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# Science, Fashion, Knowledge and Imagination: Shopfront Natural History in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Sydney

ANNE COOTE

Visiting Sydney in 1845, a young French tourist, Eugène Delessert, was agreeably surprised by the advanced state of the town's commercial development and particularly impressed by the array of native birds on show in the Hunter Street establishment of the natural history dealer, John William Roach. During his time in this colonial capital Delessert, as he reported later, often enjoyed gazing at the brilliantly coloured plumage of the several hundred birds which fluttered among the shrubs inside Roach's large aviary. The parrots and pigeons delighted him, but equally remarkable, he thought, was the lovely Regent Bower Bird, a study in velvet black and brilliant gold. Sydney dealers, Delessert informed his readers, had this bird for sale in quite large numbers.<sup>1</sup>

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The existence of such a trade in native species, as Delessert would have understood, signalled that a good many people in this far-flung colonial outpost shared the cultural and intellectual engagement with natural history which was common in the metropole. Indeed, businesses like that of Roach with their novelty, noise and colour apparently found a ready market in mid-nineteenth century Sydney, with six trading for varying periods during the 1840s, and at least seven in each of the following two decades, although not all at the same time. This article examines the character of mid-nineteenth century shop-front natural history enterprise and considers its significance for the inhabitants of Sydney and its visitors.

#### **NATURE COMMERCIALISED**

Richard Neville and, more recently, Grace Karskens, have discussed the early conjunction of natural history with commerce in colonial Australia, as one facet of colonists' response to a novel Antipodean environment. From the very beginning of settlement in New South Wales plants and animals, and ethnological artefacts were treated as commodities, collected by colonists of every class and despatched across oceans for financial and social advantage, as well as for the benefit of science.<sup>2</sup> European fascination with nature (and with the colony's indigenous people) stimulated this early trade in specimens, and it continued unabated into the nineteenth century. No longer largely an upper class preserve, nature study and specimen collection increasingly were seen as creditable leisure-time pursuits for the wider population.<sup>3</sup> All this created an ongoing specimen market. Flourishing dealers in the 1820s, according to the contemporary observer Peter Cunningham, sold the specimens they collected and prepared to people bound for Europe.<sup>4</sup> But Sydney's growing free population created an additional market among permanent residents. Specimens were sold from private homes or put up for auction.<sup>5</sup> They also made up the stock of the mid-nineteenth century shop-front natural history dealers who are the focus of this essay.

This term, natural history dealer, is retrospectively imposed to denote a set of mid-nineteenth century tradespeople who sought to profit from contemporary enthusiasm for nature and ethnology. They styled themselves, or were referred to by contemporaries, variously as 'bird fancier', 'bird stuffer', even 'naturalist' or 'ornithologist', but often simply, 'taxidermist', a skill many such dealers possessed.<sup>6</sup> Their characteristic stock included animals of any kind – living or preserved and native or exotic – but some also sold shells, botanical specimens, geological collections and items of ethnological interest.<sup>7</sup> Displayed in

shops and market stalls, the country's natural and cultural novelties were open, not only to the leisured gaze and edification of tourists like Delessert, but also to the daily view of a wide range of the inhabitants of Sydney. It is for this accessibility, that I preference shop-front dealers in the following discussion, over those who sold natural history specimens by other means.

The character and importance of such businesses has yet to be fully explored. Certainly there has been no study to match Mark V. Barrow's broad-based examination of natural history businesses in post-Civil War America, which links their character and activities to the multi-faceted transformations of the so-called 'Gilded Age'.<sup>8</sup> Three Sydney shop-front dealers have been individually memorialised in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, all three, however, being active for the most part outside the period in focus here. Those featured include George Whitfield, a gunsmith who also traded as a taxidermist mostly during the 1830s.<sup>9</sup> The other two, Jane Tost and her daughter Ada Coates (later Rohu) were in business during the century's final quarter.<sup>10</sup> Both women were honoured for their art in taxidermy by a 1996 Macleay Museum exhibition, co-curated by Martha Sear and Susie Davies.<sup>11</sup>

Taxidermy is one aspect of natural history enterprise which has attracted some scholarly attention. Sear, for example, in her discussion of the aforementioned exhibition not only explored the role of women in taxidermy, but also the cultural meaning their art.<sup>12</sup> Something of the scientific significance of taxidermist shops was also highlighted by Sally Gregory Kohlstedt who noted in her study of museums in colonial Australia that these businesses often functioned as alternatives to government-funded institutions.<sup>13</sup> Some weight is given in the following discussion to the relationship between shop-front natural history businesses and scientific pursuits. Little is said, however, about the proprietors' skills in taxidermy, although the argument does draw something from Sear's work.

The geographic focus of this exploration of natural history enterprise is much narrower than that of Barrow being a single colonial city, and the period of interest is earlier - the 1840s through the 1860s. Shop-front natural history businesses in these decades had distinctive features which are worth recording. These were also years when cultural change in Sydney and the colony as a whole was fostering notions of community and territory which, as will be argued, Sydney's natural history shops helped fine-tune.

#### NATURAL HISTORY DEALERS AND THEIR BUSINESSES IN MID 19<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY SYDNEY

It would be misleading to identify any part of Sydney at this time as its natural history quarter, but two locations were especially favoured. One was lower Hunter Street, between George and Pitt Streets and the other, the George Street markets, on the site of the present-day Queen Victoria building. Other locations were tried briefly. From 1846 to 1848 Frederick Strange, a commercial specimen collector who supplied the British ornithologist and publisher, John Gould, operated a shop in Bridge Street, a site perhaps chosen for its proximity to the harbour where ships' crew frequently had specimens to sell.<sup>14</sup> The aforementioned Roach had started out in Bridge Street, while John Fowler Wilcox, a Hunter Street dealer in the following decade, moved there after about a year in William Street, Woolloomooloo.<sup>15</sup> Four other shop-front dealers gravitated to lower Hunter Street at some time during the 1840s and 1850s, where they traded beside other skilled craftsmen and small business people, as well as stationers, hairdressers, opticians, dentists and surgeons.<sup>16</sup> By the 1860s, however, the centre of gravity for natural history had largely shifted from the relative respectability of Hunter Street to the noise and competition of the George street market sheds, a location which seems to have been particularly favoured by dealers offering large quantities of live animals for sale.<sup>17</sup>

