; items

W1961/4228 KOUFOS [COUFOS] Dimitrios [Greek], 1961 - 1961

National Archives of Australia: Director of Works Western Australia; PP280/1, Job files, financial year single number series with alphabetical prefix, 1942 – 1962; items

IM1958/59/806 Immigration Woodmans Point –establishment of detention rooms, 1958 – 1959

National Archives of Australia: Commonwealth Investigation Service, Western Australia; PP302/1, Correspondence files, single number series with WA prefix, 1916 – 1959; items

<i>WA37727</i>	<i>Enrico ESPOSITO, Ignacio MAGRINHO and Marie De Christoford, 1959 – 1959</i>
<i>WA36326</i>	<i>Ben KATUU [aka KAITUU] [ARRIVED Sydney 10 Apr 1957 per Suva], 1957 – 1957</i>
<i>WA36634</i>	<i>Varea FAPIANA [Fijian] [arrived Sydney 15 Aug 1957 per Suva, deserter], 1958 – 1958</i>
<i>WA36889</i>	<i>Rocco INFANTINO [born 1917 Palmi, Italy, arrived Sydney 8 Oct 1957 per Roma, prohibited immigrant], 1958 – 1959</i>

WA38733	WONG Kau, 1961 – 1961
WA37317	Sakula O'BRIEN [aka jack O'BRIEN, jack MAUA] Fijian [arrived Sydney 7 Aug 1958 per Lakemba], 1959 – 1960
WA37433	CHUNG Titus, 1959 - 1959
WA37994	David Craig TAYLOR, 1960 - 1960
WA38899	PICKERING Arthur James, 1961 -1 961
WA38947	TARACENA- SALAVERRIA, Vincent, 1961 - 1961
WA38983	George Tzouanis, 1961 – 1961
WA39015	FLAMOS Emmanouel, 1961 – 1961
WA39298	KALOUKANA Watisoni, 1961 – 1961
WA39387	CHEE Mak, 1961 – 1961
WA1962/286	GEORGAKOPOULOS Anastaskos dob: 1938 and LIMINOS Georgios dob:19.4.1943 [this file contains paperwork for two different men], 1961 - 1962
WA39864	MOUGKROS Ioannis, 1962 – 1962
WA39843	TANG Chun Yuen, 1962 – 1962
WA39899	NAPOLIONI, Vasu, 1962 – 1962
WA39946	Sakala SAQANAVERE (aka Sekala Saqanavere NAWAQALIVA), 1962 - 1962
WA39949	MATRAKIS, Ionnis, 1962 – 1962
WA40496	ZAPANTIS Gerasimos, 1962 - 1962

*National Archives of Australia: Mercantile Marine Office/ by 01 Jan 1969) Marine crews
Office, Sydney [New South Wales]; SP2/1, Ships' Logs with Wireless Logs attached, 1911
– 1940; items*

NIAGARA	24/8/1918– 24/1/1919 Log Book – Niagara 24/8/1918 – 24/1/1919, 1918 – 1919
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NN *Log Book and Supplementary log Makura 10/9/1918 – 18/12/1918, 1918 – 1918*

NN *Log Book Atua, 1918 – 1918*

National Archives of Australia: Collector of Customs, Sydney (from 1985) Australian Customs Service, State Administration, New South Wales; SP11/2, Application for registration (Aliens Registration files) (Forms A1, B1, and C), alphabetical series by nationality, 1939 – 1947; items

PORTUGUESE/

DIAS B *Bernardino Dias [Portuguese – arrived Australia per WANDANA c.1943, Box 181], 1943 – 1944*

PORTUGUESE/

SOARES MB *Maria Benedita Soares [Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrive Darwin per Naval vessel, 19 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1943 – 1943*

PORTUGUESE/

SOARES A *Antonia Sores (Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrived Darwin per Naval vessel, 19 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1943 – 1943*

PORTUGUESE/

SANTOS A *Alfredo Dos Santos [Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrived Darwin per Naval vessel, 2 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1942 - 1946*

PORTUGUESE/

MOREIRA JUNIOR JG *Joao Gomes Moreira Junior [Portuguese – arrived per Naval vessel, 19 Oct 1942. Box181], 1943 – 1945*

PORTUGUESE/

VAZ A *Alfredo Vaz [Portuguese – arrived Darwin per Dutch warship, 11 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1943 - 1946*

PORTUGUESE/

PAVIA D Domingas Pavia [Portuguese- arrived Darwin per Naval ship, 5 Aug 1943. Box 181], 1945 - 1946

PO RTUGUESE/

*ENCARNACAO MJDM Maria Jose dos Martires Encarnacao
[Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrived Darwin per Naval vessel, 19 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1943 – 1944*

PORTUGUESE/

ERCARNACAO DAD Deolindo Augusto da Encarnacao [Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrived Darwin per Naval vessel, 19 Dec .Box 181], 1943 – 1943

PORTUGUESE/

DOS SANTOS A Alfredo Dos Santos [Portuguese, born in Portuguese Timor – arrived Darwin per Naval vessel, 2 Dec 1942. Box 181], 1942 – 1946

National Archives of Australia: Works and Services Branch, New South Wales; SP16/4, Property files of sites in NSW hired or acquired for the Department of Defence during World War 11, 1940 – 1948; items

547 [Hire by the Australian Military Forces of property at 60A Belgrave Street Manly. Property owned by AL Busby and required as dental clinic for troops stationed at North Head and Middle Head], 1941 – 1943

921 [Hire of Minimbah Homestead, Singleton by the Australian Military Forces. Property owned by Mr DW Birds and required by J Cavalry Division], 1942 – 1943

National Archives of Australia: Collector of Customs, Sydney (from 1985) Australian Customs Service, State Administration , New South Wales; SP42/1 Correspondence of the Collector of Customs relating to Immigration Restriction and Passports, 1901 – 1948; items

C1917/10173 List of persons endorsed on crew of SS TASMAN departing for Batavia [box98], 1917 - 1918

National Archives of Australia: Collector of Customs, Sydney (from 1985) Australian Customs Service, State Administration, New South Wales – Boarding Branch; SP42/2, Correspondence (miscellaneous) of the Collector of Customs relating to immigration restriction and passports, 1901 – 1948; items

C1916/3848 Roneice Ossiseau and Zennon [request for permission to land two seamen ex SS PACIFIQUE for hospitalisation and to remain in the Commonwealth for 2 months – includes report of medical officer, 2 Certificates of Exemption and departure details) [Box 1], 1916 – 1916

National Archives of Australia: Collector of Customs Sydney (from 1985) Australian Customs Service, State administration, New South Wales; SP83/11, Inwards crew and passenger lists for Australian ports, chronological series, 1915 – 1935; items

NN MATARAM [passenger list inwards for Port of Sydney] 1/11/1918 [1 page, box 45], 1918 – 1918

NN GOLDEN SHORE [crew list inwards for Port of Sydney] 20/4/1919 [1 page, box 47], 1919 – 1919

NN ST ANTOINE [passenger list inwards for Port of Sydney] 21/5/1919 [1page. Box 48], 1919 – 1919

NN MANUKA [passenger list inwards for Port of Sydney] 13/11/1918 [3 pages, box 45], 1918 – 1918

NN TSS ATUA [passenger list inwards for Port of Sydney] 7/11/1918 [2 pages, box 45], 1918 – 1918

National Archives of Australia: Department of Information, Central Office; SP109/16, General Correspondence, 1941 – 1946; items

*BOX 104 Films: Proposed by Ealing Studios London to make film
on Australia's War Effort, 1943 – 1943*

National Archives of Australia: Public Works Branch, New South Wales; SP155/1, Specifications, 1903- 1932; items

*NSW228MISC NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection of doctor's and
nurses' quarters, kitchen block and changing block at
quarantine station. 23 September 1912. [Box 200], 1912
– 1912*

*NSW239MISC NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection of observation
block at quarantine station. 01 September 1912 [Box
200], 1912 -1912*

*NSW242MISC NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection and completion
of administration block at quarantine station. 17 August
1911 [Box 200], 1911 – 1911*

*NSW243MISC NORTH HEAD Specifications for new fire service hydrant
cover boxes at quarantine station. 21 March 1912. [Box
200], 1912 – 1912*

*NSW3095MISC ABBOTSFORD. Specifications for erection and
completion of animal quarantine station. [0.25 cm: box
48], 1917 - 1918*

*NSW3196 MISC NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection and completion
of staff cottage at venereal hospital at quarantine
station [Box 200], 1800 – 1800*

*MISC3983 NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection of brick dining
room at quarantine station. 14 May 1921. [Box 200],
1921 – 1921*

*MISC7769 NORTH HEAD Specifications for provision of wood
shutters and repairs and painting roofs at quarantine
station. 16 March 1928. [Box 200], 1928 - 1928*

- MISC12023 *NORTH HEAD Specifications for erection of staff cottages at quarantine station. 29 July 1933 [Box 199], 1935 – 1935*
- MISC12056 *NORTH HEAD Specifications for installation of electric light at the staff cottage at quarantine station. 15 August 1935 [Box 199], 1935 - 1935*
- MISC12596 *NORTH HEAD Specifications for replacing of wooden water mains with cast iron at quarantine station. 26 June 1936. [Box 94]. 1936 – 1936*
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- MISC16786G *NORTH HEAD Specifications for repairs and painting of roofs, eaves, gutters etc. at quarantine station. 06 June 1941. [Box 193], 1941 – 1941*

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- N1960/15039 *Condon], Robert Edward [British migrant, immigration file, 1961 – 1961*
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CL1539 North Head Quarantine Station – Church of England Burial Grounds [Box2], 1909 - 1948

NL2350 North Head Quarantine Station – Re-transfer to State [Box 2], 1909 – 1948

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256/1/30 Arrival of United States Fleet at Sydney – Quarantine, 1925 - 1925

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75/6 BOX 1 North Head Deaths at Station, 1921 – 1949 [please note that this item is missing as from 19 September 2008, and so cannot be accessed]

