

Long Distance Travel in Canoes, Kayaks, Rowboats and Rafts on
the Rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin from 1817 to 2012

by

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Abstract

From 1817 to 2012, paddling and rowing on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin played a crucial role in the region's exploration, commerce and recreation. This thesis exposes the cultural and historical significance of journeys in human-powered craft during this period. Despite its underlying historical and cultural significance, the history of these journeys is little known and little understood. This is despite journeys by famous explorers such as Captain Charles Sturt who used rowboats on two expeditions, most notably on his 1830 expedition on the Murrumbidgee and Murray rivers. His Murray journey is well commemorated, but two earlier journeys by Surveyor-General John Oxley's expedition are not as widely known. Those four voyages, as well as three expeditions led by Major Thomas Mitchell were instrumental in solving the mystery of the inland rivers and expanding colonial settlement (Shaw ed., 1984, pp.217, 221, 599). Following European expansion, journeys by Captain Francis Cadell and a voyage by Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, determined the navigability of the Murray for paddle steamers. Until the additional linking of the railways into the basin during the 1870s and 1880s, paddle steamers provided the most efficient and reliable transport for farmers and settlers, and boosted the regional economy (Lewis, 1917, p.47; Phillips, 1972, p.50; Richmond, c.1980, p.17). Subsequently homesteads were built along the Murray and eventually "whalers", waterborne swagmen who subsisted on the rivers, would fish for Murray cod (Rowland, c.1980, p.53; "Vidi", 1894). Travel in human-powered craft reveals how previous generations survived. For example, migrant workers travelled home in row boats from the New South Wales and Victorian diggings to South Australia in 1853 and in the 1860. Traveller accounts are a valuable contribution to the historical and archaeological record. In 1862 George Burnell and Edward William Cole rowed down the Murray from Echuca to Goolwa, taking photographs along the way, adding a visual dimension to written accounts. Their images are some of the earliest photographs of the Murray and provide glimpses into Aboriginal customs. This thesis explores the many ways in which paddling and rowing on the rivers have contributed to our understanding of the basin and how it provides a window into the society to which travellers belonged.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis investigates the history and cultural significance of long distance travel in human-powered craft on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin, from 1817 to 2012.¹

Aboriginal travel in human-powered craft commenced long before European settlement and continued into the early colonial era (Inglis c.1972 in Berndt, 1972, foreword), but is not a major part of this research. Colonial accounts show that Aborigines used bark canoes to fish (see Angas, 1845 cited in Berndt, 1972, p.17; Edwards, 1972, pp.17, 18; Eyre 1845 cited in Edwards, 1972, p.18). Despite my initial hopes, Indigenous journeys have not been included herein because there appear to be no written accounts of Indigenous long distance journeys on the rivers. Although it is difficult to determine the distances travelled, it seems plausible that they used canoes for long distances. For example, an article in the *Canberra Times* in 2013 described a ceremony performed by the “custodians of the Mouth of the Murray” and the Ngunnawal of Canberra “on the banks of the Murrumbidgee River” (Thistleton, 2013, p.3). The ceremony was said to “reawaken an ancient pathway that connected their nations for more than 25,000 years” (Thistleton, 2013, p.3). Meetings such as this have probably taken place for thousands of years and seem to demonstrate that they did travel long distances in the basin, but the mode of transport was not mentioned and may have been on land, but there is no firm evidence outside a tradition.

From 1817 to 2012, the use of human-powered craft reflected hopes and ambitions of the European population and provides important turning points in Australian’s European history. The changing motivation for journeying long distances on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin reveals changes in social, cultural and economic life, and the country’s development into a prosperous modern economy. The artefacts and consequences of these journeys provide glimpses into the physical characteristics, seasonal variations and aesthetics of the rivers, as well as occasionally documenting Aboriginal customs, and revealing the basin’s geography. Most evidence of the activities of European travellers is recorded in rural and urban newspapers and periodicals.

There were at least 210 documented journeys in human-powered craft in the period 1817 to 2012, including four important expeditions undertaken by prominent explorers John Oxley,

¹In this context human-powered craft refers to non-motorised vessels such as rowboats, canoes, kayaks and rafts. Also, this thesis is an extension of and includes more analysis and research than my 2012 honours thesis: Long Distance Travel by Canoes, Rowboats, Rafts and Whaleboats on the Rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin from about 1830 to 1950.

Charles Sturt and their parties (see Appendix A). Yet, there are no scholarly references which examine and understand the volume and importance of long distance river travel in Australian history or for Australian cultural heritage. There are many written accounts of individual journeys, short descriptions in newspapers and at least one major investigation of the use of Aboriginal bark canoes in the lower Murray valley in South Australia (Posselt, 2009; Edwards, 1972; Trezise, 2007; Berndt, 1941, pp.17-28; Couper Black, 1947, pp.351-361; Davidson, 1935, pp.1-16, 69-89; Rhoads, 1992, 198-217; Thomas, 1905, pp.56-79; Coxhill, 2011). However, there is little published research covering such travel during this period (Coxhill, 2011). Some information can be found in local history books and occasionally in accounts of the paddle steamer trade (Phillips, 1972, p.6; Richards-Mousley, 2010, pp.79, 80; Rowland, 1980, p.54). Some journal articles record river tourism statistics (Howard, 2008, p.295; Lade, 2006, pp.321-342). There are few evaluations of the significance of long distance travel in human-powered craft. Coxhill, for example, wrote an honours thesis which provided an archaeological analysis of the construction of two non-steam inland water craft, but did not discover the extent of long distance travel in human-powered craft in the Murray-Darling Basin, and its inherent importance. Coxhill does not mention much about long distance journeys beside those of Sturt and Oxley.

The lack of academic attention this topic has received in earlier scholarship is easily explained. Archaeological evidence is scarce. Unlike the substantial, solidly built paddle steamers, nineteenth-century human-powered craft generally have not survived. They were smaller, more fragile and once no longer used, more likely to decay. As non-motorised craft disappeared, so have their stories. As time passed, many journeys were forgotten, only appearing in the sidelines in contemporary accounts which focused on other historical events.

Careful research through historical and contemporary newspapers, magazines and books has revealed the many journeys that have been gathered and listed in this thesis. Alexandrina Council member Frank Tuckwell's *Inland Rivers Murray Marathon Register* (unpublished), lists river journeys ending at Goolwa, South Australia. His register is an informative and valuable account of various journeys, but it mostly focuses on those undertaken after the 1950s in both motorised and non-motorised craft. This thesis focuses on voyages in human-powered craft. In doing so, it collects and explores information about vanished ways of life that are rarely remembered.

The body of this thesis is divided into three parts. The first, (Part A), examines trips undertaken for exploration and surveying between 1817 and 1877. The second, (Part B), explores journeys made for employment and commerce, from about 1853 to 1936. The third, (Part C), details journeys made for adventure and recreation from 1851 to 2012. The boundaries of these periods are not meant to be rigid and unmovable. They provide a sense of the predominant themes and motivations at various times in Australian history. There were different periods because, for example, the intentions of travellers towards the end of the nineteenth century were usually not the same as they would have been at the beginning of that century when journeys were routinely undertaken into unknown and uncharted regions.

That the periods overlap can be explained as follows. The records show that settlement of explored regions occurred while others were surveying the Murray River in non-motorised vessels to determine its navigability for paddle steamers. Once paddle steamers were on the river, people paddled or rowed the rivers seeking employment or to travel home to South Australia from the gold rushes which were located in isolated regions of Victoria and New South Wales. While some sought employment, others sought adventure. This probably reflects variations in individual circumstances. Those who were employed probably found excitement in travelling on the rivers. Others without jobs sought the rivers as a refuge and means of surviving in difficult times. The rivers were open to travellers no matter their motivations for being on the water.

These divisions (A, B and C) help to make sense of the variety of journeys observed in surviving reports. They also gather like journeys together, and explain the different collective motivation that predominated at different times.

This research, then, has three main goals:

1. Compile a comprehensive listing of journeys and organise examples thereof into the categories I have suggested,
2. Recognise the contribution to Australian history by long distance travellers in the Murray-Darling Basin by bringing this history to light and
3. Provide an understanding of the culture that motivated the journeys and is our national heritage.

This compilation will provide a solid foundation for further research while putting flesh on the bones of our present understanding.

Part A

From 1817 to about 1877, human-powered craft were essential for mapping the Murray-Darling Basin and discovering the geography of that part of Australia. After the explorers searched unknown regions, settlers brought sheep and cattle to those areas (Eastburn, 1990, p.13). The first European settlements along the Murray did not exist until the 1840s, although the Manaro, currently referred to as the “Monaro”, region and the Upper Murrumbidgee were well settled by 1829 (Eastburn, 1990, p.12; Andrews, 1979, p.20; n.d, The Discovery of the Manaro). Higher sheep and cattle numbers meant an increase in the production of wool which resulted in substantial economic growth (Phillips, 1972, p.50). Economic growth was further enhanced by the development of the paddle steamer trade which followed in the wake of the pioneering journeys of paddlers and rowers who provided intelligence about the navigability of the rivers. This development enabled large amounts of wool to be transported to colonial cities, possibly removing the need for farmers to reserve wool clips from one season into the next (Lewis, 1917, p.47; Phillips, 1972, p.50).

Several surveying journeys in canoes, made by Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia Henry Edward Fox Young in 1850, and Captain Francis Cadell in 1852, 1855 and 1856, (see Nicholson, 2004, pp.103-104; 1887, ‘A Murray Pioneer’; 1887, ‘Our Letter Box Murray River Pioneers’; 1856, ‘Edward River District’) enabled the paddle steamer trade to flourish. Cadell’s 1852 journey on the Murray from Swan Hill in a canvas boat is well known, but his wider exploration of the Upper Murray and the Edwards River is not.

Part B

In the past it has been possible to live off the rivers. From 1853 to 1936 plying the rivers in human-powered craft gave ready access to the river’s resources. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, paddlers and rowers could catch or observe large numbers of cod from the Murray and its tributaries (see Murray, 1898, p.21; D’Arrob, 1877, p.13; Coughlan, 1935). Murray cod were often very large and were considered good eating fish (Rowland, 2004, pp.39-40). The river was abundant with game. Individuals with the proper skills and tools could fish, or shoot water birds. They could easily camp by the river without cost. This must have attracted some to a life on the rivers, a life that would have been difficult, if not impossible, in the emerging cities. Subsistence of this sort is hardly possible today.

Overfishing, for example, has been responsible for the decline of Murray cod in both size and number (Rowland, 2004, pp. 39, 40, 50) and it is no longer possible to rely on that species for

sustenance. The legacy of overfishing and the degradation of the cod's habitat remain evident in the early twenty first century (Rowland, 2004, pp.49, 50).

During the late 1920s, (the depression era) itinerant workers from Sydney and Adelaide as well as other places sought work and refuge by paddling on the rivers (1931, 'The Great Adventure Better than No work'; 1932, "'Paddling their Own Canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads'). 'Paddling' often meant escaping city life and finding freedom on the river (1932, "'Paddling their Own Canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads'). As long as they could live 'off the land' they could hope to survive (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'). Some of them made their own canoes (1932, 'To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today'). As well, the custom of rural hospitality meant that travellers could sometimes obtain supplies from rural settlers (Waterhouse, 2005, p.118).

In addition, business entrepreneurs and merchants also used the river as a means of seeking employment or supporting their trade. Those who used human-powered craft to support their business or find work were often adaptable, practical, determined, audacious and resourceful.

An important outcome of river travel after the advent of photography was the documentation of the life of Indigenous people along the rivers. Although introduced to Europe in 1839, the first known photograph was not taken in Australia until May 1841 (Henisch & Henisch, c.1994, pp.431-432; Mollison in Newton et al, 1988, p.vi). Photography provided a valuable record of a way of life that has vanished. Some travellers in human-powered craft took photographs—that add to their written accounts and provide glimpses into Aboriginal lives and customs, as well as preserving images of river scenery that has changed markedly over the years. For example, photographs taken by travellers after 1850 could be used, much like other photographs taken during the period, by modern Indigenous people to learn about their ancestors and to reclaim their heritage (Lydon ed., 2014, pp.10, 15; Lydon & Braithwaite in Lydon ed., 2014, p.169). Some of the earliest and most important photographs of the Murray were taken by Edward William Cole and George Burnell during their voyage from Echuca to Goolwa in 1862.

This thesis also reveals many long forgotten journeys on the Murray by South Australians travelling to and from the Snowy Diggings in 1860. An example would be the journey of Mr and Mrs Abram Martin, Mr A Wooley and eight diggers who all embarked in a boat from Albury to Currency Creek, South Australia although some disembarked earlier in South

Australia, their motivations for travelling in this way is discussed in Part B 2.1b.e(1860, ‘A Boat Trip on the Murray’). The Murray was clearly considered a highway south.

Part C

During the period 1851 to 2012, reasons for canoeing on the rivers began to change. By the turn of the twentieth century the rivers had been explored and maps drawn. Aerial photographs was now used to map the landscape. From 1931 to 1938, the CSIRO produced black and white photographs (n.d, National Archives Australia search Series Details D1900) perhaps for agricultural and strategic defence purposes. The South Australia Department for Environment and Heritage created aerial and satellite shots of the Murray Mouth in 1949, 1957, 1966, 1973, 1981, 1995, 2001 and 2003 (c.2004, River Murray Collection Item Images of the River Murray Mouth, 1949-2003), shots which could potentially assist navigators.

A desire to emulate the feats of early explorers was evident from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. During this time new travellers took to the rivers for adventure. Some of those were heavily influenced by imperial ideals of masculinity they believed they found in the exploits of Sturt or Henry Morton Stanley (Harper, 2008, p.68). ‘Imperial masculinity’ as it is sometimes called, was the ideal of what men *should* be like, an ideal often reflected in literature (Harper, 2008, pp.64, 68; Crotty, 2001, pp.138, 139). One of its goals was to transform boys into men who could protect Britain and its colonies (Harper, 2008, p.68) thus it provided encouragement for young people to engage in spirited adventures. From the late nineteenth century to World War I, imperialism which heavily influenced middle-class masculinity from 1870 to 1920, was encouraged by politicians, school masters, adventure literature and magazines (Crotty, 2001, pp.57, 63, 81, 89, 138, 139, 144). Schools emphasised boys’ athletic training so that they would become strong, honest and hard-working citizens (Crotty, 2001, p.57). The role of women and girls was de-emphasised (Crotty, 2001, p.166). Women’s civilising influence upon men became the antithesis of middle-class masculinity (Crotty, 2001, p.73). Eventually, as Australia began to fear war and the threat of, for example, invasion from Asia, sports – including outdoor adventures – were used to prepare boys who might be transformed into citizens who would make good soldiers (Crotty, 2001, pp.88, 138, 139, 201-202). As the colonies were not usually at war during the 1880s, some men sought wilderness areas to practice their ideas of masculinity and later boys scouts were taken to the wilderness to escape the ‘feminising’ influence of domesticity (Crotty, 2001, pp.163, 204; Harper, 2008, p.74).

During the nineteenth century women who travelled long distances usually did so in the company of their husbands, although colonial women from prosperous families were able to row for leisure (see Adair, 1994, p.182 about women rowing) in what appear to be day trips. Developments in women's rights and recognition of their abilities meant that solo female canoeists, groups of only female canoeists and women's participation in pioneering journeys increased, although men's journeys were more frequently recorded. Women still had to break through various barriers to participate, although by the late Victorian era some prohibitive norms began to crumble (for information about norms that stopped women from playing certain sports see Vamplew ed et al, 1994, p.178).

During World War I and World War II, reports of journeys diminished. There was substantial pressure from schools and society (information in Crotty, 2001, pp.81, 89 suggests that this might be case) for men to join the army and so those who were fit enough to paddle the rivers would, perhaps, have been deemed able to enlist. Recreational paddlers needed to be discreet.

During the 1930s the River Canoe Club of New South Wales was founded (Chenoweth, 1949, p.3). Their published maps and efforts made recreational canoeing more accessible to the public (Chenoweth, 1949, p.3), not to mention the interesting and witty accounts of canoeists published in their monthly *Splashes*. Such magazines could have helped recruit participants into canoe clubs.

After World War Two there was a dramatic increase in the records of recreational journeys.

From the late nineteenth century, adventurers were motivated to travel long distances in the belief that they would be, for example, the first to travel a particular segment in a particular time. In the mid-twentieth century the desire to follow in the tracks of celebrated explorers was evident in new pioneering journeys in remote and difficult regions. However, during the late twentieth century the *Guinness Book of Records (Australian edition)* (1974, 1984, 1989) followed and recorded the urge to break speed and distance records on the rivers. By the early twenty first century, these records became increasingly hard to break so more recently there have been fewer attempts to do so. Instead there are individuals plying the rivers in new types of craft, such as stand-up paddle boards, in the hope of seeing the rivers in a new way and celebrating setting new records. Short distance races had been held on the Murray during the twentieth century. Then in 1969 the famous long distance race, the 400km Murray Marathon canoe race from Yarrawonga Weir to Swan Hill, was first held (Thorntwaite, 1993, front cover). The race was initially held to raise money for the Red Cross, but the YMCA later

became the sponsor (Thorntwaite, 1993, front cover; c.2015, YMCA Murray Marathon 25th – 29th November, 2015, p.4).

From the 1990s many individuals paddled the rivers to raise funds for charity. The urge to escape the security and perhaps tedium of modern urban life manifested in the “Sunday drive” (Sobocinska & White, c.2013, p.479), seems to have been extended into undertaking river journeys.

This urge may be evidence of a deeper spiritual and (perhaps) biological need to visit places like the Murray (Davis, 1978, p.98). For 1-2 million years *Homo sapiens* and their ancestral species thrived by keenly observing the environment and relying almost solely on physical strength to survive (Boyden in Davis, 1978, p.98). In the last 10,000 years, however, when agriculture and machines developed, most humans moved away from the hunter-gatherer mode of existence (Davis, 1978, p.99). Eventually they built cities, which in some ways made their lives easier but their bodies, some believe, could not adapt properly for city living and it is only in places away from cities that humans can reach their spiritual and physical potential (Davis, 1978, pp.99,101). Davis explains that to reach spiritual and physical potential requires being for a time in untouched land not unlike the places where humans evolved (Davis, 1978, p.101). Travellers became the masters of their own destiny and not dependent on the rituals of modern life. This is, perhaps, how expeditions on the river connect travellers to that deeper part of their cultural heritage to which Boyden and Davis allude. By getting away from the bustle of the cities and learning how to survive on minimal equipment, they are, albeit with modern technological assistance, reconnecting with the lives and rituals of ancestors.

Parts A, B and C include references to travellers who have made significant historical records that reveal what the rivers were once like. These records were mostly found in newspapers, although books, magazines and journals revealed journeys which were also included in this thesis. As a part of this research, towns along the Lachlan, Macquarie, Darling, Bogan and Murray Rivers were visited and the rivers were photographed. Travellers’ accounts, held in the State Libraries of New South Wales and South Australia were also consulted. Traveller records are important as they expose dramatic changes since European settlement. The building of locks, weirs, dams and pervasive use of European farming and irrigation practices have altered the natural state of the rivers and the land along their banks (Humphries, King & Koehn, 1999, p.131; Kingsford & Thomas, 2004, p.383; Walker, 1985, pp.117-122; Posselt,

2009, pp.1-2). The uprooting of native trees and their replacement with short-rooted grass and crops have caused the water table to rise and therefore salinity problems in the Murray Darling region (Quiggan, 2001, p.71). Native flora and fauna had been in decline, at least twenty four small mammals becoming extinct from 1841-1901 in the Western Division of New South Wales, which includes large sections of the basin (Lunney, 2001, pp.44, 46). Water policies have reflected the needs of local tourism and economics at the expense of maintaining river red gums (Howard, 2008, pp.298-299) which rely on regular flooding. Possessing scientific and anecdotal historic evidence, as provided by the travellers, is important for conservationists and all Australians in order to understand the river's attributes, environmental change and how people survived in the colonial and early federation eras.

All photos were captured by the author unless otherwise specified. Most imperial measurements have been included with their metric equivalent.

PART A: Exploration and Surveying 1817-1877

1. Overview: Exploration and Surveying 1817-1877

The discussion of exploration and surveying is divided into two periods. The first is about government funded expeditions into unexplored regions made for exploring and charting those areas, which occurred in 1817-1836. The second mostly concerns surveying journeys into known regions of the basin, which occurred in 1848-1877.

2. Exploration and Surveying 1817-1836

From 1817 to 1836 boat journeys were a primary method for exploring and mapping the interior, and enabling economic growth. Boats provided a means for Europeans to explore unknown land, discovering unfamiliar fauna and understanding the geography all whilst charting the rivers. Rivers were a pathway into unexplored territory and the British Empire was keen to explore the rivers in the hope of improving inter-colonial communication and finding fertile lands (Cathcart, 2009, p.90; Rickard, 1996, p.53). During this period, journeys were not made for recreation. Finding and cultivating lands were important for feeding the colony and also the development of Australia's first major long term export: wool (Rickard, 1996, p.53; Shaw ed., 1984, p.201). Before wool became an export commodity, the colony had relied on whaling, sealing and farming but was at a disadvantage due to Britain's import policies, foreign competition and the decline in the number of whales and seals (Shaw ed., 1984, p.201). Improving economic development meant exploring outside what was later known as the "Nineteen Counties" in which law and surveyed boundaries had been established (Shaw ed., 1984, p. 201; Rickard, 1996, p.53; Cathcart, 2009, pp.104-105). In 1829, Governor Darling needed to maintain law and order to encourage further mapping and surveying (Ford & Roberts, c.2013, p.130).

Exploration also meant finding grass unaffected by the caterpillar plagues which struck the Cumberland Plains, where many in the colony grazed their stock, in 1810, 1812 and 1814 (Mackanness ed., 1965, p.14; Perry, 1963, pp. 26, 27, 29, 30). Moreover, the Sydney district could not accommodate the 26,000 cattle and 74,000 sheep already farmed in the region (McDonald, 1968, pp.2-3). By the 1830s wool had become the colony's major export; and exploration was conducted to find well-watered pastures to raise more sheep (Rickard, 1996, p.201; Shaw ed., 1984, p.201; Oxley, 1820 republished online in 2002, p.4). Boats were, in many instances, a speedier and more efficient means of transporting explorers and their

equipment. Boats were a practical method of testing river navigability, which is not always easily determined by travelling on land. Although some of the voyages were short due to obstructions in the waterways, they nonetheless provided vital insight on the potential usefulness of transport on the river. Expeditions contributed knowledge of the interior, and of where the rivers led.

Explorers' vessels were the first European craft on the basin's streams. Their journeys have influenced the settlement of the basin and changed the future of the region, impacting on its cultural and natural heritage. Learning what the rivers and their immediate surrounds were once like, coupled with the opinions of the first European explorers helped those who followed and is important for conservationists.

The impact of European settlement can be analysed in the journals of river explorers John Oxley, Allan Cunningham, Charles Sturt and Thomas Mitchell. Simon Ryan (1996) believed that explorer journals described the landscape in picturesque terms (pp.54, 57). There are many reasons for this and why their judgement would sometimes be clouded by picturesque—not scientific—observation (p.87). It is my contention that although Ryan (1996) is correct, there are still instances where explorer journals provide insights into the landscape and not just imperial ambition and justification. Ryan (1996) explained that explorers not only wrote their accounts for the colonial government, but for the general reading public (p.55). In the need to please different audiences, explorers had to balance their scientific observations with details of the picturesque, and had to make their narrative more 'interesting' (Ryan, 1996, p.55). By doing so, they were ultimately comparing various scenes with ideal images of England (Ryan, 1996, p.60). By comparing the landscapes to Europe, a legitimising fantasy was created in which the land was seen as destined for European settlements, making the geography seem less intimidating (Ryan, 1996, pp.61, 74).

These journals are not devoid of scientific observations, as the instructions given to John Oxley were to keep a detailed account of what he observed (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.171, 172, 173). Also, Oxley was chosen to be leader over George William Evans for the expedition into the Lachlan region, because he had more scientific knowledge (Whitehead, 2003, p.29). Obtaining scientific knowledge, therefore, was still an important early goal of exploration.

Nonetheless, the accounts are also a reflection of the society to which the explorers belonged. The idea that the land was destined for European colonisation reflected the desire to conquer

and control the land (Ryan, 1996, p.74). The desire seems to have been driven by imperial ambition as well as economic survival. This attitude seems to have persisted in the centuries following their exploration where rivers were locked and dammed to ensure a steady flow for agriculture and transport. River regulation had dramatic, often disastrous consequences for the region's ecology (Walker, 1985, p.121-122).

These early accounts include some objective scientific descriptions and therefore are of some use to scientists and historians. Their publications still reveal insights into what the rivers and the landscape were like before wide-scale European intervention. Their journals, when compared to photographs and records of later water-based travellers, reveal landscape changes and the different ways of life supported by the Murray and its tributaries. To understand the significance of their travels, it is important to describe the earliest exploration of the basin.

Oxley, Sturt and Mitchell were the first to lead expeditions on the basin's rivers and provided some of the earliest impressions of the streams. Their accounts could have influenced settlement policy, especially when their reports were published in newspapers and therefore were made available to all literate members of the public. Knowing what lay beyond the settled areas of the Murrumbidgee, known because of Sturt's 1829/1830 expedition, would have led to a population influx. As more individuals settled in the area, others became confident to move there. Regardless of whether settlers followed the advice of the explorers on the viability of settling in the region, the mere fact that they had mapped it, meant that it was easier and safer to assess any grazing land in those areas.

The earliest long distance journey was led by Surveyor-General John Oxley in 1817 after the crossing of the Blue Mountains. Boat journeys in the region before 1817 by other Europeans are unlikely. Before 1813, the Murray-Darling Basin was largely unexplored due to the Blue Mountains which contained deep ravines and precipices (Lee, 1925, p.122). Several attempts were made to cross that formidable alpine barrier as it divided Sydney Town from the interior (Lee, 1925, p.122). After Deputy-Surveyor George William Evans' crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813, and the discovery of the Campbell, Fish and Macquarie Rivers (the earliest rivers to have been discovered in the basin), Governor Lachlan Macquarie travelled to the Campbell and Macquarie (Macquarie 1815 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.177, 178). The Governor developed the township of Bathurst, as a hub on the western side of the Blue Mountains and sent Evans to further trace the Macquarie (Lee, 1925, p.165). The

Governor was impressed by the fertile plains near Bathurst and was keen to know more about the interior (Dunlop, 1960, pp.8, 9). He wanted the colony to prosper and probably hoped that nearby unexplored regions were arable (Dunlop, 1960, p.9). On this journey Evans discovered the Lachlan River region (Lee, 1925, p.165). It is unlikely that Evans travelled on the river during his exploration. Evans' journal of 1813-1814 made no mention of boat travel during his discoveries, nor is there any reference of it in an article that was published in *Monthly Magazine* in 1815 (Evans, 1815 in Richards ed., 1979, pp.135-138; Mackanees ed., 1965, pp.17-32). In his journal, botanist Allan Cunningham mentions that when Evans first located the Lachlan, at times it was too shallow and that he traversed it on a fallen eucalypt, almost crossing without getting wet (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.193).

While the Murray-Darling Basin was largely unexplored, boats were used at least once for investigating rivers outside the basin. An image, made years after the event, was of one such boat on the Warragombie River, also known as the Warragamba (see Richards ed., 1979, image 4; Gill, 1965, p.550). In 1810 Macquarie was accompanied by Evans, Mrs Macquarie, Captain Antill, Dr. Redfern, Ensign Maclaine, Mr Meehan and George Blaxland on a day trip in a boat on the Warragombie and Nepean Rivers (see Richards ed., 1979, image 4; Havard in Mackanees ed., 1965, p.16). These two rivers are located within 100km of Sydney (see Australian Handy Atlas, c.2000, pp.22, 23). This demonstrates that watercraft would have been used in the basin earlier, if the Blue Mountains had been traversed before 1813. The image reveals the interest the early colonial government had in river travel. Travel on water was an accepted mode of transport in England and was sure to be of keen interest for the new colony. The future of the colony depended on sufficient water, not just for economic growth and to sustain the population, but according to Cathcart (2009) it was also hoped to find a navigable stream traversing the continent from east to west (p.90). The question of whether navigable rivers existed, occurred at least as early as 1815 (Cathcart, 2009, p.90; Oxley, 1820 republished in 2002, p.178). Matthew Flinders circumnavigated the continent in 1801 to 1803 (Shaw ed. 1984, p.182), but the nature of the interior remained unknown. As the only reliable method of testing the navigability of Australia's inland rivers, human-powered boats were to play a major role in the earliest expeditions in the Murray-Darling Region.

From 1817 to 1836, boats were used in at least seven expeditions in the Murray-Darling Basin. Surveyor-General John Oxley used boats on two journeys, as did Captain Charles Sturt, and Major Thomas Mitchell who used them on three expeditions.

However, it should be noted that while at first explorers were presented as heroes in their time, by the end of the twentieth century they were often viewed as trespassers on Aboriginal land (Murray, 2014, p.62).

2a. Surveyor-General John Oxley, 1817, 1818.

In 1817, Surveyor-General John Oxley, Deputy Surveyor George Evans, Kew botanist Allan Cunningham, colonial botanist Charles Fraser, mineralogist William Parr, boat-builder George Hubbard, James King, James King [there appeared to be two people with the same name], William Meggs, Patrick Byrne, William Blake, George Simpson and William Warner were sent by Governor Lachlan Macquarie to trace the Lachlan, the Governor believing it would end at the coast (Cathcart, 2009, p.90; Macquarie 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp. 170,171, 174; Lee, 1925, p.167). Oxley was chosen to be leader because he possessed scientific knowledge, while Evans, who was more knowledgeable in bushcraft, was ordered to accompany him (Whitehead, 2003, p.29). Oxley was ordered to survey and chain the country along his route (Macquarie 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.171). The “chain” was most likely a reference to the gunters chain, an implement containing 100 links to a total length of 20.127m, used for measuring distances (for information on gunters chains see Whitehead, 2003, p.12). The expedition had two boats and thirteen horses, the latter were laden with five months’ worth of provisions (Cathcart, 2009, p.90). Some unnamed members rowed the boats on the Lachlan while Oxley and the others followed the river on horseback (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.12-14, 18).

Macquarie ordered the construction of the two boats as he had been led to believe the river was navigable and that such craft would enable a more convenient process of transporting equipment in difficult country (Macquarie, 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp 170-171). The fact that they organised for a boat builder to accompany them indicates there was serious intention to use the craft and the expedition might well need the skills and services of a boat-builder, if they needed to construct or repair while exploring such remote areas (Whitehead, 2005, p.55). At the time there was little knowledge of what lay west of the Blue Mountains except that there were hills and rivers, so boats were considered an imperative to expeditions in that region (Whitehead, 2003, p.39).

Oxley was also given a copy of the instructions that had been sent from Earl Bathurst, the Secretary of State, stating “that any person travelling into the interior should keep a detailed Journal of his proceedings” which included keeping notes detailing the current, width and

depth of the rivers they encountered (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.171, 172, 173). Information about the current, width and depths would be best estimated by journeying in a boat. Records sent to the Governor updating him on the expedition, were published in colonial newspapers (1818, 'Government and General Orders'; 1817, 'Government and General Orders 6 October').

Oxley's account contained descriptions of the countryside they passed through and recordings of latitude and longitude. Cunningham's journal, which in approximately 1925 was stored in the Natural History Museum in England (Lee, 1925, p.167), was more descriptive, providing more detailed information about botanical observations. He "collected specimens of about 450 plant species" during the expedition but, his knowledge of the intricacies of different eucalyptus species was not well developed at this stage (Whitehead, 2003, p.45; Perry, 'Cunningham, Allan (1791-1839)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography* online). Cunningham collected and/or noted plants on most days (Cunningham in Lee, 1925, pp.185-213).

The following paragraphs contain information on river height and botanical observations, as detailed in Cunningham's and Oxley's accounts. Information about river height and native plants recorded at the time are important as the Lachlan region has changed considerably since European settlement. In particular, dams now regulate the Lachlan River for a more reliable flow (Whitehead, 2003, p.65). In addition, intense tree clearing and the impact of cattle and rabbits have caused soil erosion; and "siltation of channels" (Whitehead, 2003, p.65).

Prior to the Lachlan depot, which was located on the "last discovered point", which former Engineer John Whitehead believes to be Eurimbula, Cunningham noted the tall banks were lined with *Eucalyptus pilularis*, which leaned over the river as if to form an arch (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.190; Whitehead, 2003, pp.88, 89). The flats were fertile and deemed to have agricultural potential; the only disadvantage was that they were subject to flooding (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.190). The river had been 5.2m higher than it was when the expedition were there and the stream was flowing strongly (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.190). On 26 April Cunningham spent the day below the depot noting, among others, plants of *Croton acerifolius*, *Rubus sp.*, and *Urtica dioica* on its shore and "on the low flats near the river I discovered a species of *Dalea* with weak trailing stems; a species of *Aster* with oblong cuneated leaves" (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, pp. 191-192).

Oxley's expedition commenced on 27 April 1817 from the depot, for about 7 or 8 miles until he reached the junction of the river with a creek, and used the boats to cross the water (Macquarie 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.170; Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.11; Whitehead, 2003, pp.57, 64). In the boats were their pork and flour provisions (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.193). Cunningham and Fraser were "ferried over by the boats" to the left bank, climbed hills and noted different plants belonging to species of *Epacridea*: *Leucopogon*, *Bossiaea*, *Hibbertia* and *Aster* (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, pp.192, 193).

On 28 April they passed some tracts of land that Oxley thought would be good for grazing, but describing most of the soil as "inferior" (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.12). Cunningham found among others *Lotus australis*, *Swainsona coronillaefolia*, *Hedysarum*, *Callitiris australis* and members of *Grevillea* species (Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, pp.194, 195). The following day, Oxley reported that the banks continued as before but the crests of the hills were "stony and barren", whereas Cunningham noted that they were "rocky" but had *Bignonia* (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.13; Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.196).

On the 30th they camped at Mandadgery Creek (Whitehead, 2003, p.88). Then on 1 May they proceeded through good riverside flats, noting the waterway was between 30 and 40 yards (27.3m and 36.5m) wide (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.13-14). The following day Oxley reported that the soil was "tolerably good within a mile and a half of the banks" and fish, swans and fowl were plentiful (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.14). Newspaper reports suggest that up until the early twentieth century native fish were common in the region from Gooloogong to below Forbes (cited in Roberts & Sainty, 1996, pp.38-39). Oral histories suggest native fish were not as plentiful in the 1990s (see Roberts & Sainty, 1996, p.41). During the 1990s European carp were common, but not as satisfying to catch and eat (see Roberts & Sainty, 1996, p.41). This is a direct contrast to the plentiful native fish that Oxley reported in 1817 and demonstrates how much the river ecology has changed since his explorations.

On at least one occasion, river measurements were taken by those travelling as part of the land party (Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.198). Cunningham mentioned on one occasion, on 1 May, "As previously arranged, Mr. Evans accompanied by a person with the perambulator proceeded forward, taking the bearings of all remarkable points, windings and

curvatures of the river, as he advanced, endeavouring to cut off any deep bight by stretching from angle to angle and steering as direct a course as the nature of the country would admit” (Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.198). On 2 May Oxley reported that the grass was “breast high, thick, and entangled” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.14). On 3 May he calls the region “very barren desolate country”; the river meandered more and flood marks indicated that the river had previously reached a height 36ft (11m) higher than it was during their journey (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.14). His observations suggest high variations in river level, something that European settlers later controlled to the detriment of the natural cycle of the river. For example, during the late twentieth century to 2008, scientists have monitored river flows in the Murray-Darling Basin and tested the flows needed to maintain healthier ecosystems (Driver et al, 2010, p.184). Ecosystem response modelling has indicated that the Lachlan River, in particular Cumbung Swamp, was suffering from severe water shortage under the 2004 Lachlan water-sharing program (Driver et al, 2010, p.192).

On 4 May the land was much the same as previously except that the crest of the hills contained ‘cypresses’ (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.15). The next day the expedition passed through barren country, with some areas of not so poor ground, the hills bore the same appearance except they also had “small eucalypti, cypresses and camarinas” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.15). The party approached a creek that day and saw that beyond it there were plains that had “good loamy soil” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.15). Oxley believed that the water overflowed on to the flats (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.16). The day of 6 May was difficult for the horses as they trudged through thick plants (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.16). The proliferation of “swamps, small lagoons and stunted loosed timber” gave Oxley the opinion that he was proceeding through miserable country (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.16). He believed that the tract, which he named Princess Charlotte’s Crescent, was subject to inundation due to evidence of past floods (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.16, 17). Fish were once again abundant, Oxley writing that one weighed 70lb [31.8kg] and was 3ft 5in [approximately 1m] long (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.17, 18). They rested on 7 May (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18).

The expedition passed the modern site of Bedgerebong on 8 May (Whitehead, 2003, p.113). On 8 May the soil was of a “good vegetable mould” and there was dense small acacia and other trees on the countryside and the land continued to show signs that it had been flooded in

the past (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18). On 9 May Oxley reported small trees growing amidst vast plains (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18). Field's Plains, where they halted, consisted of "light clayey loam" with *Acacia pendula* around its edges (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.19). Once again, Oxley observed evidence of river variations. The river banks declined also leading Oxley to believe that the vast area had at least one point been subject to deep flooding (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.19). The river was the means through which lower grounds received water (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.19). On 11 May they once again continued down the river, this time the stream rose and "began to wash the immediate edge of the plain" (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.19).

On 12 May Oxley climbed a hill to observe the rest of the river (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.21, 22). Oxley discovered that the river flow could not be recognised due to the surrounding marsh and that for approximately 25 or 30 miles the land was submerged by swamp (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.22). He decided to retreat to where the two branches diverged and then "follow the south-west branch as far as it should be navigable...until it became no longer navigable for boats" (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.22). The party relieved the horses of their loads and transported the luggage over, presumably to the other side of a creek (Cunningham, 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.209). On 13 May Oxley arrived where the stream diverged into two (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.22). The next day he examined the river and upon discovering the extent of the marshes, decided that it was not worth following (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.22, 23). Cunningham toured under Mount Melville on 15 May, reporting that north and west of the mountain was plenty of stagnant water (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.23, 24; Cunningham 1817 cited in Whitehead, 2003, p.131). The following day they recorded their latitude and longitude positions and cut down an *Acacia pendula* (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.23, 24). On 17 May the carpenter planed a surface on a eucalyptus tree with Oxley, Evans and Cunningham leaving the following words: "J. Oxley ; G. W. Evans ; A. C. May 17th, 1817" (Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.213). Oxley decided to head towards the coast (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.23). It appears that the boat journey ended somewhere above present day Condobolin, but below Forbes (Whitehead, 2003, p.57).

On 17 or 18 May they loaded their provisions onto the horses and what they could afford to leave behind they secured with the boats (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.24; Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.214). The boats were left along the river bank and were

covered with bark in the hopes of better protecting the craft in case the expedition were to return to the river (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.24; Cunningham 1817 in Lee, 1925, p.214). The expedition proceeded to north east of modern day Griffith (Whitehead, 2003, p.198). Finding little water, the party headed north from the site of modern day Yenda, approximately 16km north east of Griffith, in the hope of finding an inland sea (Whitehead, 2003, p.198; n.d, Yenda NSW to Griffith NSW – Google Maps). Instead of the inland sea, they encountered the Lachlan near Merri Merrigal, downstream of where they had abandoned the boats (Whitehead, 2003, p.198). Oxley did not realise that the river was a lower part of the Lachlan (Whitehead, 2003, p.198).

Little is mentioned about their boat journey. It is unclear how far they travelled in boats as Oxley mostly travelled on horseback and wrote more about journeying overland, but it is clear boats were used on 27-29 April; 1, 3, 4 May, 3-4 May was also spent fixing the large boat (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.12, 13, 14). It seems logical that on most days they used the boats while Oxley and the land party followed the river on horseback. Oxley mentions mostly boats in relation to whether they had caught up with them and some journal entries mention “proceeded down the river”, which it is assumed means in the boats unless otherwise mentioned (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.14, 15, 16, 18). Including the words “proceeded” or “journeyed down the river” would mean that they also voyaged on 5 and 6 May (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp. 15, 16). The boats were mentioned again on 8, 9 and 11 May (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.18, 19, 20). On 7 May they had a rest day (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18). Oxley reported that the curves of the river made the distance journeyed on water nearly triple the distance travelled on land (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18). Interestingly, Oxley stated that “We proceeded to join the horses which we did at about five o’clock, the boats having gone in that time nearly thirty-six miles, although the distance from the last station did not exceed seven in a direct line” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.18). Oxley does not state who voyaged, however an appendix included a letter of instructions from Governor Macquarie who chose George Hubbard to be the boat-builder and James King, as 1st boatman and sailor (Macquarie, 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.174). It seems likely they travelled in the boats.

Oxley made at least two charts, both of which were included in his journal and in the 1964 reprint (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.6; Oxley, 1964). The two charts, drawn whilst exploring the Lachlan and the Macquarie Rivers, did not include a scale of

measurement although they included latitude and longitude, descriptions of the country side, elevation, whether there were any shrubs, the dates that he reached various locations along the river. This would have been some of the earliest written description of the country near the two rivers and the news would have likely influenced the subsequent proliferation of new settlement, because Oxley passed beyond the termination point of Mr Evans's 1815 exploration along the Lachlan (for information on Mr Evans's termination point see Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.12; a brief mention of the settlement of the Wellington Valley is mentioned in Whitehead, 2005, p.60).

His observations and readings were not particularly accurate mostly due to the tools and measuring mechanisms available (Whitehead, 2003, pp.23, 64). With regards to latitude observations provided in the journal records, most campsites were actually located within 500m of the measurement given (Whitehead, 2003, pp.23, 64). So his observations were still useful in identifying his campsites (Whitehead, 2005, p.64). Any inaccuracy could have been a result of transportation and difficulties of measuring routes over boggy ground and around trees (Whitehead, 2005, pp.22, 23).

The expedition proved that the Lachlan River was mostly unnavigable. The stream was full of sunken timber, and eventually the banks widened creating an immense swamp (Oxley, 1820 republished online in 2002, pp. 13, 14, 16, 18, 23). Fish were abundant, with catches weighing up to 70 pounds [31.8kg] (Oxley, 1820 republished online in 2002, p.17).

It was not until 1878 that a further study was commissioned, but this time to investigate the river for steamer navigation. In 1884, river navigation was still difficult. In 1884, paddler James Henry Shaw, received a lift overland from Wallanthy to Hay due to his difficulties on the Lachlan (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V Hospitality in the Dry Country'). Fallen timber was still plentiful in the Lachlan and he was compelled to hack branches that impeded his passage (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V. '; 1884, "'Town and Country'" Canoe Expedition'). Despite the expedition's failure to find a pilotable route, its records are useful in comparing the landscape to how it is today and for others who travelled after the explorers.

Although the boats were eventually abandoned, they were still important in determining the river's navigability. Without boats, river crossings would have been more tedious and the horses would have carried heavier loads. By storing some of the party's provisions in the boats, the horses were better able to endure a lack of green grass and trudging through thick plants for longer than they would have otherwise.

In 1818, Oxley, Evans, Doctor Harris, Mr Fraser and 12 others were sent by Macquarie to determine the route of the Macquarie River (Campbell, 1818 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.188). “Doctor Harris [was] a well-known surgeon” (Dunlop, 1960, p.12). The Governor hoped that the river either communicated with the sea or led to other navigable streams (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.95). Oxley and his companions travelled overland to the depot established at Wellington Valley especially for the expedition (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.97). They were provided with two boats, eighteen horses, and enough supplies to last twenty four weeks (Campbell, 1818 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.188). The boats were ready upon their arrival at the depot (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p. 97). Although Oxley’s journal does not state the boats[’] dimensions (Whitehead, 2005, p.76) ‘They were probably similar to ships[’] lifeboats but built of lighter materials, oar powered and about five metres in length. Evans described the requirements in a letter to Macquarie on 25 May 1818, that they “must be light and buoyant. If built of heavy wood it sinks.” ‘They were also to be “flatter in the bottom to render it safe from capsizing”’ (Evans 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, pp.76, 77).

On 6 June the boats were loaded and the boat journey began (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.97). In his journal, Oxley did not name those who travelled in the boat, but it is evident that some were in the boats, while others led the horses (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.97). Expedition members spent approximately three weeks in the boats, reaching about 23 land kilometres from Mount Harris (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.110, 111; Whitehead, 2005, p.132). On 7 June they continued through the river with Oxley describing it “...had many fine reaches, extending in straight lines from one to three miles, and of a corresponding breadth” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.98). On 8 June his entries contained admiration for the river describing the width as ranging from 200ft to 300ft (61.0m to 91.4m)(Oxley 1820 republished online 2002, p.98). There was an abundance of water birds (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.98). The boats travelled with relative ease, there were fewer rapids and the river was less shallow than it was at the depot (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.98). On 11 June boats served a slightly different purpose: they were used to carry the horses’ loads while the horses swam across (Whitehead, 2005, pp.77, Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.82). As the horses were each carrying up to at least 262lbs (117.8 kg) each (Whitehead, 2005, p.77) unloading their burdens would have been a relief to the horses and would have enabled them to traverse waterways with more ease. On 12 June Oxley reported that the river meandered, rapids were infrequent and not a hindrance

(Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.100). At times, the width of the river was between 150ft and 250ft (30.5m and 76.2m) (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead 2005, p.87). Although in some sections the width was even greater (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead 2005, p.87). The expedition camped at present day Narromine on 15 June 1818 and near the vicinity of Gin Gin on 18 June 1818 (Whitehead, 2005, pp.86, 99). On 20 June they passed Ewenmar and Marthaguy Creeks “plus all the lagoons between them and the Macquarie River” (Whitehead, 2005, p.110). During 23 and 24 June they journeyed through present day Warren (Whitehead, 2005, p.112). On 23 June the river narrowed and meandered more which possibly contributed to the flood height they had observed 50 or 60 miles (80km or 96km) earlier (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.113). From Narromine to Warren the country contained dense eucalyptus and angophora woodlands, there were also plains without timber, and other places were filled with *acacia pendula*, *chenopodeae* and *polygonum juncium* (Whitehead, 2005, p.115).

On 24 June, above Warren, “the country two or three miles along the banks of the river was only partially flooded, the land being much lower at a greater distance from it; the most part of the soil was a rich alluvial deposition from floods” (Whitehead, 2005, p.118).

Oxley’s journal gives a rough figure about the amount of water heading to the Macquarie Marshes. Whitehead (2003) claims that “the average width [of the stream was] 110 ft, [the] average depth 20 ft, Velocity 1.5Miles per hour; giving a discharge of approximately 5000cusecs [equalling] to 150 cubic metres per second. This is a lot of water heading for the marshes” (Whitehead, 2005, p.120).

On the 27 or 28 June the boats continued without impediment, the water flowing at a mile and a half per hour in some sections very narrowly, and at times “its medium depth from 20ft to 30ft” (6.1m and 9.1m) (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.127). The banks were about a maximum of 7ft (2.1m) above the stream (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.127). On 29 June the land lowered to the height of the river (Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.129). On 30 June Oxley led the party back to their campsite of the previous night, between Old Oxley and Mount Forster (Whitehead, 2005, p.129; Oxley 1818 in Whitehead, 2005, p.130). About 6 miles (9.6km) from the campsite the waters stretched far over the plain, making it impossible to proceed further by land (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.110; Whitehead, 2005, p.135). Oxley decided to take four volunteers with him in the larger boat to determine where the river ended (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.111). Oxley and four others left the camp on 2 July travelling about 27 miles (43.2km), then another 24 miles

(38.4km) on 3 July (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.112). Progress was halted by the ocean of reeds and the vast spread of water over the land (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.112). Oxley believed that inland Australia might include a vast shallow body of water (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.112). Oxley seems to have reached what is now Duck Swamp (Whitehead, 2005, p.135).