The backgrounds of the proprietors at these locations reflected something of the colony's development and the changing character of Sydney's population over time. Two shops in the 1840s were owned by former convicts. Roach arrived in the colony in 1833 under a seven year sentence for theft.<sup>18</sup> James Samuel Palmer who opened a shop in Hunter Street in 1848, had been transported for life more than twenty-five years before.<sup>19</sup> Both men sold up and went to California after gold in 1849.<sup>20</sup> Roach abandoned the natural history trade permanently, but Palmer, following a stint as licensee of the Museum Hotel on the goldfields near Sofala New South Wales, re-established his business in the mid-1850s, initially at Parramatta and then in Sydney.<sup>21</sup> Wilcox, who filled the gold-lust induced vacancy in Hunter Street, was also associated with an early stage of colonisation, having been an assistant specimen collector on the HMS *Rattlesnake*, one of a series of British naval vessels charting colonial waters and cataloguing natural resources during the 1840s and early 1850s.<sup>22</sup> He sold his business in late 1857 and moved to Grafton in the rich collecting grounds of the northern rivers district.<sup>23</sup> Other dealers in these middle decades, Strange, Adam Becker, John Turner and the Eastway, Crawley and Neaves families, were free immigrants, most coming in the years following the discovery of gold.<sup>24</sup>

The conduct of Sydney's natural history businesses also altered over time. Among the earliest established dealers, Roach and Palmer, like Strange and Wilcox, were experienced hunters and specimen gatherers, and all apparently sold some personally procured stock.<sup>25</sup> Roach, a former London taxidermist, most likely learned his bushmanship and hunting while assigned to the colony's museum as collector and specimen preserver, in which capacity he accompanied Thomas Mitchell's exploring 1835-36 expedition.<sup>26</sup> Palmer, another Londoner, apparently had no prior qualifications for the natural history trade, save perhaps his adventurous and independent spirit. His habit of absconding while under sentence in Tasmania and New South Wales may well have taught him bushcraft, perfected in the 1840s when he appears to have travelled widely on a Ticket of Leave Passport collecting specimens.<sup>27</sup> Taxidermy and marksmanship – killing with a minimum of damage – he possibly learned from Whitfield, his employer for a time.<sup>28</sup> In 1872, aged nearly 70, Palmer was still collecting.<sup>29</sup> Of course, all the dealers purchased specimens. But available evidence suggests that other mid nineteenth-century Sydney dealers may have relied entirely on middlemen. Certainly they made no contrary claim. Adam Becker, a former Hamburg Museum employee merely advertised for specimens, while the more successful taxidermist, Thomas Wild Crawley, assured his customers only of the 'trouble and expense' involved in amassing his 'superior' stock.<sup>30</sup>

Becker, Crawley and other non-collecting dealers in the middle decades set the trend for later. The era of the shop-front collector-dealer seems largely to have passed by the mid 1870s. It is true that one dealer of the 1880s and 1890s, James Samuel Bray, was a knowledgeable and active naturalist who tramped the bush on Sydney's north shore in search of reptiles and insects, and sold cultural artefacts he had apparently collected in New Guinea.<sup>31</sup> In this respect, however, Bray seems to have been unusual at this time.

Curiously, I have yet to find any mid-nineteenth century proprietors who were native born, Ada Rohu in the 1870s being the first. Perhaps the Sydney market for natural history specimens was just too quickly cornered by former convicts familiar with the bush and new arrivals from Europe, both eager to replicate the thriving trade in Antipodean specimens they had observed back home and already armed, certainly in the case of Roach, Becker, Wilcox and Turner, with the necessary natural knowledge or trade skills.

Ada Rohu was additionally unusual in being partner in a natural history business run exclusively by women. But Catherine Bishop

reminds us not to underestimate female agency in mid-nineteenth century commerce.<sup>32</sup> Indeed the pattern of female participation in Sydney's natural history trade was already well established before Tost and Rohu opened. Tost, herself, had practised taxidermy from her residence in the early 1860s before obtaining a paid position as a taxidermist in Sydney's museum.<sup>33</sup> Women had long been integral to Palmer's business too. Stepchildren of both sexes kept his books during the 1850s and 1860s, while his wife and a stepdaughter gave evidence on his behalf in civil cases based on their first-hand knowledge of the business.<sup>34</sup> Mary Ann Neaves who seems to have had no children of her own to care for, probably worked beside her physically disabled husband, William, from the start.<sup>35</sup> Certainly, her name appeared in an 1872 list of hospital fund donors from the markets and she was sufficiently experienced to take charge of the business later, during her husband's absence abroad.<sup>36</sup> Mary Palmer with her son, George King, was able to do the same after her husband died in 1876.<sup>37</sup>

A mid nineteenth-century natural history business was multi-faceted, in modern terms resembling variously an interior design boutique, a pet, hobby or gift shop, even a hardware store. The natural history craze coloured fashionable taste, so Palmer, for example, sold wooden stands and glass shades (or covers) to hold his arrangements of stuffed fauna, 'an elegant and instructive ornament', he assured potential customers, 'to the drawing room or library'.<sup>38</sup> Live birds, sought after for their colour or their song, were popular accessories and dealers could supply the cages.<sup>39</sup> Palmer in the 1850s sold rat-proof wire for aviaries and hydro-incubators for hatching eggs.<sup>40</sup> The Eastways who hired a taxidermist, had come to selling animals from wire-making.<sup>41</sup>

Mid nineteenth-century dealers were also suppliers to science. As well as offering a taxidermy service, some dealers sold accessories for home specimen preservation and, via agents or their own collecting expeditions, all brought to Sydney a huge array of natural specimens from distant parts.<sup>42</sup> In 1862 Crawley, for example, received the skins of some 1400 animals and birds from the Manning and Richmond River districts in just one shipment.<sup>43</sup> Many advertisements targeted naturalists, stressing the rarity and comprehensiveness of dealers' stock.<sup>44</sup> Wilcox promised buyers his specimens were 'scientifically arranged', and his successor, W. Allan, boasted a bird collection second only to that of Gould.<sup>45</sup> Crawley claimed his was 'the largest and most perfect... ever seen in Australia'.<sup>46</sup>

Becker and Roach had museum experience, and Wilcox had worked with gentlemen naturalists, so they probably had some grasp of scientific taxonomy.<sup>47</sup> John Turner, who had been Wilcox's partner for a time, had

been educated for the law and could well have gained a sophisticated scientific knowledge from books.<sup>48</sup> There is, however, nothing to suggest that many dealers were particularly well schooled. At one extreme, the Neaves were virtually illiterate, unable even to keep accounts, while Palmer who relied so heavily on step-children, admitted that he was ‘no scholar’.<sup>49</sup> Despite being sometimes titled ‘naturalist’ or ‘ornithologist’, Sydney’s dealers were, at most, on the periphery of the colony’s scientific community.