80/8 North Head Graveyard, 1917 – 1948

- 185/17 *Vessels Quarantined RMMS "Aorangi", 1935 – 1935*
- 185/21 BOX 1 *Vessels Quarantined "Clan MacDonald", 1942 – 1942*
- 185/22 BOX 1 *Vessels Quarantined "St Essylt", 1942 – 1942*
- 185/23 *Vessels Quarantined "Nelcore", 1944 – 1944*
- 185/24 *Vessels Quarantined "TANDA", 1944 - 1944*
- 185/25 *Vessels Quarantined Aircraft "Banbury" 1949 – 1949*
- 185/26 *Vessels Quarantined SS "MOOLTAN" due to arrive at
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75/3/1 PART 1 North Head quarantine station, land and buildings – proposals, suggestions etc. [Box 1], 1923 – 1959

75/3/1 PART 2 North Head quarantine station, land and buildings - proposals, suggestions etc. [Box1], 1960 – 1977

92/1/1 PART 1 North Head quarantine station rehabilitation and modernisation – general [Box 1], 1952 - 1971

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Appendices

Appendix A: Active Quarantine - vessels quarantined 1898 - 1918

Name of Ship	Date in	Date out	No of days	Disease
SS "Caledonian"	8/2/1898	1/3/1898	21	Smallpox
RMS "Australia"	28/3/1898	22/4/1898	22	Smallpox
RMS "Orizaba"	1/5/1898	4/6/1898	34	Smallpox
SS "Africa"	27/10/1899	16/11/1899	20	Smallpox
SS "Ninevah"	30/11/1899	25/12/1899	26	Smallpox
SS "Pacifique"	27/12/1899	3/1/1900	7	Plague at Noumea on route
SS "Pacifique"	17/1/1900	25/1/1900	8	Plague
Ketch "Envoy" New Caledonia	21/1/1900	25/1/1900	4	Plague at Noumea
SS "Saint Pierre"	26/1/1900	2/2/1900	7	Plague at Noumea
SS "Saint Louis"	2/2/1900			Plague at Noumea
SS "Moresby"	24/2/1900	1/3/1900	5	Detained for 5 days in quarantine
SS "India"	8/3/1900	16/3/1900	8	Smallpox vaccinations
SS "Saint Louis"	27/4/1900	27/4/1900	1	To Watsons Bay to complete quarantine plague
SS "Antillian"	2/3/1901	31/3/1901	28	Plague
SS "Chingtu"(Troop carrier)	26/4/1901	28/5/1901	31	Smallpox
SS "Darius"(Troop carrier)	17/5/1901	29/5/1901	12	Smallpox
SS "Ormuz"	28/5/1901	31/7/1901	64	Smallpox
SS "Eastern"	14/1/1902	28/1/1902	14?	Smallpox
SS "Druton Grange "(troop carrier)	10/8/1902			Smallpox
SS "Orient"	17/8/1902	28/8/1902	11	?
SS "Ville de la Ciotat"	6/12/1902	9/1/1903	34	Smallpox
SS "Tsinan"	13/3/1903	11/4/1903	27	Smallpox
SS "Oonah"	29/6/1903	15/7/1903	16	Smallpox
SS "Wanakee"	29/6/1903	30/6/1903	1	?
SS "Kapapo"	4/7/1903	?	?	Smallpox

Name of Ship	Date in	Date out	No of days	Disease
SS "Oonah"	31/7/1903	13/8/1903	14	Smallpox
SS "Mokora"	30/1/1904	30/1/1904	1	Previous smallpox on board – waters only disinfected
SS "Warrimoo"	3/2/1904	12/2/1904	7	Suspicious illness
SS "Nieu Zealander"	5/2/1904	12/2/1904	7	Smallpox
SS "Moeraki"	10/2/1904	12/2/1904	2	Smallpox
SS "Empire"	3/6/1904	20/6/1904	17	Smallpox
SS "Fultala"	22/4/1905	28/4/1905	6	Convalescent smallpox patient on board
SS "Yarra"	24/11/1905	25/11/1905	1	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Pacifique"	3/12/1905	?	?	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Nera"	17/12/1905	?	?	Plague at Noumea plague
SS "Tsinan"	21/12/1905	11/1/1906	21	Smallpox
SS "Pacifique"	31/12/1905	1/1/1906	2	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Sydney"	13/1/1906	15/1/1906	2	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Vile de la Ciotat"	13/3/1906	15/3/1906	2	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Pacifique"	25/3/1906	26/3/1906	1	Fulfil 5 days from Noumea plague
SS "Patham"	17/12/1906	9/1/1907	23	Smallpox
SS "Agapanthus"			6	QSNH staff at Newcastle Smallpox patient
SS "Elsa"	31/12/1907	15/1/1908	16	Convalescent smallpox patient
JMS "Nikko Maru"	12/2/1908	15/2/1908	3	Quarantine at Neutral Bay
SS "Empire"	13/2/1908	24/2/1908	11	Smallpox
SS "Aldenham"	19/4/1908	2/5/1908	13	Smallpox
SS "Falls of Orchy"	6/12/1908	24/12/1908	18	Smallpox
SS "Saint Louis"	8/3/1909	10/3/1909	2	Plague patient transferred
RMS "Otway"	1/4/1910	13/5/1910	42	Smallpox

Name of Ship	Date in	Date out	No of days	Disease
SS "Van Linschoten"	1/9/1911	16/9/1911	15	Smallpox
SS "Eastern"	12/10/1911	1/11/1911	20	Smallpox
SS "Zeelander"	17/12/1911	23/12/1911	6	Measles, Diphtheria
SS "Taiyuan"	14/1/1912	24/1/1912	10	Plague?
SS "Hampstead"	17/4/1912	18/4/1912	1	Previous case of smallpox on board
SS "Malwa"	18/4/1912	27/4/1912	9	Smallpox
SS "Changsha"	12/5/1912	28/5/1912	16	Suspect illness
SS "Yawata Maru"	28/5/1912	26/6/1912	29	Smallpox
SS "Taiyuan"	5/6/1912	5/6/1912	1	To Watsons Bay – previous plague
SS "Prinz Sigsusmund"	8/7/1912	14/8/1912	37	Smallpox
SS "Mataram"	22/1/1913	?	?	Smallpox
SS "Gothic"	6/2/1913	22/2/1913	16	Measles, Scarlet Fever
SS "Eastern"	24/2/1913			Smallpox
SS "Rangatira"	20/3/1913	5/4/1913	16	Unknown illness
HMAS "Tingira"	8/4/1913	17/4/1913	9	Diphtheria
SS "Baralong"	17/4/1913	2/6/1913	46	Smallpox
Barque "E J Spence"	1/5/1913	22/5/1913	21	Smallpox
SS "Brunner"	6/5/1913	23/5/1913	17	Smallpox patient
SS "Taiyuan"	3/6/1913	7/6/1913	4	Plague
RMS "Orsova"	26/3/1914	6/4/1914	11	Smallpox
SS "Kanowara"	22/11/1914	7/12/1914	16	Previous smallpox in Brisbane
SS "Runic"	2/1/1915	20/1/1915	19	Previous smallpox
SS "Chandra"	15/3/1915	2/4/1915	18	Smallpox patient
SS "Morea"	4/4/1915	26/4/1915	22	Chicken pox
HMAS "Tingira"	24/5/1915	17/7/1915	54	Chicken pox, scarlet fever, measles
SS "Yulgibar"	15/1/1916	12/2/1916	28	Patient?
SS "Clan Maccorquodale"	6/4/1916	24/4/1916	18	Patient and contact?
SS "Nikko Maru"	1/11/1916	18/11/1916	17	?
SS "Eastern"	14/1/1917	29/1/1917	15	Smallpox

Name of Ship	Date in	Date out	No of days	Disease
SS "St Albans"	16/2/1917	26/2/1917	10	?
SS "Eastern"	19/4/1917	26/4/1917	7	?
SS "St Albans"	17/5/1917	28/5/1917	11	?
SS "Tasman"	2/4/1918	?	?	Crew quarantined
Schooner "Gilbert Islands"	25/7/1918	26/7/1918	1	?
HMAS "Tingira"	2/9/1918	14/9/1918	12	Scarlet fever

Appendix B: Diseases on ships quarantined 1898 – 1918

Year	Smallpox	Plague	Measles/ Diphtheria	Measles/ Scarlet Fever	Chicken pox	Unknown
1898	3					
1899	2	1				
1900	1	7				
1901	3	1				
1902	2					1
1903	4					1
1904	4					1 Suspicious illness
1905	2	4				
1906		3				
1907	3					
1908	3					
1909		1				1
1910	1					
1911	2		1			
1912	4	2				1 Suspicious illness
1913	5	1		1		1Unknown
1914	2					
1915	2			1	2	
1916						3
1917	1					3
1918						
Total	44	20	1	2	2	12

Appendix C: Monthly figures of admissions, contacts and discharges: smallpox epidemic 1913 - 1915

Year	Month	Admissions	contacts	Releases	Total admissions	Total contacts	Total releases
1913	May	1					
	June						
	July	89	2	76			
	August	228	12	273			
	September	230	5	238			
	October	124		326			
	November	66	126	172			
	December	27	57	121	767	202	1097
1914	January	19	39	66			
	February	24	38	55			
	March	16	33	51			
	April	15		18			
	May	64	50	35			
	June	61	143	176			
	July	67	119	298			
	August	46	9	56			
	September	61	24	78			
	October	109	33	115			
	November	44	3	75			
	December	13		42	539	491	1025
1915	January	4	1	13			

Appendix D: Ships with large numbers of influenza patients 1919-1920

Ship	Troopship	Admissions	Date of first admission	Deaths
SS "Dimboola"		26	3/2/1919	
SS "Wyandra"		23	6/2/1919	
SS "Ceramic"	✓	14	16/3/1919	
HMAS "Encounter"		107	18/3/1919	
SS "St George"		16	4/4/1919	7
SS "Pacifique"		59	9/4/1919	6
HMAS "Una"	✓	26	14/4/1919	
HMAS "Tingira"		70	11/6/1919	1
SS "St Antoine"		26	14/6/1919	1
SS "Bremen"		19	2/2/1920	