There were no more entries in his journal until 7 July when he stated that “he returned with the boat last night” (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.112-113). Oxley says, choosing his words carefully, “with” not “in”. Prior to leaving he had ordered his men to take the horses to Mount Harris (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.111), so it is reasonably certain that he did not take any land party on his return to the campsite. He must have rowed there. Evans explored the area to the north-east of Mount Harris on horseback and found the Castlereagh River (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.113; Whitehead, 2005, pp.139, 140). Oxley decided to take the party in this direction to escape the increasingly boggy soil that he encountered along the Macquarie, to reach Arbuthnot’s Range from which he could reach a vantage point to view the river (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.113). This became the end of the boat journey on the Macquarie.

The Macquarie River today keeps to the same course as it did in Oxley’s day; however the surrounding soils are different (Whitehead, 2005, p.81). The land immediately surrounding the river has been cleared for cropping and grazing and does not flood as often as it used to, due to the development of the Burrendong Dam (Whitehead, 2005, p.81). This development has also resulted in adverse effects on soil quality (Whitehead, 2005, p.81).

It is not clear from the reading of Oxley’s journal what happened to the boats, but he did state that the horses refused to pull them, and there was no harness that assisted them to do so (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.114). For the rest of the journey they headed east away from the Macquarie, finally reaching the coast where they used an Aboriginal canoe to cross a river together with a wrecked boat found on the shoreline to proceed through a lagoon with the horses (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.152-3, 59-161). In 1828, Sturt found the burnt remains of a boat on the summit of Mount Harris which may well have been used in Oxley’s expedition (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.64, 65).

It is evident that Oxley was not in the boats for most of the journey on the Macquarie River, however he described the river depths and obstructions. It is not clear when reading his journal whether they used boats on 16, 20 and 26 June. However on the 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13,

15, 17-19, 24-26, 27, 29 and 30 June they rowed on the river, which means the boats were used on those days (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.95-111).

It is important to note that Oxley did not embark on a search for an inland sea, although the possibility of an inland sea must have seemed likely considering that the known rivers west of the Great Dividing Range flowed west in a similar direction (Cathcart, 2009, p. 89; Cumpston, 1951, p.7). Most Australian explorers were equally open to the idea of a vast inland river system and only entertained the idea of an inland sea when they came across evidence that suggested an inland sea might exist (Cathcart, 2009, pp.90, 113). Governors, explorers and other members of the empire hoped the continent could be traversed east to west by following rivers (Cathcart, 2009, pp.90, 92). The myth that various explorers went in search of an inland sea originated in part by Governor Darling's misinterpretation of Allan Cunningham's analysis, made after Cunningham's 1827 expedition into what he named 'The Darling Downs', and also Sturt's misrepresentation of Matthew Flinders' account of circumnavigating Australia (Cathcart, 2009, pp.85, 86, 108). Cunningham hypothesised that there would be a river system that either traversed the country or flowed into a large lake (Cathcart, 2009, p.108). Darling was overworked and misread Cunningham's report believing it to suggest the existence of an inland sea (Cathcart, 2009, p.108). In Flinders' account, Flinders mentioned that there might be an inland sea, but he did not believe that it was the only possibility (Cathcart, 2009, pp.85, 86).

Oxley's explorations did not answer the question of where the rivers led; however, his descriptions of the landscape and the rivers provide glimpses into what the rivers were like before European occupation. It must be understood that most explorers were not Australian born (Rickard, 1996, p.54) so they may not have been as good at identifying fertile Australian landscapes. Arable landscapes in Australia may have looked different from that which they were used to in Europe (for information about Oxley's ability to identify fertile land in Australia see Whitehead, 2003, p.99). Oxley's journey in the middle of winter was made after heavy rain, and Sturt's journey was made in spring-summer during drought, although he seems to have experienced some heavy rain (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.97; Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.51, 69, 70, 71, 93). Their journals therefore are useful in comparing what the rivers were like during dry and wet seasons.

Oxley described the river depths, flow, rapids, transparency and obstructions. The Macquarie was deep, translucent and contained sunken trees that had been delivered into the water from

the flood (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.99, 109). Rapids were frequent at first but they did not cause trouble (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp.98, 100). The riddle of the inland rivers was finally solved by a series of journeys led by Sturt in 1828/1829 and 1829/1830, and Mitchell in 1831, 1835 and 1836 (Shaw ed., 1984, p.217).

Oxley's legacy has been celebrated in newspapers and by historical societies. In 1983 there was a report in the *Daily Mirror* about Oxley's life and achievements (1983, 'Epic of discovery helped transform colony into nation'). The journalist argued that Oxley's journeys opened up vast tracts of fertile lands to European settlement and mentioned Oxley's role in solving the mystery of the interior (1983, 'Epic of discovery helped transform colony into nation'). The land surrounding the Wellington Valley was fertile (Whitehead, 2005, p.60) and therefore it is not surprising that by 1825 at least 2 runs had been established (see map in Perry, 1963, p.35 showing the settlement of New South Wales). The *Riverina Advocate* published an account of the Lachlan River journey due to the 150 year anniversary of the expedition, stating that the expedition was the "first to see what is now the Murrumbidgee Irrigation Areas" and mentioned the sites that they passed through in relation to current towns (1967, 'With Oxley Down the Lachlan... Part 1'). A ceremony hosted by the Hay Historical Society was conducted to commemorate the anniversary of the expedition (1967, 'With Oxley Down the Lachlan... Part 1'). In 1967 the Warrumbungle Historical Society made plans to retrace Oxley's route when he passed through what is now the site of Coonabarabran, a town along the Castlereagh River (1967, 'Explorer's route to be traced'; Australian Handy Atlas, c.2000). Oxley would have passed through Coonabarabran in 1818 after he had stopped following the Macquarie (Shaw ed., 1987, p.221). There is no mention of any boat journey in the article (1967, 'Explorer's route to be traced').

In 2003 and 2004 retired engineer John Whitehead published two books that tracked and mapped the expeditions of Evans and Oxley on the Lachlan and Macquarie Rivers (n.d, John Whitehead-Author, History Cartographer). His book is thorough, full of detailed painstaking research. He reported the effects of old navigational equipment (Whitehead, 2003, pp.13-20) and provided context for his opinions of Oxley's discoveries.

Oxley achieved his aims of exploring the Lachlan and Macquarie, however flood conditions meant that he was unable to discover the full extent of the Lachlan and Macquarie Marshes. Oxley believed that the Macquarie Marshes probably made up a vast inland body of water, but he lacked the means to test that theory (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.112). It

was up to Captain Sturt during his 1828-1829 expedition during drought to reveal the size of the Macquarie marshes.

2b. Captain Charles Sturt, 1828-1829, 1829-1830.

In 1828, in light of the widespread drought that had occurred since 1826, Governor Darling despatched Captain Charles Sturt, Hamilton Hume and eight others to determine the route of the Macquarie River and the extent of the Macquarie Marshes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.51; MacLeay on Darling's behalf 1828 in Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.151).² They brought many provisions including a small boat (MacLeay on Darling's behalf 1828 in Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.151; Sturt republished online 2001, p.53).

The expedition travelled overland from Sydney to the Wellington Valley (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.51-53). Upon viewing the shallowness of the Macquarie, Sturt decided to continue overland and proceeded on land until 26 December, when he decided to take two men with him in a boat to ascertain the course of the river, which disappeared into marshes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp. 53, 54-69). Hume and two others were to head north and return to the campsite to meet Sturt and discuss their observations (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.69, 71).

On 26 December 1828 Sturt and two unnamed companions commenced their journey (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.69). The river ran north-west over fallen logs that obstructed their progress (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.69). The channel then expanded to a width of either approximately 35 yards or 45 yards (32m-41m), with a depth of 12ft to 20ft (3.7m-6.1m) and was lined with reeds and intermittently with rotting trees (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.69). "And the flood mark was not more than two feet high [0.61m] on the reeds by which they were lined" (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.69) indicating, perhaps, that the marsh could have been at least 0.6m deeper in wetter conditions. For the last 3 miles (4.8km) immense reeds blocked their view, the water was extremely slow and flood marks revealed that the stream had once been about a 1ft (0.3m) higher (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.69, 70). Without warning, the river terminated and the boat struck the ground (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.70). They disembarked, observed the land immediately surrounding the waterways and discovered two creeks (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.70). The north flowing one, which could barely be called a creek, was approximately 30 yards (27.3m) long and inhabited by leeches (Sturt, 1833 republished

² Although his journeys were undertaken in 1828-1829 and 1829-1830, Sturt's journals were published in 1833.

online 2001, p.70). On 27 December he climbed a tree and found that to the west there was approximately 7 miles (11.2km) of reeds which were also abundant towards the north and north-west (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.70). They voyaged once again, but used the westward channel until they encountered reeds (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.70). Sturt skirted around them, examined the current, and observed that the reeds were between 10ft and 12ft (approximately 3.0m-3.7m) tall and that the section was very shallow (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.70, 71). His other observations led him to conclude that the water surrounding the reeds was from rain that had fallen on the previous night (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.71). Sturt returned with much difficulty to the others and they continued back to the camp where the rest of the party remained (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.71). The men were plagued by mosquitoes and were uncomfortably hot (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.71). The waters were palatable, however, and no stench arose from them (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.71). The area was populated with gallinule, bittern and frogs (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.71).

According to Cumpston (1951), Sturt could only navigate the Macquarie Marshes for about 8 miles in the craft (p.16). It is not certain how far they would have travelled in the craft in this section of the river. Assuming that they returned in the craft then they would have travelled approximately 16 miles in all. Upon Hume's return, he reported that there was a winding body of water 12 miles from the campsite of 25 December 1828 which he believed to be the river but his investigation was hindered by another vast swamp (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.71-72).

On 28 December they recommenced their overland journey from the campsite of 25 December and travelled towards the river (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.72). Once again Sturt used the boat to explore the river, noting that "For two miles it preserved a pretty general width of from twenty to thirty yards; but at that distance began to narrow, and at length it became quite shallow and covered with weeds" (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.72). Upon ending his examination, he followed the river banks on foot finding that it formed two streams (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.72). The next morning Hume and Sturt proceeded in the boat to continue uncovering the waters route "...at about a mile it began to diminish in breadth, until at length it was completely lost in a second expanse of reeds" (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.72).

Sturt's boat journey and subsequent 200 mile exploration with two others to the north-north west and to the northwest during which he ascended a tree and a hill, enabled him to determine the extent of the Macquarie Marshes (Sturt 1833 republished online 2001, pp.73, 76). He observed that the marshes of the Macquarie and Lachlan rivers did not meet (Sturt 1833 republished online 2001, p.76). Hume's excursion on horseback to the northeast and eventually west, and information from Sturt's north westerly excursion determined the northern perimeter of the Macquarie Marshes (Cumpston, 1951, p.17). Sturt also discovered that the Macquarie River was only navigable for short sections during drought.

After Sturt discerned the extent of the river and marshes, the party headed north-west and discovered what Sturt named the Darling River and turned south-east towards the Castlereagh before completing the expedition (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.104-105, 115, 167; Cumpston, 1951, pp.21, 23). In the Gundabooka Conservation Area, most easily accessible from Bourke by four wheel drive, is a sign locating the terminal point of Captain Sturt's 1829³ Expedition of Discovery, near the junction of Hume's Creek with the Darling, which Major Mitchell explored further in 1835.

In 1829 Governor Darling dispatched Sturt, and his companions to trace the course of the Murrumbidgee River with the instructions to proceed overland as far as possible "then continue on water until they were stopped" (Cumpston, 1951, p.29). The original idea had been to trace the Darling, however, considering that the river was salty and ran through arid regions, the expedition would have suffered from the lack of drinking water (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.174). Instead, Sturt was directed to trace the Murrumbidgee as it had a greater and more reliable flow (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.174). Sturt started the land journey in 1829 travelling overland from Sydney to the junction of the Lachlan-Murrumbidgee Rivers taking with them a whaleboat "transported in sections" (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.148, 177, 182; c.2010, European discovery of the River Murray system: Charles Sturt and the discovery of the River Murray), possibly on a bullock dray. According to Sturt's publication, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*, the whaleboat was constructed by Mr Egan then disassembled for the overland journey (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.180; Cumpston, 1951, p.30). The dimensions were:

"Breadth across 7th timber aft, 5ft. ½ an inch outside.

³ Not to be confused with his 1829/1830 journey along the Murrumbidgee and on the Murray River.

Across 12th timber, 5 ft. 11 ¼ in.

Across 17th timber forward, 5 ft.

25 ft. 8 in. in length inside.

Curve of the keel No.1, from the after side of each apron, 3 ft. 3 ¾ in.

No.2, from head to head of the dead wood, 13 ½ in.

No.3, from one end of keel to the other inner side, 3 in.

No.4, round of keel from the toe of each deadwood, 7/8 1/16th

The timbers were marked beginning from the stern to the bow on the starboard side, and from bow to stern on the larboard” (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.181).

The expedition also used a sail (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.229).

The first part of the journey, overland to near the Lachlan-Murrumbidgee junction, started on 3 November 1829 and finished on 26 December 1829 (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.177; Cumpston, 1951, pp.30, 35, 36). Before they reached the Lachlan-Murrumbidgee junction the drays sank in sandy soil and it appears the animals did not feed for several days there being no grass to consume (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.194, 205). Several times the animals and their wagons had to be dislodged from the soil (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.206, 208-209). MacLeay was sent ahead to unload supplies and send back the horses to pull out the sunken dray (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.209). Upon arriving near the junction, Sturt encountered marshes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp. 208, 209; Cumpston, 1951, p.36). MacLeay also encountered reeds (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.209). Sturt surveyed the river and concluded that the river continued strongly through the reeds (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.210).

Sturt ordered his men to assemble the whaleboat and construct a skiff to carry provisions (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.211). Sturt selected his servant Harris, Clayton, Mulholland, MacNamee, Hopkinson, Fraser, MacLeay and hunting dogs to accompany him on the river journey (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.211, 248). Robert Harris, not his servant, remained to supervise the support crew and leave food at the depot where Sturt assembled the boats (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.211; Cumpston, 1951, pp.38, 44). He was to stay there for a week in case the crew returned early, and then make for the Goulburn Plains (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.211, 212).

Sturt and his companions left the depot in boats on 7 January 1830 (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.211-213; Cumpston, 1951, p.38). The landscape continued to abound with reeds and 15 miles from the depot they came across what Sturt believed to be the Lachlan-Murrumbidgee junction (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.213, 214). Beyond the reeds “vast plains of polygonum stretched away”, and they would land frequently so that Sturt could observe and report the landscape (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.213). Upon landing, he noticed an extensive plain amidst which salsolae and shrubs grew, the plain was bordered by cypresses and brush (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.214). Sturt firmly believed that the countryside was frequently flooded (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.214). The boat continued on the stream without any problems (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.214). The land immediately surrounding the river was 8ft (2.4m) above the stream and the latter’s “depth and current were considerable” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.214).

The skiff sank on 8 January (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.215; Cumpston, 1951, p.38). The men retrieved the goods but the damage was done: fresh water contaminated the salt which covered the meat (Cumpston, 1951, p.38). The flour, tea and tobacco stored in the whaleboat (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.211) were unharmed. They continued on 9 January and on 10 January Sturt observed reeds along the banks (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.217). On 13 January the current was strong and the stream widened as the crew encountered many rapids (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.219). In the afternoon they encountered fallen trees (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.219). The next day the current swept them into another river which Sturt named the Murray (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.220, 234). The new river was clear, approximately 12ft to 20ft (3.7m to 6.1m) deep and flowed at 2.5knots (4.6km) per hour (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.221, 222). Sturt believed that the immediately surrounding land had at some point flooded (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.222). Sometimes the river was 150 yards (136.7m) wide, other times 200 yards (182.3m) wide, or varied between the two (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.222). It was “was fed by numerous springs” and some sections contained more rocks than others (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.222, 223). On approximately 21 January the stream looked “perpendicular and water-worn” but on the following day they encountered a rapid (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.225, 227). Sturt made a chart of river bends and descriptions of the surrounds (Sturt, 1833 republished

online in 2001, p.276). He took compass bearings of the waterway (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.276). Sturt stated that:

“This chart, was, of course, erroneous in many particulars, since I had to judge the length of the reaches of the river, and the extent of its angles, but I corrected it on the scale of the miles of latitude we made during the day, which brought out an approximate truth at all events” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp. 276-277).

Birds were plentiful. Fraser’s short hunt caught a crow, kite, “a laughing jackass (*alcedo gigantea*)” which must have been a kookaburra; cockatoo and duck (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.228). Sturt also noted “large flocks of whistling ducks, and other wild fowl” (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.228). On approximately 23 January the river widened again and Sturt reported that the flooded-gum were located in flood areas, and the appearance of sandbanks (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, pp.229, 230, 231). They located what Sturt believed to be, and was later proved correct, the Darling River (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.236-237). It entered the river below some sandbanks (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.231).

They rowed a small distance upstream, carrying the Union Jack, then turned back to the junction of the two rivers and continued on the Murray (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, pp.233, 234). Sturt did not proceed further on the Darling to avoid wrecking a net that Aborigines were using to trap fish (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.233). See Figure 1 for a reproduction Sturt’s sketch of the Junction of the Darling with the Murray.



Figure 1. Junction of Darling and Murray River, by Captain Charles Sturt, available from the National Library of Australia, [nla.pic-an5263464-v](#)

On 24 January he noted red sandy loam and cypresses (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.238-239). Crested pigeons were in the polygonum scrub and a flock of cockatoos were also seen (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.239, 240). The next morning high numbers of cockatoos were observed feasting on the berries of salsolar and rhagodia across the plain (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.240). On 26 January they passed through land that was “extremely low and full of lagoons” and there were slopes about 20 miles (32km) off into the distance (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, pp.241, 242). They also encountered a small murky river that fed into the Murray (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.243). Sturt named it Rufus (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.243). By 27 January they had distanced themselves away from the red cliffs that lined the bank, but then on 28 January they encountered many more rapids and Sturt saw signs suggesting that past floods had reached at least 7ft (2.1m) (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, pp.243-245). By 29 January the party was showing signs of fatigue as the food supply was dwindling (Cumpston, 1951, p.41). Their eyes ached due to the sweat pouring into them (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 248). On that day they passed through a barren and arid

landscape, although the land immediately surrounding the river was fertile (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.248). Around 31 January, the river moved less swiftly but had achieved greater depth (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.249).

On 1 February Sturt observed great cliffs ranging from 200ft to 300ft (60m to 90m) tall and up to 1 mile (1.6km) long; “the alluvial flats on the river increased in size and were less subject to flood; and the river lost much of its sandy bed, and its current was greatly diminished in strength” (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, pp.250, 251). Judging by the lines on the cliffs, Sturt doubted that waters had risen more than four feet above the then current level “or that they continued for any length of time” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.250). On that day, or perhaps the next, he hiked away from the river, observed the sandy soil and plants (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.252). The Murray became very wide and deep, and his servant caught a tortoise (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.252).

As they drew nearer to the coast the water became muddy, lost its current and widened to about three to six miles (4.8km to 9.6km) (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p. 253).

On 4 February they passed cliffs that were abundant with shells (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.254). As they journeyed further the valley increased to 2 miles (3.2km) wide, the alluvial flats also enlarged “and a small lake generally occupied their centre” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.256). The western side of the river was covered with vegetation and kangaroos, but the east was plain and appeared to be prone to wind gusts (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.257). As they continued, they were hindered by gales from the south-west causing waves to spray them as they rowed (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.257). Sturt observed on 9 February that the valley to the west was “beautifully undulated, but the left [east] was bleak and bare” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.258).

On 9 February they reached Lake Alexandrina (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.259). The downward journey which started on 7 January 1830 finally ended near the Murray Mouth on 11 February (Cumpston, 1951, pp.38, 42, 43).

On 11 February after encountering deep mud, vast shoals and finally quicksand, Sturt instructed his men to set up camp (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.266). He noted geese, swans, pelicans and ducks (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.266). On 12 February, the same day that they started their homeward journey, Fraser and MacLeay

accompanied Sturt to find the river's junction with the sea (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.268). The three men walked approximately 7 miles to the Murray Mouth (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 268). He reported that the entrance, probably meaning the mouth, was "somewhat less than a quarter of a mile [400m] in breadth" (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.268-269). Before they commenced the return journey, Sturt buried a bottle near their campsite with a note detailing their stay (Cumpston, 1951, p.43). The bottle's fate remains unknown.

Sturt's downstream journey had been with the current (Cumpston, 1951, pp.38, 39). On the upstream journey the men rowed against the current (Cumpston, 1951, p.43). Often they would commence rowing at dawn and finish at seven or nine in the evening with an hour break in the middle of the day (Cumpston, 1951, p.44). Urgency was keenly felt: the remaining food provided little sustenance and Sturt doubted the arrival of a boat at St Vincent Gulf in such turbulent weather to pick them up (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.267). They subsisted mostly on flour: the game was scarce and they feared crossing paths with hostile Aborigines near Lake Alexandrina (Cumpston, 1951, pp.41, 43). The dogs were too exhausted to hunt, ducks were rare and the crew were too tired to catch insipid fish (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 276). By 8 March, less than a month after they started out from the Murray Mouth, there was no sugar and the salted food was finished (Cumpston, 1951, p.44). The map Sturt sketched on their downstream journey was used to set the pace (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.253). On it he had marked each bend and its direction as read by compass; the surrounding landscape including but not exclusive to lakes, flats, streams and where they camped (Sturt, 1833, republished online in 2001, p.253).⁴ They rowed quickly as they did not have envoys to introduce them and their former envoys may no longer want them in their territory (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.269). Sturt made a difficult decision to return in their craft: he did not want to divide his crew and he needed to make the journey as quickly as possible to ration their meals (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.270). On the homeward journey Sturt and MacLeay took turns rowing with the men (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 270). Their return passage was hindered by fallen branches, vast sandbanks and rapids (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 276). They encountered the same obstructions on the downstream journey, but homeward bound the river level had fallen which meant they contended with more sandbanks than previously

⁴ Sturt's map is included on microfilm at the National Library of Australia.

(Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.275). They were watchful in order to prevent any conflict with the Aborigines (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p. 285).

The crew reached the Murrumbidgee River on 16 March and proceeded with great difficulty as the river was filled with snags and rocks meaning that the men had to pull the boat through the trees (Cumpston, 1951, p.45; Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.280-285). They rowed to the depot, Sturt's launching place on the Murrumbidgee, to find there were no relief supplies (Cumpston, 1951, p.45). According to Cumpston the exact location of the depot is unknown: Sturt had stated at different times that it was twelve or fifteen miles before the Lachlan junction, but from which point he would have thought the junction started is unclear (Cumpston, 1951, pp.37-38). However, in a 1963 publication of Sturt's account was a copy of an 1832 52cm x 63cm map published by J Arrowsmith of the *Discoveries in Australia Copied from the [then] Latest M.S Surveys in the Colonial Office*, which marked Sturt's Depot.

The expedition continued on the river to present day Narrandera where Sturt sent Hopkinson and Mulholland overland to Pontebadgery, now known as Wantabadgery, where he hoped they would find relief and supplies from the support crew (Cumpston, 1951, p.45; Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.292, 293; Montgomery, 2011, p.7). The two men returned, exhausted, a week later with bullock drays transporting food to the rest of the crew (Cumpston, 1951, p.45). They had walked 90 miles in three days to Pontebadgery (Cumpston, 1951, p.45). According to Sturt: Hopkinson and Mulholland returned with "Their knees and ankles were dreadfully swollen and their limbs so painful, that as soon as they arrived in camp they sank under their efforts..." (Sturt cited in Cumpston, 1951, p.45). The whaleboat's upper planks were dismantled and the remainder set alight (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.293). The craft was in poor condition, and Sturt rather it be set ablaze than abandoned on the water (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.293). The skiff was ignited on the downstream journey, but the nails and iron work were spared as gifts for the Aborigines (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.236). They rested for two weeks, ascended on to the Yass Plains, then arrived in Sydney on 25 May 1830 (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.294, 295).

Sturt wrote an account of his Australian journeys titled *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*. He completed these works when he was blind (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.176). It was said at the time that his blindness was a result of malnutrition

from the whaleboat journey and the glare from the sun reflected on the Murray River (Text in Charles Sturt house 'The Grange', Adelaide).

Sturt's 1829 expedition proved that the Murray flowed into the sea and that the Darling flowed into the Murray (Cumpston, 1951, pp.40, 42). In order to prove conclusively that the Darling flowed into the Murray someone would have to journey south of Redbank, the lowest point that Sturt reached on his 1828/1829 expedition, where he followed part of the Darling (Cumpston, 1951, p.40).

Two years after his expedition, settlement had spread further along the Murrumbidgee. In 1829 the edge of settlement was Mr Warby's station above Gundagai along the Murrumbidgee (Cumpston, 1951, p.32). In 1832-1833 there were 9 more stations downstream of Mr Warby's station (Cumpston, 1951, pp. 50, 180). Sturt's publication (1833) *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia* which included descriptions of the Murray and Collet Barker's report of the Lower Murray near the coast, influenced the choosing of the site for Adelaide (Goldsworthy in Butters, 2013, p.25; Cumpston, 1951, p.69).

Sturt's *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia* (1833) is suspenseful and riveting. On occasion Sturt's party narrowly avoided death. The groups' survival was testimonial to their strength of character. They were further helped by Aborigines who introduced them to neighbouring Indigenous communities (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.231). In particular, one Aboriginal man dissolved tensions between Sturt's party and threatening tribes (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.231). The expedition captured the imagination of many of those who have later paddled for recreation.

Sturt's publication is also important because, like Oxley's account, it provides glimpses into what the rivers were like before European settlement, especially during most of the summer and early autumn months. He described the landscapes encountered, the soil, wildlife and the flows, bends and obstructions of the rivers. He included sketches from the Murrumbidgee and the Murray-Darling Junction (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.14, 15). He also made sketches of the *Pomatorhinus Superciliosus* (also known as the white-browed babbler) and a Black Tailed Paroquet (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.15, 17; n.d, Campbell's own observations of the White Browed Babbler). While it is possible to learn about the water's character and geography by walking alongside it, travelling on the river in a slower craft enables individuals to learn more about its ecology, depths, bends and current.

However, while on the Murrumbidgee, they would frequently stop to enable Sturt a clearer view of the landscape and describe this in his notes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.213).

Sturt's journey is well commemorated by towns and historical societies. Along the Murray River there are many monuments to Sturt including at: Loxton, Wellington, Mildura, Mannum, Milang and Wentworth. In a park in Warren, along the Macquarie River, is a plaque commemorating Sturt's 1828/1829 expedition. Sturt's account of his 1829/1830 expedition and objects associated with his journey on the Murray River are treasured by river communities and, more generally as an important part of Australian history, although some of his objects were donated to the Bodleian Library at Oxford (see A.N. Sturt, 1950 about the objects donated to the Bodleian Library). The Union Jack that Sturt carried on his Murray River and Central expeditions was housed at his former residence 'The Grange' (n.d, Charles Sturt Museum Grange brochure). 'The Grange' also has a reproduction of one of Sturt's paintings of the Murray River 'North-West Bend' 1829-1830 (Charles Sturt house the Grange). Sturt's daughter-in-law possessed sketches (by Charles Sturt) of Australian fauna as well as others of his paintings of the river (A.N. Sturt, 1950).

Sturt's journeys of discovery are frequently mentioned in later newspaper articles (see 1982, 'Solution of Inland River Mystery Thrilled All NSW'; Joy, 1963; Lawrenson, 1967). The house where Sturt lived in 1863-1869, in England, has a plaque commemorating his Australian explorations and the fact that he lived there (Dawson, 1990). In 1963 Fitzpatrick reported that the Libraries Board of South Australia published facsimiles of *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia* which finally made the work more widely accessible (Fitzpatrick, 1963).

The 180th anniversary celebrations of Sturt's landing at Goolwa resulted in the Alexandrina Council's support of David Brook's brochure *The Visitor Captain Charles Sturt at Goolwa and the Murray Mouth* (Brook, 2010). In June 2012 the brochure was still being sold at the Goolwa Visitor Information Centre. The book estimated where Sturt landed and where he buried a bottle with a document detailing his stay (Brook, 2010, p.2). The author clearly enjoyed working out where Sturt buried his bottle (Brook, 2010, p.2). In 1939 Mr Dodwell was convinced that Mount Magnificent was the location of Sturt's campsite and therefore the location of the bottle (which Sturt buried), but this did not fit the other coordinates (Brook, 2010, p.10). It was also believed that the site was near Along Shore Aquatics Marina (Brook,

2010, p.11). In 1906, Giles E Strangways wrote an article for *The Observer* stating that he was with Sturt at Goolwa in 1838 when Sturt had gone to test the navigability of the Murray Mouth (cited in Brook, 2010, p.12; Brook, 2010, p.13). Strangways claimed that Sturt could not find the bottle and so Strangways concluded that the local Aborigines had found and broke it (cited in Brook, 2010, p.12).

A 1947 photograph of Goolwa on Sturt re-enactment day is available at the State Library of South Australia and Trove (Goolwa on Sturt Re-enactment Day–Version details-Trove, c.2012). Investigator College in Goolwa and Victor Harbour printed a newsletter with the front page describing the 180th anniversary celebration of Sturt landing at Goolwa and how some students at Investigator College were able to attend (‘Captain Sturt Re-enactment 180th Anniversary Of Captain Sturt’s Arrival’, 2010, p.1).

Throughout the decades, more re-enactments occurred. For example, in 1951, for the 50th anniversary celebrations of Australia’s Federation, eight men re-enacted Sturt’s journey down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers in a whaleboat (Trost & Pugh, 2000, p.1; Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.1). Six of the men were army officers and two were professional actors, “Grant Taylor...would play Charles Sturt...and Rodney Taylor...would play George Macleay” (Trost & Pugh, 2000, p.1; Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.1). The re-enactment was the subject of the (1951) *Inland with Sturt* film (c.2012, Film Archive- Melbourne International Film Festival). *Inland with Sturt* was perhaps the first film to star Rodney Taylor who was later cast in Hollywood classics such as Alfred Hitchcock’s *The Birds* (1963), and *Giant* (1956) (2015, ‘Rod Taylor – obituary’). Anthony Napier Sturt, Charles Sturt’s great grandson, accompanied the land crew (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2). Wentworth, Mildura, Redcliffs and Renmark, held celebrations as the re-enactors passed through (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2). A crowd of 12,000 saw the re-enactment as it reached Goolwa (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2). Another example was in 1971, when six people set out from Jugiong to canoe to Goolwa hoping to make a film and a book about the journey for educational purposes (1971, ‘Canoeists to begin trip’; 1971, ‘In the wake of Sturt’). Also, in 1979 10 men began a re-enactment of Sturt’s journey to mark the 150th anniversary celebrations of Sturt’s journey down the river, in a replica of Sturt’s boat (1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’). They intended to row from Gundagai to Goolwa and there were to be festivals in more than 40 towns along the way (1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’). There was also an advertisement in *The Sydney Morning Herald*

stating the dates that the re-enactment would reach certain towns on the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers (1979, 'Join the Sturt 150 Year Celebrations').

Sturt's legacy is evident in towns along the Murray River and in heritage institutions. The National Library of Australia has Sturt's papers on microfilm which include newspaper articles about his expeditions, personal letters and a map of the Murray River. The newspaper articles on the microfilm were difficult to read. The National Library also holds original newspapers and biographical magazine cuttings from the twentieth century which discuss the legacy of Sturt's expeditions.

In 1967 a toast was to be made on the anniversary of Charles Sturt's birthday at Sturt's former home, 'The Grange', located in Adelaide, and it was hoped that the anniversary of Charles Sturt's birthday would be known as Pioneer Day (1967, 'Pioneer Day for Sturt'). Sturt's home 'The Grange', which the family had owned from approximately 1841 to 1869, had been restored as of approximately 1967 (1967, 'Pioneer Day for Sturt'; Cumpston, 1951 pp.91, 158).

'The Grange' was also open to visitors in 2012.

Since Sturt's discovery of the Murray and the subsequent settlement along the river, others have taken to travelling in a human-powered craft to explore and judge the viability of the river and its surrounding land for transport and pastoral purposes (for examples see Curr, 1883, pp.173, 174; 1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan February 20.'). The news of Sturt's journey prompted the settlement of South Australia (Shaw ed., 1984, p.599). His publication also recommended settlement of the region stating that there were five million acres of fertile land possibly between St. Vincent's Gulf and Lake Alexandrina (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.299-309). The recommendations were based partially on his own observations but mostly those of Captain Barker who was sent by the Governor to examine Cape Jervis, although originally to survey the Eastern point of Encounter Bay to St. Vincent's Gulf (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp. 299-309). The Governor despatched Barker as Sturt had strongly recommended someone survey the region as his preliminary examination seemed to indicate that there might be arable land in that region (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.299). Sturt had not been able to closely examine the land to the west of Lake Alexandrina as it was urgent that they leave for the homeward journey as soon as possible (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.299).

Sturt made his journeys “to contribute to the public good” and it is that same goodwill that led him to record and publish what happened (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.176). He hoped that despite his limitations (blindness) his publication would be valuable for practical purposes (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.4, 176). His text was also made to be “as interesting as possible” (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, p.176). This was in keeping with other exploration journals, which were considered a part of a specialty genre, which followed in the literary style established by explorers of Africa and America (Cathcart, 2009, p.96). Australian explorers, including Oxley and Sturt, would usually write how their discoveries added to previous discoveries (Cathcart, 2009, p.96). Sturt wrote with confidence of his expedition on the Murray (Cathcart, 2009, p.96; see Sturt 1833 republished online 2001, pp.276-277). Explorers were supposed to be brave, daring and epitomising ideals of white empire and civilisation (Cathcart, 2009, p.96). Explorers were often the celebrities of their time and their feats of exploration were later taught in primary schools (Murray, 2014, p.62). This idealisation of explorers and their influence on future river journeys will also be discussed in a later chapter.

2c. Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell 1831-1832, 1835, 1836.

Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, then Surveyor-General of New South Wales, set out to prove that Sturt was mistaken to believe that all the (then) known rivers were part of one large river system (Shaw ed., 1984, p.221), although there does not appear to be any mention of this in Mitchell’s (1839) *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia*. Mitchell did, however, correct some of Sturt’s bearings (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.193). In 1831-1832, Mitchell journeyed overland in search of the Kindur (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.16). This search was prompted by maps showing a great northern river that flowed southwards, but also in part by the words of escaped convict George Clarke, who had lived among the Aborigines before he was recaptured, that there was a northern river that flowed to the sea (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.16). Clarke mentioned that several rivers joined the “Nammoy”, now spelt as “Namoi”, including Peel’s River (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.15, 16; n.d, Extract - Geographical Names Board of NSW). Regardless that Clarke probably had ulterior motives, Mitchell set forth to explore the area named so that he could add to the colonial government’s knowledge of the interior (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.16).

He travelled with approximately 15 men including sailors, carpenters, a medical officer, a groom, servants, assistants and bullock drivers (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.23-24). They brought canvasses for the two boats and tools for cutting timber to complete and prepare the boats, should Mitchell decide on river travel (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.25). He departed Sydney on 24 November 1831 and proceeded with the rest of his party on the 30th, using horses and carts as their primary transport (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.17, 22, 23, 25). The expedition journeyed along the Namoi River until 18 December 1831 (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.40). On 20 December the expedition tried to cross an unnamed mountain range, but the bullocks were not used to the heavy loads, and the peaks were incredibly steep and rocky (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.41-43). Mitchell decided to return to Tangulda to “pursue the Nammoy” and therefore pass the range (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.43). Mitchell’s party established a depot near a hill called Bullabalakit to rest the cattle and prepare the boats (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp. 38, 43, 46). On 29 December, after about four days of assembling the boats, Mitchell and some of his companions travelled on the Namoi (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.43-45, 46). Mitchell surveyed as they journeyed, but the river was obstructed by fallen timbers and the second boat was holed which allowed water to contaminate the pork, tea, sugar, tobacco and flour stored in that vessel (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46). He noticed the presence of black swans on the water (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46). The sailors fixed the hole by covering it with tar and canvas (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46). Shortly after it was relaunched, the boat received another hole which put an end to Mitchell’s goal of tracing the river in boats (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46). After setting up camp and drawing the day’s course, he realised that they were only 2 miles (3.2km) from Bullabalakit, where the rest of his party remained (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.45, 46). The next day Mitchell sent four men to retrieve the horses and carts (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.47). They spent the rest of the day drying wet food and disassembling their vessels (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.47). In total, they spent only one day on the river (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.46-47). They eventually headed back east and returned to Sydney (Baker, 1967, ‘Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone’; n.d, Explorer | State Library of New South Wales).

In 1835 Mitchell and approximately 23 others were sent on an expedition to ascertain the direction and route of the Darling (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.102, 103-104).

The expedition brought two whaleboats constructed by Mr Eager and a boat carriage (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.103). They approached the river on 25 May, and Mitchell wasted no time in surveying the land and the river to observe if there were any river obstructions and whether the ground could feed cattle (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.142). From 27 May to 29 May a stockade was constructed to deter any possible attacks from the Aborigines who had not consented to their presence (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.143, 144, 145). The site was called “Fort Bourke” in honour of the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.144). In 2013 when I visited the area, the site presented display panels detailing the journey, the explorer and a replica stockade. On 1 June Mitchell, Mr Larmer and fourteen men travelled down the river in two boats “Discovery” and “Resolution”; named after two ships employed by Captain Cook (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.145, 146). Their journey was once again short: they spent most of the day dragging the boats over a shallow section of the river and then over rocks (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.146). Upon discovering that the rocks impeded travel on the river for almost 1 mile (1.6km), Mitchell decided to return to the depot, then continue along the river on horseback (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.146). Despite their efforts, he did not believe that the voyage was in vain:

“We had, however, acquired such a knowledge of the bed, banks and turnings of the river at this part, as could not otherwise be obtained. The water being beautifully transparent, the bottom was visible at great depths, showing large fishes in shoals, floating like birds in mid-air. What I have termed rocks, are only patches of ferruginous clay which fill the lowest part of the basin of this river. The bed is composed either of that clay, or of a ferruginous sandstone — exactly similar to that on the coast near Sydney — and which resembles what was formerly called the iron-sand of England, where it occurs, as before stated, both as a fresh and salt water formation. At the narrows the quantity of running water was very inconsiderable, but, perhaps, as much as might have turned a mill. It made some noise among the stones, however, although at the very low level of this river, compared to its distance from the known coasts, it could not fall much. I was, nevertheless, unwilling to risk the boats among the rocks, or clay banks, and accordingly decided on returning to the camp” (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.146).

The following day they “proceeded up the river with the boats, *re infectâ*, [*re infectâ*, is latin for “without accomplishing one’s purpose”] and reached the depot about two o’clock...” (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.147; Roget, 2014, Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases; n.d, Re infecta – Definition and more from the free Merriam-Webster Dictionary). Once again they stated “with the boats”. As they had left the cattle at the depot (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.143, 145), it is plausible that they returned to the depot in the boats as opposed to carrying them. They later travelled along the Darling to the Menindee region, then returned to Sydney by the same route that they arrived at the Darling (Baker, 1967, ‘Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone’).

In 1836 Mitchell commenced his third expedition, to survey the rest of the Darling River from the furthest point reached on his previous journey, to trace the river to its junction with the Murray (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.223, 225). From there, or as soon as practicable, he would proceed to the vicinity of the Yass Plains (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.224). He set forth on the recommendations of the New South Wales Governor (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.224). His party brought with them boats and a boat carriage that were “better seasoned” (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.224). The boats were mostly used for river crossings during this expedition. On 15 June Mitchell voyaged to and from the Murray-Murrumbidgee junction (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.301). There is no indication of how far he travelled, however, since he commenced the journey in the afternoon, and did not voyage the next day (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.301), he would not have travelled far. On 19 July they crossed the Wimmera delivering the loads in boats across the river (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.331). On 7 October and 15 October they launched boats across the Goulburn, “Hume” and Ovens Rivers, respectively (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp. 393, 397-398; Shaw ed., 1984, p.221). On 27 October Mitchell traversed the Murrumbidgee in a canoe (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.406). Unfortunately for Mitchell, he did not manage to prove Sturt incorrect that the Murrumbidgee, Darling and Murray Rivers were part of one large river system (Shaw ed., 1984, pp.217, 221).

3. Conclusion

Travel in human-powered craft on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin played an important role in the region’s exploration and subsequently its economy. (The latter will be

discussed in more detail in 4. Surveying, c.1848-1878). Human-powered craft provided the means of determining river navigability, as well as aiding the progress of land journeys in riverine areas. The results helped administrative and colonial officials concentrate on establishing steamer navigation on the Murray River and subsequently the Murrumbidgee and Darling Rivers. Human-powered craft were valuable in the determination of future communication methods and trade between the colonies.

The expeditions were important in establishing the most likely rivers for efficient navigation. For example, Oxley's 1817 expedition allowed him to chart the Lachlan River as well as his progress beyond the Lachlan River region. While he may not have travelled in the boats, the fact that other members of his expedition were in boats, added to his observations about the river and therefore its potential for future navigation. He reported that the river had sunken timber and that the waterway meandered so much that those on horseback had to wait for the boats to reach them. This probably made establishing a steamer service on the river a low priority. No record of anyone investigating the river for steamer navigation appeared until the late 1870s (see 4g. Captain Sinclair, 1877 and 4h. Captain David Simpson Kirkpatrick, 1878). In years to come, there were occasions when shallowness and fallen timber impeded the passage of canoeists, which supports the idea that the waterway was, at times, not suitable for steamer navigation.

Intelligence gathering about the Macquarie River in 1818 and 1828 by Oxley and Sturt respectively, provided details of the river during drought and flood. Oxley's 1818 expedition on the Macquarie also allowed him to chart the river, although he was usually on horseback. Other members of his expedition were in boats and could therefore probably verify his observations of the river. It was deep, translucent and contained few obstacles. For nearly three weeks they were on the water without serious impediment. Twenty three kilometres from Mount Harris, Oxley and a few others journeyed further by boat into the Macquarie Marshes. Oxley believed he saw what he thought might have been an inland sea. He had no means of testing the theory, but Sturt's 1828 expedition put an end to any further speculation. Nonetheless, the expedition proved that at least at the time of his journey, the river could be navigated. The boats were also important because they carried the horses' loads while the horses swam across the river. Therefore, human-powered craft were also important in aiding the progress of land journeys.

Sturt's 1828 expedition made during drought, in conjunction with Oxley's report from the 1818 expedition, showed that the Macquarie River water level varied dramatically according to different weather conditions. In 1818 the Macquarie was navigable for nearly three weeks, but in 1828, Sturt had major difficulty in plying the river—each of his excursions in the boat lasted less than a day. The boat would run aground, be struck by fallen timbers or blocked by thick clumps of reeds. Such information seems to have directed colonial attention towards mapping and eventually plying other rivers.

Sturt's 1829/1830 expedition on the Murrumbidgee and Murray contributed even more knowledge of the interior. His discoveries helped officials concentrate their attention on navigating the Murray. Sturt proved that it traversed three colonies, the colony of Adelaide was established as a result of his expedition. Knowledge of the Murray could potentially provide a speedier method of transporting goods than the overland routes. Once again, boats were of major practical use for discovering the routes and navigability of the Murray-Darling Basin's rivers. After several incidences of dislodging the drays and animals who had sunk in the sandy soil, and horses being without grass for several days, boat travel seemed to be the most practical option. The existence of a river with a strong current contributed to their decision. The expedition proved that for at least part of the year the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers were navigable. This epic journey has inspired travellers later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the more immediate effect was to concentrate efforts on determining if steamers could navigate the Murray.

The results of Major Mitchell's short boat journeys on the Namoi and Darling Rivers proved that at the time the two rivers were not navigable, although boats did help cross various rivers on his 1836 journey through Victoria.

The result of Oxley's Sturt's and Mitchell's expeditions, Gerstaecker's report of his recreational journey on the Murray (see Part C 2a) as well as reports from early surveying journeys (listed in 4. Surveying c.1848-1878), helped colonial governors and administrators to concentrate on determining the viability of steamer navigation and establishing a steamer service on the Murray. Preliminary surveys in human-powered craft, as the next section will argue, was responsible for the introduction of paddle steamers and therefore the opening of communications and a more efficient inland economy.

4. Surveying c.1848-1878

The expeditions of Oxley, Sturt and Mitchell enabled European expansion. Following the discovery of a vast river terminating at the South Australian coastline and the subsequent settlement of its banks, boats were used as a means of judging river navigability and mapping it in detail to prepare for steamer navigation. With the exception of Edward Micklethwaite Curr who travelled in an Aboriginal bark canoe to better access and judge pastures (Curr, 1968, pp.166, 167,171-173), one of the earliest known investigation in human-powered craft into already explored rivers was in 1850 by Lieutenant-Governor Henry Edward Fox Young. For the purpose of this chapter, surveying includes not only mapping and charting but investigating the landscape. Unfortunately, I am unable to find copies of surveyor's maps. This era had a devastating impact on the environment (Lunney, 2001, p.44). From 1841-1901 sheep expansion into arid and semi-arid regions of Western New South Wales dealt a devastating blow to medium sized ground dwelling mammals, which fed on seeds and grasses (Lunney, 2001, p.44). Twenty four mammals from that region have since become extinct (Lunney, 2001, p.44).

4a. Edward Micklethwaite Curr, c.1848.

Edward Micklethwaite Curr wrote in his book (1883) *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, then called the Port Phillip District*, that in c.1848 he had persuaded an Aboriginal man referred to as "Tommy" to guide him in an Aboriginal bark canoe to see the river frontage between the mouth of Baala Creek and Pama, where he wished to be taken, and it was implied that he was taken there (Curr, 1883, pp.173, 174). Curr needed a run that could accommodate 1500 sheep (Curr, 1968, p.166). Curr's brother had seen what he thought would make good grazing land on that area of the river and so Curr went as far as he could by horse until he was confronted by extensive reed beds; he then persuaded "Tommy" to take him in an Aboriginal bark canoe on the river (Curr, 1968, pp.166, 167,171-173). His brother had observed that the grasses and reeds thrived there in summer whereas during April to October it was frequently subject to floods (Curr, 1968, pp.166, 173). Curr described the bark canoe as a:

“...very thick red gum bark, something over twenty feet long, with a small fire—on which a fish or a duck might be grilled—burning on a hearth of clay in the bows. The craft being baled out, and a heap of fresh couch-grass put on board for my accommodation, I seated myself on it”... (Curr, 1968, p.173).

Curr mourned the passing of Aboriginal communities, and European changes to the landscape (Curr, 1968, pp.179-180). He grieved for a vanishing world (Curr, 1968, pp.179-180). His journey was approximately 10km and therefore shorter than most of those discovered in this thesis, but as a keen observer of his surroundings, his recollections are important in establishing what the area must have looked like and a rough idea of where Aboriginal communities were located.

In his recollections, published thirty five years after his journey, he noted that around the time of publishing the numbers of Aborigines had decreased, and that the reeds and bell-birds had disappeared (Curr, 1968, p.179). He also argued that the continent changed with the arrival of Europeans: their livestock compacted the soil with their hooves, causing the rivers to keep more water and become subject to increased flooding (Curr, 1968, pp.187-188). The best grasses were replaced with exotics and weeds (Curr, 1968, p.186).