Nevertheless, serious naturalists and knowledgeable enthusiasts saw the value of these early dealers to their intellectual pursuits. Gould, himself, wrote to Strange from Britain in 1847, chiding him for not procuring the rare specimens he had heard Roach had on sale, and Strange replied defensively: ‘I am allways (sic) on the look out for aney (sic) thing he may have new’.<sup>50</sup> Just over a decade later, a correspondent to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, down from the ‘bush’ and ‘fond of natural history’, drew attention to an unusual bird acquired by Wilcox, saying, ‘I generally call in... during my... visits to town in hope of seeing some novelty’.<sup>51</sup> A new variety of pigeon at Wilcox’s, and at Palmer’s, a Tasmanian Devil and a heron, all elicited learned discussion in the press.<sup>52</sup> Probably because of their field experience – and the kudos attached to hunting culture – Wilcox and Palmer seemed particularly adept at eliciting press publicity and fostering mutually useful contacts with gentlemen of science.<sup>53</sup> Wilcox sent Gould a bower bird’s nest and egg, while a local ‘eminent naturalist’, the press reported, attended the dissection of a drowned seal at Wilcox’s in 1857.<sup>54</sup> Palmer, who had collected specimens for Sydney’s museum when a goldfields publican, was engaged in 1861 to supply the Melbourne museum, and in 1868, was honoured by an opportunity to exhibit before Sydney’s Royal Society.<sup>55</sup>

Along with native specimens, dealers sold imported English birds and animals, as well as more exotic creatures – a monkey in the markets, for example, a Persian sheep in Hunter Street.<sup>56</sup> By their provision of such stock, dealers were connected to another contemporary preoccupation conceived as science, the acclimatisation of non-indigenous fauna and flora.<sup>57</sup> This link between natural history dealers and ecological manipulation was obvious to a Sydney journalist who segued seamlessly in 1852 from reporting moves to found a zoological society in Sydney to a description of Wilcox’s ‘collection of Indian ‘beasts’.<sup>58</sup> Crawley was directly involved with the acclimatisation movement, having been contracted by Charles Ledger, an importer of alpacas, to preserve some for display at Sydney’s 1861 International Exhibition.<sup>59</sup>

As an assertion of the scientific value of their merchandise, or merely for publicity and profit, some mid-century dealers held public exhibitions, mimicking, as Kohlstedt notes, their colony's museum, and pre-figuring its zoological gardens.<sup>60</sup> Roach explicitly competed with the government institution where once he had worked, announcing in 1843 that he had converted part of his 'spacious premises' into a museum of his own, 'containing specimens of natural history, comparative anatomy and curiosities of all descriptions'.<sup>61</sup> The 'want of such a repository', he said, alluding to the inadequate accommodation currently provided for the government's collection, '[had]... long been felt by the scientific and curious'.<sup>62</sup>

This last phrase highlights two aspects of the natural history dealers' market. On one hand, as discussed already, there were the 'scientific'. These were people, dedicated amateurs in the main, whose curiosity and specimen collection – expressions of Enlightenment empiricism – were underpinned by substantial knowledge of natural history and scientific taxonomy.<sup>63</sup> The merely 'curious', on the other hand, probably formed the greater proportion of the natural history dealers' market. Their interest in the dealers' stock could be framed as a laudable desire for self-improvement, but it was not so well informed or focused as that of the so-called 'scientific', and likely to be driven by a range of motives, not least a thirst for novelty as entertainment. Awareness of these differing attitudes to specimens of natural history and ethnology underlay a criticism made in 1859 of the 'higgeldy piggeldy' displays in Sydney's government museum. Their lack of taxonomic order was symptomatic, according to this critic, of the dearth of 'scientific officers' employed, and made that institution seem less a scientific body than 'an old curiosity shop'.<sup>64</sup>

Probably because they pitched partly to the 'scientific' market, and concentrated mainly on selling living or preserved fauna, this title, 'Curiosity Shop', was eschewed by Sydney's mid nineteenth-century natural history dealers.<sup>65</sup> This did not stop some, like Roach, from advertising 'curiosities' and 'curios' among their stock – specimens, natural and cultural, which were considered rare, strange or particularly beautiful.<sup>66</sup> Such items had potential to attract the 'scientific' and the merely 'curious' alike among the residents of Sydney, along with tourists seeking Antipodean souvenirs.

Auctioned at his closing sale in 1849 along with animals – living, skinned, skeletal or stuffed – and 'the skulls of the natives of various islands', Roach's 'curiosities' included 'a lot of clubs and war im[p]lements'.<sup>67</sup> A decade later in Hunter Street Allen had 'South Sea Island Curiosities' amongst his stock of birds, insects and shells. This



juxtaposition of cultural and animal specimens – of human and non-human bodies – not only indicated the broad focus of scientific and popular curiosity at this time, but also its racist bent. It reflected a common contemporary assumption, highlighted by Kay Anderson, that indigenous people were ‘coterminous with the diverse life forms... [of] the natural world’.<sup>68</sup> Thus conceived, their bodies and belongings were just as vulnerable as specimens of flora and fauna to being collected or souvenired (that is, pilfered) for science and home decoration.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, the native skulls Roach had on sale were likely raw material for devotees of phrenology, a set of ideas and practices linking cranial size and shape to intellect and character. Phrenology was, as Paul Turnbull argues, ‘fundamentally a science of race’.<sup>70</sup>

Wooing the popular market, dealers occasionally resorted to sleight of hand or spectacle to draw in customers. Roach, for example, exhibited a concocted ‘bunyip’ in 1847.<sup>71</sup> Palmer invited customers to view an excessively large baby (the ‘Wonderful Babe’) and Crawley put on a show of exotic wild beasts.<sup>72</sup> But natural history dealers usually entertained the merely ‘curious’ with potentially more edifying displays.