Appendix E: Quarantinable diseases

Quarantine Regulations 1927: Section 56 – Notification of cases of Disease by Master

Smallpox	Diphtheria	Plague
Malarial Fever	Cholera	Gonorrhoea
Yellow Fever	Syphilis	Typhus Fever
Chancre	Leprosy	Chancroid
Anterior Poliomyelitis	Chancre	
Leprosy	Venereal Bubo	Cerebro-Spinal Meningitis
Dysentery including Amoebic Dysentery and Bacillary Dysentery	Malta Fever	Tuberculosis
Scarlet Fever	Pneumonia	Chicken-pox
Septicaemia	Measles	Epidemic Encephalitis
	Pneumonia	Typhoid Fever
Chicken-pox	Septicaemia	Measles
Epidemic Encephalitis	Gastro-enteritis	Mumps

Appendix F: Duties of a Quarantine Assistant

(Hand written by Assistant AH Willsher)

1. To obey orders instantly and without demur.
2. To see that no infections are allowed to reach the Quarantine buildings from an infected ship
3. To pay special attention to the use of disinfectants, deodorizers, fumigating material etc. and to be sure that in fumigating or disinfecting it is essential that the room or hold should be as closely sealed as possible.
4. To make oneself thoroughly acquainted with the use of dry and moist heat so that passengers luggage will not be destroyed, and still be rendered free from infection.
5. To be kind and respectful to those who are unfortunately detained in Quarantine
6. To study cleanliness in one's habit

re: The Quarantine Act

1. Carefully peruse same so that he is able to remember all details in fact it is wish to keep same on person on Quarantine. Direction & Fumigation of a ship and the destruction of rats
2. Close all ports and see that ventilators are covered, empty bilges pumps into some fresh water with nuscible carbolic added.
3. The funnel and coal bunkers should then be fumigated. Sulphur being the media 3lbs to every 100 cubic feet each dish being placed in small tub containing water.
4. Then do holds as above, and in fact all parts of the ship should be under fumigation at the same time if rats are to be exterminated.
5. The above is the old way and a modern one is now in use, which is to exhaust the air form each compartment and pump in Gas or Sulphur fumes under pressure.
6. Deodorizers are used to destroy bad smells such as crude Carbolic 1 oz to the gallon.
7. Disinfectants destroy germs and so prevent the spread of disease.

Treatment of a ship on which Yellow Fever has been.

1. Pump out all drinking water
2. Lime wash tanks.
3. Destroy all vermin in sulphur being the media uses.

Fumigation and disinfection of a ship upon which a case of smallpox has occurred

1. Proceed to area used by patient after having left a spare overall to be worn after leaving this part of the ship

Spray all this area with 2% solution of Formaldehyde prepared as follows one ounce of 40% Formalin to 19 ounces of water.
2. Close and lock door leading to this area leaving behind overall, cap and shoes.
4. Passengers & crew will leave for shore to undergo the usual disinfection which is as follows: clothing, bedding, blankets. Then exposed to saturated steam at a measure of 10lbs to the square inch, for at least twenty minutes, after having exhausted air from chambers.

Treatment of smallpox infected ship

5. Start disinfecting ship and begin on top deck by spraying all parts with 1% cresol disinfectant miscible with water having a carbolic coefficient of not less than 10.
6. Start forecastles past paper over all apertures other than the one door which is done last.
7. To fumigate forecastle Primus stoves with sufficient water to bring the temperature up to 75d F then use Pot Permang ten ounces and 40% Formalin to each 100 1pint cubic foot deep buckets should be used to prevent the above from flowing over. All enclosed spaces can be done as above.
8. Other articles should be sprayed with Cyllin Solution or Formalin Solution
9. Holds fumigated with sulphur 3lbs to 100 cubic feet. When all parts of ship have been fumigated or disinfected they crew should cleanse down with soapy solution as ordered
10. A pocket book should be kept to enable Officers to know exactly when all parts of ship have been dealt with.

The storages of food on ships should be in well ventilated chambers having iron roof sides and deck food stuffs should be kept in iron bins and Formalin occasionally kept as a deodorizer

Sanitary inspection of ships

1. See that there is sufficient air space in sleeping quarters.
2. See that bathing accommodation and W C is sufficient.
3. Inspect store rooms making sure that rats cannot live in same.

Care and management of Quarantine Stations

1. Keep in each room a list of stock which should correspond with book kept by officer in charge.
2. Bed linen should be changed frequently.
3. Point work should be hosed down in wet weather as salt deposits infuse paint.
4. Tanks cleansed and lime washed occasionally.
5. Locks keys and iron fittings should be oiled.
6. Minor repairs effected so that larger jobs are not necessary.
7. See that staff and families are comfortable.
8. See that punctuality is observed.
9. Be careful in seeing that all matters appertaining to Quarantine are carried out faithfully.
10. In the issue of stock be sure to get a receipt so that you can always trace an article.
11. Remember that the thoroughness in disinfecting and fumigating may prevent the spread of disease and probably loss of life.

Appendix G: Clerical gentlemen who attended at the station

Name	Denomination	Quarantine	Year	Reason
Rev John Vaughan		RMS "Orizaba"	1898	Buried Stanley Barrow
Rev Allan McDougall	Presbyterian	Bubonic Plague	3.4.1900	Buried victims of Bubonic plague
Rev J F Moran	C of E	Bubonic Plague	7.4.1900	Buried victims of Bubonic Plague
Father O' Leary	Catholic	Bubonic Plague	8.4.1900	Buried Quinn & Gayun
Father Ignatius Mesurier	Catholic	Bubonic Plague	22.3.1900	Buried victims of Bubonic Plague
Father Hayden	Catholic	Scarlet fever	1.7.1902	Buried son of Storekeeper Cornelius aged 9 years
Father Murphy	Catholic		12.6.1907	Buried John Lindsay Christie son of Engine Driver L Christie died of pneumonia aged 4 months 21 days
Father Barry	Catholic	Mrs de Sturler	25.9.1911	From St Patrick's College, visited and buried Mrs de Sturler
Father MacElligatt	Catholic	Mrs Mary Martin smallpox patient	29.8.1913	From Manly to bury Mrs Martin and baptise her baby son.
Father JD Simonds	Catholic	Mr Toohey smallpox, cancer patient	24.7.1914	From St Patrick's College to bury Mr Toohey, a cancer patient from St Vincent's hospice Darlinghurst

Rev Saunders	Protestant		26.2.1921	Miss Dorothy S Erickson. Dr Reid gave permission for her burial in Quarantine burial ground. Buried in protestant section, staff dug grave and Rev Saunders officiated. No outsiders, staff drove the hearse. (not listed in 3 rd cemetery register- Is this grave in the old cemetery?)
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Appendix H: Yearly totals of permanent quarantine staff at North Head 1900 – 1983

Year	Permanent staff	Decade Av.	Year	Permanent staff	Decade Av.
1900	10	10	1946	11	
1901	10		1947	11	
1902	10		1948	9	
1903	11		1949	9	
1904	10		1950	9	9
1905	10		1951	9	
1906	11		1952	9	
1907	10		1953	9	
1908	10		1954	9	
1909	10		1955	11	
1910	10	10	1956	10	
1911	11		1957	9	
1912	10		1958	9	
1913	10		1959	9	
1914	10		1960	9	9 +2 Dom
1915	9		1961	9	
1916	9		1962	10	
1917	8		1963	10	
1918	10		1964	9	
1919	9		1965	10	
1920	13	13	1966	9	
1921	13		1967	9	
1922	13		1968	9	

Year	Permanent staff	Decade Av.	Year	Permanent staff	Decade Av.
1923	13		1969	9	
1924	13		1970	8	8 +1 Dom
1925	12		1971	8	
1926	13		1972	7	
1927	13		1973	8	
1928	14		1974	8	
1929	14		1975	8	
1930	14	11	1976	7	
1931	13		1977	6	
1932	13		1978	6	
1933	11		1979	6	
1934	10		1980	6	5 +1Dom
1935	11		1981	6	
1936	11		1982	5	
1937	11		1983	5	
1938	12				
1939	11				
1940	11	10			
1941	12				
1942	11				
1943	8				
1944	9				
1945	9				

Appendix I: Nursing sisters who were admitted to the Quarantine Hospital during the Influenza epidemic 1918 -1920. (NAA: C525 Vol. 1)

Name	Rating	Rank/ Vessel
Anderson	Nursing sister	Military
Bloomfield	Nursing sister	Military
Bell Hallile	Nurse	Military
Cribb Anne	Nurse	Quarantine service
Dice (Dyce) Violet	Nursing sister	Military
Epps Rua	Nursing sister	Quarantine hospital
Egan Annie	Nurse	Military (died)
Foreman Flo	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Faddy Gertrude	Nursing sister	Military
Fethers Olive	Nursing sister	Military
Gregg	Nursing sister	Military
Harnett Katleen	Nursing sister	Military
Hodgson Phyllis	Nursing sister	Military
Locke Leslie	Nursing sister	Military
Lord Ethel	Nursing sister	Military
Muscio	Nurse	SS Atua
Mc Gregor Elizabeth	Nursing sister	Military
Mc Innes Helen	Nursing sister	Military
Mulheron	Nursing sister	Military
Pfiffer	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Auson-Smith	Nursing sister	Military
Sherman	Nursing sister	Military
Tyre	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Wray Mimmie	Nursing sister	Military
Barnes Grace	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Pearson Dorothy	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Brecht Eileen	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Robinson Gladys	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Salter	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Gibson	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Roseby	Nurse	Quarantine hospital
Cornell Irene	Nurse	Quarantine hospital

Appendix J: Quarantine staff cleaning duties at the IDC after discharge of detainees.

(NAA: C3939/2, N1959/75220).