His opinions are confirmed by an ecological study of the historical record made by Daniel Lunney (2001) on the causes of extinction of native mammals in the Western Division of New South Wales (see Lunney, 2001, pp.44-70). The Western Division included the upper Bogan, the Darling, and the middle of the Lachlan River to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, the Murray-Murrumbidgee junction and from there to the South Australian border (Lunney, 2001, p.46). Lunney argued that although foxes, rabbits and cats contributed to the extinction of 24 ground dwelling mammals, the primary cause of their demise was sheep (Lunney, 2001, p.44). Sheep, millions of which were being grazed in the region by the mid-1880s, and 55 million in 1892 for all of New South Wales, was the primary cause of mammal extinction (Lunney, 2001, p.63). Horses were fewer in number and so was their impact (Lunney, 2001, p.65). The Rat Kangaroo, which became extinct on Australia's mainland until populations were reintroduced along the New South Wales-South Australia border and in other sanctuaries, survived sheep encroaching on their territory and the 1888 drought, but died off after foxes spread into the state (Lunney, 2001, p.63; Richards et al 2008). Sheep overtook mammalian drought refuges and added to erosion (Lunney, 2001, pp.57, 63). The rabbits reached the Darling in the 1880s and continued as far as Queensland in 1886 (Lunney, 2001, p.63). Rabbits reached West Darling as early as 1881 before reaching epidemic proportions in 1886 (Lunney, 2001, p.59). They were a resilient species that flourished after drought recovery, and by invading the habitat of the *Macrotis lagotis* ("gentle native bilbie"), ensured its demise (Hardie in Lunney, 2001, p.59; Lunney, 2001, p.59).

Rabbits proliferated mostly unchecked by native predators due to the reduction in the latter (Lunney, 2001, p.63). The *Macrotis lagotis* is still alive in parts of the Northern Territory, Western Australia and Queensland, but only exists in New South Wales due to reintroduction of the species along the New South Wales-South Australia border (Friend et al 2008). Sheep also destroyed native vegetation to the detriment of ground-dwelling mammals (Lunney, 2001, p.52).

Wool and its role in the expansion of the steamer trade also had negative impacts on the basin's ecology (Lunney, 2001, p.60). Wool contributed to the rise in steamer traffic and simultaneously steamer traffic enabled the expansion of the wool industry as farmers were able to transport increased yields to the cities (Lunney, 2001, pp.58, 60; Lewis, 1917, p.47). Previously, settlers had had to use bullock wagons to transport their goods, although, wool was left over from one year to be kept into the next (Lewis, 1917, p.47). From the 1880s the boom in transport infrastructure on and to the Darling River, particularly steamers and railways, artesian water and the fall in land lease prices, opened up areas that were previously deemed unsuitable (Lunney, 2001, p.58). With the arrival of steamers, came the massive reduction in tree numbers which were cut down to fuel ships (Lunney, 2001, p.60).

4b. Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia Henry Edward Fox Young, 1850.

By the time Henry Edward Fox Young became Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia in c.1849, it was already evident that bullock drays were impractical for travelling from the Murray to Melbourne (Lewis, 1917, p.47; Nicholson, 2004, p.102). It took bullock drays at least three months to complete the journey from the rivers to Melbourne, and then another three months to receive purchases from the city (Nicholson, 2004, p.102; Lewis, 1917, p.47). In 1839 Captain John Hart, Superintendent of the Whale Fisheries, travelled at least part of his journey with cattle along the Murray River, from 15 miles below the Darling to Adelaide (Lewis, 1917, pp.8, 10, 13-14). During this time he formed the opinion that the Murray River could be navigated by paddle steamer for 1000 miles from the Goulburn River (Lewis, 1917, pp.13-14). He was also optimistic that the trees growing near the river could be used for shipbuilding (Lewis, 1917, pp.13-14). He thought that farming along the river would be a great opportunity for the colony (Lewis, 1917, p.14). Hart's thoughts about farming along the Murray were followed by Mr Edward Bates Scott's reports about soil fertility between the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers (Lewis, 1917, p.29). A paddle steamer service to farms

along the Murrumbidgee would provide reliable transport and supply of wool, tallow, hides, grain and minerals to South Australian residents (Lewis, 1917, p.29).

Young had been put under pressure to increase colonial profits, and so amidst the growing support for a paddle steamer service on the Murray River, he offered a prize of £2000 each for the first two paddle steamers of iron construction to navigate from Goolwa to the Murray-Darling junction (Nicholson, 2004, p.103). In 1850, the same year “that he persuaded the new Legislative Council of South Australia to offer the two prizes”, Young travelled with R. R. Torrens, Mr Hutton and Captain Freeling⁵ by horseback to Moorundie with Freeling’s, Torrens’s and Young’s wives, Young’s son and a nurse (Nicholson, 2004, pp.103, 104). The men continued on to the Rufus River and were met there by George Mason and six Aborigines in a whaleboat (Nicholson, 2004, p.104). From the Rufus River they continued in the whaleboat to the Darling junction and then rowed downstream to Goolwa (Nicholson, 2004, p.104).

The river depths were measured and recorded (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). On 2 October the depth was measured every 15 minutes somewhere near the Murray’s junction with the Rufus (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). The following day the depth of the river was measured as well (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). The main concern for navigation was the abundance of snags, however “they are rarely in the channel, which is almost always distinguishable” (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). Ducks were plentiful, as were bronze winged pigeons (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). There were no snags downstream of Moorundie (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). Opposite of Thompson’s Station, which is below Wellington, the river was at a depth of “fourteen fathoms [25.6m]. The average depth became four fathoms [7.3m], frequently no bottom at seven fathoms [12.8m]” (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). The average depth of Lake Alexandrina was 1.5 fathoms (2.7m) (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). The governor discussed steamer traffic with residents along the river, and they were very supportive of a steamer service (1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’). His journey led him to believe that the river could be navigated and the support he

⁵ It appears that R. R. Torrens was the son of Robert Torrens who was the officer of marines, political economist and colonisation commissioner (Pike, ed., 1967, pp.534, 535). R.R. Torrens was employed as Adelaide’s customs collector (1996, *The Australian Encyclopaedia*). Hutton was described as the "artist of the expedition" (1850, 'Mr Hutton's Journal of the Governor's Expedition to the Darling'). Freeling was the surveyor-general and commissioner of South Australia (Pike, 1972, p.220). According to the Australian Dictionary of Biography’s entry on Freeling: "his only exploring expedition was to Lake Torrens where in 1857 he examined its navigable possibilities" (Pike, ed. 1972, p.220).

received from riverside residents would have given him the encouragement he needed to proceed in his plans to establish a paddle steamer service.

As a result of his sponsorship and planning for a paddle steamer service, the Murray region economy grew. In 1853 there was an estimated 400,000 sheep in the Murray region, and 50,000 in the Darling region (Lewis, 1917, p.47). The existence of a cheaper, more reliable transport service allowed sheep stations to expand and the prices of goods dropped (Phillips, 1972, p.50; 1856, 'Edward River District'). In 1882 16,000 bales of wool were produced in the Darling region (Phillips, 1972, p.51). "In Dunlop Station [near the Darling River] in 1860 186,000 sheep were shorn", something that may have been harder to do in previous years due to having to save clips from the previous shearing season into the next season (Phillips, 1972, p.50; Lewis, 1917, p.47; n.d, 'Homestead, Dunlop Station, Darling River, (1886)). As a result, more settlers arrived and took up residence along the Murray, and small riverside towns became bustling ports (Rowland, c.1980, p.53). Homes along the banks were furnished and equipment became more easily available to residents (Rowland, c.1980, p.53). Life became easier and the Murray-Darling region became more attractive to European settlers (Phillips, 1972, p.7).

4c. Captain Francis Cadell, 1852, 1855 and 1856.

In 1852, spurred by the prize offered by the South Australian Government, Captain Francis Cadell travelled in a 6m x 1m canvas-covered timber-framed collapsible canoe made in Melbourne, which he named *Forerunner* (Nicholson, 2004, pp.106-108). He travelled from Swan Hill to Wellington in South Australia with four men from the Bendigo goldfields (Nicholson, 2004, p.110; Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.8, 10). During his journey he took notes on where the snags and reefs were, as well as the depths and bends of the river (Nicholson, 2004, p.116). His canoe trip was important in determining the navigability of the river for paddle steamers from Swan Hill, which was 530km upstream from Wentworth, the furthest that Young had reached on his voyage (Nicholson, 2004, p.116; Wright, 1997, p. inner back cover no number provided).

Cadell's efforts gave him the confidence to navigate the river in a steamer. In 1853 he travelled in his paddle steamer, named *Lady Augusta*, from Goolwa to Gannawarra Station and then downstream to Goolwa, with Lieutenant-Governor Young and other dignitaries on board (Rowland, c.1980, p.55; Lewis, 1917, pp.39-42). The journey was a success (Lewis, 1917, pp.39-42). About the same time as Cadell's steamer journey, William Randall was also

pioneering steamer travel on the river (Painter, 1979, p.30; Nicholson, 2004, p.137).

Although Randall reached further than Cadell, he did not claim the prize offered by the South Australian Government, so the £4000 prize was then transferred to Cadell who spent the money operating two more steamers (Painter, 1979, p.25; Phillips, 1972, p.15). His canoe voyage was, as the name of his canoe suggested, the forerunner of a highly successful paddle steamer trade which thrived throughout the nineteenth century, but started dwindling by the 1890s with the expansion of the railways (for information about the dwindling of the paddle steamer trade see Richmond, c.1980, pp.14-17). Based on my readings, it appears that for at least three decades steamers were perhaps the most efficient, depending on river levels, and reliable transport along the rivers (see Phillips, 1972; Richmond, c.1980, pp.5-19; Rowland, c.1980, pp.53-69). It would be unwise to ignore how preliminary surveying journeys in canoes and whaleboats have contributed to the turning point in the Murray-Darling River region's economies, setting the foundation for a thriving agricultural sector.

Cadell was not content with just plying between Swan Hill and Wellington (Cadell cited in Nicholson, 2004, p.167). So, in 1855 with Captain Dorward and possibly John Hilder and Harry English, he travelled by boat — “it appeared a frail bark, for it was made of green hide nailed to a frame” — from Albury to either Moama which is on the New South Wales bank opposite to Echuca, or the Edward River junction (1887, ‘A Murray Pioneer’; 1887, ‘Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers’). It remains unclear who made the journey, how far they travelled and what the boat was made from. Captain Dorward, interviewed in the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, makes no mention of John Hilder and Harry English (Goodwin, 2005, p.1; 1887, ‘A Murray River Pioneer’). He suggests that the boat was constructed from “hoops of old brandy casks and covered over with canvas”, which were manufactured by Cadell and himself (Goodwin, 2005, p.1; 1887, ‘A Murray Pioneer’). The article also stated that Cadell abandoned the trip at the Edward River junction so that he could meet Dorward downstream in a paddle steamer (1887, ‘A Murray Pioneer’). Cadell plied the steamer upstream from Goolwa to meet Dorward, who was charting the river (1887, ‘A Murray Pioneer’). According to a letter dated 12 June 1854 published in the *Australia and New Zealand Gazette*, in preparation for taking his business to Albury (which had transport links to Sydney and Melbourne) Cadell and two others travelled in a small boat from a hundred miles below Albury towards Swan Hill (Cadell cited in Nicholson, 2004, p.167).

In response to the “interview” with Dorward, John Hilder and Harry English claimed to have been with Cadell and Dorward until they reached Moama, where Hilder and English stopped

due to illness (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers'). Harry English had written in to the *Australian Town and Country Journal* saying that Cadell traded the boat for £28 (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers').

The reason for the journey is easily explained. According to Nicholson (2004) Cadell had decided to expand his control of steamer traffic beyond Echuca to Albury because Randall, in a self-made steamer, had travelled further than him in the 1853 paddle steamer race (Nicholson, 2004, p.166).

According to Nicholson (2004) at the end of the public dinner that was held in his honour Cadell was bombarded with suggestions to test how navigable the Edward River was (p.160). In 1856 Cadell travelled on the Edward River in a skiff (1856, 'Edward River District'). There is little information about this journey. Cadell was very much the explorer: he also journeyed into the Northern Territory (Mudie, Ian, 'Cadell, Francis (1822–1879)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography online*).

In c.1860 Captain Francis Cadell also investigated the Latrobe River, Lake Wellington, the Straits and Lake Victoria (the one located near Melbourne and therefore not in the basin) to the ocean in a whaleboat (Cadell, c.1860). He was unable to cross the bar, probably at Lakes Entrance, due to weather conditions, so his whaleboat was transported overland to the Snowy River (Cadell, c.1860). He assessed the river before him, Mr McLeod and an Aboriginal man made a bark canoe and launched it on to the river (Cadell, c.1860). While Cadell was navigating the Snowy, one of his employees crossed the bar in the whaleboat (Cadell, c.1860). Cadell reported to *The Argus* that the river could be navigated by small steamers for 30 miles if the river was de-snagged (Cadell, c.1860). The Snowy River, the Latrobe River, Lake Wellington, Lake Victoria, and the Straits of course, are not part of the Murray-Darling Basin although the northern end of the Snowy is located close to the border of the Murray-Darling Basin (2011, Murray-Darling Basin Authority Murray-Darling Basin Map Flora & Fauna). Cadell's journey on those rivers are included because they are lesser known and provide insight into his life and character.

In recent times Cadell has commanded considerable interest, both on the Murray and in Cockenzie, Scotland. The *Forerunner II* was a replica made in Cockenzie Scotland by Kenny Munro who lived near the town, which was also Cadell's birthplace (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.14; n.d, SA Memory Cadell's Birthplace). Munro hoped that schoolchildren in Scotland would be able to help recreate Cadell's canoe as part of the celebration of the 150 year

anniversary of Cadell's *Forerunner* voyage (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.6). In 2000 the *Forerunner II* left on its journey from Cockenzie to nearby Port Seton (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.15). In c.2000, the *Forerunner III*, a replica of Cadell's original *Forerunner*, was made in Goolwa with the support of the *Australian Geographic* magazine, Inland Rivers and Port of Goolwa Historical Society (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.6, 26). The boat was exhibited at the March 2001 Wooden Boat Festival, (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.27; c.2002, Restoration and Preservation of Wooden Boats of Historical Value and Interest; Classic Australian Wooden Power Boats Highlights of meetings, outings and shows) most likely the one held in South Australia from 14-16 March 2001. It also participated in the Australian Centenary Celebration event Source to Sea (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.27, 38). It participated briefly in the Great River Murray Paddle Steamer Heritage Leisure Boat Voyage of 2001, as one of the traditional vessels in water processions at Morgan, Mannum and Goolwa (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp. 47, 48, 51, 54, 60). When I visited Goolwa in 2012, the *Forerunner III* was displayed in a souvenir shop at Signal Point, Goolwa. In Cockenzie there is a park called Goolwa and in Goolwa there is a park called Cockenzie (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.68). The naming of the parks was in honour of the connection between the two towns and the Scottish men who contributed to the paddle steamer trade on the Murray River (Reedman ed., c.2012, p.72).

Goolwa's local library is located on Cadell Street. Hay, East Albury, Wentworth, Swan Hill and Corowa each also have a Cadell Street (n.d, Cadell St Google Maps).

Cadell's canoe voyage is part of South Australian Heritage. A State Library of South Australia website called *SA Memory* has a photo of Cadell's *Forerunner* in front of his birthplace Cockenzie, Scotland, the photo was taken circa 1900 (see Figure 2; n.d., SA Memory Cadell's Birthplace). The photograph is also available in Ward (1993) *Cockenzie to Goolwa*. It is unclear what happened to the canoe since the photo was taken. The National Library of Australia has a collection of Cadell's papers and biographical cuttings on microfilm (Cannon, 2006, p.19). The newspaper cuttings included in Cadell's papers on microfilm contain information about Cadell's journey on the Snowy River.

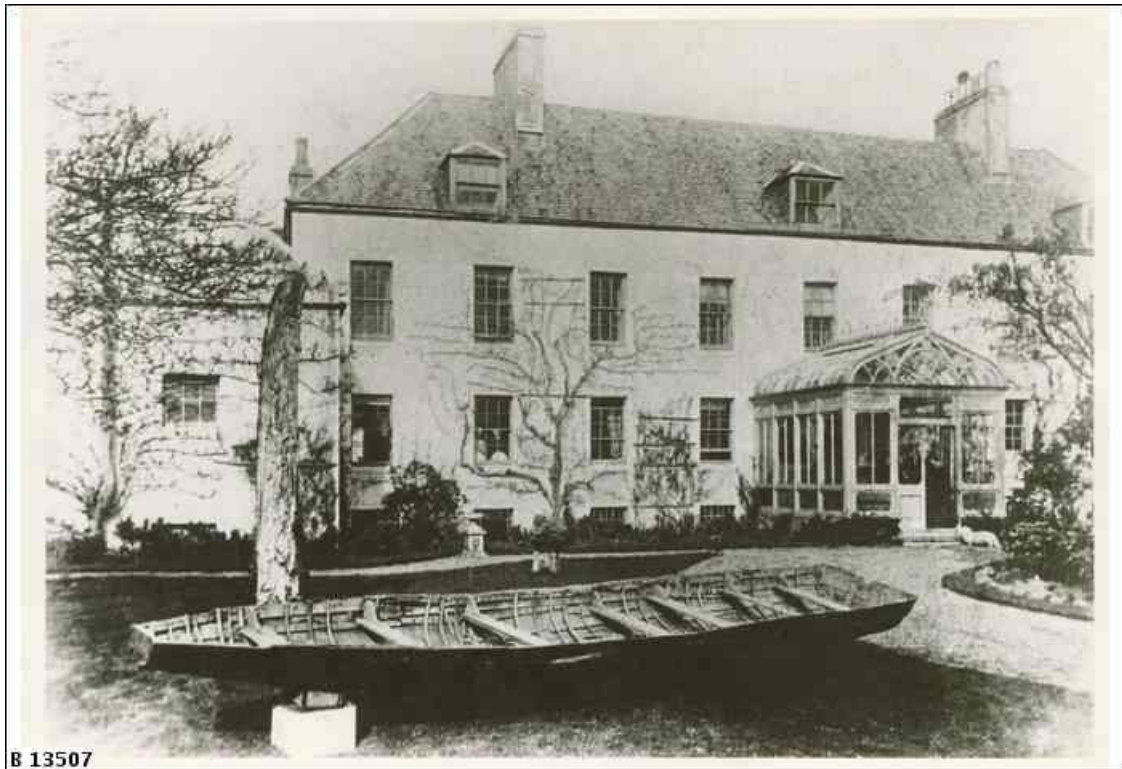


Figure 2. “Cockenzie House, Scotland: birthplace of Francis Cadell. In the foreground is the canvas boat "Forerunner" in which Cadell navigated the River Murray from Swan Hill to Wellington in 1852. Ca. 1900” courtesy of the State Library of South Australia B 13507 (n.d, SA Memory).

4d. Mr Henry Copeland and Captain Vanzeulicom, 1854.

In 1854 Mr Henry Copeland and Captain Vanzeulicom travelled in a small flat-bottomed boat from “a point a little way below the second punt on the Goulburn at Seymour” to Maiden’s Punt (now Moama) (1854, ‘Navigation of the Goulburn’; n.d, Obituary - James Maiden – Obituaries Australia). The voyage was commenced under Cadell’s instructions, although he did not accompany them (Cadell, 1854). The estimated distance travelled was 370 miles (1855, ‘Navigation of the Goulburn’). Copeland composed a chart (Cadell, 1854). The chart that Captain Vanzeulicom possessed, Cadell (1854) claimed to be a copy of Copeland’s. Vanzeulicom did participate in this journey; though letters from Cadell claim that he assisted in building the boat but otherwise was of little help (Cadell, 1854).

4e. Captain Augustus Baker Peirce, c.1863.

In c.1863, American surveyor Augustus Baker Peirce travelled with an unnamed “Aborigine and a dancing master called Everest,” in a rowboat from Albury to Milang, Milang is on the shore of Lake Alexandrina, to chart the Murray (Reschke cited in Wright, 2007, p. i; n.d,

Augustus Baker Peirce :: biography at :: at Design and Art Australia Online). The unnamed Aborigine was employed “for the heavy and dirty work” and left the group at Collendina Station between Mulwala and Corowa (Peirce, 1984, p.58). The craft was a “...fifteen-foot clinker-built boat provided with both sail and oars...” and he fitted a small table on which he sketched the course of the river and marked soundings and obstructions (Peirce, 1984, p.58). Peirce was hired by “the proprietors of the *Lady Daly* line of steamers” to provide a detailed chart of the “Murray and its tributaries” (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’). His journey and recordings resulted in a 200m long map that unfolded as the boat progressed on the river, and was used on the *Lady Daly* steamer (n.d, Augustus Baker Peirce :: biography at :: at Design and Art Australia Online). The map located snags and other obstacles that could impede traffic from Albury to Goolwa (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’).

The Adelaide Observer, which originally published the article before it was included in *The Argus*, stated that “The necessity of so valuable a work is obvious, and more especially when it is anticipated a large sum of money will shortly be spent in removing this long existing nuisance [snags]” (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’). Peirce also marked trees that were in line with the obstructions: “When any of these [obstructions such as snags] seemed particularly dangerous I would go ashore, select a tree in line with the obstruction, strip off a large piece of bark, and paint a red circle, or star upon the trunk, marking the chart to correspond” (Peirce, 1984, p.58). It is unclear exactly when he launched his craft on the river, but his journey ended in 1864 and in October that year the press announced that his chart had been assessed and accepted (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’). It is unclear whether the map was used to locate snags for removal, but the canoe journey and the consequent map of the river aided steamer passage on the Murray. It was vital to have good maps of the river, as low river level meant that paddle steamers were more exposed to snags that may not otherwise affect shipping during flood. Also, knowing when sharp bends and turns were approaching helped to avoid accidents.

4f. Mr and Mrs Edward and Helena Forde, 1865.

In 1865 Mr and Mrs Edward and Helena Forde, “with four professional assistants and nine labourers from the Sydney Government” travelled in a small boat with 12 months provisions and equipment “from Wentworth to about 15 miles above Menindee” (1865, ‘Telegraphic Despatches’, p.3; 1865, ‘Country Works’; 1866, ‘The South’, p.3). Their goal was to survey the Darling River during low flow, to map and describe obstructions, for the purpose of

removing them to enable year-round navigation (1865, 'Country Works'). They were also to suggest sites for new towns supported by busy river traffic (1865, 'Country Works'). The survey was put to a halt after the death of Edward Forde, the leader of the expedition, who died of typhoid (1910, 'The Last of the Artist-Naturalists.'). John Bloxham from Fort Bourke was critical of the expedition, claiming that it was foolish to expect a boat carrying 15 men and a years' worth of provisions to be able to travel upstream at a time when the paddle steamers could not (1865, 'The Survey of the Darling. To the Editor of the Herald'). Articles do not mention whether they ended up taking horses to travel alongside the river. Helena drew sketches of plants that interested her during the journey (1910, 'The Last of the Artist-Naturalists.'). There are two photos of her drawings that are of interest regarding whether they used boats for most of the journey. The images are available from the State Library of New South Wales Website. Image 7 "Darling River, near "Para" J. Scott's Station" is of particular interest. It shows a wagon, tents and two small boats the latter of which were tied up against the bank. The river is very shallow at this place. Considering the lack of depth in this part of the river, it seems likely that they mostly travelled by wagon with the land party and measured the water depth in the boats. Image 6 "Darling River, near "Para" J. Scott's Station" shows that the river is somewhat deeper in some places and there are two craft on the river, which demonstrates that it was possible to launch a small boat.

4g. Captain Sinclair, 1877.

In 1877 Captain Sinclair travelled approximately "1100 miles" from Forbes to the Murrumbidgee River, in a "flatty", probably a flat-bottomed boat, to judge whether the Lachlan could be navigated by steamers (Morrison, 1881, no.5, p.2; 1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan February 20.'). Previously he had been dispatched by Mr Barbour, a paddle steamer owner, to assess the river's potential for steamer navigation (1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan February 20. '; 1877, *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 10 November). He travelled overland from Whealbah to Forbes (1877, 'Victoria Agricultural Show'). At Forbes a boat was made and he proceeded from there to the Murrumbidgee (Morrison, 1881, no.5, p.2; 1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan February 20.'). Eventually he was stuck for two days and two nights in a vast reed bed surrounded by numerous snakes and reeds reaching heights of between 12ft and 20ft (3.7m and 6.1m), before being rescued by an Aboriginal man sent to find him (1878, 'A Perilous Trip').

4h. Captain David Simpson Kirkwood, 1878.

Mr Kirkwood of the Works Department was sent to survey hazards on the Lachlan River, and did so from Forbes to its junction with the Murrumbidgee (1901, 'The Lachlan River'). With him were five others, a whaleboat and skiff (1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan'; 1901, 'The Lachlan River'). The journey took six months, taking 17,094 soundings and regularly carrying boats over fallen timber (1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan'; 1901, 'The Lachlan River'). Near Oxley, a small village close to the Murrumbidgee junction, they encountered a large swamp containing an extensive reed bed of about 16 miles (25.6 km) (1901, 'The Lachlan River'; Green et al, 2011, p.1). A 1901 article for the *Australian Town and Country Journal* mentioned his journey, in particular how an Aboriginal man and woman guided him through the reeds, enabling him to leave the boats with the snagging party at the junction without transporting it by cart (1901, 'The Lachlan River'). The article was syndicated to other newspapers, publishing very slight variations, in the *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal* and the *Evening News* (see Kirkwood, 1901, 'Along the Lachlan.'; Kirkwood, 1901, 'The Lachlan River. An Official's Experience.').

His report to the Engineer in Chief, Harbours and Rivers, which was published in *The Riverine Grazier* (1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation') provides a good sense of what the river was like at the time.

All soundings were taken at low summer level, except from Mr Jones's station to Mr Mooney's station. From Hillston to Oxley the measurements were reduced to what would have been their summer level. From Oxley to the Murrumbidgee the measurements were not reduced to their summer level. (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

For 106 river miles starting from Golden Point, near Forbes, the stream was filled with fallen timber and snags. The measurements showed that the river was between 3ft 6in (1.06m) to 13ft (4.0m) deep, and the width was at times 60ft (18.3m), 70ft (21.3m) and 80ft (24.4m). The banks reached 12ft (3.7m) and 25ft (7.6m). He thought this stretch of the river navigable during floods so long as the snags were removed. This would enable steamer passage for about three or four months annually. (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

For the next 125 river miles, from Mr. Jones' station to Mr Mooney's, the water separates into two branches for 15 miles (24km). One branch reached 20ft (6.1m) wide and was between 10ft (3.1m) and 12ft (3.7m) deep. The first branch could not be made navigable but the second branch called "Island Creek" meandered less and could be made suitable for steamer passage. (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

From Mr Mooney's to Condobolin "there are 8 sand bars caused by the timber in the stream; there is also a short reef of shale rock with 18ft of water over it; being loose stones, there would not be so much trouble in removing it, and if the timber were cleared out the stream could be navigated". The depths were 11ft to 18ft (3.4m to 5.5m) and at various points reached widths of 40ft, 50ft and 60ft (12.2m, 15.2m and 18.3m). (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

Starting from Condobolin and ending at Euabalong, the depth was from 2ft to 13ft (0.6m to 4.0m) and width was at times 45ft, 60ft and 90ft (13.7m, 18.3m and 27.4m). This stretch included fallen timber and huge rocks. The next section, ending at Hillston, the depth was 12ft to 18ft (3.7m to 5.5m) and was also impeded by rocks and snags. Towards Booligal, there was a rise of 5ft (1.5m) due to new water flowing down into the Lachlan. Onwards to Oxley they reduced the soundings to summer level and the depths were between 4ft to 12ft (1.2m to 3.7m), the width 60ft, 70ft and 90ft (18.3m, 21.3m and 27.4m). Towards Oxley from Booligal the only impediments were settler-constructed dams. (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

"From Oxley to the junction of the Murrumbidgee River, 52 miles [83.2km] by water: Soundings not reduced, range from 7 to 14 feet [2.1m to 4.3m]; stream 70, 30, and 95 feet [21.3m, 9.1m, 29.0m] wide; after leaving Oxley station the stream continued good for about 25 miles [40km], when we came to what is known as the reed beds, that is, the river spreads out into a large swamp thick with high reeds; we traced the main channel 70 feet [21.3m] wide for seven miles [11.2km], walled in on each side by reeds 12 and 16 feet [3.7m and 4.9m] high; then there was an abrupt termination of our progress by the density of the reeds; we could not get through them." (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation').

“The Murrumbidgee, 24 feet deep [7.3m], making a fall of 7 feet [2.1] from the Lachlan to the Murrumbidgee, so that in summer level a great portion of the water of the reed beds must run off into the Murrumbidgee.” (Kirkwood c.1878 in 1879, ‘Survey of the Lachlan as to its Adaptability for Navigation’).

He recommended placing locks to make the river navigable for small steamers to travel from Forbes to Condobolin (1879, ‘Survey of the Lachlan’). Steamers would supply produce to Sydney and the locks could retain water so that there would be more water during times of need (1879, ‘Survey of the Lachlan’).

Kirkwood’s journey seems to be one of the last journeys undertaken in a human-powered craft to judge if a river could be navigated by paddle steamers. After 1877 most journeys in the Murray-Darling Basin were for commerce, employment, adventure and recreation.

5. Conclusion

River explorers and surveyors played a major role in shaping the history of the Murray River and the regions surrounding its tributaries using human-powered craft. Their journeys have influenced the settlement of the basin and changed the future of the region, impacting on its cultural and natural heritage. Their journeys were historically significant because they were able to provide detailed maps of the streams, which could have influenced the settlement of its banks, and established the foundations for an economy based on agriculture which was boosted by steamer transport between the colonies. The first paddle steamers on the river were made possible by exploration and mapping of the basin and detailed observations of various landmarks, and river obstacles in human-powered craft. Surveying the river in human-powered craft made steamer passage easier and less risky, which was an important step to ensuring that rivers would be steam navigated more quickly and with less cost. The first steamers could travel with less chance of damage and costly repairs.

Early Europeans in human-powered craft were not directly responsible for the widespread destruction of native wildlife, indigenous culture and vegetation, but their discoveries caused an influx of European migrants who sought out grazing land and a reliable water supply. Although explorers’ ideas of fertile lands were sometimes at odds with what later graziers found (Curr, 1968, p.182), they nevertheless added knowledge of the interior and provided an interesting account of the rivers and landscape before extensive European settlement. This would be used for understanding what the region used to be like and how best to conserve it.

The most well-known journey was by Charles Sturt and is commemorated in towns along the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers. Towns are eager to associate with his journey, demonstrating the allure and pride of his exploits down the rivers. Sturt's exploration is seen as the beginning of European history in the area and towns along the river are eager to demonstrate their prominence by building commemorative plaques. In particular, Sturt's journey is a constant source of interest to paddlers who wish to emulate aspects of his journey and part of his route. Other rowboat journeys by explorers and surveyors such as John Oxley are not so well known, but they nevertheless could have influenced settlement of previously unknown regions to Europeans.

Perhaps the best evidence of the impact of the journeys of Oxley and Sturt was the map included in the 1963 publication of Sturt's account. The 1963 reprint contained a copy of an 1832 52cm x 63cm map published by J Arrowsmith of the *Discoveries in Australia Copied from the [then] Latest M.S Surveys in the Colonial Office*. The map showed the routes of Oxley, Currie, Hume, Cunningham and Sturt. The map is evidence of the significance of the journeys that Oxley and Sturt made. Their journeys, as well as those made by Currie and Hume, contributed significantly to the knowledge of Australia's internal rivers. Interestingly, it included the first few miles of the Darling River and its supposed junction with the Murray. Major Mitchell later uncovered the route of the Darling in his 1831-1832, 1835 and 1836 explorations (Shaw ed., 1984, pp.217, 221; Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.15).

The legacy of Oxley, Sturt and Mitchell's journeys are evident in sites and commemorations along the Darling, Murray and Macquarie Rivers. Along the Darling River is a replica Fort Bourke where Mitchell's party established a camp before launching their boats on the river. The legacy of their expeditions is also evident in numerous canoe and kayak adventures on the rivers that they explored and surveyed, with people seeking to emulate the adventures of Sturt.

In a park in Warren a plaque commemorates John Oxley's expedition and also that of Charles Sturt and Hamilton Hume which reads:

JOHN OXLEY

In commemoration of JOHN OXLEY, GEORGE EVANS

and party. They camped in this vicinity on the

night of 23rd. June, 1818. On 27th. June they

discovered and named Mt. HARRIS of which this
rock was part.

CHARLES STURT

CHARLES STURT, HAMILTON HUME and party
passed about 1mile⁶ to the north east on or about
18th. December, 1828 in their attempt to solve
the problem of the supposed inland sea.

⁶ On the plaque there is no gap between 1 and mile.

PART B: Employment and Commerce 1853-1936

1. Overview: Employment and Commerce 1853-1936

At least 52 people travelled the rivers in a human-powered craft on business, or in search of work. During 1853 to 1860, at least 24 miners returned from or were en route to the Victorian and New South Wales goldfields to South Australia. Most of the miners did not travel by river to the goldfields, but those who possessed little cash and had already travelled by arduous land routes to the diggings, might have been compelled to seek cheap river travel on their return to South Australia. During the early 1860s business entrepreneurs took to the river to support their trade. One documented journey during the 1870s was undertaken to find work by a man accompanied by his family (Hill, 1958, p.58). During the 1890s and until after the 1930s depression, “whalers” – river swagmen who spent their days rowing the Murrumbidgee, Murray and Darling Rivers – paddled or rowed the rivers in their quest for employment or sustenance. Depression-era itinerants from Sydney and Adelaide, paddled the rivers seeking work. The artefacts of journeys undertaken for employment and commerce, are of interest as they reveal not only what the rivers used to be like and how they were used, but other cultural aspects of the period. They expose how individuals survived in colonial and early federal times. I have included those who intended to travel, but for whom I have no evidence of them starting, as it demonstrates how common it was for individuals to view the river as a highway and a place of refuge.

Journeys undertaken during this period often demonstrate the will and determination of travellers to survive. Travellers were adaptable and improvised canoes and rowboats to suit their purposes (1932, ‘1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’; 1932, ‘Adventurous Port Youths’; 1932, ‘To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today’). They could also travel when the paddle steamers could not, for example, Hugh King and two crewmen canoed from Wentworth to Echuca after delivering a paddle steamer to Wentworth (Phillips, 1972, pp. 74, 76). By the time they left Wentworth to travel back to Echuca, the river levels were too low and paddle steamers could not navigate the stream (Phillips, 1972, p.74). King and his men paddled back to Echuca in less than a month (Phillips, 1972, p.76; for more information see Appendix A).

There were probably many more journeys for which there are no published records. If it were not for those who wrote about their journey on the river and about the people they met who were also travelling in a human-powered craft, less would be known. For example, two

such voyages that were otherwise not recorded, were noted by Dr. George E Morrison in his articles about his canoe journey (for additional details of Morrison's journey see 3d in Part C: Adventure and Recreation). Morrison met a carpenter on the Murray who managed to transform an old furniture case into a boat (Morrison, 1881, no.6). The carpenter left Wentworth in his boat in search of work (Morrison, 1881, no.6). Morrison also met two men who claimed to "have rowed from Bourke on the Darling some 1600 miles", but the article does not explain why they decided to undertake such a journey (Morrison, 1881, no.4). These encounters suggest that there are more journeys than are officially recorded. It is not clear if Morrison wrote about all of the paddlers he encountered, though it seems unlikely that he recorded all he observed. However, chance meetings such as these are a good source of information, unavailable in other places.

There do not seem to have been any solo women on the rivers searching for work. This is not to say that there were none. Due to social norms which dictated that women have chaperones, travelling unaccompanied was considered dangerous (see Part C 4. Women and Recreational Journeys). During the nineteenth century women did not have equal employment and wage opportunities (Lake, 1986, pp.121-122). The prevailing thought was that every woman had a male guardian (Lake, 1986, p.122) whether a father, brother or husband who could provide for her. Employing women meant fewer jobs for men, and women who did work received lower payments than men (Lake, 1986, pp.121-122).

2. Employment 1853-1936

This section is divided into four parts and arranged in chronological order: the gold rush era, "whalers", the Great Depression and other employment journeys that do not fit into the aforementioned categories.

2.1 The Gold Rush era, 1853-1860.

Gold seekers from the Forest Creek Diggings and the Kiandra "Snowy" Diggings, used human-powered craft on their return and on en route to the gold fields (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'; 1860, 'A Novel Journey on the Murray'; 1860, 'Wellington [From our Correspondent]'; 1929, 'Early Days on the Murray'; 1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). Perhaps the earliest report of using non-motorised watercraft for this purpose was in 1853, when a Mr Watson and the five sons of a Mr Radford journeyed overland from the Forest Creek Diggings in Victoria, then down the Murray in a boat. There

appear to be at least 24 individuals who made this type of journey. This number does not include Captain Tilbrook's party or others who paddled some of the way to or from diggings but who found work before they reached their destination. Thomas Smith, for example, ended his journey at Wentworth having been offered work there.⁷

Travel to the diggings overland from capital cities or via steamships around the coast and then overland, appear to have been the most common route to the goldfields. However, some did travel to the diggings in human-powered craft on the Murray. It is important for this thesis to explain the part the Murray River played in the lives of individuals who were connected to and participated in the Australian gold rush.

2.1a. The Forest Creek Diggings, c.1853.

A group of six individuals travelled from the Forest Creek Diggings, near Mount Alexander, to Adelaide in a rowboat. There may have been others who travelled from the Forest Creek Diggings in boat on the Murray, but their journeys were not reported. Reports do not describe the hardships they faced at the goldfields, but contemporary articles provide an insight into what their circumstances might have been and why they would have chosen to travel in a human-powered craft. During the 1850s, the South Australian Government was concerned about the number of residents leaving the colony to journey to the goldfields (1852, 'The Overland Route to Mount Alexander') so it seems possible that there may be others who travelled in human-powered craft on the rivers between Adelaide and the Forest Creek Diggings. These concerns which were also felt by Adelaide residents, resulted in newspaper reports of the various routes between Adelaide and Mount Alexander (1852, 'The Overland Route to Mount Alexander', *South Australian Register*). One route described in South Australian newspapers included following the coastline, which added considerably to distance and time spent travelling, the route being reportedly a total of about 500 or 600 miles (1852, 'The Overland Route to Mount Alexander', *South Australian Register*). The upper overland route, which was more direct, crossed dry country but was often closed due to limited water supply, as water in wells was used up quickly (1852, 'The Overland Route to Mount Alexander', *South Australian Register*). Travelling on the Murray would have spared the six men from worrying about finding a reliable supply of drinking water, and probably lessened the amount of money spent, by not requiring six horses. By 1853 Captain Cadell had

⁷ For more information, including a reference, see 2.1b.d. Thomas Smith and another man, 1860.

piloted a paddle steamer route on the Murray, so travelling on the river in a human-powered craft would have seemed straightforward.

2.1a.a Mr Watson and the Five Sons of Mr Radford, 1853.

In 1853 Mr Watson and the five sons of Mr Radford journeyed overland from the Forest Creek diggings to Maiden's Punt (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). There they constructed a boat⁸ and embarked down the river to Moorundie (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). They walked from Moorundie to Angaston, near Adelaide (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). They sustained themselves by hunting and fishing and with the generosity of river settlers (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). The experience revitalised them, after eight months toil at the diggings (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). The newspaper report commended the voyagers for their thriftiness, having saved £50 (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.'). The article did not say why they journeyed by boat, only that they had travelled previously by both land and sea (1853, 'Navigation of the Murray.—Return Diggers.').

2.1b. The Kiandra “Snowy Diggings” Gold Rush, c.1860.

At least 18 individuals are reported to have travelled on the Murray between South Australia and the Snowy River Diggings. There were at least 30 in all, including 12 more individuals who stopped before reaching the goldfields. Some, like Captain Tilbrook's party, found rowing upstream against the current too demoralising, but the majority of reports of those travelling downstream said they had successful, thrifty and enjoyable journeys.

On 13 February 1860 reports reached Adelaide of immense gold to be sought at the Snowy River Diggings (1860, 'Snowy Creek Diggings'). This was the gold rush that sparked an outflow of workers from South Australia (1860, 'Snowy River Via Melbourne'; 1860, 'The Snowy River Diggings, *Adelaide Observer*; 1860, 'Wellington. [From Our Correspondent]'). For example, by June 1860, in the middle of Kiandra's cold season, a report appeared of desperate miners wishing to be home in South Australia (1860, 'Wellington. [From our own

⁸ It is very safe to assume that in early and mid-nineteenth century newspapers boat meant a human-powered watercraft, unless it was mentioned in the context of paddle steamers or coastal ships. This is because power boats were common after the beginning of the twentieth century after Ole Evinrude “invented the outboard motor, which was portable and easy to attach to boats” although France's first motor boat with an internal-combustion engine was made in 1865 by Jean Lenoir (Levinson & Christensen eds., 1999, p.258).

It seems unlikely that most lay persons would have the technological skill or commodities, especially the poor and desperate, to acquire a boat with a motor or to make one for themselves. If individuals were wealthy enough to acquire a motor boat, then they would have more likely travelled by steamers or horses to search for work.

Correspondent]’). Many miners were without money and were selling their tools (1860, ‘Wellington. [From our own Correspondent]’). Most of the accessible alluvial gold had been found earlier (Moye ed., 1959, p.ix). This and the impracticality of mining during winter, left scores of out-of-luck workers needing an economical means to return home (1860, ‘Wellington. [From our own Correspondent]’). During May-July 1860 there were at least three boat journeys between the Diggings and South Australia.

To comprehend why individuals would have chosen to journey down the river, it is important to understand the other routes between Kiandra and Adelaide. There were three routes to the Kiandra goldfields from Adelaide via Melbourne, according to a special report by Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Henry Freeling, the Surveyor-General of South Australia, made at the request of the South Australian government (1860, ‘The New Diggings’). Freeling arrived at the goldfields in April 1860 and his report was published on 19 May in *The South Australian Advertiser*, (Freeling 1860 in 1860, ‘VIII.—The Snowy Diggings.’; Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.16) and would have been available to Adelaide’s reading public. His report makes it clear that there was no easy way to the goldfields from Adelaide (see Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, pp.16-20). The first route passed through Albury and was particularly dangerous during the last 30 miles due to a precipitous hill (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.18). The second route included scaling Mount Talbingo, which was difficult for horses to traverse, and then boggy creeks for the last 30 miles were impassable during the spring snow melt (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.18). There were also very steep hills (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.18). Crossing the Tumut River was particularly dangerous during high water level (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.18). The third route was easier than the first two, but not without its challenges. Freeling recommended this route, which began in Twofold Bay in New South Wales, because approaching from the east was not as hilly (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.20). However, the Snowy River had to be crossed three times which is a dangerous activity during snow melt or heavy rains (Freeling 1860 in Moye ed., 1959, p.20). Although not mentioned by Freeling, by 1860 paddle steamers had been operating on the Murray River for 7 years (Nicholson, 2004, p.166). So the knowledge that the Murray was navigable and that there were settlements along its banks, would presumably have made it a less formidable alternative for part of the journey from the diggings.

The report of Freeling and others highlighted the desperate plight of destitute miners. Miners had to contend with difficult weather, and a predicted shortage of food and other supplies during winter (Freeling 1860 in 1860, ‘VIII.—The Snowy Diggings.’; 1860, ‘The Snowy

River Diggings', 24 April). Major Freeling also predicted that the diggings would be unprofitable in winter and that people should only stay there if they could find suitable housing to protect them from the weather, but food was expected to be scarce (Freeling 1860 in 1860, 'VIII.—The Snowy Diggings.'). During his visit in April he witnessed snow, rain, fog and recorded temperatures between 0°C and 11°C (Freeling 1860 in 1860, 'VIII.—The Snowy Diggings.'). A letter from Mr Heddle, a South Australian man who tried his luck on the Snowy Diggings, an excerpt of which was included in the *South Australian Advertiser* on 10 April, mentioned rains disrupting claims (1860, 'The Snowy River Diggings', 24 April). In April and May 1860 there were reports of gold seekers returning home unable to work the diggings until spring, but were sceptical of there being any more gold to be found during better weather (1860, 'South Australia [From the South Australian Register]'; 1860, 'The Snowy River Diggings.' 24 April).

In light of the hardships miners faced or were expected to face, journeying down the river in a boat would have been an attractive option. Newspaper reports about miners journeying downstream made it clear that the rivers provided sanctuary. The river was the means to drift home, to carry more equipment than the miners could on foot. They could also fish and hunt for game.

This was a means of surviving difficult times: a recurring theme also for whalers and depression-era itinerants of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. As long as miners and other unemployed workers were able to hunt and live off the land, they could hope that they would survive to see better times. The abundance of wildlife and their ability to procure it, would have allowed them to regain their strength.

2.1b.a Three unnamed diggers, 1860.

During May to 11 June 1860 a group of three unnamed individuals travelled from the Snowy Diggings to Albury (1860, 'A Novel Journey on the Murray'). From there they bought a boat and progressed to Wellington (1860, 'A Novel Journey on the Murray'; 1860, 'Wellington [From our Correspondent]'). They reported that many other diggers were starving and selling mining equipment for food (1860, 'Wellington [From our Correspondent]'). Sources do not state why they travelled on the river.

2.1b.b Mr. Trapmann, Mr. Chittleborough, Mr. Deichman and a sailor, 1860.

According to A T. Saunders of Adelaide who wrote about individuals travelling by boat on the Murray: “By 1860, when the Snowy River diggings existed, the Murray was a highway for boat traffic...In July 1860, Trapmann, Chittleborough and Deichman arrived [in South Australia] from Albury in a punt 14 ft. by 4 ft. by 2 ft., having been four weeks on the voyage” (1929, ‘Early Days on the Murray’). The three men journeyed from Albury to Morundee bringing with them an undisclosed amount of gold (1910, ‘Fifty Years Ago. From the Register’). Somewhere along their route a sailor joined the party (1910, ‘Fifty Years Ago. From the Register’). Their experiences travelling down the river seemed to be different to those of Mr Watson’s and the sons of Mr Radford. Trapmann, Chittleborough, Deichman and the sailor ran out of supplies and river settlers charged exorbitant prices to replace them (1910, ‘Fifty Years Ago. From the Register’).

2.1b.c Captain Tilbrook and possibly nine men possibly attempt to reach the diggings, 1860.

Captain Tilbrook and his nine companions rowed 180 miles from an undisclosed location on the Murray until they reached Blanchetown (1860, ‘River Murray. [From a Correspondent.]’). They originally intended rowing further upstream, but the current and weather conditions made them await the arrival of a steamer to take them further (1860, ‘River Murray. [From a Correspondent.]’). It seems likely that they were bound for the diggings. The reporter mentioned that there had been other groups who had to abandon their boat and that potential upstream paddlers should heed this warning (1860, ‘River Murray. [From a Correspondent.]’).

2.1b.d. Thomas Smith and another man, 1860.

In 1860 Thomas Smith and another man departed Milang for the Snowy Diggings, but stopped at the Darling Junction where they gained employment (1861, ‘The Rivers Murray and Darling’).

2.1b.e. Mr and Mrs Abram Martin, Mr A. Wooley and eight others, April/May to November 1860.

Mr and Mrs Abram Martin and Mr A. Wooley intended to row upstream on the Murray from Glenelg, but unfavourable weather forced them to travel overland to Currency Creek, near Goolwa (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’; Baker & Reschke, 2004, p.7). From

Hart's Station they were towed to Swan Hill from where they rowed upstream to Albury (1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). Once at Albury they walked to the Snowy River gold fields, spent four months there before abandoning the search for gold (1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). They returned to Albury from which they and eight other diggers rowed to Currency Creek in a boat, although some disembarked earlier in South Australia (1860, 'A Boat Trip on the Murray'). The downstream journey took 24 days (1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). "Game and fish were plentiful...and [the travellers] met with kind hospitality" from river settlers (1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). "They camped every night" (1860, 'A Boat Trip on the Murray').

