

The Forbes Flyer

The newsletter of the Francis Forbes Society for Australian Legal History

Summer 2010–11

History reports itself

In the weeks before the new year takes over, this is something of a conference call issue. I myself am heading from Sydney to Melbourne next week for the 29th Annual Australian and New Zealand Law and History Conference. We have kept the précis of the conference from the last issue for now, in case there are any late takers. Tony Earls is in the chair for an afternoon session on Wednesday 15th called “Judges and Lawyers”. (I can get him to autograph my copy of his Plunkett biography.) The Society is well-represented, with officebearers, members and former Forbes lecturers all participating. See you there.

Readers may remember a call from Spring 2007, when we advertised for people to assist Simon Smith, then a post-graduate student at Monash University, who was tracing the stories of Australians declared vexatious litigants. I am delighted to record that Simon has published *Maverick Litigants*. You can order your copy from the Royal Historical Society of Victoria: www.historyvictoria.org.au/publications.htm.

The Society wishes everyone all the best for 2011.

David Ash
Editor

The 2010 Forbes Lecture

The Banco Court of the Supreme Court of New South Wales was the forum for the delivery by Dr Lisa Ford of the 2010 Forbes Lecture, “Thinking Big about Early NSW: Colonial Law in Global Perspective”. Under the eye of Sir Francis Forbes himself, Lisa provided a spirited review of the self-

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legitimising processes taking place throughout the British colonies of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, before generously managing an equally spirited question session.

In the last Flyer, we recorded that Lisa’s *Settler Sovereignty* (2010, HUP) had taken the Thomas J. Wilson Memorial Prize, which “honors the memory of Thomas J. Wilson, director of Harvard University Press from 1947 to 1967. It is awarded annually to the beginning author whose first book manuscript, approved for publication by the Board of Syndics of Harvard University Press, in any calendar year is

judged outstanding in content, style, and mode of presentation.”¹

Lisa’s book has now won the General History Prize in the 2010 NSW Premier’s History Awards² and the 2010 Littleton-Griswold Prize³ for the best book in any subject on the history of American law and society, awarded by the American Historical Society.⁴

Acknowledgement

The Society acknowledges the support it receives from Abbey’s Bookshop as a sponsor of the Australian legal History Essay Competition and in the promotion of legal history texts generally. The bookshop is located in Sydney’s CBD, opposite the Queen Victoria Building, at 131 York Street. T 02 9264 3111; W www.abbey.com.au.

A historiography of Australian legal history

The next issue of Australian Bar Review⁵ holds a most significant contribution to Australian legal history, Professor Horst Lücke’s article “Legal History in Australia - The Development of Australian Legal/ Historical Scholarship”. The précis shows why it should be closely read by anyone who should be interested in our law and our history, ie anyone at all:

I. Introduction.

II. Phase 1 – English legal history in the Antipodes: the Windeyer school of legal history:

- A. Early literature;
- B. Law school curricula: the Maitland factor;
- C. The demise of the Windeyer school:
 - 1. A sense of Australian national identity;
 - 2. An Australian common law.

III. Phase 2 – Australian legal history – recognition as an academic discipline:

- A. Early enthusiasts;
- B. Recognition at last:
 - 1. Alex Cuthbert Castles;
 - 2. John Bennett;
 - 3. Bruce Kercher;

C. Institutions:

- 1. The Francis Forbes Society for Australian Legal History;
- 2. The Supreme Court of Queensland Library, the Queensland Supreme Court History Program;

D. The history of particular subjects:

- 1. Australian constitutional history;
- 2. Aboriginal dispossession; native title.

IV. Phase 3 – Broadening the perspective:

- A. English legal history;
- B. Law and history;
- C. Comparative legal history:
 - 1. Commonwealth studies;
 - 2. Global legal history.

V. Conclusion.

A Kinchela Boy

The following is the text of a speech delivered by Christopher Bevan on the launch of his novel on 4 November 2010 by Her Excellency the Governor of NSW in the presence of Sir Gerard Brennan and Mr Cecil Bowden, a Kinchela Boys’ Home survivor and one of the Kinchela boys on whom the novel is based. For more details, go to bideenapublishingco.com/publications.html.