Not least in this regard were the dealers’ stocks of native creatures. Judging by the quantities on sale, live Australian birds were very popular with customers. But examples of unusual Antipodean quadrupeds were also likely to spark interest, not only among the scientific but also in the broader market of well-established residents, recent immigrants and visitors from overseas. In addition to his well-publicised ‘Australian Devils’, Palmer managed to acquire a living platypus (a ‘water mole’) and advertised for more.<sup>73</sup> The Eastways added koalas (‘Native Bears’) to their ‘Happy Family’ of native and exotic animals in the George street market sheds.<sup>74</sup> Dealers also helped keep before the public eye living examples of a set of native quadrupeds later to provide a national symbol.<sup>75</sup> By the 1840s, urban growth and the activities of hunters appear largely to have displaced the kangaroo and its relations from the city’s immediate vicinity. Even the museum’s specimen collector, William Sheridan Wall, a Sydney resident from 1840, had not seen a ‘wild kangaroo’ until he went collecting south of Berrima in late 1844.<sup>76</sup> Natural history dealers, however, supplied these macropods as pets. Palmer had kangaroos for sale, along with emus and echidnas (‘porcupines’) at his Hunter Street premises in 1848, and as late as 1868 the Neaves apparently could not keep up with Sydney buyers’ demand for wallabies and advertised for more.<sup>77</sup>

As new areas were opened up by exploration, naval survey, and maritime trade, natural history dealers acquired previously unknown

native species. Recently returned from a collecting expedition in the north, Palmer in 1859 was selling 'Rockhampton finches and pigeons', most of which, he boasted, had 'never yet' been seen in Sydney.<sup>78</sup> He was also exhibiting stuffed 'alligators', probably crocodiles killed during the same expedition.<sup>79</sup> These reptiles were, he claimed, 'the only species of the kind ever preserved in the world'.<sup>80</sup>

In time, however, much that had been exotic became familiar and some creatures, formerly trumpeted as novelties, became household pets. The Rockhampton finches sold as 'not yet seen' by Palmer, were 'abundant' in the markets by the middle 1860s.<sup>81</sup> A similar transition from rare to commonplace occurred with budgerigars. Barely known in Sydney before the late 1830s and marketed as rare by Roach in 1845, these colourful small parrots were available for sale in thousands by 1864.<sup>82</sup>

Delessert observed of Roach's store in 1844 that people unable to travel widely could see there in a matter of moments a whole selection of the animals of New South Wales.<sup>83</sup> Over time, the collecting activities of dealers and their suppliers geographically extended and refined this overview of indigenous wildlife, and made it more familiar. Of course, natural history dealers' shops by no means were the only places that native creatures could be seen. Periodic auctions of specimens, short-term exhibitions, menageries and displays in Sydney's government museum all offered opportunities. But given their accessibility and consistent presence in the commercial life of mid-nineteenth century Sydney, shop-front natural history businesses had a significant part to play. Not everyone could afford to purchase, but simply visiting a natural history dealer's shop could be enlightening. Indeed, in this their educative and familiarising role, Sydney's mid nineteenth-century shop-front natural history dealers were just as valuable to the inhabitants of Sydney, as they were for tourists like Delessert.

#### **SHOP-FRONT NATURAL HISTORY ENTERPRISE BROADER SIGNIFICANCE**

In feeding scientific curiosity about colonial nature, Sydney's natural history dealers were implicated in an imperial project. The desire to know and name the natural world, Tom Griffiths writes, 'went hand in hand with the organisation and domination of far-flung societies'.<sup>84</sup> For colonists on the ground, learning about the natural environment of their territory, including the introduced species it might support, was progress towards exploiting it.<sup>85</sup> Sear points out the 'resonance' of taxidermy designed to decorate the home which, she writes, was 'one part in a larger scheme of subduing and controlling Nature'.<sup>86</sup> But

taxidermy resonated with imperial ambition as well. Exhibited for all to see in Sydney's market stalls and dealers' shops, taxidermy's 'colonised creatures' – caged, pinned to boards, or stuffed and tastefully arranged inside glass cases – offered people symbolic reassurance of the progress being made towards establishing European sovereignty over Antipodean environments.<sup>87</sup> At the same time, the mix of cultural with natural 'curiosities' in dealers' stock was likely to have strengthened, 'subliminally at least', as Saul Dubow suggests, observers' prejudices concerning their own superiority as 'civilised' Europeans, and hence their right to dominate Antipodean peoples.<sup>88</sup>

But Sydney's residents were not just colonisers; they were settlers too. Here, I wish to foreground the role of Sydney's shop-front natural history dealers in connecting the inhabitants of Sydney, new and well-established, with the vast territory at whose edge their city stood. Whereas British wild life on sale could feed nostalgia and reinforce connections to the Mother Country, observation of the dealers' Antipodean specimens arguably helped foster a differently directed (but not necessarily incompatible) sense of communal and territorial belonging. It contributed, in other words, to feelings of colonial nationhood which, as a number of historians have noted, was manifest among the people of New South Wales by the nineteenth century's second half.<sup>89</sup>

Notions of national community and territory were being fostered in the imaginations of Sydney's inhabitants (as of New South Wales colonists more widely) during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, by their participation in the colony's increasingly literate culture. The Neaves were anachronisms in a society where by 1861, only fifteen per cent of the New South Wales population could neither read nor write.<sup>90</sup> Rising literacy levels were complemented by the enhanced availability, especially from the 1840s, of all kinds of printed material in bookshops and libraries, and also via a burgeoning newspaper press.<sup>91</sup>

While newspapers could conjure up for readers an imagined community of unseen fellow colonists, improved access to colonial maps and other print material encouraged the imagining of New South Wales as this community's national space.<sup>92</sup> It helped people to internalise an image, however vague and mutable, of the territory belonging to their community, viewed god-like from above as a vast extent.<sup>93</sup> Geographical, botanical and zoological descriptions of the territory in books and newspapers – including articles sparked by novelties in natural history dealers' shops – helped fill in the detail.<sup>94</sup> But dealers' displays of indigenous creatures, many otherwise unknown, had a particular

capacity to strengthen people's connection to this visualised national space.