2.1c. The likelihood of boat travel to other rushes

In 1860-1861, Victorian miners crossed the border into New South Wales initially to reach Kiandra then later Lambing Flat (1860), Forbes (1861) and Emu Creek (Grenfell) (1866) (Morrell, 1940, p.249; n.d, National Museum of Australia - Gold and government). It does not seem likely that people would have paddled on the Lachlan to the goldfields. Lambing Flat is between some 92km and 122km from the Lachlan and Grenfell is approximately 50km from the river. The Lachlan has sand bars and reed beds. In 1878 the river had many fallen logs (1901, 'The Lachlan River'). In December 1884 journalist James Henry Shaw had major difficulties paddling the river as it was shallow, a portion of it had many barriers and much fallen wood (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V.'). He strained himself carrying the canoe over logs and had to use his axe to hack at branches that were impeding his passage (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V.'). Finally, the bottom of the craft began to wear out (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V.'). He then decided to have his canoe transported overland by wagon, which he did sometime late December or early January (1885, 'The Cruise of Our Canoe VI'). Research trips to sections of the river in July 2013 showed that it still had sand bars and fallen trees (see Figures 3 and 4).



Figure 3. Lachlan River, Edgell Park, Cowra, 10 July 2013.



Figure 4. Lachlan River, between Forbes and Cowra, 16 July 2013.

Any boat trip to Lambing Flat and Grenfell would include travelling significant distances overland from the river and, considering how difficult the waters were to navigate, it seems unlikely that many would have travelled by boat. Unlike the Murray, the river does not appear to have been tested for paddle steamer passage until after the gold rushes of the 1860s. In 1877 Captain Sinclair was sent to determine whether a paddle steamer could travel the river (Morrison, 1881, no.5, p.2; 1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan February 20.'). In 1878 Mr D. S. Kirkwood was sent by a government department to determine the river's navigability (for more information see Part A) (n.d, Journal [microform], -Version details; 1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan. As to its Adaptability for Navigation').

2.2 "Whalers" c.1894-c.1930s⁹

From approximately the 1890s whalers¹⁰, swagmen who roamed Australia's inland rivers, the Murray, Murrumbidgee and Darling in canoes or flat-bottomed clinker-built boats, subsisted on station hand-outs or on what they could barter with rabbit skins and Murray cod (Wilde & Andrews, 1994; McCaughan, 1930; "Vidi", 1894; 1934, 'An Outback Traveller's Tale'; "Swinglebar, 1950; 1938, 'The Murray "Whaler"'). At times they traded for flour, tobacco and sugar (McCaughan, 1930).

Not all "whalers" were waterborne travellers. There were different definitions of whalers, and the term was used in different contexts. The earliest newspaper reference I could find is from 1876; however, articles from that decade did not always mention the use of boats (1876, 'Murrumbidgee "Whalers"'); 1876, 'River District Notes'). In fact, newspaper articles suggest that the term sometimes included those who walked alongside the river, although late in the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century the term "whaler" frequently meant someone who travelled in a rowboat or canoe on the river (1878, 'Tooyal Plains, Murrumbidgee River. '; "Vidi", 1894; "F.R", 1904; 1938, 'The Murray "Whaler"'); 1902, 'The Murrumbidgee Whaler'; Lonsdale, 1924; 1938, 'The Murray "Whaler,"' *Western Argus*; 1938, 'The Murray "Whaler"', *Kalgoorlie Miner*). In 1878 *The Goulburn Herald and Chronicle* described 'river whalers' as pedestrians and that they crowded the track from

⁹ Please note: the dating of this activity is extremely difficult as there were different definitions of whalers and not all of them were referring to waterborne travellers. The start date chosen was 1894 as that was the earliest reference to boats as the main mode of travel I could find. It is very possible that whalers existed before then. The 1930s was chosen as the end date, because there were articles from the 1930s describing whalers, the rivers continued to be a place of refuge during the depression, and the 1930s was the latest reference to whalers I could find. It is possible that they practised their lifestyle after the 1930s, but it does not seem to have been recorded and the individuals were not referred to as whalers.

¹⁰ For the purpose of this thesis, whalers were those who intended to row and paddle on the rivers indefinitely. Unemployed workers were those who searched for work with the intention of returning home once conditions had improved.

Narrandera to Wagga (1878, 'Tooyal Plains, Murrumbidgee River.'). In 1904, an article from *The Australasian* described whalers as good walkers who travelled along the rivers (F.R., 1904). Adding to the confusion is the *Australian Words and their Origins* (1989) definition of a whaler "as a swagman who follows the course of a river" (Hughes ed., 1989, p.623). This ambiguous statement could be read as alongside the river or on the water, but the example they provided of the use of the word for Darling Whalers was from 1894 G. Boothy's definition as those "...who move up and down the river (up one bank and down the other) from year's end to year's end, doing no work and depending for their existence upon the charity of the squatter" (Hughes ed., 1989, p.623).

According to the *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature*, a whaler was of a particular class of swagman who roamed Australia's inland rivers in canoes or in boats and subsisted on fish and sheep (Wilde & Andrews, 1994). The term "whaler" seems to have also meant fisherman, judging by an article explaining the use of a cottage in which a whaler and his family lived (Brandt, 1913). For the most part, whalers were nomadic fishermen. Professional fishermen were not considered whalers ("Vidi", 1894). The typical whaler possessed a box-shaped boat, not exceeding a length of 18ft in which he carried all his goods and often a pet dog (McCaughan, 1930). Their craft were propelled by oars or paddle, and varied in character with some having rude awnings arranged to make shaded storage space, others had minor leaks and were a little worse for wear ("Vidi", 1894). Some, usually owned by sailors, were less crude and possessed foot gratings ("Vidi", 1894). The boats were often named ("Vidi", 1894). See Figure 6 for a photograph of "A Typical Whaler" on the Darling River. Whaling seemed to be an all-male occupation.

The term "whaler" was in honour of the large cod caught from the Murrumbidgee River, and which were frequently found in the Murray ("Swinglebar", 1950). An article about whalers makes it clear that there was a dramatic decline in the number of Murray cod in the early twentieth century (McCaughan, 1930). This decline is noted in the historical and scientific records (Rowland, 2004, pp.38-61). The Murray cod, the symbol of the abundance of the Murray River, has declined since the 1900s (Sinclair, 2004, p.10; Rowland, 2004, p.45). During the 1900s the fish were not as common in the upper Fish, Peel and Cudgego Rivers as they were previously (Rowland, 2004, p.44). By 1950 there was a decline of the species in the Loddon, Campapse and Goulburn Rivers as well as a drop in numbers of other native fish (Rowland, 2004, pp.44, 45). By 2004, in most of Victoria, the Murray cod was uncommon (Rowland, 2004, p.45). One of the main factors for the species decline is the overfishing

between the late 1880s and 1930s (Rowland, 2004, p.49). The cod's decline was evident during the 1930s when whalers could no longer solely rely on selling fish, as fish numbers were dwindling (McCaughan, 1930). They had to supplement their livelihood by hunting rabbits and foxes and trapping water rats (McCaughan, 1930). From the mid-nineteenth century to the 1930s the thriving inland commercial fishery contributed significantly to the fish's decline; de-snagging, pollution and the construction of weirs and locks were also factors in its decreasing numbers (Rowland, 2004, p.94).

Evidence from another waterborne traveller also provides information about the former abundance of the Murray cod. In 1924 Dennis Brabazon, journalist for the Melbourne *Herald*, journeyed down the Murray from Albury to Goolwa in a rowboat, taking photographs and writing of the various towns he passed (Larkins & Howard, 1975, pp.8, 9, 10, 11; 1924, 'Personal Notes'). One of his photos was of a professional fisherman near Collendina Station hauling a 97 pound [approximately 43.6kg] Murray cod on his shoulder and staggering under the weight of the fish. The fish was almost as big as he was (see Figure 5). Murray cod can grow to approximately 2m long and apparently one specimen caught in 1902 weighed 113.6kg (Rowland, 2004, pp.39, 46). In approximately 2004, cod weighing between 20-40kg were caught by experienced fishermen but recently capture of a cod weighing more than 50kg has been unusual (Rowland, 2004, pp.39, 40). The image in Figure 5 is a reminder of a time when Murray cod thrived, and their profusion contributed to the livelihood of so many settlers, wanderers and professional fishermen.

The conditions in which whalers survived reveal various cultural aspects of the period. Whalers relied on the cult of bush hospitality, a custom where unexpected visitors would be provided food and accommodation (Waterhouse, 2005, p.118). The practice was entrenched by the 1860s (Waterhouse, 2005, p.118). The custom meant that whalers and other travellers could usually rely on river settlers for some rations. Developments in the 1890s such as labour disputes and "company and absentee ownership of many large properties" meant that travellers were no longer guaranteed sustenance or a place to stay (Waterhouse, 2005, p.118).

It is important to distinguish between sundowners, another type of traveller, and whalers. Sundowners trudged to homesteads for their evening meal, whereas whalers camped at their leisure (McCaughan, 1930). Whalers enjoyed the serenity and the freedom of living by the river without paying rent, having easy access to water and firewood (McCaughan, 1930). Once their supplies dwindled, whalers would approach a homestead and convince the owner

to feed them by trading cod or rabbit skins for food (McCaughan, 1930). Then onwards he would go move a few miles or a few hundred miles before finding a place to stay for a while (McCaughan, 1930). In tough times they established permanent camps so that they could bait rabbits (“Vidi”, 1894). Whalers spent many years living that lifestyle, and were known to each other by their non-birth names such as “Murrumbidgee Charlie” (1938, ‘The Murray “Whaler”’, *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*). There appeared to be a comradery between whalers, even though they often came from different backgrounds: some were former carpenters, blacksmiths and station hands (McCaughan, 1930). A famous Murrumbidgee whaler was “Scotty the Wrinkler” real name Phillip Mowbray (Wilde & Andrews, 1994). It is difficult to discover if he was a whaler in the waterborne traveller sense or if he walked along the banks of the Murrumbidgee.



Figure 5. “A ninety-seven pound Murray cod, caught by a professional fisherman near Collendina Station in the Corowa district, New South Wales, 1924, photo taken by Dennis Brabazon” (Digital Collections- Picture- A ninety-seven pound Murray cod, caught by a professional fisherman near Collendina Station in the Corowa district, New South Wales, 1924 [picture]). Photo included courtesy of Bruce Howard.

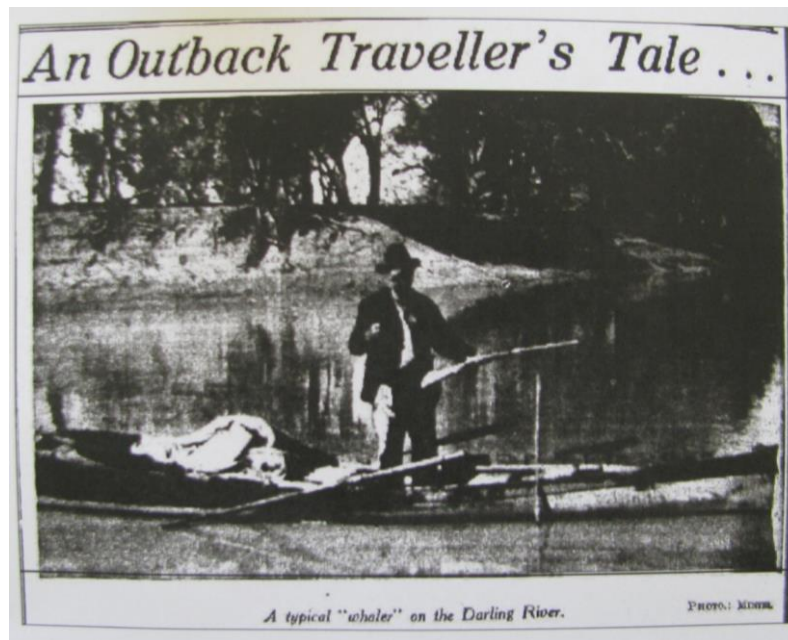


Figure 6. “A typical “whaler” on the Darling River.” 1934, ‘An Outback Traveller’s Tale’, *The Land*, 5 October, electronic version, retrieved 24 October 2013 from Trove database.

Whalers are a part of Australian legends, appearing in poems, prose and songs, although it is often difficult to determine whether the authors were referring to pedestrians along the river or their rowing counterparts. For example, celebrated poet Dame Mary Gilmore wrote of whalers in ‘The Song of the Waler’ published in *The Tilted Cart* (1925). Gilmore did not state the whaler’s mode of travel but:

“Whatever suns may shine o’erhead
 Whatever skies may frown,
 I make my camp where’er I choose,
 And when I choose lie down;
 For never suns can conquer me,
 And never waters drown,
 For I am a true blue waler!” (Gilmore, 1925, p.50).

C.H Winter, who usually wrote for the *Bulletin* under “Riverina”, wrote *The Story of “Bidgee Queen” and Other Verses*. The book was published in 1929 and contained two poems of interest to this thesis. His works were inspired by his experiences in the Australian Bush, something he relished (Gillespie in Winter, 1929, introduction). ‘Said the Whaler’ mentions tramping across a plain in search of water (Winter, 1929, pp.40-41). Rowing would be impracticable. ‘The Whaler’s Odyssey’ contains clever plays on place names including:

“You’ve Picton me, so Cooma long” (meaning of course to be you’ve picked on me, so come along) (Winter, 1929, p.72). The Whaler’s Odyssey does not seem to be about being on the rivers!

There are other references to whalers in Australian literature, but it still often remains unclear whether they were referring to travellers on Australian rivers. The *Oxford Companion to Australian Literature* noted George Dunderdale’s description of whalers in *The Book of the Bush* (1898) (Wilde & Andrews, 1994) but it is obvious he was referring to sea whalers. The song ‘Whalin’ Up the Lachlan’ (1923) with lyrics by Louis Esson (n.d, Whalin’ up the Lachlan [music]), could be about either walking or river travel. Banjo Paterson collected Australian folk ballads and published them in *Old Bush Songs* (1905) (Seal ed., 1983, p.viii; Semmler, ‘Paterson, Andrew Barton Banjo’, Australian Dictionary of Biography online). He included the song Flash Jack from Gundagai which stated: “I’ve been whalin’ up the Lachlan, and I’ve dossed in Cooper’s Creek” (Seal ed., 1983, pp.viii, 107). In his notes he stated: “*Whalin’ up the Lachlan*. In the old days there was an army of ‘sundowners’ or professional ‘loafers’ who walked from station to station, ostensibly to look for work, but without any idea of accepting it. These nomads often followed up and down certain rivers, and would camp for days and fish for cod in the bends of the river. Hence whaling up the Lachlan.” (Paterson cited in Seal ed., 1983, p.4).

Henry Lawson mentions whalers but calls them fishermen, on the Darling who move around in boats, never catching or selling fish (Lawson in Dargin ed., 1979, p.6). His remarks were both humorous and disparaging. Lawson and an unnamed journalist accused whalers of either stealing, telling lies, never catching any fish and/or being idle (Dargin ed., 1979, p.6; 1905, ‘On the Murray. Among the Settlers’). These fishermen were unkempt, ignorant on all things not river related, and camped along its banks (Lawson in Dargin ed., 1979, p.6).

“He never dies. He never gets older, or drier or more withered-looking, or dirtier, or loonier—because he can’t. We cannot imagine him as ever having been a boy or even a youth. We cannot even try to imagine him as a baby. He is an animated mummy, who used to fish on the Nile three thousand years ago, and catch nothing” (Lawson in Dargin ed., 1979, p.7).

Whalers existed in the 1930s and a fitting tribute to them was included in the *Albury Banner and Wodonga Express*: “Like old soldiers, the ‘whalers’ never seem to die, but drift for ever along the inland rivers of this great continent” (1938, ‘The Murray “Whaler”’; “Vidi”, 1894).

Whalers, including pedestrian whalers, were a curiosity to the town dwellers in the Murray-Darling Basin (1938, ‘The Murray “Whaler”’, *Western Argus*). Sketches of them appeared in newspapers and many newspapers described their lifestyles (1902, ‘The Murrumbidgee Whaler’; ‘F.R’, 1904; Lonsdale, 1924; 1938, ‘The Murray “Whaler”’, *Western Argus*; 1938, ‘The Murray “Whaler”’, *Kalgoorlie Miner*).

The advent of motor cars is said to have ended the travels of the Murray whalers (anon. remarks in Rhodes, 1952, p.8). It is not clear how, but it is possible that instead of travelling by boat, many would have hitchhiked.

2.3 The Great Depression 1927-1934¹¹

Of the reports of those who travelled on the Murrumbidgee, Darling and Murray rivers in search of or for work, or who mentioned that they were unemployed, at least 15 did so between 1927 and 1934. Three people unnamed in published reports, planned to, but there is no record of them commencing their journeys. It seems likely that there were many other journeys made to find work before the 1930s, but during the throes of the Great Depression, as unemployment increased, newspapers were more likely to report the plight of out-of-work city individuals searching for employment in the outback. It is possible that others were inspired to search for work in canoes due to the publicity and the success of others who had already done so.

In 1927/1928 the national economy went into recession (Spenceley, 1990, p.14). In 1934, the economy showed signs of recovery with a higher employment rate (Broomhill, 1978, p.14). These dates correspond with reports of unemployed men undertaking journeys to find work. Most contemporary newspaper reports do not explain why individuals decided to search for work along the rivers, however, sources on the depression in South Australia and Victoria provide insights into why city dwellers might have chosen to find work along the Murray

¹¹ The Great Depression started in 1929, but due to the state of the Australian economy, I started the timeframe from 1927 when the economy entered recession, and ended it at 1934 when unemployment rates began to drop (see Spenceley, 1990, p.14; Broomhill, 1978, p.14).

According to Ray Broomhill's (1978) *Unemployed Workers A Social History of the Great Depression in Adelaide*, it was common for the unemployed to live in unstable, vermin, rot and termite infested slum houses (Broomhill, 1978, pp.142, 143). Many subsisted on meagre dole handouts and increasingly contracted poverty related diseases (Broomhill, 1978, pp.85, 88). Social, psychological, emotional and physical effects on the long term unemployed and underemployed workers and their families, were often profound (Broomhill, 1978, pp.36, 37, 38). Irrational spending, incidents of nervous breakdowns and depression increased (Broomhill, 1978, pp.62-63, 40). Work had provided those formerly employed with a sense of routine, an ability to enjoy leisure during non-work hours, a sense of pride in being able to provide for their families, and those who did not enjoy their trade could at least feel satisfaction in having sustained regular work (Broomhill, 1978, p.36). Unemployed city dwellers paddling on the river were seeking a better life, where they could be independent, potentially find work, and escape the social upheaval and monotony of unemployment in the cities.

There were several other reasons why the unemployed would have left the cities to search for work on the rivers. They had to contend with the popular misconception in the early 1930s that unemployed individuals were out of work due to sloth, rather than a loss of opportunities (Broomhill, 1978, p.48). Unemployed workers often had to flee from their homes to prevent their landlord from acquiring rent from selling their possessions; often individuals who could not afford rent would participate in the "moonlight flit", a common term for packing up possessions in the middle of the night and moving to another residence (Broomhill, 1978, pp.133-134). The continual changing of residences disrupted friendships as many people could only travel on foot, preventing them from seeing their former neighbours and friends who no longer lived within walking distance (Broomhill, 1978, pp.58, 59, 92). Unemployed single men in Adelaide camps were often forced to move on or encouraged to search for work in the country, as the unemployed were a source of continual embarrassment to governments (Broomhill, 1978, pp.161, 162).

When there was no affordable housing, the unemployed had to rely on charity, but in 1927 charities were having difficulties with the number of men needing accommodation (Broomhill, 1978, p.160). Under those circumstances it is not surprising to discover that approximately 10,200 men left Adelaide between 1930 and 1933 for the country (Broomhill, 1978, p.155). "The 1933 Census shows that in South Australia that there were over twelve thousand or nearly 10.2% of all husbands and wives whose spouses were not living with them

at the time of the survey” (Broomhill, 1978, p.38). Some of those 10,200 men would have travelled along the Murray in search of work, a common method of seeking employment during the depression (as demonstrated in Broomhill, 1978, pp.156, 197). River travel would have been attractive for several reasons. Firstly, they stayed closer to a reliable supply of water. Secondly, they could seek employment on farms. Farms might have been able to provide board even if they were too poor to give wages. Farms could therefore offer shelter and food, which was what the unemployed would otherwise have sought from charities.

The prevalence of unemployed workers along the Murray is evident in Broomhill’s reference to unemployment camps: “one local country newspaper reported that camps of unemployed men, in a few cases with their families, were to be seen at nearly every point along the Murray River from below Blanchetown to above Renmark” (Broomhill, 1978, pp.156, 197). The newspaper the *Murray Pioneer* stated that what the unemployed lived in “...var[ied] from a pair of old frowsy blankets thrown on the ground to a neat little home on wheels” (Broomhill, 1978, p.156). One of the incentives to travel in search of work was the feeling of a comradery and independence which did not exist for them in the city (Broomhill, 1978, p.159). One man stated that work in the country was easy to find until about 1928-1929 when the only jobs he could find were paid in food (Broomhill, 1978, p.155). According to Dyer’s (1977) *Cramped and Hedged. Depression, the State, and Farming in South Australia*, in 1931 money made from farming did not cover the cost of production (Dyer, 1977, p.31). In 1927 to 1929 farms in the Murray Mallee in South Australia produced poor yields (Dyer, 1977, pp.30, 31). This suggests that for a time, employment was available in the country. However, Potts (2009) noted that during the depression many farms could only pay their workers with food and lodgings (pp.8-9). Jobless urban dwellers must have been aware of rural employment opportunities, therefore it is not surprising that they flocked to the countryside and used the Murray as their route, in a human-powered water craft or on its banks. Despite the fact that some farms may not have been able to pay cash, they could still provide work and food, which meant that anyone travelling in a human-powered craft and finding work at such places no longer had to rely solely on government handouts and charitable institutions.

Frank Groom and Jack Sweeney are examples of city dwellers seeking the river to escape unemployment in Adelaide. They decided to take to the Murray River in 1932 in a canoe (1932, “Paddling Their own Canoe” *Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.*). Groom and Sweeney said they found it easier to get work along the river than in the city, although they could not find permanent employment (1932, “Paddling Their own Canoe” *Enterprising*

Unemployed City Lads.’). Although mocked for their intentions, by leaving they were easing the financial burden at home (1932, “Paddling Their own Canoe” Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.’). The two men described the people along the river as having been “friendly and disposed to help us. They give us a go, and that’s all we want” (1932, “Paddling Their own Canoe” Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.’). As well, three Port Adelaide men also decided to go canoeing on the Murray in search of work or for the opportunity of living on an island “Robinson Crusoe” style (1932, ‘River Murray Adventure Two of Five Ports Lads Get Jobs’). They preferred to search for work on the river or live on an island in the Murray than remain demoralised, out of work and living on rations (1932, ‘River Murray Adventure Two of Five Ports Lads Get Jobs’). Living independently of the cities was good for their morale.

There is little other evidence showing Adelaide citizens searching for work on the Murray in a canoe or rowboat. However, conditions in Adelaide and Melbourne during the Depression and the influx of unemployed city dwellers to the country searching for work, especially along the Murray, suggests that there may have been more people travelling in human-powered craft for work between 1927 and 1934 than have been recorded (Broomhill, 1978, pp.38, 155; Fox, 2000, pp. 127, 137).

There is little evidence that Melbourne residents paddled on the Murray River during the depression. However, since unemployed Victorians sought work along the Murray (Fox, 2000, p.137), it is possible that some of them may have travelled on the river. Single unemployed men from Victoria and New South Wales often took to the road with a swag, often travelling on foot or illegally by train in search of work (Potts, 2009, pp.244-248). Charles Fox’s (2000) *Fighting Back the Politics of the Unemployed in Victoria in the Great Depression* highlighted the plight of the single unemployed (pp.117-138). Single unemployed men in Victoria received little sympathy (Fox, 2000, p.127). They were usually ignored in favour of unemployed families, who were seen as needing more support (Fox, 2000, p.127). Single unemployed men received little government support except two weeks “insurance money” (Fox, 2000, p.127). Afterwards they were expected to find help from the Salvation Army (Fox, 2000, p.127) and probably other similar charities. Homeless unemployed men regularly slept outdoors with newspapers to cover them on cold nights (Fox, 2000, p.128). Unemployed homeless men in Victoria, much like those in Adelaide, feared prosecution for trespassing or were told to move on from public areas, where they were sleeping (Fox, 2000, p.128; Broomhill, 1978, p.162). These conditions meant that single unemployed men had the

options of sleeping in homeless shelters, staying with relatives or friends, sleeping outdoors or searching for work in the country (Fox, 2000, p.128).

A popular route for finding employment during the depression was along the Murray River when: “Every summer thousands of men, women and children converged on Mildura, Swan Hill, Shepparton and the towns in between from all over Australia” (Fox, 2000, p.137).

The fruit picking season on the Murray provided some opportunities but not for all who travelled there (Fox, 2000, p.137). The work usually went to the orchard’s regular workers, workers supplied by the Labour Bureaux and the Australian Workers Union (Fox, 2000, p.137). Swagmen were given least preference (Fox, 2000, p.137). An advertisement from Mildura announcing food handouts from the local relief committee received an overwhelming response (Fox, 2000, p.137). In January 1934, *The Advertiser* stated that unemployment at the Murray settlements was high, that there were 850 individuals “receiving sustenance”, presumably rations, “between Barmera and Renmark” (1934, ‘Unemployment in Murray Settlements Work Seekers Warned’). In Mildura, interstate job seekers looking for fruit picking jobs at least three weeks before the work was available were forced to beg for food as they were not able to receive rations (1934, ‘Early Fruit Pickers in Distress at Mildura’). Those who paddled on the Murray may have been able to escape such a situation by hunting, ‘living off the land’ and the river.

Contrary to popular belief and newspaper reports from the time, it appears that the Great Depression was not necessarily as terrible as many people believed it to be (Potts, 2009, p.310). Potts, for example, suggests that the Depression was the best time to be unemployed and the worst time to be employed, due to a raised awareness of slum housing and effects of unemployment (Potts, 2009, p.68, 310). Potts may have been right but the newly unemployed probably did not see it this way.

Judging by the description of life for the unemployed in Adelaide during the Depression and accounts from newspaper articles of people travelling the Murray River in a human-powered craft, there are a number of advantages of travelling the Murray in a canoe or rowboat (Thompson, 1929; 1932, ‘Novel Quest for Work up the Murray by Canoe’). Firstly, people canoeing or rowing the river could escape crowded housing by sleeping in tents along the river bank (see 1932, ‘Novel Quest for Work up the Murray by Canoe’). Secondly, people did not need to carry much food with them as they could fish or shoot animals for consumption (although Thompson, 1929 embarked on a recreational journey, this would

remain true for anyone journeying for work). Thirdly, they acquired routine and exercise which they may not have had if they had remained in the city. Travelling in a canoe or rowboat meant more independence and more freedom to choose when and where they travelled. They were able to seek sanctuary on the river banks and maintain some confidence in their ability to look after themselves, despite the hardships they faced. It also provided them with a purpose. It gave them an escape from the monotony and despair of unemployment.

The inconvenience of building or steering a boat was probably inconsequential when it could be used to carry family or when the craft could be used as sleeping quarters. During good weather, sails could be used and travellers could drift peacefully downstream (Turnley, 1974, p.23).

2.3a. Charles Duncan, Alfred Duncan and William Gribble, 1931.

In 1931 Charles Duncan, Alfred Duncan and William Gribble accepted that they were not going to find work in their hometown of Sydney, so they decided to take the trip of a lifetime and search for work along the rivers (1931, 'The Great Adventure Better than No Work'; 1931, 'Long Canoe Journey'). Charles Duncan built a canoe in which they embarked from Gundagai, upstream of Wagga Wagga, having reached this starting point by train (1932, '1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure'; 1931, 'Long Canoe Trip').

Duncan, Duncan and Gribble aimed to reach Murray Bridge hoping to arrive en route in Mildura for the fruit picking season (1931, 'The Great Adventure Better than No Work'). They found work near Euston and spent 2 months fruit picking at Red Cliffs (1932, '1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure'). Gribble left at Red Cliffs and another fruit picker joined the Duncans on their journey (1932, '1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure'). They were grateful to the kind-hearted river settlers, especially since the party was "inexperienced in bushcraft" (1931, 'The Great Adventure Better than No Work'). They supplemented their provisions with fish they caught from the river, and hunting wild pigs near Hay with an improvised spear consisting of a tent peg and the branch of a tree (1931, 'Long Canoe Journey'; 1932, '1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure'). They met with rushing waters that threatened to sink the canoe, but were content with the abundance of food (1931, 'In a Canoe. Young Men seek Adventure'). They were happy to write newspaper

articles and send photographs of their trip (1931, 'Long Canoe Journey'). They observed many snakes and rare sightings of platypuses on the Murrumbidgee (1931, *The Riverine Grazier*). They took the rail from Murray Bridge to Adelaide and intended to return to Sydney (1932, '1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure').

2.3b. Robert Lucas, Frederick Bath, William Hannaford, James McCulloch, John Henry and Benjamin Giles, c.1932.

In c.1932, Port Adelaide residents: Robert Lucas, Frederick Bath, William Hannaford, James McCulloch, John Henry (sometimes spelt Hendry) and Benjamin Giles journeyed from Mannum in a dinghy they made themselves, and two canoes in the hopes of arriving at settlements on the New South Wales border and working there for six or seven months (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'; 1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). The dinghy was 10ft long and fitted with a mast, bowsprit, oars, sails and rowlocks (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). The canoes were 8ft by 6ft (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). Henry and McCulloch acquired jobs on a river steamer (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'). The rest travelled on hoping to find an island so they could live Robinson Crusoe style (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'). Henry mentioned how demoralised they had been in Adelaide with doing nothing but receive government handouts (1932, 'River Murray Adventure').

2.3c. Jack Sweeney and Frank Groom, c.1932.

Adelaide residents Jack Sweeney and Frank Groom built their own 15ft canoe in which they intended to paddle upstream from Mannum to the source of the Murray (1932, 'To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today'). They commenced the journey in search of work, and carried fishing and hunting equipment (1932, 'Novel Quest for Work Up the Murray By Canoe'; 1932, 'To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today'; 1932, "'Paddling their own canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.'). They would rather work or search for work away from Adelaide, than receive rations (1932, "'Paddling their own canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.'). They felt better on the river than when they were in the city (1932, "'Paddling their own canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.'). It is unclear how far they travelled, as *Border Watch* reported that they took a lift by steamer to Mildura then canoed downstream to Renmark, hoping to paddle all the way to Goolwa (1932, "'Paddling their own canoe" Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.'). Work was scarce, but river settlers were genial and willing to give them

opportunities when they could (1932, “Paddling their own canoe” *Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.*’; 1933, ‘Instant Death in Crash Young Lifesaver on Motor Cycle’). In a cruel twist of fate, Frank Groom died in a motorcycle accident within two weeks of finding a job in Adelaide (1933, ‘Instant Death in Crash Young Lifesaver on Motor Cycle’).

They intended to keep a diary of the trip (1932, ‘Paddling Canoe up the Murray Young Glenelg Men Leave for River Will Keep a Diary’) but this has not been located.

2.3d. Frederick Carlile, Roy Brandon and James Burton, c.1932 [planned journey].

In c.1932 Frederick Carlile, Roy Brandon and James Burton sought solace on the river, with plans to motor to Burrinjuck Dam, and launch their two 16ft canoes to travel down the Murrumbidgee and Murray to Adelaide (1932, ‘Doings in Different Districts. Pars From All Parts’). The group “had been unemployed for three years” (1932, ‘Long Canoe Trip Down Murrumbidgee’). It is uncertain how far they travelled or if they actually undertook their journey. There was no available article describing the outcome of the journey. They took hunting gear with them (1932, ‘Long Canoe Trip Down Murrumbidgee’, *Daily Advertiser*).

2.3e. Norman Smith, George Turner and Jack McBlane, 1933-1934.

In 1933, Norman Smith, George Turner and Jack McBlane (residents of Tumut) intended to paddle from Tumut to Perth by the Tumut, Murrumbidgee, Murray rivers, and the South Australian and West Australian coasts, in search of work (1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’; 1934, ‘Paddling to the West. Canoe Party’s Plan’). They arrived in Mildura on about 4 January 1934 (1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’). On approximately 1 February 1934, Norman Smith and George Turner—Jack McBlane was not mentioned—arrived in Renmark (1934, ‘Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes’). They travelled in two canoes that they had made themselves (1934, ‘Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes’). From there their plans seem to have changed: if they could not find work in Renmark, they would continue at least to the Murray Mouth and if they had calm sea weather, paddle up the coast to Port Adelaide (1934, ‘Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes’). In Port Adelaide they aimed to find employment either in the city or on a sea-going vessel heading abroad (1934, ‘Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes’).

2.3f. Unnamed shearer, c.1934.

In about 1934, J.D Cusick and his travelling companion met a shearer on the Murrumbidgee (Cusick, 1938, p.29). The shearer had constructed his own rowboat and plied the Murray,

Darling and Murrumbidgee during the non-shearing season, supporting himself by killing foxes and capturing water rats (Cusick, 1938, p.29).

2.4 Other journeys c.1888 to 1936

The following are mostly anecdotal references to individuals rowing or canoeing on the rivers searching for work, or in support of their trade from the late nineteenth century to 1936. They are included for the purpose of demonstrating how common it was to travel on the rivers, and the vagueness of some parts of the historical record. These also include shorter journeys and a journey by Jack Robson after the Great Depression to find work. It seems that reports of most of the journeys have often been compiled from folk memories.

2.4a. Oldest Known Inhabitant of Renmark, c.1888.

The oldest known inhabitant of Renmark in c.1888, was a “river-cobbler” who would row to places on the Murray River to repair boots (Hill, 1958, p.71). One time he managed to persuade one of the steamers going past to tow his boat (Hill, 1958, p.71).

2.4b. Mr Tommy Short and Family, 1875.

In 1875 Mr Tommie Short and his family rowed from somewhere on the Murrumbidgee (location not identified) to possibly Mildura (Hill, 1958, p.58). He is said to be one of the first inhabitants of the Mildura area before the Chaffey brothers started the Mildura Irrigation Colony (Hill, 1958, p.58).

2.4c. Nurse Wells of Gol Gol, c.1888.

Nurse Wells of Gol Gol would row from Gol Gol to Mildura and then walk through the bush to attend and assist women giving birth (Hill, 1958, p.68). Hill (1958) told the story: “Houses of tin, wood, adobe, lath and plaster, Murray pine and Murray red-gum were cropping up all over the place, and already there were ninety children playing about them. Nurse Wells of Gol Gol, brought all the babies in to the world free, rowing over the river in a boat, and walking miles through the bush to do it” (Hill, 1958, p.68).

2.4d. Man travelled in a bark canoe for a week, c.1898.

One man travelled the Murray in a bark canoe, which he purchased for 5 shillings, for one week (Murray, 1898, p.30). During that time he slept without tent or blanket (Murray, 1898, p.30). It is unknown why he undertook this journey.

2.4e. Jack Robson, 1936.

In 1936, 23-year-old Jack Robson paddled in a “galvanised iron canoe” from Tumut, located along the Tumut River, down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers to Goolwa to search for work in Adelaide (Vox, 1936; 1936, ‘A Lone Canoeist’; 1936, ‘Long River Trip 2220 Miles By Canoe’). This journey was made for several reasons and therefore overlaps with Part C, the section about Adventure and Recreation. Robson was searching for work but paddling down the rivers was something that he had been wanting to do for a very long time (Vox, 1936). He also sought to improve his health, having spent much of his life in hospital (1936, ‘Canoeist Gives Saint Anthony Official Authority’). Whether he achieved it after many unfortunate mishaps on the river is debatable (1936, ‘Canoeist Gives Saint Anthony Official Authority’).

Several mishaps occurred to Robson including injuring his back and losing two front teeth. He was frequently knocked out of his craft due to hidden river obstacles, his food was eaten by local wildlife, a snake snuggled up to him in his blankets and an ignited tree branch – ignited due to bushfires—landed on his blanket. His canoe had to be fixed near Euston and in the process a paddle steamer washed all his equipment—which he had unloaded so he could mend the canoe—into the water. (1936, ‘A Lone Canoeist’).

Robson also thought that his journey would be the longest solo canoe journey in Australia, “if not the world” and was reportedly “seeking a distance record” (1936, *Riverine Grazier*, 21 February; 1936, ‘2,000 Miles in Canoe Of Galvanised Iron’).

An indication of the celebrity and legacy of Captain Sturt is the fact that Robson deliberately camped where he believed Sturt’s party assembled the boats before the party launched on the Murrumbidgee (1936, ‘A Lone Canoeist’).

Upon reaching Adelaide, he did not paddle there due to hazardous ocean conditions,¹² Robson delivered a written congratulatory message for the centenary of South Australia from the President of the Tumut Shire Council to the Lord Mayor of the city (1936, ‘News in Brief’; IRNMR 36/1 newspaper article excerpts).

¹² According to the newspaper article (1936) ‘News in Brief’, Robson paddled from Tumut to Adelaide. Other articles indicated that he reached Goolwa. According to an article in the Inland Rivers National Marathon Register, Robson did not paddle along the coast to Adelaide due to hazardous ocean conditions.

3. Commerce 1862-1924

3.1. Photographers and Journalists 1862-1924

There were at least three different journeys made by photographers in human-powered craft on the Murray between 1862 and 1924. During these journeys, many valuable photographs were taken of the river and its people. In particular, the images taken by Edward William Cole and George Burnell, are significant not only because they are some of the earliest photographs taken of the Murray region, but because they provide glimpses of what the landscape used to be like before the introduction of locks, weirs and wide-scale river regulation. The photographs also provide glimpses into the lives of Aboriginal Australians during the middle of the nineteenth century, about 30 years after Europeans made their first excursion into the area, and are evidence of the impact European society wrought on their way of life. Cole and Burnell's images have provided context and information (Lydon & Braithwaite, 2014, p.169) still of use in a contemporary setting to understand Aboriginal life.

Dennis Brabazon's journalism and photography provides insight into the Murray not long after the completion of the river's first lock and weir, at Blanchetown. His images also provide insight into the lives of those working along the rivers during the early twentieth century.

3.1a. Edward William Cole and George Burnell, 1862.

In 1862 Edward William Cole (later to establish Coles Book Arcade in Melbourne) and George Burnell embarked on the Murray in a rowboat from Echuca to Goolwa (Turnley, 1974, pp.23-27). During the voyage they took photographs with a stereoscopic camera (Orchard, 1997, p.392). They captured images of landscapes, Aboriginal customs, various properties and river scenes (see n.d, Art Gallery of South Australia :: collection Burnell, George online). They were inspired to row the river, take commissions along their route and at places of interest, when a photo they took of the Murray near Albury attracted local attention (Turnley, 1974, p.23). As there was considerable interest and profit to be made selling their photographs, they considered travelling on a steamer and taking images along its route, but low flow meant that paddle boats could not reach Cole and Burnell at Echuca (Turnley, 1974, p.23). Instead, they spied a crude rowboat, purchased and repaired it (Turnley, 1974, p.23). Before this, they travelled with a horse and cart (Turnley, 1974, pp.22-

23). Cole fitted the boat with a table and fastened the tent's fly to the boat's sides to create shelter (Turnley, 1974, p.23). The boat served as a darkroom (Orchard, 1997, p.392).

Travelling by boat gave them several advantages (Orchard 2007 in Robison, 2007, p.62). They could carry large bulky equipment, and travel regardless of wet roads or whether there was enough water and grass for horses (Orchard 2007 in Robison, 2007, p.62).

Their journey was also of scientific interest. Along the way, Cole collected native seeds, which he later gave to Ferdinand von Mueller who was “the founder of the National Herbarium of Victoria and... the first Government Botanist of Victoria” (Turnley, 1974, p.24; n.d, National Herbarium of Victoria | Herbarium & Resources | Royal Botanic Gardens). Some of Cole's seeds were later sprouted (Turnley, 1974, p.25). Cole and Burnell's images give an idea of the region's botany by depicting places belonging to donors to the National Herbarium of Victoria (Orchard, 1997, p.389). This is significant as an important part of the institution's research is knowing where the specimens were located (for information about the institution's research see n.d, National Herbarium of Victoria | Herbarium & Resources | Royal Botanic Gardens). By looking at those photographs scientists might have been able to determine which plants were native to the area. Cole and Burnell's photographs contributed information about the landscape within 15 years of botanical surveys by Daniel Bunce in 1849, and less than 10 years after von Mueller in 1853, Wilhelm Blandowski in 1857 and John Dallachy in 1858 (Orchard, 1997, p.389). There were none or few photographs of the region, despite these numerous botanical surveys and the efforts of Wilhelm Blandowski and Gerard Kreft to capture images of the Mildura region (Orchard, 1997, p.392). Cole and Burnell's images partially make up for the lack of photographs from earlier scientific expeditions made along the river (Orchard, 1997, p.392).

Not long after their boat journey, Cole and Burnell sold their photographs as a collection titled *Stereograms of River Murray Scenery*, in Adelaide (Orchard, 1997, p.392). They are now referred to as *Stereoscopic Views of the River Murray* (see n.d, Art Gallery of South Australia :: collection Burnell, George online). These images are some of the earliest photographs taken of the Murray and Darling Rivers.

Cole and Burnell's work has been praised (Orchard, 1997, p.392). The images were lauded by a journalist “most probably E.W Andrews”, who had been a passenger on the steamer *Lady Augusta* during its maiden voyage, for their realistic depiction of the river and its features (Orchard, 1997, p.392). This is important as it suggests that the photographs

provided a reliable depiction of the region as it was during Cole and Burnell's boat journey. The images were also commended by later critics who valued the fact that they "show Indigenous people in context, unlike later 'isolating' views" (Lydon & Braithwaite, 2014, p.169). Their photographs are evidence of Aboriginal habits and customs during the mid-nineteenth century, at a time when Europeans were having a devastating effect on the Indigenous way of life. Cole and Burnell's photographs included "Aborigines in their wurleys at Point McLeay, Lake Alexandrina; Aboriginal graves at Wentworth and Yelta; Groups of Aborigines along the Murray River at Denbury Creek and Meilman; and Aborigines in their canoes at Overland Corner" (n.d, Art Gallery of South Australia :: Collection). The image of Aborigines with their bark canoes indicates that during this time they were able, to some extent at least, to keep some of their traditions. Indigenous people, of course, used bark canoes in parts of New South Wales and Victoria, including the Murray-Darling Rivers (Thomas, 1905, p.60; Davidson, 1935, pp.79, 80) for perhaps thousands of years. Of particular interest, is Cole and Burnell's photograph depicting the making of a bark canoe (Lydon & Braithwaite, 2014, p.169).

Indigenous imagery, including photographs by Cole and Burnell, could be important for twenty-first century Aborigines as a means of reclaiming their heritage and to learn about their ancestors (for information about Aboriginal photographs see Lydon ed., 2014, pp.10, 15; Lydon & Braithwaite in Lydon ed., 2014, p.169).



Figure 7. E.W. Cole, George Burnell, *Natives' bark canoes - Murray River* 1862 from *Stereoscopic views of the River Murray*

albumen silver photographs

National Gallery of Australia, Canberra

Purchased 1993

Used with Permission of the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.

Residents at Goolwa believed that Cole and Burnell were the first to row a boat to Goolwa since Sturt (Lincoln, 1947, p.10). There were many others who later travelled the rivers believing themselves to be the first to paddle or row a particular stretch.

3.1b. George Burnell and James Burnell, 1863.

In c.1862 George Burnell's photographs of Adelaide caught the attention of Sir Dominick Daly, the Governor of South Australia, who requested him to take "special views for him" along the Murray (Lincoln, 1947, p.11). In 1863, George Burnell with his brother James, travelled in a rowboat from Goolwa to Wentworth, and possibly downstream again to Goolwa (Lincoln, 1947, p.11). The photographs were given to the Governor on Burnell's return to Adelaide, but their present whereabouts is unknown (Lincoln, 1947, p.12). Copies of

the images that the Governor received, were as of c.1947, in the possession of Burnell's family members (Lincoln, 1947, p.12).

3.1c. Dennis Brabazon, 1924.

In 1924 photographer-journalist Dennis Brabazon, supposedly a correspondent for the Melbourne "Herald", although his articles about his journey were published in *The Sydney Morning Herald*, journeyed from Albury to Goolwa in a rowboat named *The Joke* (1924, 'Personal Notes'). Accompanying him for part of the journey were Cyril Brabazon and Albert Burton (Larkins & Howard, 1975, p.8). It is unclear whether they were accompanying him for recreation or to help with his work. Dennis photographed and vividly described the settlements he passed through. His photographs, particularly of a large Murray cod are a vivid reminder of what the river and its fauna were once like (see Figure 5). His photographs capture scenes of river life and Aborigines. He photographed steamers as well as "Men and horses in front of stables near Albury, New South Wales"; "Two men loading a barge with railway sleepers, Swan Hill"; "Horse drawn vehicles parked in a wide street, Yarrawonga"; "A bullock team pulling timber, Mulwala"; "Paddle steamers, including the *Pride of the Murray* and *Colonel*, and barges being loaded with wheat or wool at the wharf, Echuca"; "Seven soldier-settlers sit on a felled river red gum, *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*, while clearing the bush for farming, near Nyah West" (see National Library of Australia online catalogue). All of these are reminiscent of working life and a vivid reminder of the role that paddle steamers, horses and carriages continued to play in the early twentieth century. According to Ted Henzell's (2007) *Australian Agriculture: Its History and Challenges*, bullocks were still used in the early twentieth century to transport loads of timber to saw mills (p.160). Brabazon's photographs of the Main Street of Mulwala and the Murray River (see Figure 8), near Albury make a useful comparison with modern views of the two locations.

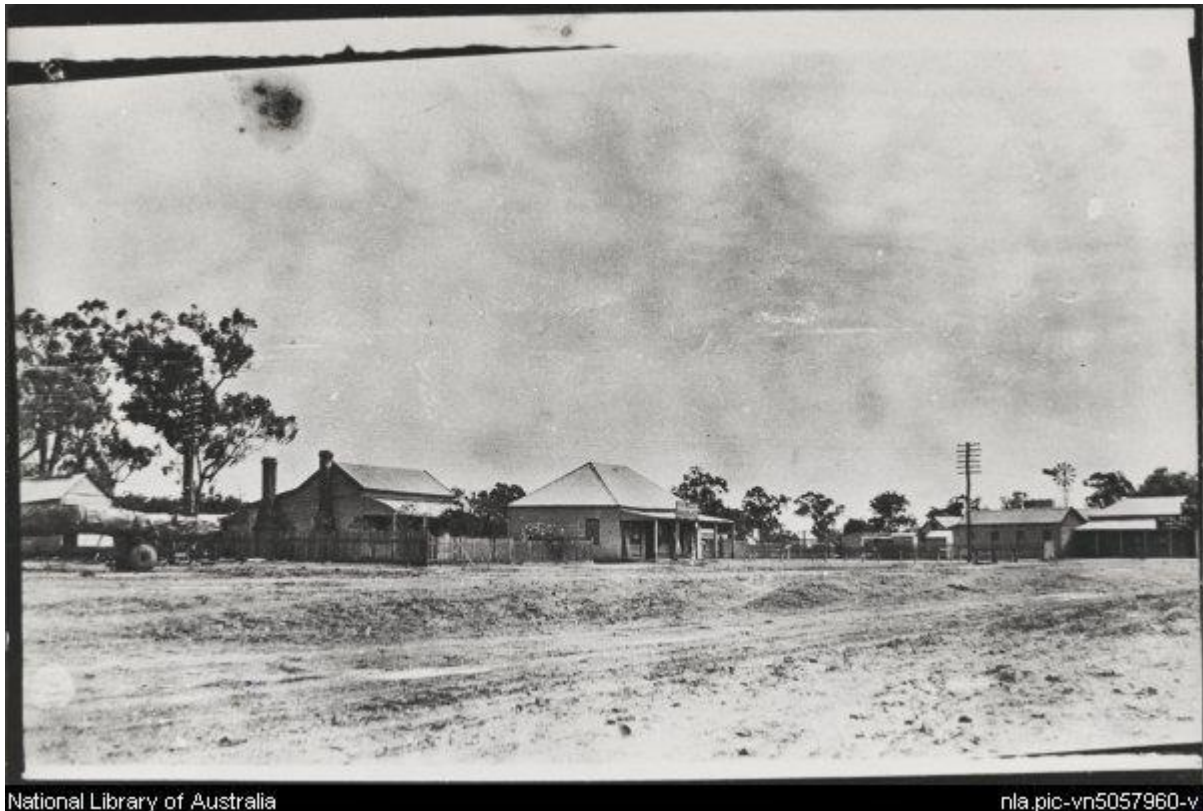


Figure 8. “The main street of Mulwala, New South Wales, 1924, photograph taken by Dennis Brabazon.” (Digital Collections – Pictures - Brabazon, Dennis. The Main street of Mulwala, New South Wales, 1924 [picture]). Photo included courtesy of Bruce Howard.