Letter from EW Law 22/2/61

On Tuesday 21 Feb I made a routine inspection of the DC following the discharge of a detainee during the previous week end. The Centre was in a filthy condition, the worst I have seen it. The bed occupied by the detainee was just left as he had vacated it, food dirty cutlery and crockery was left on the table and lights were still burning in the toilet and pantry. The mess room and bedroom had offensive odours, dead insects littered the floors and window sills.

After stripping the bed and cleaning the crockery I interviewed the Administrative Officer of the QS Mr Clegg and he informed me that his staff had cleaned the rooms they had access to the mess hall, but detainees' bedrooms are locked and keys held by Security

He also said that in the pantry containing crockery and cooking utensils some person had deposited human excrement on a piece of paper, turned it upside down and rubbed it into the pantry shelf and his staff objected to having to clear such a filthy condition

Verbal instructions have been left with the Security Guards that following removal of detainees, the master switch off the electricity supply is to be turned off so obviating any fire hazard occurring from the electricity supply while the centre is unoccupied

Peace Officer Mr Jock Nesbitt has now been appointed Officer-in- Charge of the Centre during occupation and as he resides in Manly I approached Mrs Nesbitt and asked her if she would do the catering for the Centre. She agreed to give it a trial on the same conditions as Mrs Coote. She supplied 5 meals for one detainee this past weekend, she also said that she would be interested in the cleaning of the Centre if suitable remuneration could be arranged by this Department.

It is recommended that the Centre be cleaned at least once a month by an outside person especially during such periods as when the centre is occupied.

Appendix K: IDC - individual detainee's length of stay (in days) greater than 50 days - by year.

(NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1; Part 2, Part 3; NAA: C3939, N1965/75058)

Year	Detainee 1 - days	Detainee 2 - days	Detainee 3 - days	Detainee 4 - days	Detainee - days5	Detainee - days 6	Detainee - days 7
1959	58	58	62	75			
1961	52	58	71				
1965	58	60					
1966	51	53	56	58	64	95	
1967	55	59	63	77	136		
1968	51	55	57	58	62	80	83
1971	53	58					
1972	57						
1973	55	75	76	112			

Appendix L: Nominal Roll – Vietnamese refugees at Sydney June 29, 1977 ex TN2953 –

Loose pages at back of Register of Admissions Vol. 2 plus entries in register. (NAA: C525 Vol. 2.)

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
1.	1	Lam, Van Hien	1922	M	Fisherman	Nil	Nom Roll No. 1 to Randwick Chest Hospital
	2	Nguyen, Thi Chau	1930	F	House wife	"	To Endeavour Hostel
	3	Lam, Ngoc Dung	19.5.1954	F	Student	"	"
	4	Lam, Thi Duyen	29.4.1956	F	"	"	"
	5	Lam, Thi Cam	28.6.1958	F	"	"	"
	6	Lam, Thi Nga	6.10.1961	F	"	"	"
	7	Lam, Van Thanh	6.6.1963	M	"	"	"
	8	Lam, Van Phuong	24.6.1964	M	"	"	"
	9	Lam, Thi Hoang Nga	17.8.1965	F	"	"	"
	10	Lam, Thanh Quan	8.8.1968	M	"	"	"
2.	11	Mac, Van	4.4.1928	M	Salesman	"	Nom roll No. 12 is sister of No25 and No. 26
	12	Ly, Di Thooi	1.1.1938	F	Sales	"	
	13	Mac, Ai Lien	1.2.1967	F	Student	"	
	14	Mac, Ai Quynb	18.3.1968	F	"	"	
	15	Mac, Qmoc Kien	29.7.1972	M	"	"	
3	16	Le, Van Minh	3.12.1943	M	Shoe Maker	"	
	17	Le, Thi Man	10.2.1945	F	-	"	

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
	18	Le, Duc Vinh	29.6.1965	M	Student	"	
	19	Le, Thi Kim Phuong	26.8.1966	F	"	"	
	20	Le, Quoc Phong	10.8.1968	M	"	"	
	21	Le, Phu Hiep	3.9.1971	M	"	"	
	22	Le, Kim Chi	15.6.1973	F		"	
	23	Le, Minh Hoang	1.3.1977	M		"	
4	24	Ngo, Kiet	15.12.1956	M	Student	"	Nephew of Nom Roll No.12
5	25	Ly, Di Deung	2.10.1948	F	Saleswoman	"	Sister of Nom Roll nos. 12 & 26
6	26	Ly, Di Ky	15.8.1946	F	Weaver	"	Sister of Nom . Roll Nos. 12 & 25
7	27	Ong, Dinh Bang	29.11.1929	M	Electrician & Driver	"	
8	28	Le, Thi Nhung	12.8.1952	F	Seamstress	"	Sister of Nom. Roll No. 17
9	29	Hoang, Binh	10.10.1921	M	Mechanic	"	
	30	Nguyen, Van Chan	21.1.1953	M	Student	"	Nom. Roll no.30 has different surname and has different father who is now deceased.
	31	Hoang, Thi Loan	19.11.1954	F	Tailor	"	

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
	32	Hoang, Van Minh	28.8.1957	M	Student	“	
	33	Hoang, Minh Trung	15.3.1961	M	“	“	
	34	Hoang, Thi Hue	24.12.1965	F	“	“	
	35	Hoang, Trong	1.1.1967	M	“	“	
	36	Hoang, Van Loi	1.2.1972	M	Child	“	
10	37	Nguyen, Trung Cang	16.2.1953	M	Student	“	Nephew of Nom. Roll No. 29
11	38	Nguyen, Van Chinh	17.5.1953	M	Soldier	“	Wishes to join mother, brother and grandmother in USA. Knows only state of Virginia address.
	39	Nguyen, Thi Kinh	13.3.1955	F	H/D Tailor	“	Nom. Roll no.39 is sister of Nom. Roll Nos. 40&41. Nguyen Thi Chanh – Nguyen Hoang Linh- brother
12	40	Nguyen, Quoc Dat	16.10.1961	M	Student	“	Brother of Nom. Roll NO. 39 Sister

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
							in USA. Le Thi Tam 29 Depeyster St, North Terry Town NY 10591 wishes to join her in USA.
	41	Nguyen, Huu Trung	5.3.1967	M	Student	"	
13	42	Nguyen, Yan Dinh	20.1.1937	M	Soldier	"	Uncle of Nom. Roll No.-
14	43	Huynh, Thiet	1909	M	Fisherman	"	Nom. Roll No. 48 is nephew of Nom. Roll 43
	44	Huynh, Lo	2.3.1945	M	Soldier	"	
	48	Huynh, Duoc	10.1.1969	M	Student	"	
15	45	Ta, Huu Y	11.6.1960	M	Fisherman	"	Brother-in-law of Nom. Roll No. 44
16	46	Phan, Van Sang	10.12.1957	M	Fisherman/Student	"	
17	47	Huynh, Nhan	2.3.1962	M	Student/Fisherman	"	
18	49	Nguyen, Van Ngoo	22.2.1960	M	Fisherman	"	Nephew of Nom. Roll No. 42
19	50	Nguyen, Huu Duc	25.10.1958	M	Fisherman	"	Nephew of Nom., Roll No. 42

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
20	51	Nguyen, May	21.2.1959	M	Mechanic Student	"	
21	52	Nguyen, Van Bach	20.4.1945	M	Nurse	"	Nom. Roll No.52 is brother of Nom. Roll No. 55
	53	Nguyen, Phi Xuan Hoa	13.6.1969	F	Student	"	
	54	Nguyen, Phi Hoa Mai	12.7.1971	F	"	"	
22	55	Nguyen, Van Tho	5.9.1961	M	Driver	"	Nom. Roll No. 55 is brother of Nom. Roll No. 52
	56	Trah, Thi Huong	4.2.1942	F	Home Duties	"	Nom Roll No. 56 is 8 mths pregnant.
	57	Nguyen Quoc Durg	20.5.1963	M	Student	"	
	58	Nguyen, Quoc Son	14.4.1964	M	"		
	59	Nguyen, Quoc Kai	20.7.1967	-	"	"	
	60	Nguyen, Quoc Ha	19.9.1969	-	"	"	
	61	Nguyen, Quoc Long	24.4.1972	M	"	"	
	62	Nguyen, Thi Thuy Van	26.3.1967	-	"	"	
	63	Nguyen, Quoc Lan	21.1.1975	-	"	"	

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
23	64	Truong, Minh Tuan	1.12.1948	M	Fisherman	"	
	65	Nguyen, Thi Hinh	10.12.1943	F	Home Duties	"	
	66	Truong, thi Tuyet	10.10.1967	F	Student	"	
24	67	Nguyen, Thanh	27.4.1955	M	Soldier	"	Nom. Roll No. 67 is cousin of Nom. Roll NO. 68
	68	Lam, Ngoc Tai	23.11.1963	M	Student	"	
25	69	Do, Van Thong	11.4.1956	M	Soldier	"	Brother-in-law in USA. Dang Quang Doc 375-43-TH Stockland CA94609. Wishes to join his sister, spouse of this man. Never left Vietnam i.e. Sister of Nom. Roll NO.69).
26	70	Nguyen, Van Truc	2.1.1954	M	Student	"	
27	71	Ung, Thanh Hoang	17.2.1958	M	Driver	"	

Case No.	Roll No.	Name	D.O.B.	Sex	Occupation	Relatives in Australia	Comments
28	72	Nguyen, Thanh Van	11.6.1961	M	Mechanic Student	"	
29	73	Nguyen, Van Hoang	20.5.1951	M	Fisherman	"	