Alan Atkinson has explored the influence of literate culture on the imagination of Europeans in Australia, including its contribution to notions of national community and territory, but he argues that a more localised feeling of belonging was built up day-to-day in situations best suited to the intimacy of oral communication.<sup>95</sup> Such a sense of place, according to Atkinson, one fostered through direct sensual experience, 'has a spiritual dimension more powerful than anything pure literacy can manage'.<sup>96</sup> Sydney's shop-front natural history dealers' provided customers with something of this experiential intimacy, thereby connecting them more strongly with far-flung places, otherwise only imaginable via the medium of paper and ink. Simply by visiting such shops, Sydney's inhabitants could see for themselves in three dimensions – perhaps also touch, hear, smell – the wildlife which made their national territory unique.

#### **CONCLUSION**

Natural history dealers' shops and stalls were a feature of commercial life in Sydney throughout the nineteenth century, but the character of such businesses altered as the century progressed. Curio sales continued to be important after the middle decades, but increasingly from the 1870s the creatures displayed by bird fanciers and other live animal dealers were more familiar than exotic, and sold largely as pets, for sport or household food production. At the same time, some taxidermists, including Crawley and Mary Palmer, were turning their attention to the quieter business of manufacturing in fur.<sup>97</sup> In an undated advertising flier, the late nineteenth, early twentieth century firm of Tost and Rohu, for example, described themselves as 'Australian and Island Curio dealers, opal merchants, Manufacturing furriers, Tanners and dyers'.<sup>98</sup>

This article has focused on the earlier cohort of mid-century proprietors, further distinguished from most later entrants to the trade by the proportion of their number with experience as field collectors. The importance Delessert assigned to one such shop in 1845 was not misplaced. Sydney's mid-nineteenth century natural history dealers, it has been argued here, were far more influential than their number and their backgrounds would suggest. They were useful to the so-called 'scientific' among Sydney's inhabitants and its visitors who were concerned with cataloguing indigenous colonial species, or introducing new ones from elsewhere. Arguably more significant, however, was their influence on Sydney's population at large. This was partly the

tendency of their displays to encourage observers' sense of power over Antipodean nature and right of dominance over indigenous people. But these natural history dealers also contributed significantly to satisfying the curiosity of Sydney's inhabitants about the territory of their birth or their adoption. By familiarising, at first hand, buyers and window-shoppers alike with a wide range of indigenous wildlife, mid nineteenth-century natural history enterprise, it has been argued here, helped to strengthen Sydneysiders' feelings of belonging to the vast national territory held in their imaginations.

*Anne Coote is Adjunct in the School of Humanities at the University of New England*

## Endnotes

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- <sup>4</sup> Peter Cunningham, *Two Years in New South Wales*, Angus and Robertson, in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney, 1966 (1827), p161; 'Birds of all kinds', *Sydney Herald*, 17 October 1836, p1.
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- <sup>6</sup> 'A. Becker', *SMH*, 28 November, 1848, p1; 'Setter pup for sale', *SMH*, 1 August, 1863, p3; 'Insolvency Court', *SMH*, 25 December 1863, p5; 'To let', *SMH*, 29 March, 1858, p8; 'Richmond River birds', *Empire*, 14 November, 1872, p2.
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- <sup>10</sup> *Sands Commercial and General Sydney Directory for 1863*, p299.
- <sup>11</sup> "'Most curious and peculiar': Women taxidermists in colonial Sydney", *Macleay Museum News*, no 7, April 1996, pp85-91 [http://sydney.edu.au/museums/pdfs/newsletters/1996\\_april\\_macleay\\_news.pdf](http://sydney.edu.au/museums/pdfs/newsletters/1996_april_macleay_news.pdf) viewed 6 May 2012; Martha Sear, "'Curious and Peculiar": Women taxidermists in colonial Australia' in J. Kerr and J. Holder (eds), *Past Present: The National Women's Art Anthology*, 1995, Craftsman's House, North Ryde, 1999, pp85-91.

- <sup>12</sup> Martha Sear, "'Curious and Peculiar': Women taxidermists in colonial Australia' in J. Kerr and J. Holder (eds), *Past Present: The National Women's Art Anthology*, 1995, Craftsman's House, North Ryde, 1999, pp87-88.
- <sup>13</sup> Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, 'Australian museums of natural history: Public priorities and scientific initiatives in the 19th Century', *Historical Records of Australian Science*, vol 5, no 4, 1983, p3.
- <sup>14</sup> F. Strange to J. Gould, 16 October 1846 and 24 July 1847, in Gordon. C. Sauer (ed. and comp), *John Gould: The Bird Man: Correspondence*, vol 4, Mansfield Centre, CT. USA, Maunzio Martino, 2006, pp79, 161-162; 'Household furniture and effects', *SMH*, 28 February 1848, p1.
- <sup>15</sup> 'To ornithologists and admirers of natural history', *Australian*, 4 March 1841, p3; 'Specimens of natural history', *Bell's Life and Sporting Reviewer*, 8 March, 1851, p3; 'To let', *SMH*, 19 November, 1851, p 4.
- <sup>16</sup> Joseph Fowles, *Sydney in 1848*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1962 (1848), p20; 'Police Court', *SMH*, 21 February 1855, p2; 'Edward Hughes', *SMH*, 4 July 1853, p2; 'Standard books', *SMH*, 12 August 1853, p2; 'Fine hair', *SMH*, 15 August 1851, p3; 'The eye', *SMH*, 27 December 1854, p5; 'Parantascopic', *SMH*, 27 September 1856, p10; 'Caution', *SMH*, 1 September 1855, p8; 'Dr J. Gray', *SMH*, 9 January 1852, p3; 'Note', *SMH*, 24 January 1843, p3; *Sands Commercial and General Sydney Directory for 1863*, pp62-63.
- <sup>17</sup> 'E. Eastway and Co.', *Empire*, 28 October, 1857, p1; T.W. Crawley', *SMH*, 13 September, 1864, p8; 'A great variety', *SMH*, 13 September 1864, p6; *Sands Commercial and General Sydney Directory for 1869*, pp454; Palmer remained in Hunter Street except for a brief period in the markets from 1861 to 1862; 'The undersigned', *Empire*, 26 August 1861, p1; 'Wanted', *SMH*, 7 January 1862, p1.
- <sup>18</sup> SRNSW: *Principal Superintendent of Convicts*, Printed Indents 1833, pp165-222, SR Fiche, X635.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey Online*, January 1821, ref. no., 18210110-15, <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?path=sessionsPapers%2F18210110.xml>. viewed 10 October 2010; SRNSW: NRS 1172, *Copies of Conditional Pardons Registered by the Colonial Secretary*, nos 47/501-1000, 8 September 1847- 15 October 1847; [4/4452-4453], Reel 797.
- <sup>20</sup> 'Choice collection of birds, beasts etc', *SMH*, 10 April 1849, p4; 'Mr Charles Newton', 31 August 1849, p4.
- <sup>21</sup> James Palmer was a passenger on the *Zone* from San Francisco, 2 December 1851, SRNSW: Index to Unassisted Passenger Arriving New South Wales 1842-58, [http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchhits\\_nocopy.aspx?table=Index+to+the+Unassisted+Arrivals+NSW+1842-1855&id=43&frm=1&query=Names%3a1842%3band%3a1855](http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchhits_nocopy.aspx?table=Index+to+the+Unassisted+Arrivals+NSW+1842-1855&id=43&frm=1&query=Names%3a1842%3band%3a1855) viewed 4 March 2012; SRNSW: NRS 14403, *Certificates of Publican's Licences* 1 July 1853-20 June 1854; [4/84/89, 7/1502-1513], Reel 5064; 'Birds, Birds, Birds', *SMH*, 26 January 1856, p3; 'Taxidermist', *SMH*, 9 May 1856, p8.
- <sup>22</sup> J. H. Maiden, 'Records of Australian botanists (a) General (b) NSW, *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, for 1908, vol. 42, pp60-132.
- <sup>23</sup> 'The Undersigned', *Empire*, 30 October 1857, p1.
- <sup>24</sup> 'A card', *SMH*, 27 October, 1849, p1; 'Marriages', *SMH*, 26 April, 1862, p1; 'The partnership', *SMH*, 27 October 1857, p1; Janet Kincaid Dethick, *A History of the Family of Dethick*, self-published, 2008, p76. <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=esYW7fLV3fsC&q=turner#v=snippet&q=turner&f=false> last viewed 4 March 2012; SRNSW: Index to Unassisted Passenger Arrivals, 1842-1855, [http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchhits\\_nocopy.aspx?table=Index+to+the+Unassisted+Arrivals+NSW+1842-1855&id=43&frm=1&query=Names:eastway;\[Date+of+Arrival+between\]:1842;and:1855](http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchhits_nocopy.aspx?table=Index+to+the+Unassisted+Arrivals+NSW+1842-1855&id=43&frm=1&query=Names:eastway;[Date+of+Arrival+between]:1842;and:1855) last viewed 4 March 2012; SRNSW: Persons on bounty