Brabazon also produced three images of Aborigines at Cummeragunja Station near Barmah where there was a mission: “Five generations of one Indigenous family”; “Indigenous man in traditional dress and a woman wrapped in a blanket” and “Indigenous family of four women, four men and one child standing in front of trees” (see National Library of Australia catalogue). These images perhaps depict how Aborigines were viewed by colonists. A selection of his photos were included in Bruce Howard and John Larkin’s (1975) *The Great Australian Book of Nostalgia*, a cheeky and engaging look at the past and cultural attitudes of the 1920s.

3.2 Other commercial activities on the rivers.

There are very few surviving journeys from which to build this section, but what there is included as it demonstrates the role that rowboats played in the everyday lives of people along the Murray River.

3.2a. Deiner, unknown year.

Deiner travelled in a rowboat upon one of the rivers to sell goods (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.79). “After many years he saved up enough money to buy a small paddle steamer” (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.80). The account does not say which river, but it seems to be the Darling River.

3.2b. Bootleggers into “temperate” Mildura, c.1890.

Canoes were used to smuggle alcohol during the night to a number of purchasers in Mildura (Hill, 1958, p.97). Mildura Irrigation Colony which was advertised as a temperate settlement, was actually the opposite (Hill, 1958, p.96). The river inhibited detection as there were so many curves and bends the smugglers managed to hide and escape the police (Hill, 1958, p.97). A notorious villain was the Smuggler of Psyche Bend, who was famous for his ability to escape detection and hide liquor (Hill, 1958, p.97).

4. Conclusion

Journeys from the 1890s by whalers and other itinerant workers, demonstrate the will and determination of travellers on the rivers to survive. Rowboats and canoes were alternatives for part of the route to or from the 1850s and 1860s gold rushes which meant less trudging over barren landscapes. Rowboats and canoes were also a means of carrying bulky equipment without worrying about paying for and feeding horses; and of avoiding spending money on steamer passage and accommodation when they could sleep in a tent or in a boat.

Individuals often built their boats and improvised them to suit their purposes. During the depression, there were records of about five individuals making their own boats from money they saved and scrap material donated to them (1932, ‘1300 Miles in a Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’; 1932, ‘Adventurous Port Youths’; 1932, ‘To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today’). Such individuals were skilled, practical, thrifty, adaptable, independent and resourceful. Those qualities were necessary in the developing colonies, when help is not close by and most areas lacked basic transport infrastructure. During the Depression when transport was too expensive for the unemployed, ‘do-it-yourself’ options for travel were attractive. Canoes and rowboats often became the means of finding refuge from desperate circumstances: travellers could escape to a place where game was plentiful, and they had the equipment to procure it. They could be relieved from the feeling of depression and unsettling aspects of unemployment by being in

idyllic scenery, being active, and proactive by trying to find work. There was always hope that people could survive and as long as they could sustain themselves during their journeys, there was hope that they could live to see better times. Whalers in particular were able to rejoice in their freedom and live outside the stresses of urban life. Also a cultural aspect of the period is evident: whalers sometimes relied on the cult of bush hospitality, which ensured that most visitors to homesteads would receive rations.

Images made by this group of travellers are also important. Through their travels they made images that record for posterity a picture of earlier times and convey something of what the rivers used to be like. They are a useful tool for analysis. They also preserve information about Aboriginal Australians and provide a rough timeline for how long they continued their customs after European invasion.

PART C: Adventure and Recreation c.1851-2012

1. Overview: Adventure and Recreation 1851-2012¹³

Newspaper reports demonstrate that there were many more individuals travelling in human-powered craft on the rivers for the purposes of adventure and recreation, from 1851-2012, than previously. This section examines the motives of 71 of those travellers. Canoeing, kayaking, rafting and rowing for adventure and recreation are most evident after the 1870s, however, events commencing in the 1850s led to the eventual development of such journeys. For example, during the 1850s steamers opened the region for settlement and the Murray was used regularly for motorised transport (Rowland, c.1980, p.53). Surveyors in canoes and small flat-bottomed boats mapped the Murray and Goulburn Rivers noting trouble spots where navigation would be difficult (Nicholson, 2004, p.116; 1864, 'Wednesday, October 5, 1864'; Cadell, 1854). As more Europeans settled along the banks of the Murray and the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin became better known, recreational journeys became less risky and the custom of rural hospitality ensured that travellers found various forms of support along the river.

There were not many recreational journeys from the 1820s to the 1840s when the rivers were unexplored. Prior to the Murray River's population influx, New South Wales graziers rarely had leisure (Waterhouse, 2005, p.113).¹⁴ Pioneers were almost solely occupied with creating economic enterprises (Waterhouse, 2005, p.113). On those rare occasions when they had time for leisure, it would usually be spent reading newspapers and novels (Waterhouse, 2005, p.113). It is likely that journeys occurring around about 1848, like Edward Micklethwaite Curr's, would have been short and made to find suitable grazing land, or to cross rivers. There would not have been much time or inclination to travel long distances on the rivers.

Several other developments also contributed to the rise of recreational canoeing and rowing. Better communication and transport links to the rivers enabled individuals to transport their canoes and equipment to townships where they commenced their journeys (see 3b).

Middle-class masculinity, focused on creating athletic men who could defend the nation and empire, occurred in the four decades after the sport of canoeing was taken to England from

¹³ Evidence suggests that adventure and recreational journeys continued well into 2012. However, there is no easily found evidence that journeys for exploration and surveying were common after 1878 or that voyages for employment and commerce were common after 1936, hence the earlier finishing dates for those two periods.

¹⁴ This was probably true for Victorian graziers as well.

America, and then to Australia (Crotty, 2001, pp.81, 222, 227-228; 1866, ‘The Rob Roy Canoe’). Until about 1920, middle-class masculinity in its athletic, and then later militant forms, was at its peak (Crotty, 2001, pp.81, 222, 227-228). The shift towards athleticism, began approximately in the 1870s and eventually led to militarism (Crotty, 2001, p.81).

From the 1890s and before World War II, other incentives compelled individuals to paddle the rivers. For example, paddlers wanted to do something they believed no one else had done before, such as be the first to paddle a particular stretch of a river (see 5a). They were also eager to escape the cities to outdoor rewards such as sunshine, fresh air, physical activity and relaxation as well as an opportunity to hunt, fish, sketch, write, observe wildlife and idyllic scenery, paint and swim (1935, ‘Upper Murrumbidgee’, p.10; Murray, 1898, p.21). Their enthusiasm is perhaps best expressed with the development of the River Canoe Club of New South Wales which was formed in 1935 (Chenoweth, 1949, p.2), and the club’s magazine, *Splashes*.¹⁵

There were also biological and spiritual imperatives to spend time in non-urban landscapes not unlike those in which humans first evolved (Boyden in Davis, 1978, p.98; Davis, 1978, pp.98, 99, 101). This is perhaps most evident in Paul Langbein’s journey in 2011 (see 6.4h).

The desire to pioneer canoe journeys into remote areas, is evident even as late as the middle of the twentieth century. Even though it was not possible to fully replicate exploratory conditions, the enthusiasm to paddle in remote, difficult to access regions demonstrates the lengths to which some canoeists were willing to go to emulate pioneers and explorers.

The legacy of explorers was not just the discovery and mapping of the rivers which made it possible for individuals to paddle in relative safety, but they inspired others to paddle or row the rivers, for the excitement, adventure and challenge (see 3i, 5h, 6.3a, 6.3b, Appendix A: Outward Bound School, 1968 to 1969; Eight Crew from Blackwood Apex Club, 1986). Sturt’s influence is evident from the late nineteenth century to the 1970s, a period during which people embarked on private re-enactments of his journey and public re-enactments to celebrate the anniversary of his expedition or other jubilees.

After the 1940s, there were many speed and distance record breaking attempts. In 1969 the first Murray Marathon, an annual 400km charity race originally held for the Red Cross, commenced (Thornwaite, 1993, front cover). During the 1990s and in the early twenty first

¹⁵ *Splashes* was later renamed *Splash* (see n.d, *Splashes: the magazine of the River Canoe Club of N.S.W.* – Version details – Trove).

century, many journeys were made for fundraising purposes, and paddlers did their best to start their journey near the source of the Murray, often walking or using lidos to travel the difficult uppermost section of the river (see Moody, n.d; 6.2e, 6.2f, 6.4f, 6.4h).

These developments demonstrate changes in Australian social and cultural life as well as the legacy of earlier journeys.

This chapter's analysis is divided into five sections in accordance to themes and in chronological order as follows: Pre-Imperialism and Adventure, Imperialism and Adventure, Women and Recreational Journeys, Inter-War and World War II Recreational Journeys, and Post War Recreational Journeys.

2. Pre-Imperialism and Adventure 1851-1855

This section is referred to as pre-imperialism and adventure because although both journeys were adventurous, they do not appear to have been influenced by imperial masculinity.

With the exception of Friedrich Gerstaecker's voyage, recreational journeys during this period were only vaguely described. None of them seem to have been undertaken for the sake of advancing the colonies or the empire.

There might have been more journeys than we know of during the 1850s. However, due to the fact that many local newspapers in the major towns of New South Wales, which would presumably be the most interested in those journeys, were not established until the late 1850s, it is very difficult to know for certain that there were not more adventures in human-powered craft. It was only during the 1870s, after the 1869 Land Act, when selectors travelled north into the Goulburn Valley, and along the Murray and its streams, that newspaper production spread into those regions (Morrison, 1992, p.132). Recreational journeys may have been reported in small town newspapers during this time.

Unlike other voyages during this period, Gerstaecker's journey was reported with relish. The enthusiasm to publish his reports could have been due to the fact that his findings had the potential to influence economic and communication policies, which the South Australian government had under consideration. Those policies could also affect settlers in New South Wales and Victoria because the rivers were a shared resource. Short recreational journeys undertaken by unknown individuals, and which did not have the potential to solve wide-scale

communication and economic problems, would probably not have caught the attention of interstate newspapers.

2a. Friedrich Gerstaecker and unnamed German, 1851.

In 1851, Friedrich Gerstaecker, a German travel writer, paddled approximately “80 miles” from Albury in a canoe he constructed, named *Bunyip* (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.323, 334, 341). His companion, an unnamed German he met in Albury, accompanied him in the canoe and on foot, until approximately the junction with the Edward River (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.322, 342). From the Edward and Murray Rivers junction, Gerstaecker walked along the latter to Adelaide (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.322, 323, 342).

Gerstaecker’s undertaking was for adventure and recreation. However, his report of his canoe journey and the rest of the trip to Adelaide was important to the development of the paddle steamer trade (Heathcote, 1972, p.72; 1851, ‘The Navigation of the Murray.’ *South Australian Register*). Once he arrived in Adelaide, he reported optimistically to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia, Henry Edward Fox Young, in favour of the possibilities of navigation, and colonial newspapers published his opinions (Heathcote, 1972, p.72; 1851, ‘Navigation of the Murray.’, *South Australian Register*). Gerstaecker’s opinion was so valued that Young included Gerstaecker’s report in his correspondence to the Colonial authorities in London (Heathcote, 1972, p.72). Gerstaecker’s travels in North America led him to believe that if the Red River in America, which was even more crowded with snags, could be cleared for navigation, so could the Murray (1851, ‘Navigation of the Murray.’, *South Australian Register*). He thought the American pioneering spirit would have ensured that a paddle steamer service would commence on any American river similar to the Murray which crossed several states (1851, ‘Navigation of the Murray.’, *South Australian Register*). Gerstaecker’s journey does not seem to have inspired others to paddle the river, but his contribution to the discussion of a possible paddle steamer service and the subsequent opening of the Murray River region to more European settlement, made it easier to do so.

Gerstaecker is well remembered for his contribution: in 1972 the State Library of South Australia opened an exhibition on Gerstaecker, noting his role in renewing interest in navigating the Murray (Heathcote, 1972, pp.71-73).

Despite his contribution to the paddle steamer trade, Gerstaecker was prompted to paddle the river by several factors. He had previously travelled in North and South America and desired

to visit German settlements, view the Australian bush, and avoid walking and the expenses of feeding a horse (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.296, 300). He decided his best option was to canoe the Murray and after finding no such craft in Albury, he constructed his own (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.296, 300, 320). Drought and rumours of hostile Aborigines did not deter him (Gerstaecker, 1853, pp.318-319).

Unlike other journeys during this period, Gerstaecker's voyage caught the interest of many colonial newspapers which is demonstrated in the high rate of syndication of articles relating to his journey (see Appendix A). Details of his journey appeared in at least 14 newspaper articles from five different colonies: Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia (1851, 'Daring Adventurer'; 1934, 'Historic Rivers the Murray'; 1884, 'Picturesque Victoria by the Vagabond on the Murray no.1'; 1851, 'Mr Gerstaecker'; 1851, 'Voyage down the Murray' see also Appendix A). There would undoubtedly have been more articles about his journey except New South Wales provincial newspapers were rare at this time. According to Kirkpatrick (2000) there were only three New South Wales provincial newspapers in 1850 and they were published in only three towns (p.47). Major towns in the river basin such as Albury, Wagga Wagga, Deniliquin, Yass and Tumut did not have local newspapers until the late 1850s (Kirkpatrick, 2000, pp.24, 26, 28, 29). Despite the interest shown, many newspapers and books contained factual errors. The best source of information is in Gerstaecker's (1853) *Narrative of a Journey Round the World Comprising a Winter Passage Across the Andes to Chili [sic] with a visit to the Goldfields of California and Australia, the South Sea Islands, Java &c.*

It is essential to note that although his journey was important, accounts in Australian newspapers are inconsistent in details, which is surprising considering how historically significant his journey was to the history of the Murray River region (see 1851, 'Sydney. – Voyage Down the Murray'; Gerstaecker, 1851, 'Steam Navigation on the Murray River'; 1934, 'Historic Rivers the Murray'; 1853, 'Late News from England'; 1884, Picturesque Victoria by the Vagabond on the Murray and no.1). For example, one report stated that his name was Richard Gerstaecker (1934, 'Historic Rivers the Murray') while another article described Richard Gerstaecker as Friedrich's brother (1884, 'Picturesque Victoria by the Vagabond, on the Murray no.1'). I am unable to verify if a Richard Gerstaecker existed or if Friedrich also went by that name. According to the newspaper account (1851) 'Sydney. – Voyage down the Murray', Gerstaecker's companion was an Edward Sismond and according to a translation of Gerstaecker's account featured in a newspaper article, 'Miscellaneous

Extracts Mr Gerstacker', his companion was C. Simon (1851, 'Miscellaneous Extracts. Mr.Gerstacker'). Book accounts are also inconsistent. Hill's (1958) *Water into Gold*, provided information about Gerstaecker's journey that is at odds with other accounts. Hill stated that a Richard Gerstacker's journey was undertaken in 1856 (Hill, 1958, pp.17-18). The voyage seems remarkably similar to Friedrich Gerstaecker's as both made their own canoe and both craft capsized approximately 80 miles from Albury (Hill, 1958, pp.17-18; Gerstaecker, 1853, pp. 339, 341). Hill's statement about Gerstaecker launching his craft in 1856 seems doubtful because this would have occurred after Francis Cadell had travelled down the River in a canvas canoe, and after the River Murray Navigation Company had been established in c.1854 (Painter, 1979, p.27; Richmond, c.1980, p.54). Under such circumstances, Gerstaecker's journey, would not have stirred much interest. Hill also stated that Governor Young was prompted by Gerstaecker's reports of the River to endeavour to travel up-river in a whaleboat (Hill, 1958, p.18). However, it seems unlikely that Young embarked on a second trip in a whaleboat after Gerstaecker's, as newspaper articles from 1850 give a memorandum of Young's venture from the Rufus River to the Darling River and then to Goolwa (1850, 'His Excellency's Excursion to the Darling. '; Hutton, 1850). Young was also a passenger on the *Lady Augusta* on its maiden voyage from Goolwa to Gannawarra Station in 1853, so he would have already seen most of the waterway by 1856 (Phillips, 1972, p.13; Richmond, c.1980, p.54).

2b. Mr Cook and Friend, 1855.

In 1855, Mr Cook and his friend conducted a leisure voyage from Albury to Lake Alexandrina, in a flat bottomed boat (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913). "In it [they] sailed the entire length of the river" (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913). It seems likely, however, that they would have had a pair of oars to ensure that they could manoeuvre tight corners. Interestingly, they passed the first steamer to travel from Albury to Echuca (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913). They lived off game and fish (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913).

3. Imperialism and Adventure c.1870-c.1920

During 1870 to 1920, at least 11 journeys were undertaken for adventure and recreation. These journeys reflect the culture of the period, and appear to have been influenced by the

ideas espoused from imperial masculinity and the promotion of recreational canoeing in England.

In the 1870s male colonial culture, as viewed by educators, was primarily concerned with religious morality, in response to fears that life on the frontier and removal from old world civilisation was breeding anti-civilised, non-Christian men (Crotty, 2001, p.221). Respectable middle-class men were law-abiding Christians and educators focused on creating boys who would become intellectual, religious and law abiding (Crotty, 2001, p.221). These citizenship traits were also encouraged by society in women (Crotty, 2001, p.221), although perhaps with less focus on intellectualism. Feminine women were welcomed into the colonies in the hopes of being a calming influence on the mostly male, lonely, bush population (Russell, c.2013, pp.462, 463, 466). Domesticity and morality were viewed as positive influences by some who considered frontier men on the brink of savagery (Russell, c.2013, p.466). Women were wanted to make the bush feel like home (Russell, c.2013, p.462).

During the 1880s focus shifted towards creating a stronger empire and on boys' athletic and military training (Crotty, 2001, p.222). The increase in young boys' athletic and military training was fuelled by fears of an Asian invasion, and to ensure the future protection of the empire (Crotty, 2001, pp.81, 222). Rhetoric in newspapers, magazines, young adventure fiction, parents, religious leaders and school masters appear to have mostly supported the idea of increasing athletic or military training (Crotty, 2001, pp.61, 81, 139). In the process women, non-Caucasians, homosexuals and intellectuals were discriminated against as national identity was focused on men (Crotty, 2001, pp.227, 231). Women generally were not perceived as an important part of the Australian story (Crotty, 2001, p.166).

Australian society mostly wanted to create men who were athletic, honest, hard-working, adventurous, brave, and practical, could withstand rough environments and be good soldiers (Crotty, 2001, pp.57, 81, 225). Some schools disapproved of the strong emphasis on athleticism and militarism, but were pressured into teaching those ideals (Crotty, 2001, p.225). Australian middle-class masculinity embraced all of those qualities for the sake of advancing nation and empire (Crotty, 2001, p.81). The heroes of this age were explorers and missionaries who withstood extreme conditions, and in doing so expanded British influence (Morris, 1968, p.121; Harper, 2008, p.64). In particular, British-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley, who was credited with solving one of the last geographic mysteries, the route of the Congo River, is of interest in relation to George Ernest Morrison, who was

inspired by him to paddle down the Murray (see 3d). George Ernest Morrison was a student at Geelong College which, like many public schools of the era, focused heavily on sporting pursuits (Harper, 2008, pp.70, 71). Attending the school likely contributed to his desire to embark on endurance walking and canoeing adventures.

Canoeing would have been an acceptable hobby in the era of imperialism and adventure for at least the following reasons. Firstly, living for a time in wilderness areas, or semi-tamed wilderness areas as they might have done during the 1870s to the 1890s, were skills that were necessary for explorers, missionaries and soldiers. Those occupations were idealised by the Empire as it was thought to bring imperial expansion and glory (Harper, 2008, p.64; Morris, 1968, p.121). Also, the Australian colonies seemed desperate to fortify young men with the qualities necessary to defend their borders (see Crotty, 2001, pp.58, 81). Secondly, canoeing meant physical prowess, a quality needed to defend the Empire. Those who were not fit before they embarked on their journey, certainly were afterwards. Thirdly, canoeing made it possible to live independently of the rituals and protection of suburban life. Canoeing often meant shooting wild game, surviving on rations and living in rudimentary dwellings, withstanding rain, strong winds, and heavy waves and occasionally dust storms. Survival skills such as those are required of a soldier. Rifle shooting, in particular, was considered a masculine activity, one which demonstrated or encouraged pluck, daring and patience-- qualities that were thought responsible for imperial triumph on the frontlines of Taranaki, New Zealand (Brown, 1987, p.177).

Another influence was Scottish lawyer John MacGregor's writings about his canoe journeys in Europe and Africa, and the consequent development of the activity in Britain then Australia.¹⁶ For at least twenty years, it seems, MacGregor's accounts of journeying on the rivers of Europe inspired others to do the same, but on more easily accessible rivers, such as paddling in the Murray-Darling Basin, and in similar craft. Australian references to Rob Roy canoes appear as early as 1872, six years after MacGregor's first book, *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe*, was published (Moulden, 1872, pp.1, 10-11, 20; Hodden, 1894, p.283). In 1872 Bayfield Moulden paddled on the Murray from Overland Corner to Mannum (see 3a). Interestingly, R.N. Chenoweth, the co-founder of the Australian Canoe Federation, stated that canoeing first came to Australia in the early twentieth century (Chenoweth, 1949,

¹⁶ There are no easily found materials on this topic despite there being abundant information on the history of British sports such as cricket, football, the sport of climbing, horse races and golf.

p.1). Research for this dissertation demonstrates that canoeing as a sport came to Australia by the early 1870s.

Canoeing became popular in Australia in this period mirroring its acceptance in Britain as a means to adventure. By 1866, the empire had extended to most continents and most foreign lands had been explored (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'; Haywood et al, 1999, pp.82, 86). European sights were no longer exciting for the adventurer, but canoeing was adventurous because canoeing meant the possibility of accessing narrow rivers (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). MacGregor's journey canoeing on the rivers of Europe was judged to be a novelty, allowing well-known areas of the world to be seen differently (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). Canoeing was lauded as a unique mode of travel enabling individuals to see the known parts of the world and exotic places in an original way (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe').

Canoeing was a new way for Europeans to seek unconventional adventures (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). These adventures presented different challenges, for example, avoiding snags, whirlpools and waterfalls, dealing with rapids, navigating around fallen trees, and travelling overland with the craft when the streams were too low. Travelling by railway was stifling, and adventurers were seeking hot air balloons and horse riding so that they could observe the countryside in a different way (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). The Empire was seen "as a vast system of outdoor relief for the British Upper Classes" who contended with the mediocrity of British daily life (Mill in Morris, 1968, p.119; Morris, 1968, p.306) and therefore MacGregor's books resounded with the need of many who wanted to experience adventure and the unknown away from Britain.

In a more general sense paddling would have also felt like an adventure because the scenery was different while travelling on the river and as a slow form of travel, gave paddlers time to enjoy getting closer to nature. In a more practical sense, canoes could be an advantage because they could be carried overland and transported by horse cart and train (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). Also, travelling by other modes of transport would require one to build a craft to cross the river (MacGregor, 1892, p.2).

In *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe*, MacGregor lists the advantages of canoeing, stating that rivers present an opportunity when travelling in a canoe; the canoeist can face the direction in which he or she is heading unlike in a rowboat, is easier to navigate and transport overland, and, depending on its design, can be slept in (MacGregor, 1892, pp.1, 2). His canoe, the shape of which resembled modern kayaks, was fitted with a swinging backboard

which acted as a backrest (MacGregor, 1892, p.2). The paddle could rest on the canoeist's lap and while doing so, the canoeist could rest comfortably while drifting downstream, even read a book, or chat with strangers along the bank (MacGregor, 1892, p.2). The paddle was easily accessible and could be quickly handled to avoid danger (MacGregor, 1892, pp.2-3).

Canoeing provided thrill seekers with risk and danger. Risk, danger (and possibly fun!) were present when MacGregor used his craft on heavy waters and at least once he encountered porpoises (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). He avoided going upstream when he could, and when rivers became "civilised and artificial", he would change streams for a less "civilised" one (1866, 'The Rob Roy Canoe'). It is evident that MacGregor had enjoyable and satisfying journeys. He later paddled in the Baltic and Africa which increased the element of risk.

According to MacGregor, rowboats were not ideal for his long distance river journey in Europe (MacGregor, 1892, pp.1-2). Rowboats required wider streams, snags and rocks were harder to avoid, and waves were more of an impediment (MacGregor, 1892, pp.1-2). MacGregor's canoe could handle these situations as it was a closed craft in the sense that the only opening was the cockpit (MacGregor, 1892, p.2). Waves would just wash over his vessel and its contents remain dry (MacGregor, 1892, p.2).

Canoeing was not an idle activity: physical strength was needed to haul the 36kg craft through shallow waters, overland, into carriages and wagons, and to paddle. Courage was needed to travel rough in foreign lands. MacGregor's "Rob Roy" was timber constructed, equipped with a double-bladed paddle, a sail, and flew a flag of the Union Jack; weighed 80lbs (36kg) and was 15ft (4.6m) long (MacGregor, 1892, p.4). Illustrations in the nineteenth edition of *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe*, show his canoe on heavy waves on the Digue at Ostend, pulling his craft through the hayfields, hauling the canoe over rocks, passing through artificial river barriers and navigating a canal thick with reeds (MacGregor, 1892, pp.14, 65, 125, 216, 231). Canoeists faced difficult challenges in Australia. These included rock, rapids and sandbars as well as numerous submerged dead trees. In addition there were waterfalls and the problem of drought making streams shallow or drying them completely. Portaging around locks and weirs was added to the mix of hazards on the rivers and as control of their waters with lakes and dams developed.

MacGregor's journeys and his promotion of canoeing were published widely in Australia. Many Australians would have been familiar with his work in the mid to late nineteenth century. Articles of MacGregor's journeys appeared as early as 1866 in New South Wales

and Tasmanian newspapers, and by 1869 in South Australia and Victoria and they continued for at least a decade (“J.M”, 1866, ‘A Canoe Voyage’; 1866, ‘The Rob Roy Canoe (From *The Times*)’; MacGregor, 1869, ‘A Canoe Voyage in Egypt and Syria’; MacGregor, 1869, ‘The Rob Roy Canoe on the Jordan’; A search on Trove digitised newspapers for the Rob Roy canoe limited to 1865-01-01 to 1880-12-31). In 1869 *The South Australian Advertiser* included a letter written by MacGregor reporting his voyage in the Suez Canal and its construction (MacGregor, 1869). His enthusiasm was contagious. His journeys in Cairo, Syria, the Baltic, Jordan and Palestine were reported with relish by colonial newspapers (A search on Trove digitised newspapers: Rob Roy canoe limited to 1865-01-01 to 1880-12-31). It is particularly obvious that his endeavours were well known judging by the many mentions of Rob Roy canoes on Australian rivers, in particular Reverend Fairey’s journey, the advertisements for selling second-hand copies of MacGregor’s books and the many reports of his death in 1892 (1892 ‘Obituary.’; 1896, ‘Rob Roy MacGregor’; 1875, ‘To Those Who Read!’).

Some critics argued that his account of his second journey, which occurred on the Baltic, was more about being alone than the culture of the surrounding country (1867, ‘The “Rob Roy” in the Baltic’). MacGregor seemed to relish contending with low levels of comfort and the outdoors (1867, ‘The “Rob Roy” in the Baltic’). This is not unlike many journeys made on the Murray where it is common to sleep outdoors or in a tent (for example see Matthew Quick SourceToSea.org – Day 26: Somewhere in Barmah State Forest to Picnic Point).

MacGregor’s accounts were published in newspapers and books. His books included *The Voyage Alone in the Yawl “Rob Roy”* and *“Rob Roy” on the Baltic* (MacGregor, 1892). The nineteenth edition of *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe* was published in 1892 (MacGregor, 1892, p.I; see Figure 9). That there were nineteen editions suggests a market for his books at least until he died.

There are numerous homages to MacGregor in reports of Australian canoe journeys. Like MacGregor, others such as Morrison and Raven-Hart displayed a flag of their home country on their canoe (Morrison, 1881, no.1; Raven-Hart, 1948, p.8). Reverend F. C. B. Fairey, who travelled on the Murray in 1888 as a missionary, had his craft constructed under the guidance of MacGregor (Fairey, 1877; 1888, ‘Arrival of Great Canoeist’).

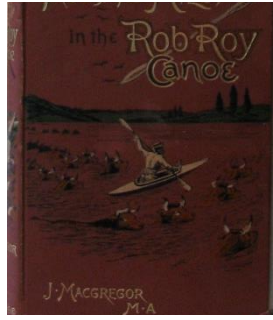


Figure 9. Nineteenth edition of A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe by J MacGregor.

It is doubtful that MacGregor directly inspired any modern day journeys. There are few references to him in recent accounts of Murray River voyages, but his influence during the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century is unmistakable. References to MacGregor occur in many early recreational journeys. These include the journeys of Bayfield Moulden, Elia D'Arrob and Essex; W. P. Delay and A. Van de Poorten, James Henry Shaw, and Reverend F.C.B Fairey (see 3a, 3b, 3c, 3e, 3g).

There may also be unrecorded journeys that were inspired by MacGregor. Even isolated rural residents were likely to have heard of him. Reading, especially of newspapers, was the means for them to keep in touch with national and international events (Waterhouse, 2005, p.121). It also helped with coping with isolation (Waterhouse, 2005, p.119). Reading British works provided rural residents with something familiar while they toiled in unforgiving environments (Waterhouse, 2005, p.120). They also subscribed to magazines and newspapers (Waterhouse, 2005, p.120). The *Australian Pastoralists Review* included reviews of imperial adventure writers such as Rider Haggard and Rudyard Kipling (Waterhouse, 2005, p.120). Country dwellers enjoyed reading whole issues of newspapers including fiction and adventure stories (Waterhouse, 2005, pp.120, 121). It is likely that rural readers would have noticed and taken an avid interest in even small, inconspicuous articles about canoe journeys. They probably knew of the exploits of John MacGregor by the 1870s, as rural New South Wales was better served by newspapers than it had been 30 to 40 years earlier. Rural residents may have also been inspired to journey on the rivers by newspaper reports of Australians paddling in the basin.

MacGregor's influence, then, is not surprising. Australian colonists were susceptible to British trends due to the affinity they felt for their homeland, (for information about dual identities of British settlers in Australia see Schreuder, c.2013, pp.530-531)

MacGregor's exploits were compatible with imperial masculinity and muscular Christianity. His journeys were published around the time when imperialism and juvenile adventure literature encouraged males to seek wilderness areas to become "real men" and to physically challenge themselves (for information about juvenile adventure literature, muscular Christianity, imperialism and physical challenges see Crotty, 2001, pp.162, 163, 202, 204; Morris, 1968, pp.305, 310; Brown, 1987, pp.179-180).

Imperial masculinity which espoused the imperial mission, fulfilling challenges to enable successful expansion of the British Empire and bringing it glory, manifested and influenced personal challenges (Harper, 2008, p.64; for information about the imperial mission see Morris, 1968, p.305). Public schools taught the value of spartan endurance (Morris, 1968, p.310). These values combined with finding pleasures in hardships (Morris, 1968, p.310). Such qualities created a generation of intrepid adventurers (Morris, 1968, p.305). Every British settlement in the late Victorian era had familiarised its school children with details of at least one particular adventure (Morris, 1968, p.310). Failure such as the Spartan defeat at Thermopylae conveyed a sense of imperial bravery (Morris, 1968, p.310) (even though Sparta was, of course, not part of the British Empire, such stories were meant to inspire endeavours on the Empire's behalf). In Australia the story was of Burke and Wills, who lived eight months after they discovered that their food cache was empty (Morris, 1968, p.310), and was probably meant to be as inspirational as the exploits of the Spartans. Such stories were probably used to encourage boys to serve the empire faithfully and endure hardships for the sake of imperial expansion. It appears that boys were not taught to fear danger, but to actively seek and rise above it. Paddling on the rivers was one way of seeking challenge and testing their endurance.

Muscular Christianity advocated men's physical fitness to protect the vulnerable and for the advancement of good causes (Brown, 1987, pp.174-175). By the mid-1860s those ideas were firmly entrenched in Australian society, although the emphasis was not usually on religion (Brown, 1987, p.178) and the vulnerable were not always protected. For example, during the nineteenth century and beyond women suffered from a prejudiced legal system which neglected to protect them from abusive husbands (for more information see 4. Women and Recreational Journeys).

Australian adventures were avidly reported probably due to the fear that Australian men would not be as strong as their British counterparts, and in the early twentieth century the

concern was that male city dwellers would not be manly enough to defend their country (those fears were mentioned in Crotty, 2001, pp.58, 163). Australian rhetoric described Australians as “more British than Britain” (Wood, c.1920, p.380). British characteristics thrived in Australia due to leisure, “clean space” and colonists were able to escape “traditions of dirt and poverty” found in Britain (Wood, c.1920, p.380). Australian adventurers and endurance canoeists provided examples that Australians were strong and could potentially protect the empire.

The scout movement, which spread to Australia in 1908, held enormous appeal to those who believed that modern civilisation was responsible for physical degeneration and racial decline (Crotty, 2001, pp. 199, 202). Civilisation and domesticity were perceived as creating effeminate men and draining their vitality (Crotty, 2001, p.202).

At least two individuals, Morrison and Shaw who paddled on the Murray, exemplified the ideals of imperial masculinity. George Morrison not only paddled the river but also participated in an expedition in a remote region of New Guinea, a region which was at that time, unexplored by Europeans (Pearl, 1967, p.42; Lyons 1883 in Pearl, 1967, p.50). James Henry Shaw, before paddling on various rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin, participated in an expedition led by Mr. Goldie, which explored part of New Guinea in 1878, a mere five years before Henry Chester was ordered by the Queensland Premier to lay claim to the island on behalf of the British Empire, although the British Government possessed no prior knowledge of the decision (Pearl, 1967, pp.41, 42; 1878, ‘A Visit to the Port Moresby District (from the Rev S.MacFarlane’s Report)’). Mr Chester, as directed by the Premier, laid claim to land “between the 141st and 155th meridians of east longitude”, which is approximately from the modern border of the islands east off the mainland to the border with Indonesia (1981, Atlas of the World, p.219; n.d, The CIA World Factbook East & South East Asia: Indonesia; n.d, The CIA World Factbook East & South East Asia: Papua New Guinea). In 1883 New Guinea was perhaps the vastest untraveled region in the world, and the European population of Port Moresby, now its capital, was three (Pearl, 1967, pp.41, 42). New Guinea was probably viewed as a frontier. Shaw and Morrison resembled the sort of explorers that the empire idolised. Paddling on the Murray was one of the ways that men could have adventures and imbue the qualities of the imperial male. After Morrison and Shaw paddled on the Murray, ever wanting to challenge themselves, and as Australia was mostly explored by this time, they travelled abroad to New Guinea to achieve exploratory feats.

Other adventurers and recreationists appear to have been influenced by imperial culture, but not to the same extent, or not in such an obvious fashion. Other adventurers were perhaps examples of what men were encouraged to be. Women did travel on the rivers during this period, but usually in the company of their husbands. (For more information about female travellers see 4. Women and Recreational Journeys, 1890s-2012).

Considering that adventure, sport and public school education were sometimes geared towards battle preparation, it is not surprising that not many journeys were undertaken during World War I. There appears to be only one report of an intention to paddle the river: a group of Sydney men planned to journey in canoes from Narrabri, located along the Namoi, and were to enlist once they completed their venture (“Visitor”, 1915, ‘A Trip to the North-West IV—About Narrabri’, see Map 1). More river travel might have occurred during this period, but paddlers would not have wanted their journeys to be publicised as it would draw criticism from those who would therefore think that they were strong enough to enlist.

There were many reasons why men would have preferred to go to war rather than paddle on the rivers. War was the ultimate imperial adventure, “exciting, dashing, and honourable” (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.450), and for many would have taken precedence over river adventure. Men were persuaded that war was a game not unlike the cricket and rugby matches they played at home (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.450). Another incentive was the rhetoric that war was the chance to prove that Australian men were as strong as their British counterparts (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.450). Men might have felt guilty about not helping their fellow citizens who were fighting abroad, so recreational paddling would have been difficult to justify under those circumstances. Men were under intense pressure from politicians, parents, the press and the education system to fight for their country (Garton & Stanley, c.2013, pp.50, 51; Crotty, 2001, pp.89, 198, 226) so would have been less likely to publicise their journeys. Propaganda urged men to enlist citing honour, duty, an identification of the Union Jack as their flag and protecting what the flag stood for. There would have been nothing promoting an interest in river travel, particularly if there had been no reportage of such journeys. A search on the Australian War Memorial website reveals World War I recruitment posters. The posters cited duty, national pride and fighting for the freedoms that Australians enjoyed (see a search on the Australian War Memorial website: world war one recruitment posters Australia). Of particular interest is the poster aimed towards rowers: “urging them to [:] “pull all together for Victory by enlisting in the Sportsmen's 1000”” (n.d,

‘Australian War Memorial- Oarsmen - pull all together for victory by enlisting in the sportsmen's 1000’).

From a young age, boys were taught to admire military activity and aspire to become soldiers (Crotty, 2001, pp.139, 198). Public schools were keen to teach male students skills for becoming participants in the defence force, imperial or civil service (Crotty, 2001, p.198). . Those schools were very enthusiastic about Australia’s involvement in World War I as it would demonstrate the schools’ success in creating the nation’s defenders (Crotty, 2001, p.89). In the 10 years that led up to the war, boys’ adventure literature promoted ideal men embodying the qualities of a desirable soldier (Crotty, 2001, p.139). Such books were read enthusiastically and were very popular (Crotty, 2001, pp.135, 136).

By World War II, many were familiar with the realities of battle and sport was no longer primarily viewed as developing war skills (Vamplew ed. et al., 1994, p.451). Unqualified enthusiasm for militarism ended towards the end of World War I after reports of the slaughter of Australians soldiers arrived home from the front (Crotty, 2001, pp.215-216, 228-229). The reports, the sight of wounded veterans and the absence of the 60,000 who never returned, contributed to the waning of militant ideals (Crotty, 2001, pp.227, 228, 229). Some school boys rebelled against the cult of militarism and the prevailing masculine ideal, although by the twentieth century those ideals were still firmly entrenched and continued to be so (Crotty, 2001, p.226). Boy scouts trained boys in civil obedience, adventure and discipline (Crotty, 2001, pp.198, 201, 205). Unlike public schools, scouts taught boys values that would make them loyal followers as opposed to leaders (Crotty, 2001, p.198).

3a. Bayfield Moulden and “Bay”, 1872.

In 1872, after viewing images in John MacGregor’s *A Thousand Miles in a Rob Roy Canoe* about his adventures canoeing the major rivers of Europe, Bayfield Moulden and his friend “Bay” canoed from Overland Corner to Mannum on the Murray (Moulden, 1872, pp.1, 10-11, 20; MacGregor, 1892). The pictures in the nineteenth edition published in 1892 and presumably also in the edition Moulden read, included paddling among cows swimming in the Meuse, “Rollers of the Digue at Ostend”, “Rapids of the Reuss”¹⁷, “In the Hayfields”, “Shirking a Fall”, “Fixed on a fall”, “Aside the Stern”, “Passing a dangerous barrier”, “A Choked Canal” (MacGregor, 1892, pp. Frontispiece, 14, 21, 65, 125, 138, 153, 216, 231).¹⁸

¹⁷ Possibly the river in Switzerland.

¹⁸ Please note: the names of the images in the book’s contents and their names in the prose are different.

The pictures were of MacGregor having adventures, which probably appealed to Moulden. Moulden was a gun enthusiast who shot animals for fun often to excess, one time even shooting himself in the foot (Moulden, 1872, pp.5, 14, 18). He, as did Mary and James Trevor (see 4b), often shot animals without eating them. Moulden tried to shoot kangaroos that obstructed the path of the wagon carrying their canoes, and shot at birds without retrieving them believing they were out of reach (Moulden, 1872, pp.5, 12, 19, 20). Mary and James Trevor hunted game for their meals but also for close observation (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.1). It is not hard to imagine that if all paddlers and rowers shot to excess that they contributed to the decline of native fauna.

3b. Elia D'Arrob and "Essex", 1873.

In 1873, two Melbourne men Elia D'Arrob and Essex, paddled in two canoes from Seymour on the Goulburn River to Echuca on the Murray (D'Arrob, 1877, pp.4-35). Their craft was sent ahead to Seymour by train (D'Arrob, 1877, p.5). D'Arrob's account of their journey reveals interesting details about wildlife, rural hospitality and that John MacGregor was famous to rural Australians even as far back as 1873.

D'Arrob noted a 40lb [18.41 kg] Murray cod, an abundance of crayfish, turtles, black and wood duck, teal, black swan, wedge tailed eagles, cockatoos and nankeen cranes (D'Arrob, 1877, pp.14, 18, 20).

Rural hospitality was also evident. The two men were treated cordially by settlers: "Greeted with the invariable Australian hospitality, we join an immense party at dinner (many friends having come up from town for the Easter holidays), and then after listening to harp and piano duets, return to our calico huts..." (D'Arrob, 1877, p.11).

MacGregor's renown had spread to the Murray. After D'Arrob and Essex approached the big River, someone cried out: "Are those Rob Roys?" (D'Arrob, 1877, p.33).

In 1982, Prior wrote an article for *The Paddler* magazine 'History of Canoeing Part 1' stating that D'Arrob and Essex's journey was the "Earliest recorded canoe trip in Australia" (Prior, 1982, p.14). This was not true: there was at least one earlier canoe journey such as Bayfield Moulden's voyage which Moulden described in his journal (see 3a. Bayfield Moulden and Bay, 1872).

Taking a break from the routine of their normal everyday life was an adventure. D'Arrob enjoyed his trip, writing that it was "one of the brightest memories connected with a seven years residence in that pleasant land [Australia]" (p.4).

The Melbourne to Seymour Railway made it easier for Melbourne residents to travel to the river. In 1870 the railroad reached a point close to the town but did not enter it (Martindale, 1982, p.63). In 1872, after a bridge was installed over the river, the train track passed through the town (Martindale, 1982, p.63). A year later Elia D'Arrob and Essex caught the train from Melbourne with their canoes then commenced paddling at Seymour, completing their journey in Echuca (D'Arrob, 1877, pp.4-35).

3c. W.P. Delay and A. Van de Poorten, 1876.

In 1876, W.P. Delay and A Van de Poorten travelled in a gig from Albury to Lake Alexandrina, in what the *Riverine Herald* of Echuca described as "An adventurous holiday strongly suggestive of "a thousand miles in a Rob Roy Canoe"", another reference to John MacGregor (1876, *Riverine Herald*). There was plenty of game and they displayed the Belgian flag as they proceeded on the water (1876, 'December 19 1876').

3d. Dr George Ernest Morrison, 1880.

George Ernest Morrison was determined to fulfil his ambition of becoming the ideal imperial male (Harper, 2008, pp.68, 70-83). Although he did not explain his ambitions in such words, his writings reveal the impact of imperial rhetoric and ideology. His desire to emulate the qualities of the ideal imperial male are evident in his motivations for voyaging on the Murray.

In 1880, an 18 year old George Ernest Morrison paddled from Albury to the Coorong, in a "Rob Roy" canoe named *Stanley*, named after his idol British-American journalist Henry Morton Stanley (Morrison, 1881, no.1; Gregory, 'Morrison, George Ernest (Chinese) (1862-1920)', n.d). He embarked on his voyage only three years after Stanley and his party traced the Congo River in canoes and on foot; and only within two years after the publication *Through the Dark Continent* (Jeal, 2008, pp.194-214, 220-221, 482). Morrison hoped that he could recreate various features of Stanley's journey, "but in an Australian setting" and by paddling the full navigable length of the Murray which was something he believed no one else had done before, he could be a pioneer (Morrison, 1881, no.1; Harper, 2008, p.76).

Stanley's journey may have inspired Morrison for the following reasons. Stanley's expedition, as part of his Trans-Africa journey from 1874 to 1877 (Jeal, 2008, pp.xvii-xvix), makes for a grand, thrilling tale of adventure displaying qualities valued most by the British: courage, resilience, leadership, strength and sacrifice. The expedition commenced in Zanzibar, headed North-West to Lake Victoria, circled the lake before heading further south to Lake Tanganyika, then north-west again to the Lualaba River, which became the Congo River (Jeal, 2008, pp.xviii-xvix, 163). The expedition which commenced with approximately 227 men and women, was fraught with danger (Jeal, 2008, pp.163, 165). Indigenous tribes were unaccustomed to rapid canoe travellers and feared the voyagers were witches or rallying for war (Jeal, 2008, pp.192, 196, 198). The expedition contracted dysentery, scurvy and ulcers (Jeal, 2008, p.212). They starved, and hauled craft with tremendous effort over hills to avoid giant waterfalls (Jeal, 2008, pp.210, 212). Some members of the expedition drowned (Jeal, 2008, p.209). There was also at least one dangerous whirlpool (Jeal, 2008, p. 210). The last phase of the journey was affected by mutinies though many of the mutineers later returned to the party (Jeal, 2008, p.210). Famished, the expedition continued for the last 6 days on foot, warding off starvation when Stanley's letters caused settlers near the Boma coast, to respond by sending food (Jeal, 2008, pp.211-213).

Morrison embarked on the Murray believing he would be the first to paddle the entire length of the river from Albury (Harper, 2008, p.76). He appears to have been the first to paddle that segment. He learned about travelling by researching the expeditions of Hamilton Hume, William Hovell and Captain Charles Sturt (Harper, 2008, p.74; George Morrison Microfilm SLNSW). By the 1880s, it was increasingly difficult to emulate explorers due to the rapid progress of Australian exploration and settlement (Harper, 2008, pp.58-59, 75; *Australian Encyclopedia* in Murray, 2014, page before title page). Most of the continent was already explored (Harper, 2008, pp.58-59, 75; *Australian Encyclopedia* in Murray, 2014, page before title page). Morrison wanted to earn himself a place in history, so he sought a unique mode of travel that would provide him with fame and recognition (Harper, 2008, p.76).

The Murray River had already been fully explored. Regardless of what Morrison felt he was doing, his journey was an adventure. Morrison's journey was relatively easy compared to Stanley's journey. He dined with settlers and fishermen and he noted the changes in scenery, the towns and homesteads he passed, but the effort did physically test him. He endured low rations, heavy rain and sometimes distances of over 20 miles each day (Morrison, 1881, no.1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8).