Your Excellency, Sir Gerard Brennan, Cecil Bowden, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. I acknowledge the Gadigal people of the Eora Nation, on whose land we stand, and the Dungutti people of the Macleay River District of New South Wales, whose story I have told in my novel as much as I have told the Kinchela Boys’ story. I acknowledge the Kinchela Boys’ Association, the survivors of Kinchela Boys’ Home, who count themselves amongst this nation’s infamous Stolen Generations. I acknowledge the late Sir Ronald Wilson, one of Sir Gerard’s brethren, and author of Bringing Them Home, the Report on the 1994 National Enquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families. That report was as much the genesis of my novel as were my own experiences in Kempsey – near Kinchela Boys’ Home - from 1980-1989 as a young solicitor.

Finally, I acknowledge Kevin Rudd, now this country's Foreign Minister, for his official apology to the Stolen Generations from the floor of the Commonwealth Parliament in 2008.

Kevin Rudd's watershed apology, made as the Prime Minister and leader of a new Government, enabled me to publish a novel about the Stolen Generations after a 12 year period during which any concept of an official apology was frowned upon. It was frowned upon by the previous government and by many of our fellow Australians as the high water mark of the "Black arm-band view of history". It was an attitude to the Stolen Generations which made the successful publication of this short novel well-nigh impossible; at least, it made it impossible for 12 years (1996-2008). Kevin Rudd's national apology engaged the Australian public on an issue it had been in denial about, not merely for 12 years, but for 40 years since the State laws all around Australia which implemented the ill-fated Aboriginal assimilation policies that created the Stolen Generations were repealed in 1970, after 50 years of official childhood separation of Aboriginal children with some (any) white heritage.

Finally, I thank those present for coming to listen to me explain how he came to write a fictional account of the first decade of my practice of the law by writing the story of every boy who set foot in this State's largest home for aboriginal boys after removal from their families as preschoolers and primary schoolers in the name of racial assimilation, and I thank Goanna Press, a small independent publishing house, for having the courage to publish a novel no other publisher would publish.

In July 1980, I arrived in Kempsey, northern New South Wales, to practise law. I had just turned 23. I knew nothing – absolutely nothing – about this nation's Stolen Generations. But I learnt about them once I arrived in Kempsey; I learnt fast. Much of my work was appearing in criminal courts up and down the North Coast and Northern Tablelands for people on Legal Aid and Aboriginal Legal Aid. I heard stories about Kinchela Boys' Home from the families of people I appeared for. It seemed that if they were not in Kinchela then they knew someone who was.

Kinchela Boys never – or hardly ever – spoke about their own experiences there. But the families spoke of the experiences of their friends and fathers in Kinchela. As I got to know aboriginal families of the Macleay, Hastings and Manning River Districts and Northern Tablelands, through my work for them, they endeared themselves to me with their shy, almost introverted manner, their abiding sense of humour and self-deprecation, and above all else their emotional resilience in the face of daily hardships: hardships at the hands of the criminal justice system, the social welfare system, their constant struggle with alcohol abuse and clan violence.

My firm had an office in South West Rocks - I drove to it regularly to see clients. It was the highlight of my week, both the drive there and back and my time there. It is one of the prettiest stretches of road in Australia, following the southern bank of the mighty Macleay River for most of the second half of the journey after leaving Gladstone, an undulating road surface from many floods over the years requires a slow pace, as does the proximity of the narrow road to the river bank. On the right hand side of the road is Kinchela, two kilometres past the Hat Head turnoff, just over the bridge at Killick Creek. There stands the old Kinchela Boys' Home.

In 1980 – 10 years after its closure as a boys' home – it was being used as a new drug and alcohol rehabilitation centre for aboriginal people: Bennelong's Haven. By then it was on Dungutti land. The New South Wales Government had given the Dungutti people back their land in the late 1970s - and with it the buildings that housed the boys' home – and above all else, the bone-dry swimming pool. All but the swimming pool remain to this day. In 1980 it was in original condition: dormitories on poles above the floodwaters covered in peeling pale blue paint.

I had to pinch myself when I came to learn the history of the boys' home that was Bennelong's Haven. On the land of the proud Dungutti people stood the boys' home that turned so many of its own boys into men who needed drug and alcohol rehabilitation. The irony of that grand gesture by our State Government never left me. Each time I drove past the boys' home I swear I could hear the

voices of 50 adolescent boys laughing and hoo-haa-ing and shouting out taunts to each other.