- ships (Agents Immigration lists), 1838-96, NRS 5316; [4/4791], Reel 2137  
[http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/ebook/list.asp?series=NRS5316&item=4\\_4791&ship=Maidstone](http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/ebook/list.asp?series=NRS5316&item=4_4791&ship=Maidstone) last viewed 4 March 2012; I have been unable to ascertain the backgrounds of Ward and Thomson, partners in a company which temporarily took over Palmer's Hunter Street shop from early 1863 to October 1864 and that of W. Allan who succeeded Wilcox in Hunter Street.
- <sup>25</sup> Roach and Wilcox seem to have kept hunting dogs. 'Lost', *SMH*, 1 June 1848, p1; 'Lost', *SMH*, 23 July 1849, p1; 'Lost', *SMH*, 22 May 1857, p8; Roach travelled south to Launceston and/ or Port Phillip, presumably to obtain specimens. 'Shipping Intelligence', *SMH*, 2 December 1843, p2; 'Boa Constrictor', *SMH*, 27 July 1852, p3; 'Natural history Port Curtis district', *Empire*, 20 August 1859, p5.
- <sup>26</sup> *South Pacific Taxidermy: Birth of a Museum*,  
[http://www.southpacifictaxidermy.com/Birth\\_of\\_a\\_Museum](http://www.southpacifictaxidermy.com/Birth_of_a_Museum) viewed 3 February 2012.
- <sup>27</sup> *Tasmania's Heritage*, Database No. 54512,  
<http://portal.archives.tas.gov.au/menu.aspx?search=11>  
 viewed 10 May 2012; SRNSW: NRS 2517 Sydney and Darlinghurst Gaol Entrance Books; [4/6429], Reel 850; SRNSW: NRS 12204, Butts of Ticket of Leave Passports, 5 April-13 July 1842, Passport No. 42/1693; [4/4247] Reel 970; SRNSW: NRS 12204, Butts of Ticket of Leave Passports, 31 May 1842-25 February 1843, Passport No. 42/941; [4/4251], Reel 971; SRNSW: NRS 12204, Butts of Ticket of Leave Passports, 25 February-9 November 1843, Passport No. 43/929; [4/4255], Reel, 973; SRNSW: NRS 12204, Butts of Ticket of Leave Passports, 20 June 1845-17 February 1846, Passport No. 46/103; [4/4264], Reel 976.
- <sup>28</sup> 'Metropolitan District Law Court', *Empire*, 20 July 1865, p3.
- <sup>29</sup> 'Richmond River birds', *Empire*, 14 November 1872, p2.
- <sup>30</sup> 'A. Becker', *SMH*, 28 November 1849, p1; 'Freshly killed birds', *SMH*, 7 August 1858, p1; 'T. W. Crawley', *SMH*, 30 May 1861, p8; 'Just arrived', *SMH*, 21 January 1862, p 9.
- <sup>31</sup> James Samuel Bray, Papers and sketches, ML 1874-1896, A184, A186, A195-199; *Sands Sydney Directory*, 1887, p1009; *Sands Sydney Directory* 1891, p922; 'Bradley, Newton and Lamb'. *SMH*, 11 November 1885, p7.
- <sup>32</sup> Catherine Bishop, 'Women of Pitt Street', *Dictionary of Sydney*  
[http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/women\\_of\\_pitt\\_street\\_1858](http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/women_of_pitt_street_1858) last viewed 8 August 2012.
- <sup>33</sup> Martha Sear, 'Tost, Jane Catharine (1817-1889)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University,  
<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/tost-jane-catharine-13222>, accessed 3 July 2013.
- <sup>34</sup> SRNSW: NRS 13654, Insolvency Files, File No. 6436, 24 December 1863, [2/910]; 'Palmer v. Ledger', *SMH*, 7 May 1862, p5; 'Palmer v Whitfield and others', *Empire*, 20 July 1865, p3.
- <sup>35</sup> 'Central Police Court', *SMH*, 17 October 1864, p8.
- <sup>36</sup> 'List of donations to the Australian Museum', *SMH*, 10 January 1865, p5; 'Prince Alfred Hospital Fund', *SMH*, 28 April 1868, p8; 'W. Neaves', *SMH*, 10 February, 1877, p2.
- <sup>37</sup> *Sands Sydney Directory*, 1880, p792; 'Educational systems, methods and libraries', *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 10 April 1880, pp6-7; NSWBDM: Deaths Index, 3153/1876,  
<http://www.bdm.nsw.gov.au> viewed 2 February 2012.
- <sup>38</sup> 'Birds, birds, birds', *SMH*, 5 March 1858, p1; 'Birds, birds, birds' *Argus*, 30 April 1860, p7; 'Notice of arrival', *Argus*, 27 May 1861, p8; 'Water Police Court', *SMH*, 7 February 1871, p2.
- <sup>39</sup> 'To lovers of Zoology', *SMH*, 6 June 1847, p2; 'Exports', *SMH*, 4 June 1848, p2; 'New Market', *SMH*, 17 August, 1861, p8.
- <sup>40</sup> 'Exports', *SMH*, 6 June 1858, p2; 'For sale', *SMH*, 9 February 1857, p2; 'To naturalists', *SMH*, 23 June 1858, p5.