Originally Morrison wanted to be an explorer or soldier, but as war was not imminent he sought other means of testing himself and fulfilling imperial ideals of masculinity (Harper, 2008, pp.72-74). His desire to be the ideal imperial male is evident in his journals and in his zeal for athletics (Harper, 2008, p.73). As there was no war to fight, he aspired to become a foreign correspondent (Harper, 2008, pp.72-75). He published accounts of his Murray journey in the Melbourne newspaper *The Leader*. Other newspapers included accounts of his long distance journeys, before he travelled abroad and eventually became a highly successful and influential foreign correspondent for the *Times* of London (Morrison, 1881, no.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; Harper, 2008, p.77; Gregory, 'Morrison, George Ernest (Chinese) (1862-1920)', n.d).

Ever the adventurer, he later explored New Guinea with a party of Indigenous people and Europeans (Gregory, 'Morrison, George Ernest (Chinese) (1862-1920)', n.d).

3e. James Henry Shaw, 1884-1885, 1886 and c.1886¹⁹

James Henry Shaw also exemplified imperial masculinity. Like Morrison, he too was a journalist, active sportsman and explored New Guinea. There is no record of why he travelled on the Lachlan to the Murray Mouth, but his adventures on the Murray River show pluck and daring. He seemed to thrive on a challenge.

In 1884-1885, accompanied by his pet dog, Shaw paddled a Rob Roy canoe (see Figure 10) from about 12 miles above Forbes on the Lachlan, to the Murray Mouth (1884, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan Commencement of the River Trip'; 1885, 'For the next issue of the journal'). The Lachlan River was cluttered with snags, fallen timber and in sections Shaw had to hack his way through (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V. '; 1884, "'Town and Country" Canoe Expedition'). Due to his difficulties on the Lachlan, he travelled overland from Wallanthy to Hay, the latter being located along the Murrumbidgee (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V Hospitality in the Dry Country'). His reports were published in the *Australian Town and Country Journal* and they provide vivid and interesting accounts of his experiences and the people he met. He described how rabbiters left some rabbits alive so that there would always be more to catch and therefore reliable employment (1885, 'The Grazier. The Rabbit War (by

¹⁹ In an article by the *Riverine Herald* in 1886 reporting (possibly boasting) the stay of the famed canoeist Shaw in Echuca, it was mentioned that he had paddled from Walgett to Wentworth, but no date was given for that journey.

our canoe voyager)'). Shaw also drew river scenes (1885, 'Canoeing on the Murray'; 1885, 'Our Canoe Upon the Lachlan V. Hospitality in the Dry Country').

In 1886, the year after he completed his multi-river voyage, Shaw travelled with his brother from Albury to the Murray mouth in a canoe called the *Golden Butterfly*, after the novel of the same name (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe'). Like other recreational travellers, they had to sell their craft (Murray, 1898, p.33; 1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers'). "The canoe was sold Wednesday [24 November] at a great sacrifice" (*South Australian Register*, 1886). Its fate is unknown. He originally wanted to continue his trip by returning around the coast to Melbourne, but had to withdraw for reasons he does not reveal (*South Australian Register*, 1886). *The Argus* (1886) mentioned his journey and his canoe, with the same description as that given in later articles about a trip with his brother to Port Adelaide (1886, 'Echuca'). *The Argus*, however, does not mention anything about his brother accompanying him (1886, 'Echuca'). His craft was described as being of "Rob Roy pattern" (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe'), another indication of MacGregor's influence in Australia.

Shaw's journeys are of particular interest not just because he described his story in detail for the *Australian Town and Country Journal*, but because he travelled the same general route three times; once with a pet dog, once with his brother and once on a trip in c.1886 that included travel on the Darling from Walgett to Wentworth (1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V Overcoming Obstacles'; 1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe'; 1886, 'A Canoeing Voyage'). In his articles Shaw described his journey, closely observed and wrote about the natural world. He also drew sketches. (1884, 'More Journalistic Enterprise a Canoe Voyage Down the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, Murray & C'; 1885, 'The Naturalist Notes on the Natural History of the Upper Lachlan, I'). A girl by the name of Bessie wrote in to the *Australian Town and Country Journal* for 'The Children's Letterbox' (1886) to say that Shaw had stayed with them and let her sister have a ride in his canoe.

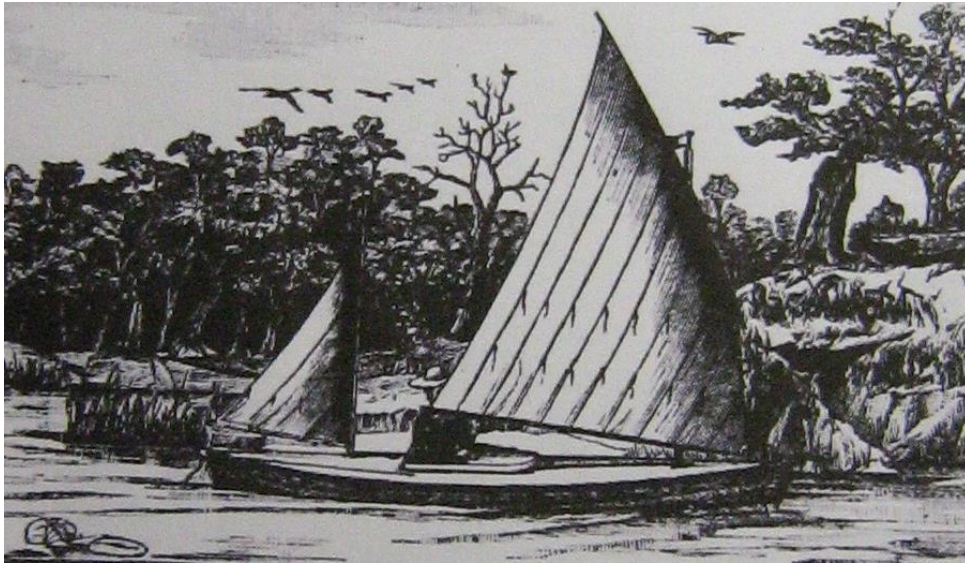


Figure 10. A sketch of James Henry Shaw's canoe (1884, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan. Commencement of the River Trip', Trove database).

Shaw was an explorer and adventurer. His Lachlan-Murrumbidgee-Murray River journey was only one of his many travels on the rivers in the Murray-Darling Basin. Previously in c.1877 he had participated in Mr Goldie's expedition in New Guinea and submitted sketches of New Guinea to the *Australian Town and Country Journal* (1878, 'Discovery of Gold in New Guinea'; MacFarlane, 1878). The expedition explored at least eight miles of New Guinea from Tupusulei, located south east of Port Moresby (Gibbney, 1972, ANU Australian Dictionary of Biography online; n.d, Tupusulei, Papua New Guinea – Geographic Names, map, geographic coordinates).

Shaw's enthusiasm to embody the qualities of the imperial male, although whether he did so consciously or if that was his natural inclination is difficult to discern, did not stop at paddling the Murray. In 1885, within a year of completing his Lachlan-Murrumbidgee-Murray River journey, he joined an expedition to New Guinea where he acted as photographer and assistant to the leader (1885, 'Fate of the Explorers'). The group was feared dead due to conflicting reports of a massacre where a party of white men was slain (1885, 'Fate of the Explorers'). An article concerning the reactions of the Administrative Council and the New Guinea Exploration Committee of the Geographical Society of Australasia, described each man and his role in the journey, informing readers that Shaw had been the only survivor of a previous expedition (1885, 'Fate of the Explorers'). He survived the 1885 expedition and in the following year Shaw once more, but this time with his brother, canoed the Murray River (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe').

In the 1890s, Shaw was mentioned in newspapers in accounts of the activities of the Sydney Canoe Club (1895, 'The Canoe Club'; 1895, 'Sydney Canoe Club'; 1895, 'Sydney Social Events').

By 1908 Shaw had married and moved to Western Australia (1908, 'The Widow's Evidence'). It was there that he was later killed by his business partner (1908, 'The Widow's Evidence'). His death was also noted in Richards (1993) *A Sequel History of the Old Murray District of Western Australia*.

Shaw's life is not only recorded in newspaper articles. Some of Shaw's papers are held at the J S Battye Library of West Australian History Private Archives (see n.d, J S Battye Library of West Australian History Private Archives – Collection Listing). Parts of his manuscript about his journey to Cooktown as well as photographs of himself are available at the National Library of Australia (Shaw, James Henry papers).

3f. Sidney H. Jones & Frank Bauer, 1884.

In 1884, Sidney H Jones and Frank Bauer travelled from Bourke on the Darling to Morgan in a dinghy (1928, 'Adventurous Life Experiences of Rosewater man Followed Many Callings'). They voyaged in this way as the fares, presumably paddle steamer or coach fares, were too expensive (1928, 'Adventurous Life Experiences of Rosewater man Followed Many Callings'). Much later, in 1928, their journey was recounted in *News* with particular note about how they survived on game, "and baked Johnny cake in the coals. It was a great life. We would start each morning at 4.30 or 5 o'clock, stop at 8 for a swim and breakfast, and then on again until sunset" (1928, 'Adventurous Life Experiences of Rosewater man Followed Many Callings').

3g. Reverend F.C.B. Fairey, 1888.²⁰

In 1888, Rev F.C.B. Fairey, with the same air-chambered Rob Roy canoe, named *Evangelist*, that he had used in his attempt to travel around the Tasmanian coast, paddled on the Murray from Albury to Lake Alexandrina giving religious services to settlements along his route (1888, 'Australian River Mission', 20 August; 1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist'). He later recommended establishing a regular steamer missionary service (1888, 'Church Intelligence', *The South Australian Advertiser*). Incidentally, three years after Rev. F.C.B. Fairey's voyage,

²⁰ Although this journey could have been considered employment because he was giving masses along his route, it seems that this was also an adventure.

the Anglican Bishop of Adelaide, George Kennion, bought a steamer to provide missionary services on the Murray (c.2007, SA Memory Mission steamer Etona).

Fairey's journey was given good coverage in the local newspapers, including an article from 1908 'Early Mildura (from *Cultivator* 4th October 1888)' describing what happened 20 years before (1888, 'Blanchetown'; 1888, 'Renmark notes (from our correspondent.)'; 1888, 'Australian River Mission', 17 August; 1888, 'Religious News'; 1888, Voyage in a canoe, down the Murray. [By Telegraph.]); 1888, 'Current Topics'; 1888, 'South Australia'; 1908 'Early Mildura (from *Cultivator* 4th October 1888.)').

He called in at Blanchetown, Renmark and Port Adelaide (1888, 'Renmark Notes (from our correspondent.)'; 1888, 'Canoeist Lecture'; 1888, 'Blanchetown'). He gave lectures of his journey once he reached Adelaide (1908 'Early Mildura (from *Cultivator* 4th October 1888.)'; 1888, 'Canoeist Lecture.'). After one of his lectures the craft was left in the North Adelaide Congregational Church where the canoe was found burned, much to his dismay (1888, 'Burning of the Rev C. B. Fairey's canoe'). When he gave subsequent lectures he would display the ashes of his craft (1888, 'Canoeist Lecture'). People were sympathetic towards Fairey and donated money for him to obtain a new canoe, and they wrote to the newspapers saying that it was a shame that the *Evangelist* had been burnt (Bevan, 1888; Crase, 1888; 1888, 'Burning of the Rev. C. B Fairey's Canoe'; 1888, 'South Australia'; 1903, 'Port Esperance').

There were some discrepancies in the records about his journey. One article said that his trip took 2 months whereas another said it was 4 months (1888, 'Church Intelligence', 29 August; 1888, 'Religious'). One article stated that his canoe was called "Rob Roy" (1888, 'Arrival of a Great Canoeist'), although the author must have meant that it was of Rob Roy construction as many articles have called it the '*Evangelist*' (1888, 'Blanchetown. '; 1888, 'Voyage in a Canoe Down the Murray. [By Telegraph]; 1888, 'Current Topics').



Figure 11. “The Rev. F.C.B. Fairey’s Canoe “Evangelist.”” (1877, ‘The Rev. F.C.B. Fairey’s Canoe “Evangelist.”’, *The Illustrated Australian News*, p.157, Trove database). Sketch published approximately 11 years before he undertook his Murray River journey. Some newspapers state that the “Evangelist” which he paddled around Tasmania, was the same canoe on the Murray River (1888, ‘Australian River Mission’, 17 August).

3h. Pope and Power, 1888.

Two young men referred to as “Pope” and “Power”, paddled in a circuit on the Murray from Moama to the junction of the upper Edward River, and then turned back and canoed to the lower Edward-Murray junction (Power, 1931). They then continued paddling on the Edward River and the Murray until they finished at Moama (Power, 1931). On their arrival in Deniliquin the press published an article: “six hundred miles in a canoe” (Power, 1931).

3i. Alexander Sutherland Murray and “S---”, c.1898.

In c.1898, Alexander Sutherland Murray and his friend referred to as “S---”, rowed from Echuca to Goolwa on the Murray (Murray, 1898, pp.12, 33). They were inspired after reading Sturt’s account of exploring the river (Murray, 1898, p.12). They chose to row and not travel on a steamer so they could hunt, exercise, spend time outdoors and draw at leisure (Murray, 1898, p.21). Alexander painted river scenes in what appears to be water colour (Murray, 1898). He published his journey and paintings in *Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray*. According to comments included on the back of his next book *Tasmanian Rivers, Lakes and Flowers*, his book *Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray* was well received in both

England and the Australian colonies. He wrote in his second book that it was the reception of his first book that spurred him to write the second (Murray, 1900, pp. v, vi).

A.S. Murray painted river scenes, believing that the river had not yet changed much since Sturt's expedition, but that changes were inevitable (Murray, 1898, preface). His paintings and writings were published in the hope of providing a memento and revealing to future generations what the river was like (Murray, 1898, preface). He was wrong in believing that no collection of images had been published of the Murray (see Edward William Cole and George Burnell in Part B) but his paintings are an interesting reminder of the seasonal variations and wildlife that were evident at that time. He depicted the rivers at sunrise or possibly at sunset, and during early morning fog (see Murray, 1898, plates III, V, VI). They embarked during winter, and game was plentiful during this time (Murray, 1898, pp.12, 13). Around Euston they caught a 55lb [24.75 kg] cod (Murray, 1898, p.21). Rabbits were a massive affliction, with one unnamed station killing 2,700,000 in the space of a couple years (Murray, 1898, p.28). The birdlife was spectacular: there were sulphur crested cockatoos, Major Mitchell cockatoos, long billed Corellas, lorys, pigeons, parakeets, spoonbills and ibises among many other species (Murray, 1898, pp.14, 15).

They sold their craft at Goolwa in c.1898 (Murray, 1898, p.33). They were sad when the journey ended, the exercise had been good for their minds and they were entertained by sketching and observing wildlife (Murray, 1898, p.33).

4. Women and Recreational Journeys 1890s-2012

The first records of women undertaking recreational journeys appeared in the 1890s. From the earliest recorded journeys when women were accompanied by their husbands through to the early and mid-twentieth century when women participated in pioneering trips, changes and developments in the journeys women were involved in reflect changing philosophies, social and cultural attitudes. The First and Second World Wars also changed ideas about women's capabilities.

From the 1890s to 2012, women participated in at least 11 recreational journeys. There were probably more, especially during the twentieth century, but there are no available materials describing their adventures and it is left to the imagination to determine how many women would have been on the rivers. In most of the recorded journeys, women were accompanying their husbands. Solo female voyages or all female groups were rare, or if they were

undertaken, were not widely reported. There are several reasons why women's voyages were uncommon and underreported. Male dominance referred to earlier and the construction of male identity discouraged women from playing sport (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.178). Sport (probably especially endurance sport), was thought to be the domain of tough, competitive and independent individuals (see Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.178). Women with such qualities were treated with suspicion, ridiculed and viewed as a threat by those who wanted sport to continue as a male domain (Stell, 1991, pp.22, 23). Male identity was constructed against feminine 'weaknesses': men were supposed to be stronger than women, a relationship particularly evident when men were accused of "being girls" when they were not playing sport at their best (see Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.180). Women participating in sport and showing physical strength was a threat to masculine pride and possibly patriarchal control.

Women who did not conform to "feminine" modes of behaviour were sometimes subject to violence. Perhaps colonial women may have been too scared to paddle long distances on their own. An example of nineteenth-century women being disciplined for behaving outside social norms, or in a "masculine" way, is provided by Queensland women who, if they drank liquor, were then beaten by their husbands for doing something that many believed should be a "male only" privilege (Lake, 1986, p.123). Inebriated women walking alone from bars were often harassed, raped, assaulted or murdered (Allen, 1987, pp.623, 624). Part of the "reason" was that they were without a male guardian and "were independent enough to buy their own drinks" (Allen, 1987, pp.623, 624). It is clear that women travelling without men to protect them were perceived as vulnerable to violence and sexual assault (Allen, 1987, pp.623, 624). Court cases involving such themes occurred in the late 1890s (Allen, 1987, p.624), but probably occurred before then as well. During the late nineteenth century teenage women of Sydney were warned of the likelihood of becoming victims of male violence if they entered public space alone (Allen, 1987, p.626). Considering that women lived in a society where such ideas were prevalent (Allen, 1987, pp.623, 624), they would have taken precautions against travelling alone. Solo women paddling in secluded areas, sleeping outdoors or in a tent would have been vulnerable if not accompanied by a male relative. In some circumstances, women's clothing also restricted movement (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.178).

The existence of strong women meant that men had to strive and work harder to retain their masculine independence (see Stell, 1991, p.24 about the fear that sportswomen would gain power over their husbands) although it could be argued that the household work usually undertaken by women required more strength than many men would have wanted to

acknowledge. Men feared that athletic women would dominate their husbands, turn into men, or destroy their own fertility (Stell, 1991, p.24). Moreover, domestic violence was overlooked by a male dominated judicial system (it was not until 1965 that a woman was selected to become a judge in Australia) (Lake, 1986, p.124; Davies, 2000, p.181). Domestic violence was condoned as a disciplinary measure against wilful women who did not fulfil their marital “duties” (Lake, 1986, p.124). This response from the judicial system suggests that there was a strong fear of men losing control over women.

For a time physical activity for women was restricted to “mild” forms of exercise to counteract the effect that education was feared to have on female fertility (Vamplew ed. et al, 1994, p.178). Long distance rowing would have been seen as distracting women from their domestic “duties” (Adair, 1994, p.185) and would not have been considered “mild.” If the women were to increase their training to twice a day the media suggested that rowing could be “too strenuous” or even “harmful” to women (Adair, 1994, pp.184-185).

Despite social pressure, women were capable of strenuous activity and did use boats. Colonial women participated in sport including rowing more than is widely believed, despite social prejudice and social concern, and by the early twentieth century women with means were active (Stell, 1991, p.25; Sobocinska & White, c.2013, p.475). During the 1880s rural women used boats in emergencies. In about 1885 Mary Holden rowed, accompanied by her infant and deceased husband, from their property in Beri Beri to their nearest neighbours in Overland Corner, and Nurse Wells of Gol Gol rowed to Mildura to attend to women in labour (Pownall, 1975, pp. 236, 237; Hill, 1958, p.68).

Society expected women to have chaperones (Stell, 1991, pp.49, 206; Allen, 1987, p.626), which would have prevented many women from participating in solo voyages, and if they did they probably would not have wanted their journey publicised, for fear of society learning of their disregard for social norms. As colonial newspapers often reported the progress of paddlers and where they were on various days, women would have been made exceptionally vulnerable. There do not appear to have been any canoeing endurance events for women during the late Victorian era: by and large women seem to have voyaged long distances only with their husbands.

There were times when women did participate in non-canoeing endurance events, but they were closely supervised (Stell, 1991, p.18). Women’s endurance events were undertaken in

tightly controlled circumstances and under the eye of numerous spectators (Stell, 1991, p.18). For example, in 1881 a competition was held over six days in which awards of £50, £25 and £10 were available to the winners of a walking race (Stell, 1991, p.18). The competitors were required to walk around a large tent, the woman who walked the furthest, in essence the woman who walked the most times around the tent during the six days, was the victor (Stell, 1991, p.18). Supervision was available in the form of support crews providing food and drink, and spectators gambling on the outcome (Stell, 1991, p.18).

Long distance canoe journeys on the rivers would have been difficult to police and various areas were highly secluded, but for canoeing and rowing matches surveillance was easier. On long distance journeys, the best chaperonage was the woman's husband, especially if he was willing to undertake any tasks that required considerable strength. On such voyages women would be under the guidance of their spouse and therefore not a threat to masculine control. Newspaper reports of women journeying with their husbands, could be written in such a fashion to easily make it seem as if the men undertook most of the hard work, with the wife as a helper, something that is compatible with various ideas in art and literature of the time. However, there was the occasional newspaper article that described the woman's role. There was one on Nurse M A Hunt which said she: "developed hard muscles from constant paddling" (1928, 'Nurse's Big Trip). Cultural ideas, as demonstrated through art and literature, usually depicted women, even married women, in the outback or open spaces as needing a male protector (Rowley, 1991, p.82). The man's domain was outdoors, the woman's domain was at home (Rowley, 1991, p.69). Women were not usually viewed as companions who could provide mutual support but, rather, as obstacles to men's journeys (Rowley, 1991, p.70). Women, when depicted outdoors, were usually on safe, regularly used paths constricted by fences, which means they were on familiar land and not in the open environment (Rowley, 1991, p.70).

Nonetheless, during the 1890s, women accompanying their husbands were not spared from strenuous work. Mrs Clarke helped her husband lower their canoe with ropes to avoid shooting dangerous rapids and also paddled the craft (see 4a). Mary Trevor helped steer her and James Trevor's boat against the current (see 4b, Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, pp.12, 22).

Possibly the earliest record of a woman travelling long distance solo on the rivers was in 1928, when Nurse M.A Hunt paddled from Renmark to Murray Bridge (see 4d). Notably, Hunt's journey occurred after World War I. During World War I sportswomen were

employed as replacement for male workers on the home front (Stell, 1991, p.49). After World War II chaperones were no longer seen as so important (Stell, 1991, p.206), perhaps because women had proved themselves capable of hard labour and therefore not in need of a man's protection. Solo voyages and travel with groups of both men and women, in which distances were often more than 100km, became more common too. Still, in the 1940s it was evident that women needed chaperones if they were travelling with unrelated men (See Daly, 2001, p.1).

By the mid-twentieth century women were involved in dangerous pioneer journeys in remote and difficult to access regions. They were usually accompanied by men, usually their husbands, however they were active participants in difficult adventures. Their journeys were recorded, for example, in *Splashes* a magazine published by the River Canoe Club of New South Wales. The club, which was founded by men, within a year of its founding allowed women provisional membership for a year (1936, 'In a Canoe... Three Women Have Braved the Rivers'). This was a progressive stance for a male dominated sport. In 1951 the *Sydney Herald* reported that "probably 35% of the [175 members] of the club were young women" who eagerly competed with men in shooting difficult rapids (1951, 'Shooting River Rapids Is Our Newest Sport Thrill'). In the same year, *Splashes* included an article by Norma Wilkens about herself and the group of men and another woman who attempted to paddle from Tumut Ponds to Lobb's Hole (Wilkens, 1951, pp.3-6). This was an astonishing feat, despite portaging most of the way, considering that "the river drops 1600 feet [approximately 486.4m] between Tumut Ponds and Lobbs Hole" (Wilkens, 1951, p.4). In the same year, the map officer for the River Canoe Club of New South Wales, Mr Phillips and his wife Mrs Phillips, were accompanied by Miss Sue Graves and Mr Pat Edmondson for part of their journey on the Macquarie River (1951, 'Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo'). Mr and Mrs Phillips accomplished having paddled 49 New South Wales Rivers (Jones, 1950) which is an amazing accomplishment for women *and even* for men. This occurred around the time that women began participating in other endurance sports such as cycling and swimming events, as well as the first long distance endurance Australian canoe race, which was conducted on the Hawkesbury River (for information about women and long distance and endurance events see Stell, 1991, pp.206, 207). The distance was 160km and "included 20 kilometres of rapids" (Stell, 1991, p.207).

Women's acceptance into canoeing and rowing was achieved after decades of real change in both the education system and the medical world (for information about educational and medical barriers for women and sport Stell, 1991, p. 173, 174, 176, 207). By the mid-1930s, sportswomen were, theoretically, required to be medically examined, to ensure that their health was not damaged by strenuous physical activity (Stell, 1991, pp.173, 174, 176). This proves that doubt lingered over women's physical abilities (Stell, 1991, p.174). Women had to prove that they were capable of taxing activity (see Stell, 1991, p.173). For example, the race on the Hawkesbury River in 1952 allowed two women's teams to compete but only as a trial (Stell, 1991, p.207). Another example is that "all rowing clubs insisted that women be medically examined as well as being able to swim" (Stell, 1991, p.173).

There is evidence before the 1890s that women were adventurous. For example, the women who accompanied Captain Sturt and the Governor-General of South Australia in the 1839 Mount Bryan Expedition on the Murray from Goolwa to Morgan (see Appendix A) (although they accompanied the men upstream, it appears that none of the women rowed), but in the nineteenth century they were mostly allowed to be adventurous river travellers only in the company of husbands who would lead them on river voyages.

Women continued to undertake leisure journeys in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries, but the number of reports detailing men's journeys far outnumber those of women. Although there are more records of women travelling alone in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries than previously, it is difficult to determine their numbers as many women may not have publicised their journeys. Women are still vulnerable to attack. In the 1990s, women's sport was still underappreciated and received less public and media attention than it deserved (Vamplew ed et al, 1994, p.181). Also, professional sportswomen were generally paid less than their male counterparts (2015, 'Women's World Cup: Matildas to earn a fraction of what Socceroos did at FIFA World Cup').

Interestingly, despite many advances in women's sport and the women's movement, there were still instances in the late twentieth century where men saw themselves as stronger and more capable than women (see McCutchan, vol. 75, p.38). During canoe courses taught by women, some males would rather swim a mile than be rescued by their instructor, especially if she was a more competent paddler (McCutchan, vol. 75, p.38). Some men also felt threatened by the sight of a female carrying a canoe unaided and being able to hoist the craft

onto a vehicle (McCutchan, vol. 75, p.38). Such behaviours are perhaps the legacy of nineteenth-century social norms, which justified patriarchal control by suggesting women were weak.

4a. Dr and Mrs George Clark, 1895.

In 1895, Dr and Mrs Clarke travelled from Goondiwindi on the Queensland Border to Goolwa for recreation, even though travelling in other crafts such as yachts was a favoured pastime (1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.'). They travelled via the Macintyre, Barwon, Darling and Murray Rivers (1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water'). The Macintyre was full of fallen timber and the low water levels forced Dr Clarke to pull the canoe in sections of the river (1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'). They also encountered fallen timber on the Barwon River (1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.'). The most difficult section was between Mogil-Mogil and Mungindi: the fallen timber encumbered them and at least once they deliberately sank their craft in order to drag it *under* the tree (1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.'). The river was also extremely narrow which added to the difficulty of proceeding through the timber strewn section (1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.'). From Mogil-Mogil to Collarenebri there were numerous hazardous waterfalls which they usually traversed by lowering the canoe from the rocks (1895, 'Down the Darling in a Canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark Interviewed.'). They reached Goolwa then proceeded to Adelaide but there is no mention of them continuing from Goolwa in a canoe (1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water'; 1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.').

Their journey received attention in Queensland, Victorian, Tasmanian, South Australian and New South Wales newspapers (1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'; 1895, 'A Great River Voyage', *The Argus*; 1895, 'A Great River Voyage', *The Mercury*; 1895, 'Down the Darling in a Canoe'). Their journey was perhaps one of the longest leisure trips in the basin: it could also be listed under "record breaking attempts".

The custom of rural hospitality seems to have still been a common practice, as Dr Clarke suggested that if they had accepted many more offers of hospitality it would have taken them eight years and not eight months to complete their journey (1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.'). Mrs Clarke reportedly undertook

and completed the journey in remarkable health (1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water'; 1895, 'Down the Darling in a canoe. Goondiwindi to Adelaide. Dr Clark interviewed.').

4b. Mary and James Trevor, 1894-1895.

In 1894-1895, Mary Trevor and James Trevor (real names Mary Esdaile nee Dobell and James Tanner, who previously departed New Zealand to escape Mary's philandering husband and elope) travelled in a rowboat, whose leaks they had fixed before embarking, from Bourke on the Darling, while the rivers were still in flood (Trinca, 2003, pp.1, 2, 59, 60). They rowed against the current on the Murray River, travelled on the Goulburn River for a week and finished their river journey near Albury (Trinca, 2003, pp. 11, 22; Trevor c.1895 cited in Trinca, 2003, p.23). They undertook their journey when the Darling was in flood (Trinca, 2003, p.1). Before reaching Wentworth, James constructed a paddle wheel and attached it to the boat (Trinca, 2003, p.5). They used handles to propel the wheel and oars, instead of a motor (Trinca, 2003, pp.2, 6). Wanting to prove their doubters wrong, the Trevors travelled upstream from Wentworth intending to reach Albury (Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.9). Sceptics noted that "'few men have pulled up [there] and never a lady' and 'it would be a tidy bit of a pull at first, perhaps too much for the lady'" (Trinca, 2003, p.11).

Pulling upstream was strenuous, and strained Mary's arms but eventually the work became easier as her muscles adjusted (Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.12). Even so, the rest of the journey was still strenuous; for example, above Echuca they disembarked and pushed the boat through shallow water (Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.22). They married in Moama and they ended the journey near Howlong (Trinca, 2003, pp.26, 27; Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.23).

They hoped for an adventure and opportunities for sketching (Mary Trevor in Trinca 2003, p.1). Sydney and Melbourne did not provide adventure, as the two cities were more settled than expected (Trinca, 2003, p.1). "Water being a great need in sketches" they decided to travel down the Darling and then upstream on the Murray (Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.1; Trinca, 2003, p.1). They shot game for sustenance and also curiosity: they shot birds then tried to identify the species (Trinca, 2003, p.1).

The Trevors were keen observers of the environment, noting native plants and animals in the hopes of later identifying them, but were very opportunistic in hunting wildlife (Trinca, 2003, pp.8, 25). Mary wrote in her journal, how James sketched and painted river scenes (Mary

Trevor in Trinca, 2003, pp.2, 17; Trinca, 2003, p.25). She also reported how she and her husband counted 200 baskets of fish on the steamer *Invincible*, which suggested the abundance of these creatures in the Murray (Mary Trevor in Trinca, 2003, p.14).

Unlike many others, the Trevors' journey was well documented. Their journey is of considerable significance judging by the fact that objects associated with their trip have also been made available for public viewing. James' paintings were displayed in an exhibition titled "James Trevor River Tales along the Murray Darling 1894-1896" in the Royal Historical Society of Victoria; and in Bright, Mildura, Swan Hill, Shepparton and Wangaratta between 2001 and 2003 (Trinca, 2003, pp. 121,123). Mary's diary has been kept available at the State Library of Victoria (Trinca, 2003, p.1). John C Trinca's (2003) *The Incredible Trevors*, based on the life of Mary and James Trevor was easily available in 2012 at the National Library of Australia, Swan Hill Visitor Information Centre and Port Echuca Souvenir Shop, keeping the story of their trip alive.

4c. Mr & Mrs Elder, 13 year old daughter, another man and another woman, 1924.

In 1924, Mr & Mrs Elder, their 13 year old daughter, another man and woman, travelled from Mungindi to Waikerie in a row boat with an outboard motor attached, for an adventure.²¹ Elder spoke to the man who later accompanied him and they developed the idea of travelling on the Darling, believing that not many have done so before. They commenced their journey against advice received in Mungindi. Mr Elder and friend travelled to Mungindi from Sydney by train. The women joined them at Brewarrina. (1924, 'Through the Heart of Australia in a Rowing Boat').

The travellers received hospitality from river settlers and observed many birds including galahs, black cockatoos, yellow crested cockatoos, pelicans and plovers. The crew seem to have slept under the open sky. Mrs Elder and her daughter left at Tilpa due to her daughter's illness. Mrs Elder later rejoined them there. (1924, 'Through the Heart of Australia in a Rowing Boat').

²¹ They could not use the motor as the river was ridden with snags, and so they used oars to proceed on the Macintyre and Barwon (1924, 'Through the Heart of Australia in a Rowing Boat'). He mentioned that the motor was running poorly when they entered the Murray, so they might have continued using the oars to Waikerie.

4d. Nurse M.A Hunt, 1928.

In 1928, Nurse M.A Hunt²² paddled from Renmark to Murray Bridge in a canoe called *Sveeternget* which was constructed out of timber and iron (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage. Canoeing down the Murray'). She only managed to paddle "210" miles from Renmark to Murray Bridge due to poor weather conditions (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe down the River Murray'). For the rest of the journey she received lifts on motor boats (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe down the River Murray'). She spoke well of the fishermen she encountered and was able to, at some places along the river, stay for a few days at a time (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage. Canoeing down the Murray'). The *Barrier Miner* reported that "at Morgan she camped near the old river steamer Ellen, where she was visited by a large number of people some of whom appeared to be disreputable characters. A constable presented her with a small revolver, and she felt safer afterwards" (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe Down River Murray'). She intended to dispose of her canoe before she left for Adelaide (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage. Canoeing down the Murray').

4e. Miss Ida Philpot, Betty Daly, Ken Griggs, George Morcom and Bill (junior) Calaby, 1948-1949.

From 28 December 1948 to 3 January 1949, Miss Ida Philpot, 17 year-old Betty Daly, Ken Griggs, George Morcom and Bill (junior) Calaby, paddled from Morgan to Mannum in two canoes (Daly, 2001, p.1). Miss Daly was inspired to take up canoeing by a school story authored by Zane Gray about the Canadian Rockies (1948, '110 Mile Murray Trip Planned'). Betty would not have been able to join the party if Miss Philpot had not responded to an advertisement for a chaperone (Daly, 2001, p.1).

Philpot and Daly believed that they were the first European women to have canoed a long distance on the Murray (Daly, 2001, p.1), but they were incorrect as Nurse M.A Hunt had canoed approximately "210 miles" of the river in 1928 (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe Down River Murray') and in the nineteenth century Mary Trevor and Mrs Clarke were on the river with their husbands.

Daly enjoyed her holiday and felt dismal at the prospect of returning to city life: "After a taste of the open spaces, the bustle of city life seemed so inconsequential, so futile" (Daly, 2001, p.9). In her diary, which she donated to the State Library of South Australia in about

²² Sometimes referred to in newspaper articles as Mia Hunt (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage Canoeing down the Murray'; 1928, 'Lady Canoeist's Venture').

2001, she stated that she enjoyed her trip very much and had fond memories of the journey (Daly, 2001, pp.9-10).

In 1949 she and others journeyed on the Onkaparinga River and from Mannum to Murray Bridge (Daly, 2001, p.9).

4f. Jessie Bywater, Monica Barnes and Elsie Kopiesky, c.1948 (commenced).

In 1948 three nurses, Jessie Bywater, Monica Barnes and Elsie Kopiesky, launched their canoe at Albury to paddle down to Tocumwal on a supposedly 200 mile journey (1948, *Barrier Miner*). Newspapers did not report the outcome of their journey. This journey is included because it is the earliest reference found to an all-female group travelling on the river.

4g. Norma Wilkins, Russell Wilkins, George Blumer, Allan Tapsell, Peter Blackwell, Noel Cleland, and Bruce Gilmore, c.1949.

During the Christmas break c.1949, Norma Wilkins the only woman with a group of six men including her husband, paddled from Kings Bridge to Mitta Mitta along the Mitta Mitta River, a tributary of the Murray (Wilkins et al, 1950 republished 1982, pp.12, 13). They portaged the canoes several times before finally arriving at Mitta Mitta (Wilkins et al, 1950 republished 1982, pp.13, 14).

4h. Mr Alan Tapsell, Mr and Mrs Russell Wilkens²³, Miss Ann Stanford, Mr Howard Duncan and Mr George Blumer, c.1950.

In c.1950, Norma Wilkens, Ann Stafford, George Blumer, Howard Duncan and Alan Tapsell and Russell Wilkens paddled down part of the Tumut River from Tumut Ponds (Wilkens, 1951, p.3). Norma Wilkens participated in other pioneering journeys: “Norma Wilkens has canoed the Cox, Warragamba, Nepean, Murray, Williams, ‘Dilly, Tumut (pioneer trip) and Mitta (pioneer trip) with her husband, Russell” (ed.1951, in Wilkens, 1951, p.6). For more information about the journey on the Mitta Mitta, see 4g. The Tumut River journey was considered a pioneering journey as most canoeists start at Lobbs Hole which is downstream of Tumut Ponds (Wilkens, 1951; 1950, ‘Students Plan Canoe Trip’). Their journey was fraught with danger and hardship. Day one they travelled only 1 ½ miles from Tumut Ponds (Wilkens, 1951, pp.3-4). Norma wrote that the Tumut River in this section was lined with

²³Other articles refer to Mr or Mrs Wilkens as Russell and Norma Wilkins. It seems that there was a spelling mistake in the 1951 April issue of *Splashes* which said her name was Wilkens.

precipitous cliffs and loose rocks (Wilkins, 1951, p.4). She referred to the group as “bash artists” (Wilkins, 1951, p.4). “Bash artists” could be referring to people who “bush bash.” “Bush-bashing” is a colloquial Australian and New Zealand term describing travel in the bush with no track (Deverson, 2014). The second day they carried their gear and canoes over boulders and it rained for a long time (Wilkins, 1951, p.4). The rest of the day and the next was spent waiting for the rain to cease and the water level to decrease (Wilkins, 1951, p.4). The fourth day was again mostly spent carrying gear and canoes, except for about half a mile in the water, which ended once they approached a waterfall (Wilkins, 1951, p.4). Altogether they encountered at least four waterfalls, each causing them difficulty, “waterfalls over two feet high are usually regarded as dangerous” (Wilkins, 1951, p.5; 1951, ‘Shooting River Rapids Is Our Newest Sport Thrill’). “Another portage, around waterfalls, necessitated us leaving the river and hauling the canoes up the precipitous sides for 60 feet over a granite scree and down into the water again” (Wilkins, 1951, p.5).

Each day for the rest of the journey they continued portaging their gear and were in the canoes briefly (Wilkins, 1951, p.5). On the eighth day they encountered an even more dangerous waterfall (Wilkins, 1951, p.5). Not wanting to continue at such a slow, exhausting pace with not enough food, the men portaged the canoes up 50ft and left them there in the hopes of continuing another time (Wilkins, 1951, p.6). Day Nine they returned overland over a steep ridge and headed where they rightly guessed the road would be (Wilkins, 1951, p.6).

4i. Mr and Mrs Phillips, Miss Sue Graves and Mr Pat Edmondson, 1951.

In 1951, Mr and Mrs Phillips paddled 165 miles from Bathurst to Dubbo, accompanied by Miss Sue Graves and Mr Pat Edmondson until they reached Wellington (1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’). Their voyage was interrupted by rocks and waterfalls which forced them to portage (1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’). Mr and Mrs Phillips were members of the River Canoe Club of New South Wales and voyaged 49 of New South Wales’ rivers (1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’; 1951, ‘Canoe Party Arrives from Denman’).

4j. Bill and June Confoy, 1959.

In 1959, Bill and June Confoy paddled from Bourke to Goolwa for their honeymoon (1959, ‘Personal News Flashes’; June Confoy letter to the Mitchell Library). They wished to launch

at Cunnamulla, but could not as the Warrego was dry at the time (1959, 'Personal News Flashes'). In a letter from June Confoy written to the Mitchell Library from about December 1964, June wrote about how she and her husband paddled from Bourke to Goolwa in 52 days, claiming that no other man or woman had achieved the feat previously (June Confoy letter to the Mitchell Library).

4k. Leanne Jarchow, 2006.

In an effort to support and raise money for Melbourne's Alfred Hospital, which had assisted her family while her father was dying of cancer, in 2006 Leanne Jarchow paddled in a kayak from Lake Hume to Wellington (Williams, 2006, p.13). In the process \$25 000 was donated to the hospital (Williams, 2006, p.13).

Jarchow was one of the only women reported to have paddled the length of the Murray in a kayak:

“Goolwa Visitor Information Centre spokeswoman Nicole Perry said that according to the Inland Rivers National Marathon Register, fewer than 10 women had kayaked the length of the Murray” (Williams, 2006, p.13).

5. Inter-War and World War II Recreational Journeys 1920-1945

During the Inter-War period, before the commencement of World War II, recreational journeys were common, although there was a decline in the reporting of such journeys during World War II. There may have been more voyages during World War II, but as Australia was under direct threat of invasion, with enemies attacking and encroaching upon the nation and her neighbours, men might have been under intense pressure to enlist and not undertake recreational river journeys. During World War II, Japanese air crew attacked Darwin and a Japanese submarine attacked ships in Sydney Harbour (Haywood et al, 1999, p.108; c.2015, Japanese midget submarine attacks on Sydney, 1942 – Fact sheet 192). Before this, Japan defeated European powers in Thailand, French Indochina, Malaya and Singapore (Haywood et al, 1999, p.108). The Japanese also conquered the East Indies after the Dutch surrendered territory, and attacked Papua New Guinea to sever Australian communication in the region (Haywood et al, 1999, p.108). Once Singapore fell, Australian Prime Minister John Curtin thought that an attack on Australia was inevitable (Singapore 1942 – End of Empire, 2011). In a brave move to protect the country, Curtin withdrew 20,000 Australian troops heading overseas and in doing so incurred the wrath of Winston Churchill (Singapore 1942 – End of Empire, 2011). In April 1942 codebreakers informed Curtin and his War Conference that the

Japanese were not contemplating invasion (Stanley, 2008, p.158). But Curtin was still in doubt and could not inform the public without the Japanese knowing that the Allies had broken their code (Stanley, 2008, p.197). After the Battle of Midway, which occurred in June 1942, he realised that it was unlikely that Japan would invade Australia (Stanley, 2008, p.181). However, he did not publicly admit the improbability of invasion until 1943 (Stanley, 2008, p.197). These events and various restrictions imposed by the Manpower Directorate of 1942,²⁴ may have placed more pressure on Australian men to enlist, or to help the war effort on the home front. Recreational journeys may not have been a priority for most men eligible for the army.

Interestingly, Jack Robson, who paddled on the Tumut, Murrumbidgee and Murray in 1936 (see Part B 2.4e), enlisted upon the outbreak of World War II (1946, 'Tumut'). His journey might have given him confidence to enlist. All he endured during his voyage, and his persistence through adversity, must have proved to him his abilities.

A number of developments during the inter-war period appear to have contributed to the rise in canoeing. In 1935, a year after the national economy began to recover from the Great Depression, and four years before World War II, the River Canoe Club of New South Wales was founded (Chenoweth, 1949, p.3; Broomhill, 1978, p.14). Their members were experienced canoeists who composed maps with vital information for paddlers (Chenoweth, 1949, p.3). They covered approximately "90% of the canoeable rivers of NSW" (Chenoweth, 1949, p.3). They pioneered recreational canoeing by producing detailed maps—marking dangerous areas—which were composed to assist members and other individuals wanting to travel on the rivers (Phillips cited in 1938, 'The River Canoe Club of New South Wales'; Chenoweth, 1949, p.3).

The club published their yearly *Splashes* magazine which contained interesting and witty accounts of canoeists.²⁵ *Splashes* could easily have been a means of recruiting newcomers. The magazine also chronicled journeys on difficult rivers. Reports appeared of individuals on the very upper Murrumbidgee from Bredbo and Michelago to Burrinjuck Dam; the Cotter

²⁴ The Manpower Directorate of 1942 required all men and women over 16 years to register with the Directorate and be issued an identity card (Darian-Smith, 2013, p.74). This was to ensure that all men who could be employed in the production of war materials and other essential goods and services, were made to do such activities (McKinlay, 1985, p.179) although it also affected women's employment (Darian Smith, 1996, pp.63, 64) Officers from the Directorate, would visit bars and racecourses to make sure no one was avoiding war work (Darian-Smith, 1996, p.63). This might have made it difficult for citizens to undertake long distance journeys on the rivers.

²⁵ This magazine was originally published yearly, but became a bi-monthly publication after the 1930s (n.d., 'Splashes : the magazine of the River Canoe Club of N.S.W- Version details - Trove).

River and remote sections of the Tumut River, including Talbingo (Phillips, 1951, pp.11-13; 1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', pp.10-11; Jones, 1950, p.12; Wilkens, 1951, pp. 3-6).

Long distance travel endured long after militarism waned. Individuals were adventurous and keen to escape the banality of the cities and retreat to the freedom of the outdoors (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10). They were drawn to natural wonders such as sunshine, fresh air, stars, physical activity and drifting downstream (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10).

Canoeists continued to paddle the rivers to emulate explorers even though, by the end of World War I, imperial ideals of masculinity had lost much of their influence. However, even from a non-imperialist perspective, it is easy to understand why canoeists and kayakers still wanted to imitate explorers.

One of the best, but lesser known, examples of Sturt's legacy was Michael Coughlan's voyage in 1934-1935. Michael Coughlan who paddled down the Tumut and Murrumbidgee Rivers in 1934-1935 wrote:

“The brightest part of my school-day history was associated with December 5, 1829,²⁶ for on that date Charles Sturt and his companions set out on a memorable voyage down the Murrumbidgee by boat. This appeared to be too exciting and human to be history, and a childhood reading of the adventurous Sturt gave life to a dream which became an ambition as the years passed on—to follow Sturt's century-old wake” (Coughlan, 1935).

It is quite apparent that Sturt's journey continued to resonate with individuals over 100 years after he completed his expedition, and appealed even to those not interested in history.

Such travelling would be “hard core” in modern circumstances, where information for river travel is extremely easier to find, including in commercially available river charts, and the enormous amount of information that is available on the internet.

Travellers would have found it useful to have knowledge in several different areas. For example, they needed to know which type of craft would be most suitable. Canoes were made for different types of canoeing (Richards & Wade, 1981, p.13). Length dictates how easy it is to keep the craft moving straight, the longer it was the easier it would be to keep straight, but

²⁶ Ironically, and perhaps unhelpful to this thesis, please note that Sturt and his companions started their descent on the Murrumbidgee on 7 January 1830 not December 5 1829 (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.211-213; Cumpston, 1951, p.38). On December 5 1829 Sturt's expedition would have still been travelling along the river (Sturt, 1833 republished online in 2001, pp.190-196).

it would be more difficult to turn (Richards & Wade, 1981, p.13). Some individuals who wanted to, could save money by constructing their own canoes (Finlay, 1953). In c.1953 such individuals could complete their craft in two weeks, with a cost of £50 including the price of “fully equipping it” (Finlay, 1953). Canoe designs appeared in magazines such as *Outing* and *Outdoor Life* as early as approximately 1919, and in *Popular Science* in approximately 1945 (Dunphy cited in 1986, Thompson, p.131; Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.210). The ability to use a compass and possessing good map reading skills could make a difference to canoeists. For example in determining which river arm is a side creek and which is the river; or if they had to abandon their craft due to perilous weather and/or water conditions and had to travel to the nearest town on foot, maybe through dense bushland. Paddling and rowing are risky and to pioneer new routes requires skills in several different areas.

As the rivers were mapped and settlement expanded in the basin, canoeing became somewhat less risky as there were more settlers nearby who could offer assistance if anything went wrong. Individuals craving adventure were perhaps tempted to get as close to emulating explorers as they could, by choosing the riskiest rivers or stretch of rivers they could find. As adventure usually contains risk, the riskier the journey the more like explorers the canoeists could be.