The front gate – a galvanised steel affair with cyclone wire mesh – had long gone. I am told one of the Kinchela boys now has it as a souvenir. How appropriate. During the first years of the boys' home, in the 1930s, the depths of the Great Depression, the boys in the machine shop made up letters which spelt in block letters 'KINCHELA BOYS HOME' without the apostrophe, on top of the gate. A drawing of it appears on the back cover of the novel. It looks so homely, but it is beguiling, suggesting a threshold to a boarding school instead of a living purgatory.

In 1989 I left Kempsey I came to live in Sydney after a decade as an advocate for the Kinchela Boys and their families and solicitor for the Dungutti Land Council. The Kinchela Boys' story stayed with me all the time after I came back to Sydney. It stayed with me after my life took a different direction, for their story was now part of my own life story. It was part of my own experience of the Macleay River District. I was fascinated with the Kinchela Boys' story and the Dungutti people's story. I knew my fellow Australians would be. I thought I could tell their stories for them in a way which would be true to them and myself, in a way which would honour my time with them as their lawyer and friend, and now as their biographer.

The Kinchela Boys' story festered inside me. I knew I had to expel the story. I wanted to tell it but did not know how. I had no training as a professional writer. I wanted to tell the Kinchela Boys' story and the story of the Dungutti people, but I had no time: I had a wife, four children, and a busy practice at the NSW Bar. Time wore on. As it did, a picture of Mick Mahoney started to form in my mind - It became even clearer when I read Sir Ronald's Stolen Generations' report. It is redolent with true stories – heart-rending anecdotes – about Kinchela Boys' Home. That detailed anecdotal evidence told me what they themselves could not tell me. Mick's character became real in my mind's eye. I had come to know him well.

A decade ago I bought a large painting, Two

Aboriginal Stockmen at the Races, which I had had my eye on for 15 years. It is an acrylic on board work by the late Patrick Hockey: life-sized figures of two aboriginal stockmen in Stetsons beside an outback racetrack. It is a large work with a bright blue sky and a flock of kites. The figure on the right is skinny and diminutive. I called him Mick Mahoney. His figure – the stripling in the green shirt – is on the front cover of the novel. I knew straight away he was my central character and that is what he looks like. His pot-bellied friend, perhaps 15 years older, I called Cecil Hoeben, Keg to his friends, who are Kinchela Boys, the tribe which Keg leads inside Grafton Gaol.

I had my foil, a strong man: Mick's guardian angel, his big brother and mentor. But I still had no time. I was working 60 hours a week as a journeyman advocate. I was also working as a lecturer on taxation law, writing text books on capital gains tax, corporations law and stamp duties, and also trying to be a father to four children. I also had no skill at writing. I have never attended so much as a creative writing workshop let alone taken a degree in creative writing or even in English literature.

In 2002, I hit the wall. I had one serious illness after another for the next 6 years. Many of you here at the NSW Bar know my story. You well know that I consider myself very lucky just to be here thanking Her Excellency for launching my novel.

The Lord works in mysterious ways. For the first time in my life I had time on my hands: time to think, time to re-order my thoughts, time to reassess my priorities. He was talking to me: "I have given you time, use it well, use it to learn to write". I realised now was the time to write the Kinchela Boys' story, to tell it candidly. But first I had to teach myself to write fiction – a spare, flinty brand of fiction.

So in my long periods of convalescence I turned to reading books on the art of fiction and I increased my reading and re-reading of the works of great novelists. In the course of reading I came across a statement by the 19th century American novelist, Henry James. It was a turning point in my life as a literary neophyte, a status I acknowledge I will

always retain, having come to writing fiction in mid-life with no apprenticeship as a journalist, scriptwriter, short-story writer or essayist.

James said: To tell an aspect of the human condition which changes the reader's outlook on their fellow man, do not write about mankind; write about a man. For it is only by allowing readers to live the life of that one man – to feel what he feels, to cry when he cries, to laugh when he laughs – that they can ever come to develop a new insight into the human condition, one they have never had before.

So I sat down and wrote the Kinchela Boys' story over 6 years: in long periods of convalescence and at night after arriving home from Chambers. On weekends, Saturday was set aside for the children's sports fixtures and preparation of next Monday's case. But Sunday was my writing day. Sunday became sacrosanct. I am indebted to my wife, Jenny, for her support of me as a writer learning his craft.