- <sup>41</sup> 'Eastway and Son', *Empire*, 10 October, 1857, p8; 'Notice', *SMH*, 12 April 1862, p3.
- <sup>42</sup> 'Black swans', *SMH*, 17 December 1856, p8; 'Birds, birds, birds', *SMH*, 25 January, 1860, p3; 'An Australian Devil', *SMH*, 11 February, 1861, p5; 'The stock of... Mr J.W. Roach', *SMH*, 31 August 1849, p4.
- <sup>43</sup> 'Australian animals and bird skins', *SMH*, 21 January 1862, p9.
- <sup>44</sup> 'To ornithologists and admirers of natural history', *Australian*, 4 March 1841, p31; 'To Naturalists', *SMH*, 23 June 1858, p6; 'New Market', *SMH*, 17 August 1861, p8.
- <sup>45</sup> 'Natural history', *SMH*, 17 December 1856, p8; 'Chatto and Hughes', *SMH*, 22 June 1858, p2.
- <sup>46</sup> 'T.W. Crawley', *SMH*, 31 May 1861, p6.
- <sup>47</sup> 'A card', *SMH*, 27 October 1849, p1.
- <sup>48</sup> 'The partnership', *SMH*, 27 October 1857, p1; Janet Kincaid Dethick, *A History of the Family of Dethick*, self-published, 2008, p76, <http://books.google.com.au/books?id=esYW7fLV3fsC&q=turner#v=snippet&q=turner&f=false> last viewed 4 March 2012; 'Insolvency Court', *Empire*, 21 January 1861, p3.
- <sup>49</sup> SRNSW: NRS 1365, Bankruptcy Files, No. 202, 29 January 1890; [10/22620]; 'Palmer v. Whitfield', *Empire*, 20 July 1865, p3.
- <sup>50</sup> Gould to Strange, 14 June 1847, and Strange to Gould, 6 October 1847, in G. Sauer (ed.), *John Gould: The Bird Man: Correspondence*, vol 4, Mansfield Centre, CT. USA, Maunzio Martino, 2006, pp145, 174.
- <sup>51</sup> 'A Student of Natural History', 'A remarkable bird', *SMH*, 22 August 1857, p8.
- <sup>52</sup> A Traveller, 'The Moruk', *SMH*, 22 August 1857, p 5; 'The Carpophaga, or Fruit Pigeon', *Illustrated Sydney News*, 4 February 1854, p3; 'An Australian Devil', *SMH*, 11 February 1861, p5; 'The White Heron', *SMH*, 11 December 1862, p4.
- <sup>53</sup> Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p16.
- <sup>54</sup> 'The nest of the *Menura alberti*', *SMH*, 18 July 1853, p3; 'Found drowned', *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 14 November, 1857, p2.
- <sup>55</sup> 'The Turon', *SMH*, 25 October 1854, p 3; 'Royal Society of New South Wales', *SMH*, 4 June 1868, pp2-3; 'The undersigned', *Empire*, 31 August 1861, p1.
- <sup>56</sup> 'Birds, birds, birds', *SMH*, 15 November 1858, p8; 'For sale', *SMH*, 31 May 1869, p6; 'Mems about zoology', *SMH*, 28 June, 1852, p2; E. Eastway and Co.', *Empire*, 28 October 1857, p1.
- <sup>57</sup> J. Mitchell, 'Alpacas in colonial Australia: Acclimatisation, evolution and empire', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol.12, 2010, p57.
- <sup>58</sup> 'Mems about zoology', *SMH*, 28 June, 1852, p2; Linden Gillbank, 'A paradox of purposes: Acclimatization origins of the Melbourne Zoo', in R. J. Hoage and W.A. Deiss (eds), *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, p75.
- <sup>59</sup> 'The New South Wales Exhibition', *SMH*, 28 October, 1861, p5; J. Mitchell, 'Alpacas in colonial Australia: Acclimatisation, evolution and empire', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol.12, 2010, p56; B. G. Andrews, 'Ledger, Charles (1818-1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ledger-charles-4004> viewed 7 July 2012.
- <sup>60</sup> Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, 'Australian museums of Natural History: Public priorities and scientific initiatives in the 19th Century', *Historical Records of Australian Science*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1983, p3; 'An Australian Devil', *SMH*, 11 February 1861, p5; 'Parksenerry's latest protégé', *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 25 November 1854, p2; 'The Moruk', *SMH*, 20 August, 1857, p1; 'T. W. Crawley', *SMH*, 30 May 1861, p8; 'Alligators-alligators', *SMH*, 1 November 1859, p1; James S. Palmer, 'Natural history - Port Curtis District', *Empire*, 20 September, 1859, p3.
- <sup>61</sup> 'City museum', *SMH*, 26 August 1843, p3.
- <sup>62</sup> 'City museum', *SMH*, 26 August 1843, p3.
- <sup>63</sup> Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Enquiry*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2001, p21.