For example see Myles Dunphy and Roy Davies, and C. G. Arden and W. Duke. Those who paddled on rivers previously un-paddled, are considered pioneers (Wilkins, 1951). Canoeists such as Myles Dunphy and Roy Davies were inspired to paddle the length of the Murray from Albury to the Murray Mouth in the belief that they might be the first to do so (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.130).

Another trend that possibly contributed to the popularity of canoeing is the advancement in canoe construction. Not long before World War I a new type of canoe was constructed (Richards & Wade, 1981, p.11). In Germany, Klepper built the folding canvas canoe, which could be disassembled and made to fit into two rucksacks, an alternative to the large and heavy Rob Roy (Richards & Wade, 1981, p.11) which it appears, judging by illustrations in *A Thousand Miles in the Rob Roy Canoe*, could only be lifted in one piece. References to a folding canoe were not found in any of the articles describing canoe journeys on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin. However, a “collapsible” canvas canoe was used by C.G. Arden and W. Duke in 1938 (see 51).

Journals and newspaper stories from the other river travellers noted below reveal that it was possible to have adventures on the rivers in chilly winter conditions over 100 years ago. Their stories reveal changes in river conditions since the nineteenth century. For example, the now scarce and small Murray cod was once a large, prestigious and populous river predator. Also there were fewer livelihoods and the survival of many depended on reasonable river flow for their subsistence. There used to be a time when it was not necessary to develop sanctuaries, introduce native species extinct to local areas, or the struggle to keep Murray cod in existence.

At least 15 journeys were reported during the inter-war period.

5a. Myles Dunphy and Roy Davies [planned journey]²⁷

In 1919, Myles Dunphy believed that he and his friend Roy Davies (not Roy Rudder) would be the first that he knew of to canoe the length of the Murray River from Albury to the Murray Mouth (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.130). Dunphy found inspiration in *The River Rovers* and *King's Caravan*, books by E.J Brady.(Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.129; 'Webb, John B. Brady, Edwin James (1869-1952)'). *The River Rovers* detailed E.J Brady's and Jim Jones' journey in a motor boat from Albury to Adelaide (Brady, c.1911, pp.7-9). Brady also believed that they would be the first to travel the length of the river in a motor boat (see Brady, c.1911, p.8). *King's Caravan* related their journey "across Australia in a wagon" (National Library of Australia online catalogue).

Dunphy and Davies worked extra hard for a year to save money (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.130). Dunphy studied canoe designs from *Outing* and *Outdoor Life* magazines (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.131). He hoped to "walk down the South Coast of New South Wales into Victoria make it run into 2 months" (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.131). According to Meredith's (1999) *Myles and Milo*, Dunphy received news that his mother was ill and he hastened home arriving a day after his mother was buried (p.78). Later he decided not to canoe the Murray but to canoe the "lakes and rivers of New South Wales North of Newcastle and on the lower New South Wales Coast" (Meredith, 1999, p.79). This contradicts what Gowers wrote for the Myles Dunphy entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography (Gowers, Richard, 'Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985)'). According to Gowers,

²⁷ This entry is included because the Australian Dictionary of Biography, an otherwise very authoritative source, stated that Myles Dunphy and Roy Rudder paddled the Murray. As my research strongly suggests that this was not the case, this entry will explain why the author of this thesis thought the journey did not happen.

Myles Dunphy and Roy Rudder canoed the Murray River in 1920 (Gowers, Richard, 'Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985)'). All other evidence suggests that Dunphy and Davies had planned to canoe the river and came close to doing so, but Dunphy changed his mind after his mother died (Meredith, 1999, p.79).

I am further convinced that Myles Dunphy did not paddle the Murray as Myles Dunphy's biographical cuttings, collected by the National Library of Australia, do not seem to mention anything about Dunphy paddling the Murray (Glascott, 1985, p.10; Mosley, 1987, p.26). This could be because his conservation legacy might outshine any such trip that he made.

Incidentally, in Dunphy's compiled writings there is an addendum about his trips, none of which mention the Murray around the time he had planned to paddle it (Thompson, 1986, pp.158-162).

5b. Sil Rohu & Bertram Duckworth, 1919-1920.

From 24 December 1919 to 7 January 1920, Sil Rohu and Bertram Duckworth paddled and swam due to various mishaps, from Michelago to the "Yass arm of the river" (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', pp.10-11). Rohu had persuaded Duckworth to accompany him describing the carefree existence of drifting downstream, sustaining themselves on duck and cod, being in the sunshine and falling asleep watching the stars (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10).

Their journey consisted of frequently hauling the craft over large stones, capsizing, accidentally getting rid of a paddle and boots, Duckworth falling out of the canoe to the amusement and sometimes apathy of Rohu (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', pp.10, 11). The river was a chain of "waterholes... rapids and waterfalls" (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10).

The story was told in a cartoon-like manner and the illustrations in *Splashes* adds to the effect.

5c. "Young Lochinvar" (an 18 year old boy) with an 18 year old girl, 1927.

In 1927 "Young Lochinvar" (an 18 year old boy) accompanied by an 18 year old girl, travelled in a row boat from Alexandra to Seymour (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure'). The *Alexandra and Yea Standard* introduced and quoted the report from the *Age* (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure'). The *Alexandra and Yea Standard* stated that the *Age* journalist embellished parts of the story: and that the boat was not transported to Alexandra by rail (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure'). It would be very interesting to know who the authors were.

“Young Lochinvar” was a reference to Sir Walter Scott’s poem about a knight who claims his sweetheart and takes her away from her betrothed (Delahunty & Dignen, 2010 online). Once at Seymour, the girl tried to withdraw funds, the bank notified her parents in Melbourne who swiftly took her home (1927, ‘An Amazing Adventure’). Her companion intended to continue (1927, ‘An Amazing Adventure’).

5d. J.M. Thompson and F. Robertson, c.1929.

In c.1929, J.M. Thompson and F. Robertson paddled from Tocumwal to Swan Hill (Thompson, 1929; FTR, 1929). They intended to reach Murray Bridge but resolved to try another time when the river was more suitable (Thompson, 1929). They transported themselves and their canoes from Sydney to their starting point, by train (1929, ‘Down the Murray in Canoes. Adventures of Two Young Sydney Men’). They brought rifles, fishing lines and a tent (1929, ‘Down the Murray in Canoes. Adventures of Two Young Sydney Men’), not unlike many other adventurers of this era. The Mitchell Library asked for photographs of the river and the men’s diaries, as the Library owned little “descriptive literature concerning the river and its environs” (1929, ‘Down the Murray in Canoes. Adventures of Two Young Sydney Men’). There does not appear to be any reference to the two men submitting images or river descriptions to the Library. They paddled against strong winds and in one trouble spot on a current speeding at 12 knots (which is approximately 22.2km per hour) through tree-strewn river (1929, ‘Down the Murray in Canoes. Adventures of Two Young Sydney Men’). The only alternative was to portage the canoes through rough grounds for over a kilometre and ascend a nearly 4m high bank (1929, ‘Down the Murray in Canoes. Adventures of Two Young Sydney Men’; Thompson, 1929). Robertson’s canoe became stuck and filled with water before the current dislodged the craft and he traversed the trouble spot (Thompson, 1929). They portaged their craft and equipment around the Torrumbarry Lock as the river level was too low to allow them across (Thompson, 1929). They were exposed to dust storms, and low flow near Swan Hill which caused them to drag the canoes across the shoals (Thompson, 1929). They terminated the journey in the hope of continuing when the river was more suitable (Thompson, 1929).

5e. Stanley Rose, 1931.

In 1931, Englishman Stanley Rose travelled with a magpie “on the Namoi, Barwon, Darling and Murray Rivers”; the Namoi and Barwon rivers are tributaries of the Darling (1932, ‘Touring Country with Canoe’; 1933, ‘World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing’). He mostly

ate fish and game (1932, 'Touring Country with Canoe'). He was pleased with the hospitality and kindness of those he met during his adventure (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing'). He also travelled to Melbourne, Launceston, Albury, Canberra, Sydney and Yass, possibly on foot and/or steamer (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing'). According to the *Examiner* "He pushed his canoe on wheels when water facilities were not available" (1932, 'Long Canoe Tour').

5f. J.D. Cusick and another, 1933-1934.

In late December 1933 until about late January 1934, J.D. Cusick and another paddled from "Balls Platform... about 10 river miles above Gundagai" to Hay (Cusick, 1938, pp.14, 29). He undertook the journey because he admired Sturt and wished to trace part of his route (Cusick, 1938, p.14). Cusick and his friend caught rabbits and fish to eat (Cusick, 1938, p.15). He commented on the many white cockatoos (Cusick, 1938, p.15). From Hay, the two paddlers and the canoe took the train home (Cusick, 1938, p.29).

5g. Rob Webster and Ron Minter, 1934.

In 1934, Rob Webster and Ron Minter travelled in a dinghy called *Krazy Kate* from Brisbane to Mannum (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). The men left Brisbane in the *Krazy Kate*, an unpredictable dinghy, and journeyed upstream on the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers to Ipswich (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). From Ipswich they took a train to Dalby (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). About 10km from Dalby (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate') they continued on the Condamine. It is a little confusing which river they travelled on next, but they were also on the Darling and Murray Rivers (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). A steamer towed them for two days and two nights from lock 6 on the Murray (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). It is uncertain how far they were towed. Because of boredom, the difficulties travelling further in the boat to Adelaide and Webster's concern for his family due to his father's death, they sold their craft in Mannum and made their way to Adelaide, wrote articles about their journey and used the cash to return home (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate').

They embarked to escape restrictions imposed by the Great Depression (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). Originally, they intended to reach the New Guinea goldfields but, cycling north was more strenuous than they expected (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). They

decided to go downhill instead (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate'). They believed rowing downstream on the Darling would make for a far more relaxing journey (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate').

According to *The Sydney Morning Herald* (1934) the journey was 3500 miles long and thought to be, it did not state by who, the "longest inland boat journey made in Australia" (1934, 'Remarkable Journey').

5h. Michael Coughlan and H. Roarty, 1934-1935.

In 1934, during their vacation, Michael Coughlan and H Roarty paddled from Tumut to Hay (Coughlan, 1935). Coughlan was inspired from a young age, from reading Sturt's voyage on the Murrumbidgee and Murray, to paddle on the river (Coughlan, 1935). As well as trying to emulate Sturt, they decided to start on the Tumut due to the picturesque landscape and so they could study the effects of the floods and the planned construction of the Darbalara Dam (Coughlan, 1935). Their provisions included rifles, a camera, cooking equipment, compass, scientific instruments and stationery (possibly editors remarks in Coughlan, 1935). Coughlan wrote a report for the *Tumut and Adelong Times* discussing the effects of willows planted along the river, the fish in the Murrumbidgee, whalers and the reaction to the proposed dam (Coughlan, 1935).

Willows were planted along the Tumut to stop it deviating from its course, and therefore prevent flooding of properties (Coughlan, 1935). Consequently, the willows wrought havoc on erosion processes that benefit river banks (Coughlan, 1935).

Initially Coughlan opposed the building of the dam as it would flood usable arable land; however, he could see the advantages of the dam for Murrumbidgee navigation (Coughlan, 1935). As their craft progressed to the Murrumbidgee the canoe was almost submerged several times (Coughlan, 1935). The townspeople of Gundagai and Wagga were enthusiastic about the dam as it would lessen the damage from devastating floods (Coughlan, 1935).

Fishing was restricted to 20 nets per person and that could only be used over a stretch of 5 to 10 miles (Coughlan, 1935). The most common fish caught were cod, bream and perch (Coughlan, 1935). They were mostly sold to river side towns or Sydney (Coughlan, 1935).

5i. Braemer (John Fairfax) and Stephen, c.1935.

In c.1935 Braemar and Stephen paddled on the Murrumbidgee from Gundagai to Wagga (Braemar, 1935, p.6). They camped and hunted (Braemar, 1935, p.7). Braemar made references to Sturt (Braemar, 1935, p.7). He also mentioned the war in Ethiopia, so the voyage is likely to have occurred in 1935 (for information about the war in Ethiopia see Marcus, 1994, pp.142-143). The two men were asked to have tea with some people in Wantabadgery (Braemar, 1935, p.8). They received a lift in a car from Wagga (Braemar, 1935, p.9).

5j. A. A. Hiscock and others, 1935.

In December 1935, A. A. Hiscock and others, voyaged in two 12 foot canoes from Albury to Echuca (Hiscock, 1936, pp.26-29). They transported their craft by rail ahead of them (Hiscock, 1936, p.26). Hiscock remarked on the birds: “Generally speaking the river is broad and the water pleasantly soft, cool and clear. Ducks, swans and various other types of water fowls abound...” (Hiscock, 1936, p.27).

5k. “Admiral”, “Captain” and “Bos’n””, c.1936.

In c.1936 “Admiral”, “Captain” and “Bos’n” paddled a canoe named the *Queen Mary* (1936, ‘The Tumut River’, p.18). The author wrote in the same style as John Fairfax. For that reason, one of the three men was probably Fairfax. He described the beauty of the Tumut River and included pictures (1936, ‘The Tumut River’, pp.18-21). They camped along the river bank and hunted (1936, ‘The Tumut River’, p.19). They certainly had a leisurely trip. The “Admiral” left early but the others continued on (1936, ‘The Tumut River’, p.20). The author recommended the journey stating: “There’s no better way to spend a holiday” (1936, ‘The Tumut River’, p.20).

5l. C.G. Arden and W. Duke, 1938.

In 1938, C.G. Arden and W. Duke of Kew Victoria, paddled from Omeo, located along the Mitta Mitta River, to Albury in a collapsible canvas canoe made by one of the men (1938, ‘River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe’; 1938, ‘Exploring By Canoe Young Men Leave for Omeo’). This was possibly the first time that the river was plied “for such a distance” (1938, ‘River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe’). Their journey was made through shallow rapids (1938, ‘River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe’). They intended to shoot game and “live off the country” (1938, ‘Exploring By Canoe Young Men Leave for Omeo’). They were determined to complete their journey, surviving three days without food, and pulling the craft through

shallow water, portaging “and [making] big detours up to 10 miles” (see 1938, ‘River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe’). They ran out of food quickly and ate rabbits, blackberries and damper (1938, ‘River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe’).

5m. Harold Lade & Ken Baynes, c.1939.

The River Canoe Club of New South Wales magazine claimed that Harold Lade and Ken Baynes were the first to paddle from Towong to Albury (1939, ‘Club Doings’, p.34). Their voyage seemed to be enjoyable. They competed with a black swan down the rapids and got up close to platypuses (H.L, 1939, pp.16, 17).

5n. Howard Done and friend, c.1939.

The River Canoe Club of New South Wales magazine claimed that Howard Done and a friend paddled from Inverell to Wallangra on the Macintyre (1939, ‘Club Doings’, p.34). Floods prevented them from going further (1939, ‘Club Doings’, p.34).

5o. Jack Williams and friends, c.1939.

The River Canoe Club of New South Wales magazine claimed that “Jack Williams and friends had a difficult trip on the Upper Murrumbidgee, from Bredbo to Burrenjack [sic]” (1939, ‘Club Doings’, p.34).

5p. John Fairfax “The Captain” and Archer Russell “The Explorer”, c.1940.

In c.1940, John Fairfax “The Captain” and Archer Russell “The Explorer” paddled on the Upper Murray from Khancoban to Howlong (Fairfax, 1948, p.115). Russell noted that the journey was “where beauty and adventure meet” (Russell, 1940).

5q. Keith Line, John Batty, Don, Norm and Barney, 1940.

In 1940 Sydney residents Keith Line, John Batty, Don, Norm and Barney paddled from Towong to Albury in two canoes (“Anon”, 1951, pp. 16-21). This seems to have been a recreational journey with various mishaps.

6. Post War Recreational Journeys 1946-2012

Post World War II there was a rise in the reportage of recreational journeys. The increase in recreational journeys was probably due to a number of trends some of which continued from previous periods. First: often paddlers took to the rivers to feel like a pioneer, that sometimes meant escaping civilisation and reconnecting with wilderness areas (1963, ‘2,200 Miles By

River Long Row by Buckskin Explorer'; Olney, 2011). Second: the development of more practical lighter weight canoes, kayaks and various fixtures made paddling more ergonomic and comfortable. Innovations in canoe manufacturing also meant that canoes and kayaks were made to be more easily repaired and cost less. Third: there was an increase in the number and variety of long distance races such as the Murray Marathon. Fourth: there was an urge to break speed and distance records. Fifth: there was a rise in fundraising journeys. Sixth: re-enactments of explorer's journeys and attempts to emulate them by travelling to remote locations, became a popular past time. Finally: another theme is canoeing for physically and/or mentally challenged that emerged in the late twentieth century.

The evidence presented clearly suggests that people enjoyed journeying on the rivers because paddling on the rivers could be viewed as a retreat from normal everyday life. It provided an adrenalin rush (1951, 'Shooting River Rapids Is Our Newest Sport Thrill') but also peace and quiet with nothing but birds chirping and squawking (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.213). The rivers and their surrounds present an environment in which humans thrived for many generations, before the advent of modern civilisation, and when humans lived without cities (Davis, 1978, p.98). This positive experience is a reminder that it is possible to live a simpler life.

On a spiritual and biological level there could be a need to visit places like the Murray (Davis, 1978, p.98). For 1-2 million years *Homo sapiens* and their ancestral species, thrived by keenly observing the environment, and relying almost solely on physical strength to survive (Boyden in Davis, 1978, p.98). In the last 10,000 years, however, with the development of agriculture and machines, most humans have moved away from the hunter-gatherer existence to urban and or city living (Davis, 1978, p.99). This has, in some ways, made their lives easier but their bodies have not necessarily adapted properly so that it may be that, only by being in places away from cities and being for a time in untouched land, that some humans can reach their spiritual and physical potential (Davis, 1978, pp.99, 101). In their river journeys, travellers became the masters of their own destiny and not dependent on the rituals of modern life. Expeditions on the river may connect travellers to a deep part of their cultural heritage by retreating from the bustle of the cities. They must survive on minimal equipment albeit with modern technological assistance. It seems that many of the individuals referred to in this thesis enjoyed escaping the city for a canoeing holiday. Betty Daly for example, who paddled in 1948-1949, explicitly mentioned in her diary that: "We had a marvellous time, and were reluctant to return to the urbane way of life" (Daly, c.2001,

p.9, see Part C 4e). Other reports also suggest that paddling on the river was as much a spiritual journey as it was a physical one (see Post War Recreational Journeys 6.1a).

Adventure, it might have been thought, had made previous generations strong and more resilient and was responsible for the “opening up” of Australian routes and landscapes. The vitality of previous generations was perhaps evident in their zeal for adventures, and therefore some people believed that in the present times, only someone from the bush—a ‘real’ Australian—would be capable of defending Australia. There was a fear that living in the cities was weakening the youth (Crotty, 2001, p.163), a thought that was common during the height of imperialism in Australia and shared in North America (Newberry, 2003, p.211; for information on the imperialist’s fear that city living was weakening men, see Crotty, 2001, p.163). In contrast to this line of thought, paddlers in the 1950s attempted to imitate exploratory conditions by paddling in remote and difficult to access regions (see 4g). In the early 1950s pioneering in the world of canoeing was risking life and craft to paddle on dangerous stretches of river (1951, ‘Shooting River Rapids Is Our Newest Sport Thrill’). Paddy Pallin, one of the founders of the River Canoe Club of New South Wales, stated in *The Sydney Morning Herald* in 1951, that the spirit of adventure and pioneering was still evident in the next generation who eagerly sought dangerous rivers to paddle (1951, ‘Shooting River Rapids Is Our Newest Sport Thrill’).

“As long as our young men and women are eager to accept hard work and bodily risk by taking their frail little canoes into the really fierce and dangerous stretches of our rock-strewn rivers we have no reason to doubt the quality of their spirit. The fire of adventure burns as brightly as ever it did in the days of their pioneers.”

The aspiration to paddle rivers that had not been navigated before or were thought to be not yet navigated, or to paddle stretches that had never been plied before, is evident throughout and beyond this period.

After the 1950s canoeing the rivers became easier due to advances in manufacturing and possibly because of widespread car ownership. In the 1950s manufacturers constructed canoes made from fibre glass and PVCs, which reduced consumer costs and made the craft more durable and more easily fixed (Richards & Wade, 1981, p.12). Interestingly, journeys occurring after the 1950s have less information about the make and model of the canoes and kayaks used, which makes it difficult to determine what the canoes and kayaks were actually made out of. There appeared to be have been three journeys made in aluminium canoes, one

made in an aluminium surfboat, and two made in fibre glass canoes (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time'; Wilson, P, 2008, 'Part 5: The Conquerors'; IRNMR Register, entry 1988/1; 1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip'; IRNMR, entry 1973/1).

Also, by the 1950s cars were a standard item for Australian households (Sobocinska & White, c.2013, p.479), which meant it was easier for travellers who did not have cars or who needed a lift back to their vehicle, to hitchhike with their canoes. Hitchhiking according to the *Argus* in 1953, was common (Finlay, 1953). Also, canoeists who had cars could visit remote points on the rivers inaccessible to buses and trains. They were also better able to control when and where they paddled as they no longer had to rely solely on public transport. The spirit of risk taking and adventure was still alive and evident in 1951 with risk takers taking to the river on "holiday weekends" in places that used to be known only to bushwalkers (1951, 'Shooting River Rapids is Our Newest Sport Thrill').

From the 1950s planning was still required but was made somewhat easier by the fact that there was a lot more information available, especially in magazines, about the different sections of the rivers and paddling safely. Those paddling the length of the river and attempting to break records still needed to do a lot of planning and logistical preparations to organise their journeys. The paddlers still had to master skills such as manoeuvring around tight corners and around rocks, avoiding snags and keeping steady in rapids.

Canoeing is a time consuming, but often enjoyable activity, but is particularly attractive to "dare-devils". In c.1953 a man who was canoeing down the Goulburn River survived with only his hat and clothes intact (Finlay, 1953). His craft and provisions were decimated in the rapids (Finlay, 1953). In some regions, canoeing is the only way to access various places, due to geographic qualities that make it difficult for cars, trains and walkers to enter (Finlay, 1953).

It can be understood from the dare-devils that it was a good idea for paddlers to be good swimmers. In the nineteenth century reports of drownings were common (A search on Trove digitised newspapers: drowning Murray limited to 1800-01-01 to 1899-12-31). Good reflexes, awareness, good hand-eye coordination and the ability to make quick judgements are necessary for canoeing especially in rapids and white water canoeing. Physical strength and balance are required to carry heavy craft over rocks and around shallows and to pull the canoes in the water.

According to boat, fishing and camping enthusiasts, those who paddle on Lake Alexandrina and try to cross the Murray Mouth, may have to contend with heavy swells, due to fast winds that create large waves on the shallow lake (n.d, Milang; c.2009, 'Murray Lakes geography'). Strong winds sometimes blow on the Upper Murray and across the Hume Dam (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org – Day 40: 1266 marker to Boundary Bend (1200 marker); Russell, 1941).

In addition, canoeing can be dangerous during floods, and therefore it is not advisable to paddle during such times (1981, 'Notes on Paddling Flooded Rivers', p.13). During floods, water can travel at speeds of 7 meters per second, or 25.2km per hour, and due to changes in the river's course, it is hard to locate oneself and paddling into fences and long thick submerged branches is a common hazard (1981, 'Notes on Paddling Flooded Rivers', p.13). The stream is usually opaque from soil carried away in the rain (1981, 'Notes on Paddling Flooded Rivers', p.13).

During the second half of the twentieth century there was an increase in the number and variety of long distance canoe races. Short distance rowing races had often been held on the Murray during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for example the Interstate Eight Oar Rowing & Sculling Championships of the Commonwealth of Australia held on the Murray River at Murray Bridge in 1937 (see n.d, Souvenir Programme Eight Oar Rowing & Sculling Championships of the Commonwealth of Australia, issued by the S.A Rowing Association Inc., available at SLSA). Also, the Echuca Historical Society Museum possessed several black and white photographs of the Echuca Rowing Club, one image of which was shot in c.1890, which suggests that there might have been regular races held at that time on that part of the Murray. Then in 1969, the famous long distance race, the 400km Murray Marathon canoe race from Yarrawonga Weir to Swan Hill, was first held (Thornthwaite, 1993). This race was initially held to raise money for the Red Cross, but the YMCA later became the sponsor (Thornthwaite, 1993; c.2015, YMCA Murray Marathon 25th – 29th November). In the late 1960s and afterwards it became increasingly difficult to pioneer journeys, but to compete in a long distance endurance event and possibly beat the fastest speed ever recorded in the event, might be considered simply another way of achieving a pioneering feat. Participants could achieve something worthwhile by winning the race, although even completing the 400km is a worthy achievement in and of itself. In some ways it would have been safer to compete in the race than to undertake pioneering journeys because support crews and individuals trained in first aid were ready to give assistance during the race (see Rizzoli, 1981, pp.122, 123). Interestingly, there were individuals who competed in the Murray

Marathon before training for and testing themselves for their record breaking attempt. For example Ray Fisher and Ray Asmus who broke the world long distance canoeing record on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin (see 6.2b) in 1979 (1979, 'Slalom and Down-river Events April 7, 8.').

There have been other long distance endurance events, but they were often shorter than the Murray Marathon. There was a 275km rowing match on the Murray in South Australia, and the Goulburn Classic, a 160km “two day [paddling] race from Thornton to Micheltown Winery”, which commenced prior to 1980 (1980, ‘Goulburn 100 Mile Race’, *The Paddler*, vol.29, p.28; 1980, ‘An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray’). Long distance races differ in length from 10km to 275km (Adair, 1994, p.187). In 1989, at least 11 surfboats competed in the Commonwealth Bank Outback Surf Boat race from Brewarrina to Bourke (1989, ‘Boost for Bulli from Brewarrina to Bourke’).

A large number of participants compete in such races each year.

A different type of event was held when, in 1980 and 1981 the Victorian Board of Canoe Education conducted a canoeing training course for the physically and/or mentally challenged (Prior, 1981, p.1).

Post war long distance paddlers, especially those from beyond the 1950s, on the Murray and Murrumbidgee, continue to admire Sturt, and feel part of a tradition of canoeists and rowers who have paddled on the same river, although most do not trace his exact route. Paddling on the rivers and comparing it to Sturt’s account and experience, still captures the imagination of some of those who paddle on the river, and they attempt to recreate elements of that experience, even those who paddle for recreation and under less intense circumstances. They may not discover something that is new, but it is new to them. Some paddlers want to physically challenge themselves by travelling very long distances on the same river (for example see 6.2f, 6.4f). They can see some of what Sturt saw but interstate, regional and international travellers discover for themselves a different environment and new challenges. The river still presents an escape from urban life.

The knowledge that they might not be able to discover something new, might be the reason so many individuals in recent times have attempted to break speed and distance records. Instead of pioneering new routes and spreading knowledge of the landscape, which has already been achieved, they have pioneered new human achievements by paddling faster or longer distances than anyone before, and in different types of craft. Record breaking journeys

require careful planning, intellect, logistics and determination—at least one record attempter paddled day *and* night to fulfil his goal (see Bolland, n.d, p.41).

Being the first to achieve something great is always exceptional, including in the sports of canoeing and kayaking which require physical prowess, endurance, dedication, resilience, stamina and perseverance.

In the case of Ron Bath in 1981 and 1986, canoeing presented opportunities and extra challenges as he needed crutches to move on land. Ron Bath, who became a paraplegic due to surgery on a tumour in his childhood, found canoeing empowering because his arms were very strong arguably his arm strength was stronger than most (Sheppard, 1984, p.26). While he could not walk without the aid of crutches, he was able to paddle faster than most and broke the world record for the fastest canoe journey down the Mississippi River, a record that was previously set by two people paddling in a double canoe (Bath in Sheppard, 1984, p.32)! Bath's achievements had a profound effect on him--he disproved the view of a relative that his paraplegia would mean his life would be meaningless (Bath in Sheppard, 1984, p.32). By paddling he was able to become a master of his own destiny, and he was provided an avenue he could use to compete with and relate to others, almost as if he were more physically able (Sheppard, 1984, p.28). He needed a support crew, but so have others who have made long distance journeys and attempted to break records (1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray,' p.3; Olney, 2011). Bath was possibly the first person to paddle upstream on the Murray from the Murray Mouth. Plying the rivers must have been life affirming for him because, instead of adding difficulties, it gave him something that he was naturally good at. Although swimming is a useful skill and some voyagers would need to wade in the water to push their craft through difficult stretches of rivers, life jackets are used to prevent drowning even by the non-disabled, possibly ensuring the safety of those who cannot use their legs. Canoeing, whether in long distance solo journeys or in the Murray Marathon, (which he competed in a couple of times) seems to have added to his quality of life. He could be considered a pioneer. Canoeing played to his strengths, and was a way of levelling the playing field between him and non-paraplegics. Canoeing may not be suitable for all paraplegics, as circumstances are bound to differ between them, but as Bath showed, it is possible under the right circumstances for paraplegics to find joy, some independence and achieve remarkable goals by canoeing.

Paddlers and rowers might have been inspired by explorers and previous generations of settlers. Explorers and colonial settlers were capable of subsisting on the rivers, living in less than comfortable dwellings and surviving without twenty first century technology. There were no motor vehicles to deliver them closer to the river, they relied on horses, bullocks, wagons and their own strength. Their paths were often boggy, the wheels on the carts would sink into the soil, meaning that horses did not always speed the progress of their journey. For twenty-first century travellers, forsaking modern comforts and communications, while staying in remote areas, may be how they retain a sense of adventure. There are other challenges which also add to their sense of adventure. For example, venomous snakes and spiders, not to mention white water rapids, rocks and snags continue to exist even in the twenty-first century. Snakes do not seem to be as common in the region as they once were, but in the early 1990s (Bolland, n.d, p.42), in 2010 (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org – Day 25: Cobram to Somewhere in Barmah State Forest) and in 2014, snakes were observed swimming in the Murray or in the grass near the banks. In addition, even with the possession of detailed maps, it is still possible to get lost, especially if the stream varies from year to year. Floods cause new creeks and billabongs to develop, ensuring that maps are harder to follow.

In some instances, Sturt and Oxley persevered in environments that continue to challenge modern day paddlers. For example, a 1984 article reporting on the *Sydney Morning Herald's* Peter Byrne's and Malcolm Brown's journey on the Macquarie, recorded that travellers were still becoming lost in the Macquarie Marshes (1984, 'A Journey of rediscovery on the Macquarie'). Duck Swamp in the Macquarie Marshes was possibly the furthest Oxley's party reached in boats on the Macquarie (Whitehead, 2005, p.135). Explorers' achievements were remarkable and are still remarkable even in modern times when assistance is more readily available to rowers and paddlers.

As the twentieth and twenty first centuries progressed, some rowers and paddlers started their journeys further up the Darling River and its northern tributaries, while others started their endeavours as close to the Murray source as they could. In some instances this involves hiking close to the source and using lidos in the very uppermost section (see Moody, n.d). Rapids of grades 3 and 4 are located near Tom Groggin, which makes paddling them very dangerous and inadvisable for solo canoeists and kayakers (Bolland, n.d, p.38). The Murray source is remote, bordered by precipitous cliffs and dense scrub (Castrission, 2010, p.19). To walk or even hike in that region is challenging and adventurous and not many have attempted

to do so. In the 1970s, maps showed the start of the Murray as Bringenbrong Bridge, which explains why many who have claimed to travel the length of the river, started from that location (Moody, n.d). The source of the Murray to the Bridge was called the Indi River (Moody, n.d).

To a modern day paddler, explorers' achievements were also significant due to their rudimentary technology: their lack of telecommunications, global positioning systems, locator beacons, and in the use of wooden craft. Explorers' triumphs, attempts and perseverance in difficult circumstances have commanded respect and admiration from generations of paddlers that came after them.

Sturt's expedition was the first time that Europeans travelled long distances on the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers; they were the first Europeans to travel almost the entire length of the Murray downstream *and* upstream, as well as the Murrumbidgee. Nearly 200 years later it is difficult to experience an undiscovered Australian wilderness, and to be in areas so far removed from European civilisation, customs and communications. Nonetheless, journeys have been made in remote sections of the Darling and on the Murray. Contact with civilisation is still difficult to maintain in some regions despite mobile phones (see Williams, c.2006, pp.12, 16, 17, 61). However, technology has advanced so that there are some GPS (Global Positioning System) devices which use satellite technology, and could be used to send messages to emergency services when there is no mobile phone reception.²⁸

Most journeys during the late twentieth century seem to have been undertaken by men. The lack of women or reports of women undertaking long distance journeys, might in part be the legacy of oppressive social norms that were prevalent in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see 4.Women and Recreational Journeys) as attitudes and behaviours that restrict female independence and agency are passed down from one generation to the next and only gradually modified.

Travellers in human-powered craft on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin seemed willing to accept challenges in their quest to emulate pioneers, have adventures or raise funds. They contended with strong winds, rapids, waterfalls, rocks, snags, sand, starvation, deprivation, loss of equipment and rain (for examples see 6.1g, 6.1h, 6.1i, 6.1l, 6.4c).

²⁸ Please note that hills and other environmental features can affect GPS performance.

6.1 Post War Recreational Journeys 1946-2008

6.1a. Roger Montrose, 1945-1946.

In 1945-1946 Roger Montrose voyaged from Noreuil Park, Albury to “just before Murray Bridge” (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.212). “It was almost a spiritual thing, it changed my life forever” (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.208).

Allan M. Nixon who interviewed Montrose for his book *Riverfolk Life Along the Murray* stated that he, “[found] [Montrose’s] enthusiasm for a trip some sixty-four years ago [occurred in 1945-1946] still very much there” (Nixon, 2009, p.208). Montrose was a soldier from World War II who had made close friends with other troops (Nixon, 2009, p.210). After the war, however, he felt lost and was eager to relive old times with his comrades, by sharing regular drinking bouts with them (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.210). “Finally I thought, I’ve got to get sorted out and get back to the land” (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.210). He decided to overcome his sense of purposelessness by constructing a canoe according to instructions from *Popular Science* magazine, and prepared for a canoe journey down the Murray (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.210). He intended to find work on the journey (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.210). He originally wanted to travel down the Darling, but realised that such a trip would entail dragging his canoe between water holes (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.210).

Montrose enjoyed his trip and remembered it fondly: “It was just a magical time. The mere fact of being alone was almost a bonus. You observe all things: the birds in the trees, the water around you. Every turn of the river was different. There’s something in us all that makes us enjoy things like that, that makes us learn even when we don’t realise it” (Montrose in Nixon, 2009, p.213).

6.1b. John Fairfax and Duncan McRae, c.1945.

Two members of the Australian army during World War II, John Fairfax and Duncan McRae, discussed and planned a trip on the Murray to take place after the war’s end (Fairfax, 1948, p.123). In c.1945 they paddled from Albury to Tocumwal (Fairfax, 1948, pp.123-127). Fairfax noticed that rural residents who lived along the river were calmer and not inclined to hurry like those in the cities (Fairfax, 1948, p.126).

6.1c. Ted Riley, Ted Phillips, Laurie (“Barney”) Barncastle, Jim McRorie, Frank Bennett and Mrs Phillips, 1946.

In 1946 Ted Riley, Ted Phillips, Laurie (Barney) Barncastle, Jim McRorie, Frank Bennett and Mrs Phillips paddled on the upper Murrumbidgee from the bridge near the Cotter River Junction in the Australian Capital Territory, to Taemus Bridge (Phillips, 1951, pp.12, 13). This section was approximately 59.6km and rarely paddled (Phillips, 1951, p.11).

6.1d. Major R. Raven-Hart, Jack and “Bevan” (who was possibly Mr B.L. Hebbard), 1946.

In 1946, Major R. Raven-Hart paddled the Murrumbidgee and Murray in two sections: from Gundagai to Balranald, then Mildura to Morgan (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.12-79, 95-138). Jack accompanied him during the Murrumbidgee leg of the trip, and Bevan accompanied him on the Murray (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.18, 19, 37, 79, 95-138). Raven-Hart did not canoe from Balranald to Mildura (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.79-81).

Like many others, Raven-Hart mentioned the beauty of Australian birdlife, delighted with getting up close to the animals while he was in the canoe, and wrote poetically about the River Red Gum trees: “For me the gums of the rivers are the loveliest trees of the world, perhaps because I am a sculptor and they are above all a sculptor’s tree, beautiful in shape rather than in colour” (pp. 22-24, 36). He became bored with the landscape when he could no longer see them (Raven-Hart, 1948, p.71).

Raven-Hart seemed to have enjoyed his trip with Bevan. They parted ways at Morgan hoping to canoe another section of the river together another time (Raven-Hart, 1948, p.138). Once again there are references to Captain Sturt and John MacGregor: Raven-Hart originally wanted to canoe the Darling, realised it was too dry, so decided to canoe Sturt’s route (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp. 4, 6). He also mentioned Sturt’s trip several times in his book (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp. 49, 97, 100, 110, 119). Raven-Hart had read MacGregor’s account and like him kept the ensign of his country, which for Raven-Hart was India, on the front of his canoe (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.8, 104).

6.1e. Harry Nuttal and Frank George, c.1948.

In c.1948, Harry Nuttal and Frank George paddled from Albury to Lake Alexandrina in a canoe (1948, ‘The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe’). They worked, but only to cover costs (1948, ‘1,340 Mile Trip Down Murray in 18ft Canoe’). The journey appears to

have been undertaken for recreation. “They camped in the open air every night and cooked their meals in the open” (1948, ‘1,340 Mile Trip Down Murray in 18ft Canoe’) like other adventurers (see Part C 4c, Appendix A Mr C.G.M. Trader and Mr Trader, 1935).

6.1f. 19 Members of the Victorian Amateur Canoe Association, 1949.

On 4 January 1949, six unnamed members of the Victorian Amateur Canoe Association finished their canoe journey from Yarrawonga to Echuca (1949, ‘Yarrawonga to Echuca by Canoe’). Another 13 members were expected to catch up in the next few days (1949, ‘Yarrawonga to Echuca by Canoe’). The leisure trip was made during the Christmas/New Year Holidays (1949, ‘Yarrawonga to Echuca by Canoe’).

6.1g. Bill Confoy and Les Phillips, 1954.

In August 1954, Bill Confoy and Les Phillips, with only minimal canoeing experience, commenced their voyage from Goondiwindi, on the Macintyre river, to Goolwa (1954, ‘Lone canoeist sails Murray’; Confoy, 1954; 1980, ‘Paddling against all odds’; Confoy, 1955, p.20). Les Phillips abandoned the trip at Tilpa on the Darling, to return to work (Confoy, 1955, pp.14, 15). Confoy commenced his journey for a number of possible reasons: for adventure, to undertake something different or because he was inspired by Huckleberry Finn’s journey on the Mississippi (Confoy, 1955, p.20; Hart & Leininger, 2013). He was also motivated by the idea of seeing “the real Australia” (Confoy, 1955, p.20).

Confoy’s voyage demonstrated that even during the middle of the twentieth century, it was possible to retain a strong sense of adventure while paddling on the rivers. For example, his craft narrowly missed striking “a half-submerged spar, a relic from a disused windmill” (Confoy, 1955, p.20). Confoy and Phillips portaged around rapids and in the process removed their equipment to make the canoe lighter to carry (Confoy, 1955, p.20). At one section, the river wound so much they paddled at least 12 miles to progress one land mile (Confoy, 1955, p.21). They also repaired the canoe (Confoy, 1955, p.21). The waterway was filled with fallen timber (Confoy, 1955, p.21). On 1 September, while possibly on the Barwon River, they decided they would like to paddle at night when the harsh sun could not reach them, even though they could not see as well by moonlight (Confoy, 1955, p.21). Confoy and Phillips sheltered under the canoe to protect them from the rain (Confoy, 1955, p.21). They “rop[ed]” the canoe to avoid paddling through rapids (Confoy, 1955, p.21).

Below Mungindi they encountered choppy water with waves greater than 90cm high which could potentially have destroyed the canoe (Confoy, 1955, p.21). The murky water also concealed snags (Confoy, 1955, p.21).

Furthermore, winds battled with Confoy and Philips for control of the craft, and this caused Confoy sore shoulders (Confoy, 1955, p.14). Confoy's and Philip's hands and feet swelled as they continued (Confoy, 1955, p.14). They portaged the canoe by rope over rapids at Brewarrina when he slipped and fell into the rushing water (Confoy, 1955, p.15). Confoy's adventure was filled with random incidents, such as waking up and seeing a scorpion walking towards his face (Confoy, 1955, p.15). Confoy vied with whirlwinds, swelling in his feet, waking up to a flock of sheep trampling through his campsite, waves nearing at least 90cm in height, rain soaking him and his equipment and clouding of his vision (Confoy, 1955, pp.15, 28). The waves on Lake Alexandrina nearly swamped Confoy and his craft (Confoy, 1955, p.28). He ended his journey at Goolwa worse for wear. He had fond memories of the trip, but remembered the hardships stating: "Looking back I realise just what a wonderful adventure I had experienced, though I am certain I would never attempt it again..." (Confoy, 1955, no.19, p.28). His story was reported in *The Silver Jacket*, a magazine for boys, which was developed in the 1950s (n.d, National Library of Australia online catalogue: *The Silver Jacket: a magazine for boys*).

There was some local excitement about his exploit, demonstrated by the expectation that he would be "greeted by the town's [Goolwa] entire population of about 800 when he arrives at the end of his canoe trip" (1954, 'At End of 3000-Mile Paddle'). His trip was recorded in the *Guinness World Records*, and reading about it inspired Terry Thompson and Peter Lee (see Appendix A Peter Lee and Terry Thompson 1979-80) to also paddle from Mungindi to Goolwa (1980, 'Paddling against all odds'). There appears to be a friendly rivalry and a sense of camaraderie in wanting to help people to achieve such goals. For example, Bill Confoy lent some gear and a canoe to Thompson and Lee who had contacted him regarding his journey (1980, 'Paddling against all odds'). He drove down from Brisbane to Goolwa so he could give them a lift home (1980, 'Paddling against all odds').

6.1h. Anthony Stewart, 1960 and 1963.

In 1960, Anthony Stewart rowed to the Murray Mouth from the Hume Weir, returning upstream to Wagga on the Murrumbidgee (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip').

In 1963, 52 year old Anthony Stewart rowed from Mungindi at least as far as Boundary Bend on the Murray, intending to reach Albury (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer'). He journeyed down the Darling because it was isolated and it was one of the only places in the world where he could paddle and feel like a pioneer (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer'). His journey was not easy: at times he was forced to haul his craft above rocks and sand (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip').

6.1i. Ted Jackson and Norm Jackson, 1969.

In 1969, Ted Jackson and his son Norm Jackson, paddled from Texas, Queensland to the Murray Mouth (1969, 'Tale of two men, one canoe and 3700 river miles'). Despite settlement in remote New South Wales and Queensland, canoeing on the Darling and its northern tributaries was still a challenge. Early on they lost most of their equipment and possessions when the canoe inverted on a rapid (1969, 'Tale of two men, one canoe and 3700 river miles'). They were very determined to continue: they paddled on even though they could only recover a bag containing cash (see 1969, 'Tale of two men, one canoe and 3700 river miles'). However, these challenges did not spoil their journey: Ted Jackson recounted paddling from first light to sunset (1969, 'Tale of two men, one canoe and 3700 river miles'). They enjoyed the native fauna, including the emus that *swam* alongside them, and contended with battering winds stealing their tent and causing waves over 1.2m (1969, 'Tale of two men, one canoe and 3700 river miles').

6.1j. Ron Bath, 1981, 1986.

Perhaps the first person with a disability or otherwise to paddle the length of the Murray upstream, was paraplegic Ron Bath who in 1986, paddled to the Hume Weir (1986, 'and briefly...'), presumably from the Murray Mouth. The article stated that the journey was 2,235km (1986, 'and briefly...'), and since the Hume Weir is 2216km from the Murray Mouth (see Wright, c.1997, inner back cover), then it is safe to assume that he paddled from the Murray Mouth. In 1981 he paddled from the Hume Weir to the Murray Mouth (Sheppard,

1984, p.28). The journey raised funds for the Red Cross and towards an establishment of a canoe club for the disabled (Sheppard, 1984, p.28).

6.1k. Ted Jackson, 8 November 1981 to 23 January 1982.

From 8 November 1981 to 23 January 1982, Ted Jackson paddled in a canoe unsupported—which meant that he did not have support from a land crew—from Killarney in Queensland to the Murray Mouth (2000, Ted Jackson', p.30). He endured 11 weeks paddling 5,230km which gained him an entry into the *Guinness Book of Records* (2000, 'Ted Jackson', p.30).

6.1l. Holger Knaack, Tony Burke, Mark Lloyd, Steve Molino, John Holmes and Allan Suthern, 1983.

In 1983, Holger Knaack, Tony Burke, Mark Lloyd, Steve Molino, John Holmes and Allan Suthern, paddled from Tom Groggin for about 35km to near Colemans Bend (Suthern, 1984, pp.3, 5). Their journey consisted of traversing rapids in difficult sections where there were “steep banks and bush”, a trip only worth doing when properly prepared (Suthern, 1984, pp.3-5).

6.1m. The Great Bicentennial River Relay, 1988.

In 1988, the Great Bicentennial River Relay was held (Tuckwell, c.2013). The relay involved school children relaying a message to the mayor of each town, and at each town a different group of school children would pass the message down to the next (Tuckwell, c.2013). The transport varied from bicycle to buses (Tuckwell, c.2013). The relays started at the same time from Toowoomba just outside of the Condamine River in the Condamine-Balonne Catchment and on the border of the Murray-Darling Basin, Canberra which is near the Murrumbidgee River and Corowa on the Upper Murray (Tuckwell, c.2013; n.d, Catchments | Murray-Darling Basin Authority). To include the towns that did not receive the message, there was a classroom project where school children would write a description of their town to be kept in a time capsule in Goolwa and not to be opened until 2030, “which will coincide with the bicentennial of Captain Charles Sturt’s expedition down the river to Goolwa” (Tuckwell, c.2013).

Unfortunately, the relay coincided with floods so six members of the North Narabeen Surf Lifesaving Club and support team of three members transported the message in a surfboat from Mungindi to Bourke, as part of their voyage from Texas on the Dumaresq River in Queensland to Goolwa (IRNMR 88/1).

6.1n. Mike Bremers, 1995-2007, 1995-2008 (two separate journeys).

In 1995-2007 Mike Bremers paddled in a kayak from Bringensbrong Bridge to the Murray Mouth in intermittent stages (Bremers, n.d).

In 1995-2008 he also paddled his kayak from Jugiong to the Murray-Murrumbidgee junction in intermittent stages (Bremers, n.d).

6.1o. Bob Beer, 1996-1997.

In 1997, Bob Beer embarked on his third solo journey across Australia (Beer, 1998, p.2). The first journey was in 1977 when he cycled across the continent, and the second was walking across the nation (Beer, 1998, pp.v, 2; Brazel in Beer, 1998, introduction). His third solo journey was in a kayak which he paddled from the Queensland coast down the Fitzroy River, and the Barwon, Darling and Murray rivers (Beer, 1998, pp.4, 11, 35-38, 41). He stopped paddling on the Fitzroy due to threatening crocodiles (Beer, 1998, pp.16-17). He hitched a ride and caught a bus to a house where he was allowed to keep his trolley for carrying his kayak (Beer, 1998, p.17). He later returned with his trolley to his kayak and cycled across the Great Dividing Range after making repairs to his craft (Beer, 1998, pp.17-20). He cycled towing a kayak, so that he could continue his journey without paddling on crocodile infested rivers (Beer, 1998, pp.16-17). He received a lift to Goondiwindi to repair his bike, then he returned again by lift to Moonie so he could cycle to Goondiwindi (Beer, 1998, p.21). He paddled in the Murray-Darling Basin from Goondiwindi on the New South Wales/Queensland border (Beer, 1998, p.23). He encountered blue green algae on the Barwon and Darling (Beer, 1998, pp.35-38, 41). He finished paddling at Pullen Spit after traversing the Mouth of the Murray (Beer, 1998, p.66).