I admit it was hard: it was the hardest thing I have ever attempted in my life. When I finished it I had new friends: Mick and Keg and Simon Hanley and Adam Rhodes, all of them good friends I will carry with me forever. It may sound silly: befriending fictional characters, but it happens; it is the power of words as art. For Mick is an everyman: he is every Kinchela Boy I knew and heard about and read about, all rolled into one diminutive man who I consider to be a truly heroic figure.

A Kinchela Boy is also a story about the Dungutti people. I had the privilege to serve them until 1989 as their land council solicitor for most of that decade. They are a proud people and their story deserves to be rendered with exactly the same truth, empathy and, above all else, heroism as the Kinchela Boys' story deserves.

I trust I have done the cause of the Kinchela Boys and the Dungutti people justice. I hope that I have touched the same chord in them that I have in other readers, and I know I have done that to the latter from the feedback I have received from readers of the novel over the last few months. I want to finish this speech by quoting from the novel. A row occurs between Mick and his de facto wife, Mary, on their way home from the Hat Head Surf Club reunion. It is told as flashback one year later when Mick is

standing trial for Mary's murder.

Mary says these words to Mick which encapsulate the whole Stolen Generations' story for me:

Mick ... I'm never going to really know who you are ... not till I know what you went through as a kid. ... what they did to you boys. Mum ... reckons you're still at the boys' home in your head but you won't ever let them let you go free, like your body left there all those years ago but your head's still stuck there. ... I'm not marrying no fella that's still stuck back at the boys' home, stuck there in his head, even if his body's free to come and go as it pleases. You following me, Mick ...?

Thank you all for coming tonight.

The 29th Annual Australian and New Zealand Law and History Conference

The theme for this year's conference is "Owning the Past: Whose Past? Whose present?" Hosted by the Australian and New Zealand Law and History Society (ANZLHS), the conference is set for 13 to 15 December 2010 in Melbourne. The site (www.waikato.ac.nz/law/anzlhs/) says:

The use and study of the past is constantly being refashioned and reinterpreted to construct meaning in the present, imparting understandings of a common but chaotic humanity. Because everyone and no one 'owns' history, the ownership of historical events and the right to speak of them remains deeply contested. What are the outcomes and practical challenges surrounding the construction of historical consciousness through and about law? Whose past is told and by whom? How does law's past influence history's present? And is there any such thing as the orderly evolution of legal ideas? This conference invites papers on the subject of ownership in history and law, and may include contributions on any of several broad themes: the contestation of memory; the ethics of representation and remembrance; the commoditization and consumption of traumatic pasts; transcultural and transgenerational trauma; new technologies of historical documentation; testimony and bearing witness; Indigenous knowledge; identity politics; citizenship; the ethics of reproducing historical narratives; colonialism and hegemony; 'dark' tourism and artefacts of law; and

new legal imaginings and the contest with the legal past.

This is an interdisciplinary conference and papers are invited from scholars across a broad range of disciplines, as well as chronological and geographical contexts.

Speakers

- Eve Darian-Smith (University of California)
- David Williams (University of Auckland)
- Larissa Behrendt (UTS)
- Tracey Lindberg (University of Ottawa)
- Robert J. Miller (Lewis and Clark Law School, Chief Justice Court of Appeals, Grand Ronde Community of Oregon)
- Jacinta Ruru (University of Otago)
- Julian Burnside, QC, Melbourne

Enquiries to: lawhistoryconference@latrobe.edu.au

Conference on the legal histories of the British Empire; National University of Singapore; 5-7 July 2012; Preliminary call for papers

The First International Conference on the Legal Histories of the British Empire will be held in Singapore from July 5 to 7, 2012. The Faculty of Law at the National University of Singapore is the local host.

The Conference is supported by the American Society of Legal History, the Australian and New Zealand Legal History Association, and the Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History.

The Conference is designed to provide a vehicle for a wide ranging sample of current scholarship on imperial and colonial legal history – cultural, institutional, social, biographical, doctrinal, prosopographical and theoretical. The objectives are:

to bring together scholars (senior, junior and graduate students) working in the fields of imperial and comparative colonial legal history, to share the work that is already underway, and

to encourage those with an incipient interest in these fields and others to join in this scholarly endeavour and expand the field.