Appendix M: Quarantine staff who served in World War 1 and World War 11

Year joined QSNH	Name	Date of birth	Given name	NAA file
1919 serving with AIF	Ashton G	2,12,89	George	
	Thorn SA	7.5.92	Sidney Ayris	
	O'Loughlin FC	8.3.83	Felix Clarence	B2455 O'Loughlin Felix Clarence
1920	Croft HA	13.7.94	Henry Albon	B2455 Croft HA
	Salkeld A	6.9.90	Alexander	
	Taylor J	21.9.87	James	
	McKenzie JT	7.6.90	James Thomas	
	Bearpark HT	29.10.84	Henry Thomas	B2455 Bearpark HT
1921 (Health)	Woodward LN	11.12.80	Lord Noel	
	Hood WH	6.6.99	William Harrison	B2455 Hood WH21641
1922	St John T	11.12.73	Thomas	
	Blumer GA (Dr)	20.6.87	George Albert	
1923	Brent LP (Dr)	21.9.88	Lindsay Peregrine	
1925	Kelly J	6.6.87	James	
1926	James R H	31.7.88	Richard Henry	B2455 James Richard Henry
1927	Wiburd CR	23.11.93	Carrvosso Roy	
1933	Newton AG	20.3.96	Alfred George	B2455/V
	Bevington WM(Dr)	13.2.00	William Macfarlane	
	Moss HS	26.3.80	Herbert Saville	
1937	Fullwood AL	13.1.86	Albert Lloyd	D2994 AL11
	Cook E J	6.12.10	Edward James	
	Dowling DA(Dr)	7.7.95	Donald Augustas	
	Moseley AH (Dr)	3.11.80	Arthur Henry	B2455 Moseley Arthur Henry

Year joined QSNH	Name	Date of birth	Given name	NAA file
1946	Thompson RJV	11.2.17	Richard John Valentine	
1947	Beed HJ	17.4.07	Henry John	
1947	Abberfield RD	8.1.10	Raphael Dudley	
1947	MacMahon FJ	2.8.1894	Francis Joseph	
	Sullivan F P		Francis Patrick	
	Clegg HCC	12.11.1911	Horace Charles Cope	B883, NX24126
	Baker	4.1.1922	Geoffrey Charles	B884, N175475
	Inall		Edward William	B883 QX4624
	Wheldon	7.4.1915	Francis Christopher	A9300 Wheldon FC
	Fidler AE			
	Nutter J	14.11.11	John	B883 WX5433
	Sewell W W	27.3.1922	Walter William	B883 NX 124869
1951	Gard JJ (Dr)	27.5.05	John Joseph	Medical officer(1951) B883 NX129725
	Roberts F			
	Poole RO	29.6.1910	Raymond Oswald	S/V 117, B884;N76402
	Lavaring HG	23.6.1917	Herbert Gordon	B883 QX 30216

**Appendix N: British evacuee children on board HMT “Batory” arriving in Sydney
October 16, 1940.**

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Alexander, Joseph	M	12	English
Andrews, Audrey P	F	11	English
Andrews, Elizabeth	F	12	English
Ash, Douglas	M	14	English
Barker, Derek L	M	9	English
Barrett, Edward	M	13	English
Barrett, George W	M	13	English
Barrett, John W	M	12	English
Barton, Patricia	F	11	English
Barton, Roberta	F	13	Scottish
Bell, Margaret	F	8	English
Belmar, Anthony L	M	15	English
Bishop, Ronald W	M	10	English
Board, Elizabeth J	F	13	Welsh
Borrill, Herbert D	M	10	English
Bralesford, David	M	7	Scottish
Brennand, Anthony W	M	13	English
Brown, Evelyn	F	11	English
Budgeon, Gerald	M	12	English
Bundook, Trevor R	M	8	English
Burrow, Enid	F	7	English
Burrow, Marion	F	11	English
Byford, Iris B	F	12	English
Byford, Lawrence P	M	7	English
Curthew, Ronald J	M	13	English
Clemp, Stanley	M	11	English
Clarke Billie d	F	11	Australian
Clarke Patricia M	F	15	Australian
Cohen, Ralph	M	13	English
Cohen, Sidney	M	14	English
Cole, Jean	F	15	English
Cooper, Douglas	M	11	Scottish
Cormack, Kenneth	M	11	English
Cornish, Patricia	F	11	English

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Cox, David S	M	8	English
Cox, Gerald PH	M	9	English
Creevy, Charles L	M	8	Scottish
Creevy, Mary	F	11	Scottish
Cuthbert, Helen	F	9	Scottish
Cuthbert, Katherine E	F	7	Scottish
Davidson, Annie M	F	13	Scottish
Davidson, Margaret S	F	11	Scottish
Davies, Cyril GH	M	12	English
Davies, Phillip H	M	10	English
Dingwall, Audrey	F	13	English
Dingwall, George H	M	14	English
Dingwall, Kenneth	M	8	English
Dingwall, Yvonne	F	6	English
Dixon, Charles B	M	12	English
Dixon, Joan F	F	11	English
Dommerson, Kenneth A	M	13	English
Donald, Barbara	F	11	English
Donald, George CD	M	13	English
Donald, Harry	M	10	English
Donald, Martha M	F	13	English
Drake, Pauline D	F	15	English
Edney, Frank	M	13	English
Edwards, Eileen E	F	12	English
Fern Lloyd	M	12	Scottish
Fethney, John G	M	13	English
Fethney, Michael J	M	9	English
Flowers, Edward	M	14	English
Fudge, Judith A	F	6	English
Fullerton John A	M	9	Scottish
Fullerton Marion A	F	14	Scottish
Gairdner, William R	M	12	Irish
Glass, Brahman	M	8	English/Jewish
Glass, Sheila E	F	13	English
Goldring Pamela L	F	6	English
Gollop, Joyce M	F	11	English

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Graham, Lucy D	F	13	English
Gravil, Sydney C	M	14	Scottish
Gregory, Kenneth	M	10	English
Harding, Elsie T	F	13	English
Harding, George P	M	-	English
Harris, David E	M	11	English
Harris, Geoffrey R	M	14	English
Harris, Eleanor V	F	15	Welsh
Harris, Melvin C	M	13	Welsh
Harris, Reginald K	M	10	Welsh
Harris, Ruby E	F	7	Welsh
Helliwell, Barbara	F	9	English
Holmes, Violet C	F	13	English
Hook, Laura	F	13	Welsh
Hook, Trevor	M	11	Welsh
Jeffery, Alan	M	10	English
Jeffery, Brenda D	F	9	English
Jones, Lewis T	M	13	Welsh
Jones, Lilian L	F	7	Welsh
Jones, Margaret	F	12	English
Jones, Sheila	F	7	English
Kershaw, Evelyn M	M	11	English
Kilpatrick, Emerson	M	8	Scottish
Kilpatrick, George	M	10	Scottish
Kilpatrick, Margaret	F	7	Scottish
Knights, Ronald A	ML	12	English
Laidler, Margaret J	F	13	English
Lambley, James V	M	5	English
Lambley, Winifred E	F	11	English
Langdale, John K	M	15	English
Last, Betty	F	12	English
Law, Annie P	F	14	Scottish
Le Gros, Daphne R	F	14	English
Lewis, Bryan J	M	8	English
Little, Isabel A	F	11	Welsh
Little, Phyllis	F	14	Welsh

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Lockwood, Roger	M	12	English
Lowe, Kathleen	F	12	English
Lupton, Nora	F	9	English
Matthews, Margaret ET	F	15	Welsh
Metcalfe, Kenneth S	M	15	English
Munro, Charles	M	9	English
Munro, Joseph	M	14	English
MacDonald, Jessie	F	15	English
Mackie, David	M	8	Scottish
Mackie, Walter	M	9	Scottish
Mackie, Lois M	F	10	Scottish
McLeish, Margaret J	F	14	English
Noach, Rachael M	F	12	English
Owen, Roderick L	M	9	English
Page, Jean	F	14	English
Palmer, Pamela G	F	14	English
Purrett, Joan	F	15	English
Paterson, John	M	6	Scottish
Paterson, Margaret	F	9	Scottish
Paterson, Samuel	M	12	Scottish
Patterson Elise J	F	10	English
Patterson, Jean	F	15	English
Patterson, Rita	F	8	English
Penny, David W	M	12	Isle of Wight
Penny, Michael c	M	14	Isle of Wight
Penny, Margaret	F	9	English
Perkins, Albert W	M	11	English
Perkins, Rosina d	F	12	English
Piggott, Barnard K	M	8	Isle of Wight
Pipor, Kenneth D	M	9	English
Potter, Theresa MM	F	14	English
Powell, Elizabeth	F	11	Welsh
Puxted, Robert E	M	14	English
Randall, Howard	M	10	English
Randall, June	F	13	English
Ratcliffe, Annie	F	9	English

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Ratcliffe, Phyllis M	F	14	English
Richardson, Terrence E	M	11	English
Riley, William	M	9	English
Robertson, George W	M	6	Scottish
Robertson, William	M	10	Scottish
Robertson, George T	M	12	Scottish
Robertson, William L	M	10	Scottish
Robinson, Lilian	F	8	English
Robinson, Rosemary	F	13	English
Robinson, Philip G	M	14	English
Ross, Gordon RE	M	13	Scottish
Ross, Irene	F	12	Scottish
Rudge, Alan	M	8	English
Rudge, Raymond	M	13	English
Rundle, Douglas M	M	8	Scottish
Rundle, Peter	M	12	Scottish
Russell, Jack	M	13	English
Saunders, Stella J	F	8	English
Schultz, Hester R	F	5	English
Scott, John	M	14	Scottish
Sharp, Joan F	F	6	English
Simpson, Derek J	M	13	English
Simpson, Jean	F	12	English
Sinclair, Margaret	F	8	Scottish
Skilton, Roy	M	15	English
Skinner, James	M	13	English
Skinner, William	M	9	English
Skinner, Rhode	F	11	English
Slingsby, Joseph E	M	9	English
Slingsby, Sheila M	F	6	English
S----bk, David	M	12	Scottish
Smith, Geoffrey L	M	9	English
Smith, Noreen	F	12	English
Smith, Sheila W	F	14	English
Sole, Kathleen MI	F	12	English
Somerville, Isabella ML	F	12	Scottish