- <sup>64</sup> 'Legislative Assembly', *SMH*, 11 March 1859, pp4, 5.
- <sup>65</sup> The tile was left to George Rice, a mid-nineteenth century dealer specialising in curios and another who sold them along with other household goods. 'Silkworms', *Empire*, 21 November, 1863, p8; 'Philadelphia Exhibition and New South Wales', *SMH*, 7 June 1875, p5; 'Phillip Levey's Furniture and Foreign Curiosity Warehouse', *SMH*, 20 November 1844, p1. Silkworms were only the animals advertised by Rice who therefore has not been identified as a natural history dealer with others discussed here.
- <sup>66</sup> 'Collections of natural history', *Empire*, 3 May 1856, p5; 'This day, Wednesday'. *Empire*, 23 June 1858, p7.
- <sup>67</sup> 'The Stock in trade... of J.W. Roach', *SMH*, 31 August 1849, p4.
- <sup>68</sup> Kay Anderson, 'Science and the Savage: The Linnaean Society of New South Wales', *Ecumene*, vol 5, no 2, p126.
- <sup>69</sup> Richard White and Justine Greenwood, 'Tourism', *Sydney Journal*, vol 3, no 2, December 2011, p2.
- <sup>70</sup> Paul Turnbull, 'British anatomists, phrenologists and the construction of the Aboriginal race, 1790-1830', *History Compass*, vol 5, no 1, 2007, p39; H. Reynolds, 'Racial thought in early colonial Australia', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 20, 1974, pp45-53.
- <sup>71</sup> 'The Bunyip unmasked', *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 23 October 1847, p2; John Smith, 'The Bunyip or something else', *Bell's Life in Sydney*, 13 November 1847, p3.
- <sup>72</sup> 'The Wonderful Babe', *SMH*, 17 August 1858, p1; 'Royal Zoological Exhibition', *SMH*, 27 June 1863, p1.
- <sup>73</sup> 'Birds, birds, birds', *SMH*, 23 November 1857, p2; 'Wanted', *SMH*, 26 May 1864, p10.
- <sup>74</sup> 'E. Eastway and Co.', *Empire*, 28 October 1857, p1; 'Canaries', *SMH*, 7 November 1865, p 8.
- <sup>75</sup> Beth Hatton and Linda Thompson, 'Kangaroo', in Melissa Harper and Richard White (eds), *Symbols of Australia: Uncovering the Stories Behind the Myths*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2010, pp23-31.
- <sup>76</sup> William Sheridan Wall, Notes on a Journey from Sydney to the Murrumbidgee River in Pursuit of Specimens of Natural History, 1844-1845, ML MSS 1007.
- <sup>77</sup> 'Live emus for sale', *SMH*, 28 June 1848.
- <sup>78</sup> 'J.S. Palmer', *SMH*, 24 September 1859, p12.
- <sup>79</sup> 'Alligators-alligators', *SMH*, 1 November 1859, p1; 'Natural history-Port Curtis District', *Empire*, 20 August, 1859, p5.
- <sup>80</sup> 'Alligators-alligators', *SMH*, 1 November 1859, p1.
- <sup>81</sup> John MacGillivray to E. P. Ramsay, 25 December 1865, E.P. Ramsay Papers, ML MSS 563/3.
- <sup>82</sup> 'To settlers', *SMH*, 27 January 1845, p1; 'Birds', *SMH*, 27 December 1864, p6.
- <sup>83</sup> Eugène Delessert, *Voyage dans les Deux Océans Atlantique et Pacifique, France, 1847*, p93.
- <sup>84</sup> Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne, 1996, p19.
- <sup>85</sup> Linden Gillbank, 'A paradox of purposes: Acclimatization origins of the Melbourne Zoo', in R. J. Hoage and W.A. Deiss (eds), *New Worlds, New Animals: From Menagerie to Zoological Park in the Nineteenth Century*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, p73.
- <sup>86</sup> Martha Sear, "'Curious and Peculiar'?: Women taxidermists in colonial Australia', in J. Kerr and J. Holder (eds), *Past Present: The National Women's Art Anthology*, 1995, Craftsman's House, North Ryde, 1999, p87.
- <sup>87</sup> Greg Murrie, 'All cut up: The nineteenth-century anti-vivisection controversy', Paper presented at 'The Victorians and Science', Australasian Victorian Studies conference, 1996, quoted in Sear, "'Curious and Peculiar': Women taxidermists in colonial Australia" in J. Kerr and J. Holder (eds), *Past Present: The National Women's Art Anthology*, 1995, Craftsman's House, North Ryde, 1999, p87.

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- <sup>88</sup> Saul Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa 1820-2000*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006, p59.
- <sup>89</sup> For discussion of colonial nationhood, see for example: S. P. Shortus, "'Colonial Nationalism": New South Wales identity in the mid-1880s', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol 58, no 1, 1973, p31; John Eddy, 'Nationalism and nation-making from federation to Gallipoli', John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (eds), *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa First Assert their Nationalities 1880-1914*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1988, p133; Alan Atkinson, Review of H. Irving, *To Constitute a Nation: A Cultural History of Australia's Constitution*, *Australian Historical Studies*, no. 110, April 1998, p162; A. Coote, 'Out from the legend's shadow': Re-thinking national feeling in colonial Australia', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol 8, no 2, pp103-122; Alan Atkinson, 'Tasmania and the multiplicity of nations', 2005 Eldershaw Lecture, *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, vol 52, no 2, December 2005.
- <sup>90</sup> *Census of New South Wales*, 1861.
- <sup>91</sup> A. Coote, *Space, Time and Sovereignty: Literate Culture and Colonial Nationhood in New South Wales up to 1860*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of New England, 2004, pp50-121.
- <sup>92</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Verso, London, 1991, pp6, 22-36, 33-36, 170-178.
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- <sup>94</sup> C. Withers, 'How Scotland came to know itself: Geography, national identity and the making of a nation, 1680-1790', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol 21, no 4, 1995, p386.
- <sup>95</sup> Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History*, vol. 2, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 2004, pp87, 149, 288-9, 204; Alan Atkinson, 'Speech, children and the Federation Movement' in J. Damousi and Desley Deacon, *Talking and Listening in the Age of Modernity: Essays on the History of Sound*, ANU E-Press, Canberra, 2007, pp37, 40-43, 45; Alan Atkinson, *History and the Love of Places*, UNE, Armidale, 2998, pp5-8.
- <sup>96</sup> Alan Atkinson, *The Commonwealth of Speech*, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne, 2002, p11.
- <sup>97</sup> *Sands Sydney Directory*, 1887, p 1009; 'Australian Aboriginal curios', NLA, np 305.89915 / A938.