Without in any way limiting the range of topics considered at the Conference, the following are just some areas of contemporary and comparative research interest: the treatment of Aboriginal and Indigenous populations; property rights; the treatment of the unfree - slaves and convicts; the administration of justice and the rule of law; constitutional evolution; the colonial judiciary; the legal professions; the transference of legal culture and ideology within the Empire; master and servant law; regulation of labour, labour movement and indenture; crime and criminal justice; formal and informal resolution of private disputes; law and economic development; the law and gender; women's rights; the law of libel and press freedom; discrimination against ethnic majorities and minorities; martial law in colonial settings; internal security of the colonial state.

This Call for Papers invites submissions for both papers and panels. Submissions of papers should be accompanied by an abstract of 300 words maximum in length and sent to Dr. David Williams, Faculty of Law, University of Auckland (dv.williams@auckland.ac.nz), cc. Professor John McLaren, Faculty of Law University of Victoria, British Columbia (jmclaren@uvic.ca).

The deadline for submissions is June 30, 2011.

General inquiries about the Conference should be addressed to Professor McLaren.

The Organizing Committee for the Conference is: Shaunnagh Dorsett (University of Technology, Sydney, New South Wales); Andrew Harding (University of Victoria, British Columbia); Renisa Mawani (University of British Columbia); John McLaren (University of Victoria, British Columbia); Jothie Rajah (Berkeley, University of California); Wes Pue, (University of British Columbia); Carol Tan (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London); Kevin Tan (National University of Singapore and heritage consultant); David Williams (University of Auckland).

Call for papers by the Irish Journal of Legal Studies (number one)

The Irish Journal for Legal Studies is compiling a special issue on the topic of Irish Approaches to Justice. It wishes to invite scholars with an interest in this broad theme to submit abstracts of around 250 words by **Monday 28 February 2011**.

A provisional selection will be made by the end of April 2011 and contributors asked to provide a full draft of their text by Wednesday 31 August 2011. These will then be refereed blind in the usual way. Final articles accepted for publication should be with the IJLS by January 2012 for publication in (the northern) Spring 2012.

The purpose of this Special Issue is to address the question of whether or not there could be said to exist a uniquely 'Irish' approach to justice, legality and fairness, not alone in Ireland itself but also among the Irish diaspora, from the nineteenth century onwards. If there is an attitude to justice which can be said to be distinctively Irish, the next question is whether such an approach can be defined, and how it might differ to approaches to justice elsewhere? Another issue to consider is whether such a distinctively Irish interpretation of justice has found expression in the established legal systems and mechanisms, or as a means of alternative justice.

Suggested topics include (but are not limited to):

- The impact of Ireland's unique history on the perceptions and workings of law and justice in Ireland and abroad
- Distinctively Irish features of civil and criminal law, the development of legal institutions and legal theories.
- Whether the Irish experience contributes to a coherent and unique approach to justice and legality
- Social, economic and/or political factors that influence the shaping of Irish legal norms (and attitudes thereto), both in Ireland and among the Irish diaspora
- The influence of 'Irish' notions of law and justice

in shaping legal norms, both in Ireland and abroad

- Violence, 'Rough justice', informal justice and alternative justice in Ireland and among the Irish diaspora.
- The extent to which British laws and British ideas of justice have exerted, or continue to exert, influence over the Irish legal system
- Whether the Irish postcolonial experience of law and justice differs from that in other former colonies

Please send abstracts via email attachment to:

Dr Karen Brennan, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, k.brennan@qub.ac.uk

Dr Niamh Howlin, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, n.howlin@qub.ac.uk

Dr Sara Ramshaw, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, s.ramshaw@qub.ac.uk

Call for papers by the Irish Journal of Legal Studies (number two)

The Northern Island Legal Quarterly is compiling a special issue for the Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly (NILQ) on the topic of 'Bench and Bar: The (Dis)appearance of Britain'.

It wishes to invite scholars with an interest in this broad theme to submit abstracts of around 250 words by **Friday 31 December 2010**.

It intends to make a provisional selection by the end of January 2011 and then ask contributors to provide a full draft of their text by Tuesday 31 May 2011. These will then be refereed blind in the usual way. Final articles accepted for publication should be with the NILQ by November 2011 for publication in the first volume of 2012.