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Speller, John H	M	8	English
Spinks, George W	M	8	English
Spinks, Oris G	F	9	English
Spinks, Joan F	F	5	English
Stacey, Jack	M	14	English
Staff, George D	M	10	English
Staff, Gertrude	F	8	English
Stephenson, Robert V	M	9	English
Stevenson, Cyril R	M	14	English
Stone, Lilian ET	F	13	English
Stone, Geoffrey	M	14	English
Stone, Michael	M	12	English
Stone, Phillip R	M	9	English
Stout, Freda G	F	13	English
Swan, Ruby	F	9	Scottish
Templeton, John TJ	M	11	English
Thomas, Denis S	M	12	English
Tierney, Agnes	F	12	Scottish
Tierney, Albert	M	11	Scottish
Tierney, Joseph	M	6	Scottish
Townsend, Norman D	M	13	Isle of Wight
Trigg, Charles P	M	13	English
Trotter, Margaret	F	11	Scottish
Turnbull, Robert	M	12	Scottish
Valvona, Carolina	F	6	Scottish
Valvona, Doreen	F	13	Scottish
Valvona, Ralph R	M	9	Scottish
Varley, Robert H	M	10	English
Walker, David H	M	13	English
Walshaw, Doris M	F	11	English
Ward, Eric	M	11	English
Ward, Phyllis	F	13	English
Wastell, Alan J	M	12	English
Wastell, Colin W	M	7	English
Wastell, Edna E	F	11	English
Wastell, George B	M	14	English

Name	Sex	Age	Nationality
Waters, Kenneth J	M	8	English
Whight, Rex AL	M	10	English
Whight, Richard K	M	12	English
Whillier, Jean A	F	12	English
Whillier, Joan E	F	12	English
White, Margaret D	F	10	Scottish
Whittaker, Agnes P	F	13	English
Whitten, David	M	14	English
Whyte, Cynthia J	F	11	English
Wigg, Arthur JT	M	9	Scottish
Wigg, Elizabeth M	M	8	Scottish
Wilkinson, Philip J	M	14	English
Wilkinson, Sydney E	M	14	English
Williams, Doreen F	F	10	English
Williams, Dorothy	F	11	Welsh
Williams, Marie	F	13	English
Williamson, Agnes	F	11	Scottish
Wilson, Ruth M	F	13	English
Winder, Terence C	M	10	English
Wix, Dennis A	M	13	English
Woods, Francis	M	12	English
Woods, Isabella	F	11	English
Young, Andrew M	M	10	Scottish
Young, Grace F	F	11	Scottish
			Total - 241
			Total – English - 168
			Total – Scottish - 50
			Total – Welsh - 15
			Total – Isle of Wight - 5
			Total- Australian- 2
			Total- Irish - 1

Appendix O: Accommodation at Quarantine Station Lyne's Buildings – Evacuees Timor

23.12.43 (NAA: C702 Whole Series); (C454) Nominal index cards to Timorese evacuees stationed at Bob's Farm, Raymond Terrace. (*) indicates on list in ST1233/1 N43284 Portuguese ex internees (Box 157)

Name Building P11	66 beds			C 454 BF (Bobs Farm) Glen Innes GI
Dos Santos	Alfredo*	M 43	<i>Deportados.</i> Wife in Portugal. Served 7 months in Australian Army in Timor. Was wounded in the left leg fighting the Japanese, The contact Major Laidlaw re- infantry	
Mousinho *(Husband wife and 2 children)	Francisco* Ana * Yvelise * (Elsa)(niece) Olga* (Ruy) nephew	M 36 F 27 F 9 F 5 F 5	Mousinho was the head of District Office Administration - Civil Administration(Family of Francisco Mousinho) (C454)	Change of abode to Victoria 8.7.43 Francisco to Armidale 14/7/43
De Santos Dos Santos (husband wife & 5 children Grandmother)	Filemena* Ana* Manuelo* Jose* Manuel* Aurora* Carlos* Antonio	F 55 (59) F 13 (12) F 10 M 18 months. (2) M 34 F 32 M 4 M 6 months	Grandmother of the undermentioned family in Room 3&4 First Class Male nurse – Government Officer Wife of Manuel	Filomena to Glen Innes 25.2.44 Maunel GI 25.2.44 Aurora BF to Glen Innes 25.2.44

Vasconcelos (husband, wife and Sister- in- law & maid)	Gastos* Beatriz*	M 40 F 30	Was a permanent soldier in military, discharged and pensioned off, has injury to right leg paralysed) could do light work only, such as shop or office	Both to Armidale 8.6.43
(Moura)	Herminia*	F 27	Sister of Mrs Vasconcelos. Did not work in home town, but could do sewing. Does not speak English	
Goncalves	Palmira*	F 31	Maid to Mrs Vasconcelos	To 169 Faulkner St Montrose , Armidale, 28.12.43
Dos Santos (husband, wife and 6 children)	Bezerra* Cecilia James (Joao)* Almor(i)* David* Rui* Augusta* Vanda(Wanda)*	M 39 F 27 M 2 months M 2 years M 8 years M 6 years F 5 (6)years F 4 (5)years	Bank Accountant - <i>deportados</i>	Liverpool Internment Camp Children Tatura Internment Camp
Dos Remedios – C454 Remedios(husband, wife	Francisco* Deolinda* Tereshinha(Teresina* Angela* Alda*	M 40 F 30 F 9 F 7 F 5	2 nd class Male Nurse Civil servant	Change of abode to Victoria 8.7.43

and 3 children)	Daughters			
Casimiro (husband, wife 3 children)	Jose* Berta* Zelio* Jose* Maria*	M 26 F 23 M 4 M 3 F 3 months	Farmer Coffee planter	To Victoria(Berta Jose and Jose) 23.6.43 with four children Berta retained at Bobs Farm 8.7.43
Henorio (Mother and 4 children,	Celeste(i)* Irene* Margirita* Maria (Maria Alice)* Livio*	F 24 F 14 F 10(11) F 6 M 6mths	Daughter of Mrs Florindo Rosa of Room 14. Her husband is in the Australian Army and remained in Timor Step- daughter Ditto Ditto Son of Mr (Raul)& Mrs Celeste Honorio	Celeste living under name of Onorio to Victoria 23.6.43 with 4 children to Narrabri Irene child of Honorio Raul (17) years stabbed by Isaura (Mereira?) Gomes Livio child of Honorio Raul Margarida child of Raul Raul living under name of Onorio. To Victoria 23.6.43- to Narrabri

Babo Family connections with mother and child below	Isabel* Cesarina(Cesarino)*	F 50 F 18(15)	Ill with dropsy Niece of Mrs Isabel Babo	Isabel to Glen Innes 25.2.44
Borges (mother and child)	Iria (iris)* Marcelo*	F 20 M 3(4mths)	Husband remained in Timor as an apprentice male nurse in a Government Hospital	Iria to Glen Innes 25.2.44
Florinda (Mother & 5 children 5 married daughter in room 12)	Rosa* Geneveva* Alice* Ricardo* Custo(i)dio* Zeca	F 45 F 8(7 F 5 M 19 M 11 M 7	Widow Would like to learn trade of carpentry	Alice daughter of Rosa Costodio son of Rosa Genbeba daughter of Rosa Jose son of Rosa Ricardo To Victoria 23.6.43 to Narrabri Rosa To Narrabri 8.2.44
Augusto (husband & wife & 1 child)	Antonio* Ines de Jesus Jose de Jesus	M 45(43) F 23 M 5	Lung trouble and Malaria fever. Was a cleaner in a tin –factory. Has nearly always been ill	Antonio To Narrabri 6.1.44 Inez de Jesus to Narrabri 6.1.44 Jose under 18 years

Goncalves (Maria Goncalves & 3 children 1 in room 20)	Maria* Felicidade* Joaquin*	F 26 F 9 M 5	husband remained in Timor	Maria Elena to Armidale 22.11.43
Mousinho	Margarita(Margarida* Antonio* Francisco Ruy Elisa	F 24 M 10 M 7 M 6 F 3	Husband (Jose Da Silva- <i>deportados</i>) is Treasury Officer remained in Timor This family group related to family in Room 2	Francisco to Armidale 14.7.43 Margarida is Margarida Mousinho Da Silva
Da Silva	Emilia* Anna(Ana)* Jose* Joao* Alfredo*	F 12 F 6 M 4 M 14 M 9	5 children- Mother dead – father is a Portuguese, who remained in hospital in Brisbane This family are the children of Jose Da Silva and wife Margarida Maousinho	Change of abode to Victoria 8.7.43, returned to Bobs Farm 25.8.43, then to Narrabri 11.1.44
Gonsalvos (Goncalves)	Pedro*	M 13	Brother of children in Room 17	
Mariz (mother & 4 children)	Gracinda Fernando * Agapito* Livia(Lidia)* Fernanda*	F 21 M 7 M 5 F 1 F 3	Husband killed by the Japanese	Agapito son of Da Cruz Gracinda Fernando son of Da Cruz Gracinda Marcelo son of da Cruz Gracinda
Building P12	42 beds			

Estrela mother & 4 children)	Domingas	F 33(27	Husband Jacinto Estrela – <i>deportados</i> - is cashier in commercial concern and stayed in Timor. Later evacuated.	Domingas served with restriction Order 2.8.44 released from internment 17/8.44 served a copy of rest. Order 23.9.44 Jacinto or Jaoquin served with restriction Order 2.8.44 released from Internment 17/8.44 served with copy of Rest Order 23.9.44 Res Order revoked 6.8.45 (mistake in age or another person)
	Fernando*	M 6		
	Francelina*	F 5		
	Alice*	F 4		
	Joaquin*	M 2		
Da Silva (mother & 2 children)	Maria*	F 29	Husband working on coffee plantation in Timor	
	Alcina*	F 11		
	Teresa*	F 7		
Vas (mother & child)	Beto(Bete)*	F 31	Husband is ill in hospital in Brisbane. He was	
	Lidia*	F 6		

			working on a cocoa plantation in Timor.	
Dos Santos (mother & stepson)	Florinda* Guilhermo	F 20 M 15	Husband remained in Timor working on coffee plantation	
Moi (mother & son)	Assim* Robalo, Manuel*	F 39(32 M 3	Child uses his father's name	
Dos Santos (mother & son)	Luisa Auguste(o) *	F 45 M 14(15	Husband is a foreman builder and remained in Timor	
Silva Da Silva	Manuel Joaquina Herminina Brandolinda	M 61 F 50 F 25 F 22	<i>deportados.</i>	Brandolinda to Armidale 8.6.43 Joaquina To Armidale 8.6.43 Manuel Tavares to Narrabri
Pirez Brito	Alexandrina	F 54		Alexandrina Garcia de Polrezto Armidale 8.6.43
Oliveira	Mario Linda Alzira Aurora Amelia Carlota	M 60 F 35 F 12 M 10 F 4		
Dos Santos	Ana Alzira Aurea	F 50 F 26 F 25		Alzira dos Santos To Glen Issen 25.2.44 And dos Santos to

				Glen Innes 25.2.44 Aurea dos Santos To Glen Innes 25.2.44
Santos	Aldemar Ida Maria Ida	M 36 F 36 F 11	Chief of Post Ainaio	Aldemar To Armidale 8.6.43 Ida Laura Rodrigues dos To Armidale 8.6.43 Maria Ida dos to Armidale 8.6.43
Silva	Marques Jose Eduardo de Abreu)	M 26	<i>deportados.</i>	To Armidale 8.6.43

Appendix P: Indo- Chinese refugees ex SS “Leapdal” at Sydney - ex QF2 June 21. 1977–

Loose pages in back of Register of Admissions Vol.2. (NAA: C525 Vol. 2).

Name	Case No.	D.O.B.	Nationality	Sex	Relative in Australia
1. Saymontry, Somsay	Case 1	1.1.1947	Lao	M	Cousin Perth (Same sponsor as Saymontry , Chan
2. Saymontry, Khan		3.6.1948	Lao	F	Cousin Perth
3. Saymontry, Khankeo		11.11.1974	Lao	F	Cousin Perth
4. Saymontry, Malisa		31.3.1977	Lao	F	Cousin Perth - to PERTH
5. Niravong, Deth	Case 2	1.5.1950	Lao	M	Cousin Sydney - to SYDNEY
6. Ang, Kuan	Case 3	4.6.1944	Lao	M	Cousin Melbourne – to MELBOURNE
7. Ang, Chanh		22.7.1944	Lao	F	
8. Ang, Chay		22.8.1944	Lao	F	
9. Ang, Bay		9.1.1972	Lao	F	
10. Ang, Vone		11.3.1975	Lao	F	To - MELBOURNE
11. Chareunsy, Heng	Case 4	14.5.1946	Lao	F	Half-Sister Sydney - to - SYDNEY
12. Ratanasena, Khamphon	Case 4A	4.7.1956	Lao	M	Cousin Sydney with Case 4 above
13. Lee, Huy Lang	Case 5	23.9.1942	Cam	F	Aunt Melbourne – to MELBOURNE
14. Kang ,Meng Sung		13.11.1962	Cam	F	
15. Kang, Meng Churg		12.3.1964	Cam	F	
16. Kang, Meng Piang		2.5.1969	Cam	F	
17. Kang, Meng Su		20.3.1971	Cam	F	

Name	Case No.	D.O.B.	Nationality	Sex	Relative in Australia
18. Kang, Meng Sieng		2.3.1974	Cam	F	Not daughter of Huy Lang but her niece.
19. Kang, Meng How		26.10.1974	Cam	M	To - MELBOURNE
20. Saymontry, Chan	Case 6	15.10.1956	Lao	F	Cousin Perth Case Sponsor sane as Case 1 – to - PERTH
21. Phommasone, Souchine	Case 7	13.11.1946	Lao	F	Cousin Melbourne - to MELBOURNE
22. Phonesouk, Khamly	Case 8	2.1.1933	Lao	M	Cousin Perth to - PERTH
23. Phonesouk, Heng		28.1.1937	Lao	F	
24. Phonesouk, Tom		30.8.1969	Lao	M	
25. Phonesouk, Ti		6.6.1973	Lao	M	
26. Phonesouk, Noi		12.1.1975	Lao	F	
27. Praseuthsouk, Bounnhou	Case 9	4.8.1941	Lao	M	
28. Praseuthsouk, Noy		20.9.1931	Lao	F	
29. Praeseuthsouk, Pretmany		7.9.1964	Lao	F	
30. Praseuthsouk, Sypaseuth		16.2.1966	Lao	M	
31. Praeseuthsouk, Sitmthasone		14.2.1967	Lao	F	
32. Praseuthsouk, Phonexayadeth		11.1.1968	Lao	M	To - PERTH
33. Praseuthsouk, Chindavanh		4.3.1972	Lao	F	
34. Praseuthsouk, Scuthmary		6.3.1969	Lao	F	

Name	Case No.	D.O.B.	Nationality	Sex	Relative in Australia
35. Vongsuthi, Chanmany (wife)	Case 10	19.6.1934	Lao	F	Sister Sydney
36. Vongsuthi, Somchanh		10.3.1930	Lao	M	Brother-in-law - to - SYDNEY
37. Thongsouk, Khamsy	Case 15	5.12.1943	Lao	M	Wife's brother Sydney
38. Thongsouk, Soukchay		10.10.1950	Lao	F	
39. Thongsouk, Soung		23.1.1969	Lao	M	
40. Thongsuk, Vath	Case 40	3.12.1969	Lao	M	
41. Thongsouk, Deng		14.6.1971	Lao	F	To - SYDNEY
42. Thongsouk, Choua		11.8.1971	Lao	M	
43. Lu, Duc Quan	Case 16	20.12.1954	Cam	M	Brother Melbourne, - to - MELBOURNE
44. Sitou, Somboun	Case 20	5.3.1950	Lao	M	Cousin
45. Sitou Kongchanh		11.10.1952	Lao	F	
46. Sitou, Noth		16.8.1969	Lao	F	To - SYDNEY
47. Phone, New	Case 26	1.3.1945	Lao	M	None – to - Sydney
48. Phone, Keo		28.3.1946	Lao	F	
49. Phone, Sing		5.4.1974	Lao	M	
50. Phone, Prini		3.8.1975	Lao	F	To - SYDNEY
51. Singkam, Lim	Case 25	3.3.1953	Lao	M	Uncle Melbourne, to - MELBOURNE
52. Vanh, Lim		10.12.1957	Lao	F	To - MELBOURNE

List totals 52 persons which includes 10 week old infant born on vessel.

Appendix Q: Cyclone Tracy - List of Darwin evacuees housed at the Quarantine Station

North Head (<http://www.territorystories.nt.gov.au/handle/10070/20070>)