As the British Empire extended its reach during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Western (specifically British) concepts of law and justice were exported around the world. As the empire retracted in the twentieth century, a residual legal order was left in its wake: the common law. In many colonies and British territories, the early twentieth

century was a time of uncertainty. As the roles of the imperial parliament and the judicial committee of the Privy Council changed, national legal systems began to emerge. This special issue of the Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly seeks to address some of the issues which have arisen as a consequence of the (dis)appearance of British Imperialism.

Suggested topics include (but are not limited to):

- The role of national courts and legislatures in shaping 'new' legal orders
- How tension between old and new orders was resolved
- How the judiciary and legal community responded to the abolition of Privy Council appeals
- The role of law in the formation of new states
- How former colonies and dominions have diverged in their interpretation and development of common law principles
- The role of lawyers and legal professions in the transition from imperialism to independence
- Whether British systems of law and justice continue to exert influence over the legal systems of its former territories; and whether lawmakers in former colonies have looked and continue to look towards Britain for guidance
- The Bench and Bar in the UK and the colonies, for example:
 - How was the English model exported?
 - The extent to which the English model is still used?
 - Whether ex-colonies made changes to their legal professions in the aftermath of independence?
 - The influence of individuals who migrated from the English bar to the colonial bars?

Please send abstracts via email attachment to:

Dr Karen Brennan, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, k.brennan@qub.ac.uk

Dr Niamh Howlin, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, n.howlin@qub.ac.uk

Dr Sara Ramshaw, Queen's University of Belfast, School of Law, s.ramshaw@qub.ac.uk

The Twentieth British Legal History Conference: Call for Papers

The Twentieth British Legal History Conference will be held in Cambridge from Wednesday 13 July 2011 to Saturday 16 July 2011.

The conference theme will be Law and Legal Process. The conference addresses the intersection between law and legal process, the ways in which the processes of courts and other tribunals, the practices of judges and lawyers, and the needs of litigants, influence each other and shape the development of the law; and the influences in turn of legal doctrine upon the practices of those coming into contact with the law. A draft programme and details of registration and accommodation will be circulated early in 2011. Conference organisers are Professor Sir John Baker; Professor David Ibbetson; Dr Neil Jones; Dr Isabella Alexander and Dr Matt Dyson.

Conference email: LawBLHC@hermes.cam.ac.uk.

Richard Anstey and the Sackville inheritance

The Hon John P Bryson QC delivered a splendid paper "Richard of Anstey and the Sackville Inheritance" at 5.15pm on Wednesday, 25 August 2010. In recognition of the extraordinary persistence of this early litigant, the Australian Law Journal has now republished it at (2010) 84 ALJ 775. The précis says:

Richard of Anstey's claim to inherit his late uncle's manors took five years to reach decision by King Henry II and there were many delays and adjournments, procedural manoeuvres, irrelevant arguments, interlocutory appeals, overseas journeys, masses of documents, doubtful law and enormous expense and trouble. There was no restraint in this family conflict. Richard attacked his niece's legitimacy and she responded with claims of fraud in high places. Some constants of litigation were present in the 12th century.

Summer Quarters⁶

In summer 1810-1811

On 10 January 1811, an uprising of over 400 slaves was put down in New Orleans; 66 were killed and their heads were strung up along the roads of the city.

In summer 1860-1861

On 20 December 1860, South Carolina becomes the first state to secede from the Union.

In summer 1910-1911

On 6 February 1911, Ronald Reagan was born in Tampico, Illinois.

In summer 1960-1961

On 25 February 1961, the last tram ran from the Hunter Street terminus in Elizabeth Street, Sydney to La Perouse and returned to Randwick Workshops.⁷

Endnotes

1. www.hup.harvard.edu/news/wilson_prize.html, accessed 5/08/2010.
2. www.literaryawards.com.au/nswhistory.html, accessed 27/11/2010.
3. www.hup.harvard.edu/catalog.php?recid=29684, accessed 27/11/2010.
4. www.historians.org/prizes/AWARDED/LittletonGriswoldWinner.htm, accessed 27/11/2010.
5. lexisnexis.com/store/catalog/productdetail.jsp?pageName=relatedProducts&skuId=sku1360232&catId=cat30006&prodId=prod12420322#.
6. Usually, the Flyer draws the references from timelines.ws or from en.wikipedia.org.
7. isput.com.au/media/File/tramstats.pdf, accessed 27/11/2010.



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