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
2.1.1975	Abu-Assi, Atef	25	M	To Damascus
2.1.1975	Abu-Assi, Rammy	24	M	To Damascus
27.12.1974	Adams, June	22	F	
27.12.1974	Barber, Carolyn	32	F	
27.12.1974	Barber, David	2	M	
27.12.1974	Barber, James	7	M	
27.12.1974	Barber, Stephen	3 ½	M	
2.1.1975	Beare, Bronwyn	17	F	
27.12.1974	Beare, Lynette	40	F	
27.12.1974	Beare, Martin	12	M	
27.12.1974	Beare, Timothy	15	M	
27.12.1974	Bettison, Shirley	32	F	
27.12.1974	Bettison, Stephen	11	M	
27.12.1974	Black, Dawn Evelyn	25	F	
27.12.1974	Black, Geoffrey Warren	2	M	
27.12.1974	Black, Tricia Leanne	5	F	
27.12.1974	Bluestone, Linda	-	F	
27.12.1974	Borin, Carla	15	F	
27.12.1974	Borin, Celia	4	F	
27.12.1974	Borin, Margaret	34	F	
27.12.1974	Boyce, Gerard Martin	1	M	
27.12.1974	Boyce, Nanette Ruth	-	F	
27.12.1974	Bradley, Benjamin	3 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Bradley, Moiwana	10	F	
27.12.1974	Bradley, Rita	34	F	
27.1.1974	Brewer, Maty	52	F	
27.1.1974	Brown, Fiona	3 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Brown, Janet	8 weeks	F	
27.12.1974	Brown, Renata	24	F	
27.12.1974	Burke, Sharon	-	F	
27.12.1974	Burke, Yvonne	15	F	
27.12.1974	Buxton, Susan	29	F	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	Buxton, Stuart	1	M	
27.12.1974	Carmichael, Glen	1	M	
27.12.1974	Carmichael, Leonie	4	F	
27.12.1974	Carmichael, Marie	27	F	
27.12.1974	Carmichael, Pam	17	F	
27.12.1974	Carmichael, Shane	2	M	
27.12.1974	Chambers, Anne Shurlie	26	F	
27.12.1974	Chambers, Anthony James	4	M	
27.1.21974	Chambers, Machele Deborah	6	F	
27.12.1974	Clancy, Stephanie	8	F	
7.1.1975	Copley, Elizabeth Anne + 5 children	-	F	
6.1.1975	Copley, Francis Peter	56	M	
6.1.1975	Copley, Peter Mark	22	M	Copley family accompanied by Mrs Maria Stephens and her daughter
7.1.1975	Copley, Judith	16	F	
7.1.1975	Copley, Margaret Rose	22	F	
7.1.1975	Copley, Mark	9	M	
7.1.1975	Copley, Pater Jason	1	M	
7.1.1975	Copley, Simon	15	M	
7.1.1975	Copley, Susan Gale	18	F	
27.12.1974	Cunninghame, Donna	27	F	
27.12.1974	Cunninghame, Samuel	2 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Davies, Brenda	27	F	
27.12.1974	Davies, Katrina	2 ½	F	
3.1.1975	Diakomichalis, Dimitrios	25	M	
3.1.1975	Diakomichalis George	24	M	
27.12.1974	Docherty, Danlia	4 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Docherty, Kelly	3 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Docherty, Lorraine	28	F	
27.12.1974	Dolanitou, Maria	26	F	
27.12.1974	Dolanitou, Pappy	12	F	
27.12.1974	Dolantiou, Denis	5	M	
27.12.1974	Doodson, Graham Edward	3 ½	M	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	Doodson, Lee Margaret	19	F	
27.12. 1974	Doube, Matthew	7mths	M	
27.12.1974	Doube, Patricia Kathleen	-	F	
27.12.1974	Dredge, Brett Allan	12	M	
27.12.1974	Dredge, Mary	31	F	
27.12.1974	Dredge, Tina Louise	3	F	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Debbie	17	F	
27.12.1974	Edwards, John	12	M	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Lillian	39	F	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Mark	39	M	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Paul	15	M	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Phillip	7	M	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Maric	8	M	
27.12.1974	Edwards, Jane	3	F	
27.12.1974	Francis, Catherine	7	F	
27.12.1974	Francis, Honorah	63	F	
27.12.1974	Francis, Jacinta	5	F	
27.12.1974	Francis, Margaret	35	F	
27.12.1974	Frazer-Allen, Wendy	64	F	
27.12.1974	Fry, Gail Susan	23	F	
27.12.1974	Fuller, Jodi	16	F	
27.12.1974	Fuller, Kim	29	F	
27.12.1974	Gibson, Avonal Mary	28	F	
27.12.1974	Gibson, Bardley	6	M	
27.12.1974	Gibson, Mitchell	3 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Gobson, Wayne	4 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Godden, Anne Marie	8	F	
27.12.1974	Godden, Cheryl	7	F	
27.12.1974	Godden, James	4	M	
27.12.1974	Godden, Roberta	33	F	
27.12.1974	Goryachev, Carmel	27	F	
27.12.1974	Goryachev, Larissa	16	F	
2.1.1975	Graham, Bary	-	M	
27.12.1974	Graham, Lorane June	31	F	
27.12.1974	Hahn, Mary	68	F	
27.12.1974	Haywood, Samantha	10	F	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	Haywood, Sue Anne	25	F	
27.12.1974	Head, Garry	9	M	
27.12.1974	Head, Lynette	32	F	
27.12.1974	Head, Mark	7	M	
6.1.1975	Hewitt, Kenneth Norman	21	M	
5.1.1975	Hewitt, Rosemary	18	F	
27.12.1974	Hillier, Hedley	67	M	
27.12.1974	Hillier, James	36	M	
27.12.1974	Hoare, Craig	3	M	
27.12.1974	Hoare, Glen	1	M	
27.12.1974	Hoare, Volea	31	F	
27.12.1974	Honeysett, Annette	12	F	
27.12.1974	Honeysett, Cara	7	F	
27.12.1974	Hoogland, Maree Ann	22	F	
27.12.1974	Hryc, Janiege	27	F	
27.12.1974	Hryc, Wayne	8	M	
27.12.1974	Jackson, Margaret	27	F	
27.12.1974	Jackson, Stuart	2	M	
27.12.1974	Janson, Ashley	3	M	
27.12.1974	Janson, Carolyn	23	F	
27.12.1974	Janson, Troy	9	M	
27.12.1974	Kingston-Lee, Rosalind	25	F	
27.12.1974	Kingston-Lee, Tharen	22	M	
27.12.1974	Kirk, Neil	24	M	
27.12.1974	Kirk, Scott	5	M	
27.12.1974	Kirk, Vicki	25	F	
27.12.1974	Kuhn, Cheryl	22	F	
27.12.1974	Kuhn, Eliz	3	F	
27.12.1974	Kuhn, Odette	4	F	
27.12.1974	Kuiper, Darren John	5	M	
27.12.1974	Kuiper, Nellie	31	F	
27.12.1974	Kuiper, Rick	2 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Laoumczis, Gayle	24	F	
27.12.1974	Lawrie, Adele	-	F	
27.12.1974	Lea, Barbara Mary	23	F	
27.12.1974	Lea, Dorene Isabel	50	F	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	Lee-Fatt, Annette Joy	25	F	
27.12.1974	Lee-Fatt, Kim	2	F	
27.12.1974	Lindburg, Bengt	42	M	
27.12.1974	Lindburg, Margit	41	F	
27.12.1974	Lindburg, Marie Louise	12	F	
27.12.1974	Lindburg, Stefan	6	M	
27.12.1974	Lindburg, Thomas	3	M	
2.1.1975	Loftus, Mata	-	F	
2.1.1975	Loftus, Michael	9 mths	M	
27.12.1974	Longley, Beryl Ruby	45	F	
27.12.1974	Longley, Jill Ann	22	F	
4.1.1975	Mania, Zina	-	-	
5.1.1975	Marshall, Bronwyn Joanne	2	F	
5.1.1975	Marshall, Kirk Jeremy	4	M	
5.1.1974	Marshall, Robin Turner	25	M	
5.1.1975	Marshall, Susanne gay	26	F	
27.12.1974	McGill, Ian	8	M	
27.12.1974	McGill, Anita	3	F	
27.12.1974	McGill, Jennifer	33	F	
27.12.1974	McGuire, Jeanette	57	F	
27.12.1974	McGuire, Fiona	2 mths	F	North Head Hospital
27.12.1974	McHenry, Barbara	38	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Greta	8	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Katherine	8	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Lira	13	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Lynne	17	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Paul	12	M	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Sandra	15	F	
27.12.1974	McHenry, Vshane	14	M	
27.12.1974	McMartin, Eva Ruth	31	F	
27.12.1974	McMartin, Kylie	6	F	
27.12.1974	McMartin, Tracey	4	F	
27.12.1974	Meade, Margaret	26	F	
27.12.1974	Mibbs, Desda	5	F	
27.12.1974	Mibbs, Mary	40	F	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	Mibbs, Michael	16	M	
27.12.1974	Mibbs, Simon	7	M	
27.12.1974	Moon Helen	34	F	
27.12.1974	Moon, Stephen Arthur	12	M	
27.12.1974	Moon, Leigh	6		
27.12.1974	Moore, Andrena	23	F	
27.12.1974	Moore, Steven	14	M	
27.12.1974	Munro, Dorothy Mary	49	F	
27.12.1974	Munroe, Bruce Michael	14	M	
27.12.1974	Munroe, Frederick James	51	M	
27.12.1974	O'Brien Tracey	-	F	
27.12.1974	O'Brien, Matthew	-	M	
27.12.1974	O'Brien, Dora	53	F	
27.12.1974	Pain, Helen Patricia	25	F	
27.12.1974	Pain, Joanne	3	F	
27.12.1974	Pain, Kerry Lee	2	F	
27.12.1974	Pain, Helen	25	F	
27.12.1974	Pastalou + family of 7			
27.12.1974	Percival, Wayne	11	M	
6.1.75	Perez ,Francisco Augustine	47	M	
3.1.1975	Perez, Sadla	-	F	
3.1.1975	Perez, Rosemary (Daughter)	-	F	
3.1.1975	Perez, Kenneth (Grandson)	-	M	
27.12.1974	Potts, Darren	8	M	
27.12.1974	Potts, Dorothy	37	F	
27.12.1974	Potts, Garreth	8	M	
27.12.1974	Potts, Irene	37	F	
27.12.1974	Potts , Ross	13	M	
27.12.1974	Potts, Wayne	15	M	
27.12.1974	Purse, Pauline	31	F	
27.12.1974	Purse, Stephen	8	M	
27.12.1974	De Santis, James	7	M	
27.12.1974	De Santis, Leo	14	M	
27.12.1974	De Santis, Lynette	10	F	
27.12.1874	De Santis, Mary	14	F	
27.12.1974	De Santis, Rosanna	5	F	

Date out	Name	Age	Sex	Other
27.12.1974	De Santis, Theresa	4	F	
27.12.1974	Short, Kay	21	F	
27.12.1974	Short, Melissa	7	F	
7.1.1975	Smith, John	55	M	
6.1.1975	Stephens, Alan Robert	24	M	
7.1.1975	Stephens, Donna Maree	5	F	Accompanied by mother and Copley family
7.1.1975	Stephens, Maria Josephine	23	F	Accompanied Copley family
27.12.1974	Summerville, Karen	18	F	
27.12.1974	Valentine, Cheryl	23	F	
27.12.1974	Veneman, Alison	43	F	
27.12.1974	Veneman, Andrew	18	M	
27.12.1974	Veneman, Donna	6	F	
27.12.1974	Veneman, Michael	18	M	
27.12.1974	Ware, Lyn	28	F	?
27.12.1874	Ware, Lynne	28	F	? same person
27.12.1974	Ware, Vanessa	2 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Ware, Vanessa	7 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Woodcock, Allan	4 ½	M	
27.12.1974	Woodcock, Janice	28	F	
27.12.1974	Woodcock, Tania	2 ½	F	
27.12.1974	Woods, Christy	3	F	
27.12.1974	Woods, Peter	2	M	
27.12.1974	Woods, Sandra	21	F	

Appendix R: Number of IDC detainees per nationality.

(NAA: C3939, N1961/75071 Part 1, Part 2, Part 3; C3939, N1960/75120; C3939, N1965/75058; C3939, N1971/75154).

Greece	193	Argentina	1	South Africa	1
China	87	Italy	12	New Zealand	16
Fiji	50	Belgium	1	Vietnam	1
Yugoslavia	15	Dominican Republic	1	Sweden	4
Croatia	3	Canada	3	Mexico	1
Philippines	1	Israel	2	Hungary	1
India	5	Hong Kong	5	Austria	-
Argentina	1	Chile	1	Holland	2
Turkey	1	Germany	8	Tanganyika	4
Columbia	1	Russia	1	Norway	9
Malta	1	UK	33	USA	1
Korea	2	Tonga	2	Spain	4
Eritrea	1	Japan	3		

One Chinese detainee was recorded as Cantonese Chinese and one as from British Hong Kong, while five Fijians were designated as Fijian Indians. The three Canadians were French Canadians, one Irishman and three Scots were included in the British figures and one German detainee was clearly designated as a German Jew. The single Russian was designated as a White Russian.

Appendix S: Diagram of precincts and buildings at Quarantine Station North Head 1916 – 1950s. NPWS NSW, *Quarantine Station North Head Conservation Plan, 1992*. (NPWS: Sydney, 1992), 21.