6.1p. James Castrission, Justin Jones and Andrew Crawley, 8 November 2000-15 January 2001.

James Castrission, Justin Jones and Andrew Crawley's journey was born out of a desire to not lead the same kind of life that others were living (Castrission, 2010, p.18). Not knowing how to achieve their goal, James Castrission and his friend Justin Jones, spent time hiking in the Blue Mountains, something they enjoyed (Castrission, 2010, p.18). During such a hike, Castrission thought of paddling the length of the Murray (Castrission, 2010, p.18). He contacted the Murray River registrar and some paddlers to be told that no one had ever paddled, in a kayak, the length of the Murray (Castrission, 2010, pp.18-19).

The three men hiked to the source of the Murray River at Cowombat Flat (Castrission, 2010, p.19). Once at the source, they started walking along the river, only to encounter “bluffs in scrub that was near impenetrable” (Castrission, 2010, p.19). Not wanting to keep Castrission’s father and friends waiting with their kayaks 40km away, and determined to travel down the full length of the river, they used their packs to traverse haphazardly over numerous rapids (Castrission, 2010, pp.19, 20). Despite the danger, and the cold nights, cold because all their gear was soaked when they travelled on the upper Murray before they reached the kayaks, they enjoyed the journey (Castrission, 2010, p.20). They seemed to enjoy challenging themselves (Castrission, 2010, p.19). They also used the trip to raise money for the Starlight Foundation (Castrission, 2010, p.19). They finished their journey at the Murray Mouth on 15 January 2001 (McDonald, 2001).

6.2 Record Breaking Attempts 1970 to 2001

6.2a. Phillip Davis and Robert S. Lodge, 27 December 1970 to 1 February 1971, record broken.

From 27 December 1970 to 1 February 1971, Phillip Davis and Robert S Lodge paddled in a canoe, “2100km” from “Albury, N.S.W to Murray Bridge” (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254). This was possibly a record time for downstream canoeing on the Murray, and was recorded in the 1974 *The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)* (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).

6.2b. Ray Fisher and Ray Asmus, 1974, 1976, 1979, records broken.

In 1974 Ray Fisher, John Fisher and Ray Asmus paddled from Queensland (or possibly Mungindi which is in New South Wales but very close to the Queensland border) to the Murray Mouth, which “set a world record for the longest trip made in single kayaks” (1976, ‘Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists’; Meldrum, 1974; IRNMR Certificate, entry 1974/2). It is believed they broke the previous record by travelling 3000km, 747km longer than the 2,253km record (Meldrum, 1974). They encountered flotsam and fallen timber in the flooded Murray (Meldrum, 1974).

In 1976 Ray Fisher and Ray Asmus broke the world record for paddling 100 miles in kayaks (1976, ‘Canberra men set world canoe record’). They completed the journey in 16 hours and 12 minutes from Bringenbrong Bridge to Dorra Dorra, 53 minutes faster than the previous

record setters, who were unnamed in the article (1976, 'Canberra men set world canoe record').

In 1979 they broke the world record by canoeing 4000km from Warwick on the Condamine River in Queensland to Waikerie in South Australia (Cater, 1979; 2011, Murray-Darling Basin Authority Murray-Darling Basin Map Flora & Fauna). They continued to Goolwa despite having broken the record (Cater, 1979). Their decision to break the long distance record again, was made after a group of six students at the University of New England beat their 1974 record (Cater, 1979). Friendly rivalry was evident, the two men provided advice and were ready to deliver support (Cater, 1979). The students paddled 3,200km (Cater, 1979).

6.2c. Sapper Ian Dellar and Sapper Michael Wentworth (21 Construction Squadron Royal Australian Engineers), 1979, record broken.

In 1979 sappers Ian Dellar and Mike Wentworth paddled from Albury to Goolwa in a TK2 two person kayak (1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', pp.1, 3; IRNMR entry 1979/4). They completed the 2225km journey in 17 days 6 hours and 50 minutes (1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', pp.1, 3). Kayaking is an intense sport and Mike experienced wrist pain, but found changing from an oval shaft paddle to a round shaft relieved the strain (1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1). During their journey they broke "the previous record [of] 36 days to [reach] Murray Bridge" taking instead 16 days, 3 hours and 55 minutes to complete that segment (1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1).

Their journey was a remarkable achievement, but the six army vehicles that were in radio contact, and the motor boat which played radio and general knowledge quizzes must have been an immense help and deserve recognition too!

6.2d. Corporal David McManus, 1981, record broken.

There are various descriptions of Corporal McManus' journey however, according to *The Guinness Book of Records (Australian edition)* (1989), his journey commenced on 15 November and finished 1 December 1981 (McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342). He began his voyage from Albury/Hume Weir and finished at Goolwa (1981, 'Record Man Paddles on'; McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342). He undertook the journey to beat Dellar and Wentworth's record breaking

trip (1981, 'Record man paddles on'). He achieved this by completing the route in 16 days and 16 hours and 57 minutes (Allford, 1993, p.40; McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342).

6.2e. Michael Allford, October-November 1992, record broken.

In 1992 Michael Allford, realising that with training he would then be able to attempt to break the record made by Dave McManus, paddled from Bringenbrong Bridge upstream of Albury, but the record attempt would commence from Albury Weir (Allford, 1993, p.40).

He paddled from Albury to Goolwa in 15 days 20 hours and 32 minutes with the assistance of a ground crew and a support boat (Allford, 1993, pp. 40, 41)

6.2f. Terry Bolland approximately 1990 or 1991, part of the journey was a record attempt.

As part of his running-paddling-swimming-walking expedition around Australia, Terry Bolland paddled 2500km from Tom Groggin, near the source of the Murray to “near Goolwa” (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way'; 1994, 'Introducing Terry Bolland', p.41). He was not able to break the speed record, due to harrowing winds on Lake Alexandrina, but commenced his journey closer to the source than other record attempters and therefore “created a new distance record of 2500km in 21 days” (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way'; Bolland, n.d, p.43). He wanted to physically test himself, and incorporated the journey as part of his “Australian Challenge Expedition where he covered 24,000km [not just paddling but swimming and cycling] in one year” (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way'; editor in Bolland, n.d, vol.1, no.14 *Paddle Power*, p.38).

6.3 Re-enactments 1951-2002

6.3a. Sturt Re-enactment: Sergeant Major J. M. McFarlane; P. Trost; J. C. J. Laughlin; B. C. Forward; R. W. O. Pugh; R. E. Wells; L. G. C. Gilmore. A. N. Sturt (Sturt's Great Grandson) to take part in re-enactment (A. N. Sturt, 1950), 1951.

In 1951 Sergeant Major J. M. McFarlane; P. Trost; J. C. J. Laughlin; B. C. Forward; R. W. O. Pugh; R. E. Wells; L. G. C. Gilmore and A. N. Sturt (Sturt's Great Grandson) took part in a Sturt re-enactment to celebrate 50 years of Australian Federation (1951, 'Sturt and After: Jubilee Event Re-lives Historic Voyage', p.93). The men rowed in period costume and spectators welcomed them in the towns along the Murrumbidgee and Murray (1951, 'Sturt and After: Jubilee Event Re-lives Historic Voyage', p.93). In Euston or Robinvale they received food made in the colonial style from the Royal Hotel (1951, 'Sturt men “hopped

in”). When the re-enactment reached Goolwa, an estimated 9000 gathered to watch, which demonstrated the large interest held—Goolwa’s population was 500 (1951, ‘Sturt and After: Jubilee Event Re-lives Historic Voyage’, p.93). The re-enactment was undertaken partly to bring the celebrations to rural Australians, and to make a film record of the expedition for viewing at schools throughout the nation (1951, ‘300,000 Saw Trip of “Sturt’s Men”).

As part of the Jubilee celebration, after the crew arrived at Goolwa the craft was placed on a bullock wagon (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip At Goolwa’). Sturt had used bullock wagons for the land journey, and the re-enactment led a parade through Goolwa (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip At Goolwa’). The re-enactors were also to visit the Sturt memorial in Victoria Square (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip At Goolwa’). Major celebrations accompanied the re-enactment: gold medals were given to the crew and Sturt’s great grandson, wreaths were placed at the “memorial at Hindmarsh Island jointly erected to Sturt and Barker”, and the article stated that there “will be”, a parade of citizens in period costume to follow the craft through to the Town Hall (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip at Goolwa’). The article stated that “The procession will travel by way of Flinders, Pulteney, Rundle and King William streets to reach the Town Hall for a civic reception at 12.10pm” (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip at Goolwa’). A search on google maps shows Adelaide and not Goolwa having streets with all of those names. So it stand to reason that the Town Hall mentioned was in Adelaide. There was competition between many towns who wished to make their town notable to the re-enactors (Rolfe, 1951).

During the 1950s Sturt’s original expedition was celebrated for “the explorers had placed the country’s interest before their own. If we could impart this spirit to our children they would be strengthened to make Australia an even better place than it was today” (1951, ‘Sturt Party Ends 1,100 Mile Trip at Goolwa’). It was hoped that the same spirit of patriotism and sacrifice would be evident in following generations, because it was this spirit that had made Australia great.

6.3b. Terry Lees and Tony Summerville, 1967.

In 1967, Terry Lees and Tony Summerville paddled in a canoe from Gundagai to Renmark in an attempt to retrace Sturt’s route (1967, ‘Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled By Time’). They intended to reach Lake Alexandrina, but ran out of time and were expected back at work, so

they finished their trip at Renmark (1967, ‘Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled By Time’). Hunting and fishing provided some sustenance during the trip (1967, ‘Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled By Time’).

6.3c. From Source to Sea “*Forerunner III*”, 2001.

In 2001, 150 years after Cadell’s voyage down the Murray and also 100 years after Australian federation, a replica of Cadell’s *Forerunner* constructed in Goolwa, participated briefly in “From Source to Sea” (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.48, 51, 54, 60). For more information see Part A 3c.

6.4 Fundraising and Awareness c.1990-c.2012

6.4a. Michael Allford, 1990, fundraising.

In 1990 Michael Allford, inspired by his nephew's severe asthma attack, paddled from Bringenbrong Bridge to near the Murray Mouth to raise funds in support of the Asthma Foundation (Allford, 1993, p.40).

6.4b. Peter Robinson, 2005, fundraising.

In 2005 Peter Robinson paddled from Tumut to Goolwa to raise funds for the Australian Rotary Health Research Fund, which contributes capital to mental health research (n.d, Australian Rotary Health – About; 2006, ‘Marathon man arrives in Goolwa’).

6.4c. Rod Smith, 2006, fundraising.

In 2006, 71 year-old Rod Smith paddled from “Yarrawonga to the Murray Mouth” in a canoe, to raise funds for the Ronald McDonald House Charity (Sproull, 2006). He battled against strong winds and huge waves (Sproull, 2006).

6.4d. Paul Sinclair and Jen Hocking, 1997.

Paul Sinclair and Jen Hocking spent two months canoeing 1330km during which he interviewed people for his thesis and book, the latter published as Sinclair (2001), *The Murray A River and its People* (p.xi).

6.4e. Steve John Posselt, 2007, 2009, awareness.

In 2007 Steve John Posselt, an engineer who had many years' experience working in the water industry, journeyed from Brisbane to Adelaide in a kayak with wheels (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth – Talking Sustainability in the Face of Global Warming; Posselt, 2009, p.29; Posselt, c.2007, Day 122 Report). The purpose of the journey and the book he authored about his trip, was to raise awareness of unsustainable use of the rivers that was taking place in the Murray-Darling Basin (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth – Talking Sustainability in the Face of Global Warming). On his journey he travelled on and/or along the Condamine, Balonne, Darling and Murray Rivers, then walked and paddled to Adelaide (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map). His journey was a total of 3250km, 2170km was spent kayaking and 1,080km was spent walking (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).

In 2009, Steve John Posselt paddled from Echuca to Melbourne via the Goulburn and Murray Rivers, to raise awareness of the north-south pipeline which would drain even more water from an already dying river (c.2009, Kayak for Earth The Victorian Women's Trust friends of the Earth plug the pipe stopping the North).

6.4f. Matthew Quick, 2010, fundraising.

Matthew Quick and his friend Todd who accompanied him during the hiking section, intended to walk from “just outside Benambra” to Thredbo via the Murray Source (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Hiking 15/10-18/10). Due to wet weather, snow and mild hypothermia they did not detour from the walking track to see the source, as they needed to walk 15km to the nearest hut for warmth and shelter (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Hiking 15/10-18/10). They rafted the river for a couple of kilometres from Tom Groggin and would have gone further, but the river was too high (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Rafting 19/10). Quick then paddled from near Biggera to the 1884 marker which was downstream of Robinvale (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org – Day 8 – 10 Bringinbrong to Hume Dam; Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org- Day 42: Robinvale to 1184 marker). Quick stopped his journey due to extreme muscle fatigue and nerve pain in his arms and feet (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org- Day 42: Robinvale to 1184 marker).

Quick paddled to raise money for the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation (c.2010, SourceToSea).

6.4g. Travis Ewan and Dan Suttle, April-July 2011, fundraising.

From April 2011 to July 2011, two electricians, Travis Ewan and Dan Suttle, paddled from Condamine, a town along the Condamine River in Queensland, to Victor Harbour (Community Activities, c.2012). Their journey was to raise funds for “flood and cyclone victims” (2011, ‘Canoeing the basin for charity’). They were inspired by a conversation with a work colleague who told them about a canoe trip from Warwick to Adelaide “after the last floods” (2011, ‘Canoeing the basin for charity’).

6.4h. Paul Langbein, 2011, fundraising.

In 2011, Paul Langbein possibly became “the first person to stand [-] up paddle board the length of the Murray River” (Olney, 2011). He walked over 80km to the source and rafted down the rapids for about 22km until the river was safe to use his stand-up paddle board (Olney, 2011).

His motivation for travelling down the river was his discontent with materialism and modern life (Olney, 2011). He believed that life should provide more meaning than earning and spending money (Olney, 2011). He believed that freedom and optimism was what made life worthwhile (Olney, 2011). On the river he was free and independent (Olney, 2011). He had a support crew, but most nights he was by himself camping (Olney, 2011). He would replenish his supplies every few days in town (Olney, 2011). He chose a craft that enabled him to proceed down the river without sitting for long periods as constant sitting was bad for his back (Olney, 2011).

In the process of completing his journey “he raised \$3500 for the Kids with Cancer Foundation” (Olney, 2011).

7. Conclusion

Adventure and recreational journeys reveal changes to social attitudes and social customs from 1851 to 2012. In the nineteenth century imperial masculinity influenced men to paddle on the rivers as they took their inspiration from Sturt. The development of canoeing as a sport by John MacGregor, was quickly received in Australia with references to Rob Roy and Rob Roy canoes appearing in Australian journeys as early 1872 and 1873, six to seven years after his first book was published. Imperial masculinity inspired George Morrison, who later became a journalist, to paddle the length of the Murray to try to emulate and aspire to the feats of Henry Morton Stanley, but in an Australian setting.

The legacy of imperial masculinity, muscular Christianity and imperial explorers are evident throughout this period, but are etched in particular in the legacy of Sturt's journey. His journey down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers and upstream is legendary and is repeated, albeit under different circumstances, by recreationists and re-enactors who aspire to emulate his exploits. Even after militarism and the cult of athleticism had waned, individuals still sought adventure on the rivers.

Advancements in canoe manufacture appears to have played a major part in the rise in recreational canoeing and kayaking. Technological advances, including the development of telecommunications and satellites and also the thorough exploration and surveying of the region did not stop intrepid travellers from aspiring to an adventure and to pioneer different activities. For example, the Murray, from the Murray Mouth to the Hume Weir, was paddled by a paraplegic in 1986.

Rowers, canoeists and kayakers aspired to be the first to travel dangerous and remote sections of the basin, to break speed and distance records and to feel like a pioneer. Instead of exploring regions, record breakers were testing the levels of human endurance and physical strength, also something that the explorers did, especially when Sturt and his crew subsisted on very low rations on their return journey. Instead of determining whether various rivers were navigable, a feat already achieved by explorers, they were inadvertently testing the speediest or longest route in which the rivers could be navigated. Record setters are in a sense pioneers, and people learn what is physically possible for humans to achieve.²⁹ Also, many have aspired to break those records, not long after previous records have even been broken, so in a sense, there is always competition to prove that it is possible to achieve better. Individuals are motivated to better themselves and aspire to greater achievements and possibilities. Record breaking becomes increasingly harder to achieve and there are possibly limits, including the length of the rivers which make some feats such as the longest distance paddled, after a time, incredibly difficult to aspire to. There are problems with records, in the sense that there may have been longer river journeys, but the records of such journeys if they occurred in the mid-nineteenth century would be difficult to find. Nonetheless, record breaking and record setting on the rivers are incredible achievements. It is important to note that in the mid to late twentieth century, many record breaking attempts were assisted by a land crew or helpers in motor boats who would guide them on their route. The lack of records

²⁹ Although their names are not listed in the record books, it is important to note the contributions of family members, friends, support crews and sponsors who have made many pioneering and record breaking journeys possible.

should not detract from their accomplishments, but rather suggest that bolder attempts to paddle the rivers faster are in fact breaking barriers and many are eager to be among those who push the bar higher for the next generation of canoeists.

In the late nineteenth century women appeared to have paddled long distances only in the company of their husbands. In the early twentieth century, after gradual advancements that allowed women to play tougher sports, women began to paddle the rivers on their own, but still did not receive much press attention.

In the late twentieth century, several canoe and kayak journeys were undertaken to raise money for charity.

CONCLUSION

This thesis investigated the hidden history and cultural heritage of long distance travel in human-powered craft on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin, and argued that the history of the activity reflects socio-cultural change. Most accounts of travel in human-powered craft were previously not known because much of the evidence for the 210 journeys documented here is located in old, although recently digitised newspapers. Other journeys were found by carefully reading aged and contemporary canoeing and kayaking magazines. Diaries, photographs and sheet music also provided insights. Unlike paddle steamers, nineteenth-century human-powered craft generally have not survived, and are not visible from the river. Vague references are sometimes found in general histories of the Murray River and its towns, but until now there has been no comprehensive account of all the journeys made in human-powered craft and therefore no analysis of its significance in cultural heritage.

This dissertation argued that the practice and motivation for journeying in non-motorised craft changed over time. Voyages on the rivers reflect the society to which the travellers belonged. For example, during the nineteenth century, women accompanied their husbands on long journeys, but there is little evidence of women paddling on their own. This occurred during a time of widespread doubt about women's ability to endure strenuous activity and when men feared losing control over women. Also, endurance sports were considered a "masculine" activity which taught boys how to become practical, strong and honourable gentlemen who could protect the empire. After World War I, women began paddling long distances solo or in groups with other men or women. This demonstrates a gradual change in how society viewed women's abilities. As another example, there is evidence of extensive rural hospitality along the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin in the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. Travellers in human-powered craft were able to rely on that hospitality along the rivers.

The accounts of travellers presented here, provides evidence of the individual qualities of those who travelled this way. The history of human-powered voyages provides insights into the development of Australian culture.

The main section was divided into three parts according to three overlapping periods. Part A (1817 to 1877) discussed human-powered craft and its role in exploring and surveying the basin. Part B (1853 to 1936) explored human-powered craft and the development of basin transport infrastructure and the search for work. Part C (1851 to 2012) discussed the rise in

adventure and recreational journeys in human-powered craft. Each part has its more detailed conclusion.

Captain Charles Sturt's epic 3400 km voyage of discovery (undertaken in 1830) on the Murrumbidgee and Murray demonstrated the determination and skills of Australia's early explorers. Sturt and his crew completed their journey despite suffering extreme exhaustion and starvation. They were the first Europeans to travel a long distance on the rivers in a whaleboat. Half of the journey was rowing against the current with dwindling food supplies. Even so, Sturt mapped, described and sketched the river. His exploits resulted in European expansion into the interior.

In 1850, South Australian Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Henry Edward Fox Young, and ten companions journeyed in a whaleboat from the Rufus River Junction with the Murray, to the Darling River junction, then downstream to Goolwa. Captain Francis Cadell, in response to Governor Young's offer of a £2000 prize each for whoever put the first two paddle steamers on the Murray, paddled a canvas canoe from Swan Hill to Wellington charting river bends, snags and sandbars. Within two years he navigated the river in a paddle steamer opening trade and communications along its length. Steam driven vessels boosted the inland economy as settlers no longer had to rely solely on bullock wagons to transport goods. (The railways were yet to connect inland cities to the coast.) However, it was people in human-powered craft who contributed knowledge and proved that it was possible to navigate the rivers, enabling the subsequent paddle steamer trade. Lieutenant-Governor Young's and Cadell's journeys demonstrate determination in seeking opportunities to develop transport infrastructure.

Early travellers were adaptable, audacious, determined and resourceful. As I said in Part A, they influenced the settlement of the basin and changed the future of the region, impacting on its cultural and natural heritage.

Once the rivers were settled and the steamer trade firmly established, itinerant workers started paddling the rivers in search of work. Job seekers paddled the rivers mostly between 1853 and 1936. This period provided examples of differing social ambitions, ingenuity, the desire to be independent and adaptability. Sources suggest that a large number of job seekers travelled from South Australia to the New South Wales and the Victorian goldfields. River swagmen, referred to as "whalers" due to the large Murray cod they caught, would row on the

rivers and could sleep in their boats. Rowing and catching fish to trade was an alternative to working as farm labourers.

Adaptability was demonstrated by Captain Hugh King and his crewmen when they paddled from Wentworth to Echuca. They canoed to Echuca as the falling river level could not be navigated by larger vessels. About 13 men, of those who paddled the Murray to find work during the 1930s depression, made their own canoes or boats (1932, 'To Paddle Canoe Up the Murray Young Men Begin Big Trip Today'; 1934, 'Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes'; 1931, 'Canoe Journey. Two San Souci Swimmers'; 1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). Canoes and rowboats sometimes provided men with a cheaper alternative to steamers, riding horses and were faster than walking. It did not matter how poor job seekers were, human-powered craft enabled individuals irrespective of their background, a means to travel for work and sustenance.

The 1850s saw a rise in adventure and recreational voyages, a theme that is usually present in modern day journeys.

Adventure and recreational long distance journeys in human-powered craft demonstrate one individual's contribution to Australian exploration history; provided examples of British imperial and cultural influences such as on middle-class masculinity; and changing perceptions of women's abilities.

In 1872, Bayfield Moulden made one of the Murray's first recorded recreational journeys. He was inspired by reading British canoeist John MacGregor's account of voyaging in the "Rob Roy" canoe in Europe. George Ernest "Chinese" Morrison was an important Australian correspondent in Asia for *The Times* of London. Morrison and James Henry Shaw paddled on the Murray in 1880 and 1884-1885 respectively. Both men paddled the river and also explored New Guinea around about the time when imperial masculinity would have encouraged similar exploits. Their keen sporting interest, spirit of adventure and willingness to explore unknown territory were attributes encouraged within the Empire. Such characteristics were deemed essential for imperial success and expansion and were widely reported. Men in the nineteenth century often used sport and adventure to assert their masculinity. They also tried to emulate Australia's early explorers. George Ernest Morrison wrote diary entries summarising the exploits of Sturt and other Australian explorers. In c.1898 Alexander Sutherland Murray rowed from Echuca to Goolwa, having been inspired by Sturt's account of rowing on the rivers. There were several Sturt and Cadell re-enactments in

the early twenty first century. Additionally, many were inspired to travel sections of the river in the belief that they would be the first to do so.

The rise in women travelling long distances in canoes indicates social change as women were discouraged from most sports. In the later nineteenth century, women generally participated in voyages undertaken by their husbands, although wealthy women appeared to have participated in short leisurely day trips. The early to mid-twentieth century saw a rise in the interest and reporting of solo female paddlers and groups of female canoeists.

Today, journeys on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin are usually undertaken for adventure, to raise awareness of the basin environment, for competitions such as the Murray Marathon and for charities. There have been numerous record breaking attempts for the fastest kayaking and canoeing journeys on the Murray. Travellers may have modern gadgets including global positioning systems (GPS), but they are still enthralled by the prospect of conquering Australia's longest river system.

Although it is recognised that Indigenous travel on the rivers pre-dates European activity on the rivers, this thesis was not able to cover the Aboriginal history of human-powered watercraft in the Murray-Darling Basin.

This thesis has provided a comprehensive listing of long distance journeys from 1817 to 2012 in Appendix A. The journeys mentioned within the main section of the thesis were selected because they either are representative of or are the only examples of, a particular circumstance or motivation.

Through writing about the journeys and placing them into the context of their times in history, it is evident that they are part of Australian history and that they were influenced by and contributed to the culture of the times.

This thesis recognises the importance of the journeys listed to the travellers themselves and to the cultural heritage of Australia.

This thesis reveals a whole era of Australian history and cultural heritage that had not been recognised or acknowledged. A heritage of the quality of character and culture possessed by and handed down by the paddlers and rowers on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin.

APPENDIX A: List of individuals and groups who travelled in human-powered craft on the rivers of the Murray-Darling Basin, from 1817 to 2012

This table records 232 entries. Some journeys are included even though there is no record of their completion or whether they started, as they suggest that paddling or rowing on the rivers are part of the popular imagination. The entries also include references to “whalers.” Often more sources are listed than are cited in the other columns. These extra sources support the cited reference.

NAME	DATE	STARTING POINT	FINISHING POINT	CRAFT	CRAFT DETAILS	OTHER	SOURCES
<p>Surveyor-General John Oxley, Deputy-Surveyor George Evans, Kew botanist Allan Cunningham, colonial botanist Charles Fraser, William Parr mineralogist, George Hubbard James King, James King [there appear to be two people with the same name], William Meggs, Patrick Byrne William Blake George Simpson and William Warner</p> <p>(Cathcart, 2009, p.90; Macquarie 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, pp. 170,171, 174; Lee, 1925, p.167)</p>	1817	Lachlan river depot, close to modern day Gooloogong (Whitehead, 2003, p.88).	Somewhere above present day Condobolin, but below Forbes (Whitehead, 2003, p.57).	Rowboats (Cathcart, 2009, p.91)		<p>Oxley’s journal does not mention who was in the boats, but it is clear that while some were in the boats, Oxley, Evans and some of the others were journeying along the river on horseback.</p> <p>Most references to this journey are taken from John Whitehead, due to his meticulous research and because his work is easier to understand, although I have read Oxley’s journals.</p>	<p>Cathcart, M, 2009, <i>The Water Dreamers: The Remarkable History of our Dry Continent</i>, The Text Publishing Company Melbourne.</p> <p>Lee, I, 1925, <i>Early Explorers in Australia From the Log-Books and Journals, including the Diary of Allan Cunningham, Botanist from March 1, 1817 to November 19, 1818.</i>, Methuen & Co. Ltd, London.</p> <p>Macquarie 1817 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, Journals of two expeditions in to the interior of, New South Wales, University of Sydney Library, view 17 August 2014, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data- 2/p00066.pdf</p> <p>Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, Journals of two expeditions into the interior of New South Wales, University of Sydney Library, view 17 August 2014, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data- 2/p00066.pdf</p> <p>Whitehead, R, 2003, <i>Tracking and Mapping the Explorers</i>, vol.1, Coonabarabran, New South Wales</p>

<p>Surveyor-General John Oxley, George Evans, Doctor Harris, Mr Charles Fraser and twelve others</p> <p>(Campbell, 1818 in Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.188)</p>	1818	Wellington	Near or in Duck Swamp in the Macquarie Marshes, then downstream to the campsite of 30 June between Old Oxley and Mount Forster (Whitehead, 2005, pp.129,135; Oxley, 1820 republished online in 2002, pp.109-113).	Rowboats	“They were probably similar to ships lifeboats but built of lighter materials, oar powered and about five metres in length. Evans described the requirements in a letter to Macquarie on 25 th May 1818, that they “must be light and buoyant. If built of heavy wood it sinks” (Evans 1818 cited in Whitehead, 2005 p.77; Whitehead, 2005, pp. 76, 77).	Oxley did not name those who travelled in the boat, but it is evident that while some were in the boats, others were leading the horses (Oxley, 1820 republished online 2002, p.97). Oxley and four others travelled in the boat from between Old Oxley and Mount Forster to the vicinity of Duck Swamp and return (Whitehead, 2005, pp.134, 135; Oxley, 1820 republished online in 2002, pp.109-113).	Oxley, 1820, republished online 2002, Journals of two expeditions into the interior of New South Wales, University of Sydney Library, view 17 August 2014, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/p00066.pdf
Charles Sturt and two companions	26 December-27 December 1829, 28 December 1829	On the Macquarie River close to the Macquarie Marshes	According to Cumpston (1951) they travelled in a whaleboat for at least 8 miles (p.16). His journal is unclear as to whether they returned in the boat to the camp, where they had split the party, Hume with two others to determine the perimeter of the Marshes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.69-72).	Rowboat		The boat journey was part of an expedition to discover the route of the Macquarie River and the extent of the Macquarie Marshes (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p. 51; MacLeay on Darling’s behalf, 1828 in Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.151).	Cumpston, J, H, L, 1951, <i>Charles Sturt His Life and Journeys of Exploration</i> , Georgian House, Melbourne.
	(Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.69-72).	(Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.69-72).				On 28 December Sturt and Hume travelled about two miles on a channel that Hume found when he explored north of the camp (Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, pp.71, 72).	Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, <i>Two Expeditions into the interior of southern Australia</i> , University of Sydney Library, viewed 3 June 2015, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/p00096.pdf
	28 December 1829						MacLeay on Darling’s behalf, 1828 in Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, <i>Two Expeditions into the interior of southern Australia</i> , University of Sydney Library, viewed 3 June 2015, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/p00096.pdf
Charles Sturt and Companions:	Jan-April 1830	Murrumbidgee –Lachlan Junction and continued on the Murrumbidgee until it joined the Murray, followed it across Lake Alexandrina and set up camp. Sturt, Fraser and McLeay	After they turned back they kept rowing until they got to present-day Narrandera where Sturt sent two men to Pondebadgery (Wantabadgery) to retrieve supplies	Whaleboat	Constructed by Mr Egan then disassembled for the overland journey (Sturt, 1982, p.180; Cumpston, 1951, p.30)		c.2010, European discovery of the River Murray system: Charles Sturt and the discovery of the River Murray, viewed 4 July 2012, http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1324
“George McLeay, Hopkinson, Fraser, Clayton, Mulholland, Macnamee.” (Cumpston, 1951, p.29).	(Cumpston, 1951, pp.38-45).						Cumpston, J, H, L, 1951, <i>Charles Sturt</i>

		<p>walked to the Murray Mouth</p> <p>(Cumpston, 1951, pp.30-44; Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.268).</p>	<p>(Cumpston, 1951, p.45; Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, p.268).</p>				<p><i>His Life and Journeys of Exploration</i>, Georgian House, Melbourne.</p> <p>Fitzpatrick, K, 1963, 'Sturt's Two Expeditions in to the Interior of Southern Australia', <i>The Age</i>, May 25. [NLA Biographical Cuttings Charles Sturt].</p> <p>Goolwa on Sturt Re-enactment Day – Version details- Trove, viewed 10 July http://Trove.nla.gov.au/work/13341666?q=%22http%3A%2F%2Fimages.slsa.sa.gov.au%2Fd%2F7893%2FD7893_15T.htm%22&c=picture&versionId=15826547</p> <p>Joy, W, 1963, '8 Men in a boat rowed 2000 Miles', <i>The Sunday Telegraph</i>, 22 September, p.39 [NLA Biographical Cuttings].</p> <p>Lawrenson, E, 1967, 'Man in a Rowboat opened Waterways', <i>The Advertiser</i>, April 29, p.17. [NLA Biographical Cuttings].</p> <p>1982, 'Solution of inland River mystery thrilled All NSW', <i>Daily Mirror</i>, 3 August, p.32. [NLA Biographical Cuttings].</p> <p>Sturt, A, N, 1950, 'Charles Sturt River Expedition Relics of Historic Trip are Family Treasures', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 29 December. [NLA Biographical Cuttings]</p> <p>Sturt, 1833 republished online 2001, <i>Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831</i>, viewed 21 August 2014.</p> <p>Sturt, 1982, <i>Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831</i>, Doubleday Australia Pty Limited, Lane</p>
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							Cove [facsimile]. n.d, The Life and Times of Captain Charles Sturt DVD-ROM from the 'Grange.'
Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell with sailors and sailmaker 1831 (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46).	December 29 1831 (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46).	Depot near a hill called Bullabalkit (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.45)	3.2km from the depot (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.46-47).	2 Rowboats (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46).	Ceased journey due to repeated injuries to the second boat (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.46).	Was part of his expedition to search for the Kindur River, and to visit the Namoi which according to an escaped convict was connected to many rivers (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.15, 16)	Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, <i>Three Expeditions in the Interior of Eastern Australia</i> , University of Sydney Library online, viewed 8 June 2014.
Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell, "Mr Larmer and 14 men" (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.146).	1-2 June 1835 (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.146-147).	Fort Bourke	"encamped a few miles from the depot" then returned to the depot on 2 June (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.146, 147).	2 boats	"Discovery" and "Resolution" (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.145).	Constructed a fort and named it "Fort Bourke" to serve as a place of defence while they assembled and launched the craft (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.143-144, 147). The horses and cattle rested under the charge of Joseph Jones (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.146). Part of an expedition to trace the Darling river (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.102, 103-104).	Display Panel at Fort Bourke Stockade. Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, <i>Three Expeditions in the Interior of Eastern Australia</i> , University of Sydney Library online, viewed 8 June 2014.

Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell	<p>“Afternoon” of June 15 1836</p> <p>(Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.301)</p>	<p>Voyaged to and from the Murray-Murrumbidgee junction</p> <p>(Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.301)</p>		<p>Rowboat</p> <p>(Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, p.301)</p>		<p>Was part of an expedition to survey the rest of the Darling River from the furthest point reached on his previous journey then to trace the river to its junction with the Murray (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.223, 225).</p> <p>From then on the party proceeded through to the South Victoria coast and used the boats for river crossings (Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, pp.331, 393, 397-398; Shaw ed., 1984, p.221).</p>	<p>Mitchell, 1839 republished online 2003, <i>Three Expeditions in the Interior of Eastern Australia</i>, University of Sydney Library online, viewed 8 June 2014.</p> <p>Shaw, J ed., 1984, <i>Concise Encyclopedia of Australia</i>, 2nd edn, David Bateman, Queensland.</p>
<p>Captain Charles Sturt, Mrs Sturt, Elizabeth Davies nee Arbuckle “servant maid to the Sturt family”, George Gawler the Governor of South Australia, and his daughter Julia Gawler, Isaac, William, Henry Bryan, Mr Pullen, and possibly two policemen (J.B in Sturt, 1982, p.9; Sturt, 1982, pp.11, 19; Gawler, J, in Sturt, 1982, p.41). With them was, possibly an Aboriginal man, named “Bob” who acted as translator (Sturt, 1982, p.21).</p> <p>Mr Pullen, “the Commander of Colonial Marine and Marine Surveyor”, was ordered to make preparations for the boats (ed., in Sturt, 1982, p.83; Sturt, 1982, p.11). It was planned to have three boats with a total of eight sailors (Sturt, n.d in Sturt 1982, p.11), but there seems to have been 4 boats (Sturt, 1982, p.22).</p>	1839	<p>Currency Creek, near Goolwa</p> <p>(Sturt, 1982, pp.19-20; Baker & Reschke, 2004, p.7)</p>	<p>North West Bend, also referred to as “The Great Elbow” (Dawson, 2014, p. 30; Sturt, 1982, p.22; c.2010 River Murray Towns: Morgan; Arbuckle in Sturt, 1982, p. 64).</p> <p>North West Bend is located in the modern site of Morgan (c.2010 River Murray Towns: Morgan).</p>	<p>4 rowboats with sails</p> <p>(Sturt, 1982, p.22).</p>		<p>Known as the Mount Bryan Expedition (1982). The expedition was undertaken so that Governor Gawler could make a preliminary inspection to see whether land north of the North West Bend was arable (Sturt, 1982, p.19).</p> <p>He also hoped to assess whether Lake Alexandrina and the Murray were viable transport options (Sturt, 1982, p.19).</p> <p>The three women accompanied the river expedition, to give the impression that South Australia was safe for settlement (Arbuckle in Sturt, 1982, p.45). It is difficult to determine how much of the journey was rowing, but</p>	<p>c.2010 River Murray Towns: Morgan, viewed 9 November 2015, http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1340</p> <p>Baker, R& M & Reschke, W, 2004, <i>Murray River Pilot Goolwa to SA-NSW Border and Lower Murray, Lakes and Coorong</i>, published by Baker, Baker & Reschke.</p> <p>Dawson, B, 2014, <i>Literary Excesses- Eliza Davies –ANU Press – Australian National University</i>, pp.29-50, viewed 9 November 2015, http://press.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/ch033.pdf</p> <p>Gawler, G, Gawler, J & Arbuckle, E & Sturt, C in Sturt, C 1982, <i>The Mount Bryan Expedition 1839</i>, Sullivan’s Cove, Adelaide. Please note the book does not mention who compiled the work. However, the foreword was written by a “J.B.”</p>

						according to Julia Gawler's diary, the sailors rowed at least 13 miles (Gawler, J in Sturt, 1982, pp.41, 42). Some records referred to the boats "sailing" up the river and the winds steering them, which makes it difficult to discern how much of the time was spent rowing.	
Edward Micklethwaite Curr & "Tommy" described as "a rather civilised black" (Curr, 1968, p.173).	c.1848	Roughly the mouth of Baala creek which joined the Murray above Maiden's Punt (Curr, 1968, pp.172, 173; Curr 1965, p. Map of the Runs)	Pama, on the Murray River, also above Maiden's Punt [where he wished to be taken, implied that he was taken there] (Curr, 1968, p.173; Curr 1965, p. Map of the Runs).	Aboriginal bark canoe	"...very thick red gum bark, something over twenty feet long, with a small fire – on which a fish or a duck might be grilled-burning on a hearth of clay in the bows. The craft being baled out, and a heap of fresh couch-grass put on board for my accommodation, I seated myself on it"... (Curr, 1968, 173).	After trying to reach the land that his brother recommended him to farm his sheep, Curr persuaded an Aboriginal man to take him there in an Aboriginal bark canoe (Curr, 1968, pp.166, 167, 173).	Curr, E, M, 1883, <i>Recollections of Squatting in Victoria Then Called the Port Phillip District</i> , George Robertson, Melbourne, p.174. Curr, E, M, 1965, <i>Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, then called the Port Phillip District</i> , 2 nd edn, Melbourne University Press. Curr, E, M, 1968, <i>Recollections of Squatting in Victoria Then Called the Port Phillip District</i> , George Robertson, Melbourne, n.d, Regional Histories of New South Wales, Chapter 13 The Murray viewed 22 April 2012, http://www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/docs/Regional_Histories_Pt6_Murray_Scoast_III_awarra.pdf

Bishop Short	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Rowboat		“Bishop Short was another who rowed up the river in South Australia to make a chart. His marked the Anglican souls in need of saving, and the church boat <i>Etona</i> later worked from that” (Reschke in Wright, 1997, p.i).	Wright, M & A, 1997, <i>River Murray Charts Renmark to Yarrawonga</i> , 6th edition, B. J and M. A Wright, South Australia.
Governor Sir Henry Edward Fox Young; Captain Freeling, Mr. R. R. Torrens, Mr Hutton, George Mason and six Ngarrindjerri men (Nicholson, 2004, pp.103-104).	1850	Rufus River and then travelled northwards to the junction of the Murray and Darling Rivers (Nicholson, 2004, pp.103-104).	Goolwa (Nicholson, 2004, pp.103-104).	Whaleboat (Nicholson, pp.103-104).		The governor was placed under pressure to find ways of increasing colonial profit and was semi-convinced that the Murray River might be an option (Nicholson, 2004, p.103).	1850, ‘His Excellency’s Excursion to the Darling’, <i>South Australian</i> , 31 October, electronic version, retrieved 12 May 2012 from Trove database. Hutton, 1850, ‘Mr Hutton’s Journal of the Governor’s Expedition to the Darling.’ <i>South Australian Register</i> , 28 October, electronic version, retrieved 15 October 2012 from Trove database. 1853, ‘Navigation of the Murray.’, <i>South Australian Register</i> , 3 March, electronic version, retrieved 26 June 2012 from Trove database. Nicholson, J, 2004, <i>The Incomparable Cadell</i> , Allen and Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW.
Friedrich Gerstaecker with “German” (Gerstaecker, 1853, p.322). The accounts vary according to Gerstaecker (1851) in the newspaper titled ‘Miscellaneous extracts Mr. Gerstaecker’ his companion was C Simon. (Gerstaecker, 1851, ‘Miscellaneous extracts Mr. Gerstaecker’). According to <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> his companion was Edward Sismond (1851, ‘Sydney Voyage Down the Murray (from <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>)).	5 May 1851 (1851, Steam Navigation on the Murray River’).	Albury (Bodi., ‘Gerstaecker, Friedrich (1816–1872)’).	“80 miles from Albury” (Gerstaecker, 1853, p.342).	Canoe (1934, ‘Historic Rivers the Murray’).	Named “Bunyip” “Gum tree canoe” (1934, ‘Historic Rivers the Murray’).	According to Ernestine Hill’s (1958) <i>Water into Gold</i> Gerstaecker was accompanied by a man called Bunce and the trip occurred in 1856 (pp.17, 18). Most historical records seem to agree that the trip was in 1851, and so that is the entry used in the table.	Bodi, Leslie, ‘Gerstaecker, Friedrich (1816–1872)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gerstaecker-friedrich-3604/text5593 , accessed 31 March 2012. 1851, ‘Daring Adventurer’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 8 May, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. Gerstaecker, F, 1851, ‘Steam Navigation on the Murray River’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 15 July, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from

							<p>Trove database.</p> <p>Gerstacker, F, 1851, 'Miscellaneous Extracts (translated from the suedaustraliachezeitung)', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 15 July, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Gerstaecker, F, 1853, <i>Narrative of a Journey Round the World Comprising a Winter Passage Across the Andes to Chili [sic] with a Visit to the Gold Fields of California and Australia, The South Sea Islands, Java & C</i>, vol.2, Hurst and Blackett Publishers, London.</p> <p>Greig, A, W, 1927, 'Old Times on the Murray Beginnings of Navigation', <i>The Argus</i>, 15 October, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Heathcote, R, L, 1972, 'The Friedrich Gerstaecker Exhibition, State Library of South Australia', <i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia South Australian Branch</i>, vol. 73, pp. 71-73. [Available at the NLA]</p> <p>1934, 'Historic Rivers the Murray', <i>Cairns Post</i>, 16 November, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1853, 'Late News from England', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 15 July, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Mr Gerstaecker', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 25 June, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Mr. Gerstacker', <i>The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River General Advertiser</i>, 24 May, electronic version,</p>
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							<p>retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Mr. Gerstacker', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 19 May, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Navigation of the Murray', <i>The Courier</i>, 6 August, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1852, 'Navigation of the Murray to the editor of the South Australian Register', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 20 September, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Nicholson, J, 2004, <i>The Incomparable Cadell</i>, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, p.104</p> <p>1884, 'Picturesque Victoria, By the Vagabond, On the Murray no.1'', <i>The Argus</i>, 18 October, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Sydney Voyage Down the Murray (from the <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>)', <i>The Courier</i>, 21 June, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1851, 'Voyage Down the Murray', <i>The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News</i>, 26 September, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i>, 11th edn, Robertson and Mullins, Melbourne.</p>
Captain Francis Cadell and four men he found at Bendigo Goldfields (Nicholson, 2004, p.110).	July – 10 August 1852 (Rowland, c.1980,	Swan Hill (Rowland, c.1980, p.54)	Wellington (or Goolwa) (Rowland, c. 1980,	"Canvas boat" (Rowland,		The (1852) 'River Murray' article explicitly states that he went in a canvas boat.	<p>1852, 'Captain Cadell and the Murray', <i>Adelaide Morning Chronicle</i>, 13 September, electronic version, retrieved 5 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1852, 'The River Murray', <i>Adelaide</i></p>

	p.54)		p.54)	c.1980, p.54)			<p><i>Morning Herald</i>, 20 September, electronic version, retrieved 5 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Cannon, J, 2006, 'Exploring the Waterways', <i>National Library of Australia News</i>, pp.19-21, viewed 16 February 2012 from APA Informit database.</p> <p>Greig, A, W, 1927, 'Old Times on the Murray Beginnings of Navigation', <i>The Argus</i>, 15 October, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Nicholson, 2004, <i>The Incomparable Cadell</i>, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales.</p> <p>Rowland, E, C, c.1980, 'Four Queens of the Murray' in <i>Studies in Transport and the Murray River</i>, Royal Australian Historical Society, NSW.</p> <p>Ward, G, E, c. 1993, <i>Cockenzie to Goolwa</i>, Self published? On shelf at Goolwa Library.</p> <p>'Cadell's Boat Voyage Down Murray', <i>RGSA Proceedings</i>, 1916-17, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 1852/1, thanks to Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust.</p>
Mr Watson and five sons of Mr Radford	5 December 1853	Maidens Punt	Moorundie	"...flat-bottomed, 18 feet in length, and 5 across the beam..."		After eight months on the Forest Creek Goldfields, they walked overland from the Forest Creek Diggings to Maidens Punt. There they constructed a boat to row to Moorundie, from which they walked home to Angastown.	1853, 'Navigation of the Murray – Return Diggers', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 23 December, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from trove database.

Mr Henry Copeland and Captain Vanzeulicom	1854	"A point a little way below the second punt on the Goulburn at Seymour" (1855, 'Navigation of the Goulburn')	Maiden Punt (now Moama) (1855, 'Navigation of the Goulburn')	Small flat-bottomed boat (1855, 'Navigation of the Goulburn')		The voyage was commenced under Captain Cadell's instructions, although he did not accompany them (Cadell, 1855). Mr Copeland composed a chart (Cadell, 1855).	1855, 'Navigation of the Goulburn', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 23 June, electronic version, retrieved 20 October 2012 from Trove database. Cadell, 1855, 'To the Editor of the <i>Murray and Owens Advertiser</i> ', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 25 July, electronic version, retrieved 19 January 2014 from Trove database.
Captain Francis Cadell, Captain Dorward and possibly with John Hilder and Harry English (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers').	1855 (1887, 'A Murray Pioneer').	Albury (1887, 'A Murray Pioneer').	Edward Junction (or Moama) where Cadell left Dorward so that Cadell could travel in his steamer to meet them (1887, 'A Murray Pioneer'; 1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers').	Boat (1887, 'A Murray Pioneer').	"Hoops of old brandy casks and covered over with canvas" (Goodwin, 2005, p.2). Harry English claims that the boat's "frame was made out of pine cases and was covered with canvas and then coated with pine tar" (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers'). Cadell claimed that the craft "appeared a frail bark for it was made of green hide nailed to a frame" (Cadell cited in Nicholson, 2004, p.167).	Dorward was to proceed further on the river from the Edward Junction without Cadell until Cadell came up the river in a steamer (Goodwin, 2005, p.2). Two men by the name of John Hilder and Harry English claimed to have been with Cadell and Dorward until they arrived in Moama where Hilder and English stopped due to sickness (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers'). English wrote that Cadell earned £28 by selling the boat (1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers').	1887, 'A Murray Pioneer', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 16 July, electronic version, retrieved 13 May 2012 from Trove database. 1887, 'Our Letter Box. Murray River Pioneers', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 30 July, electronic version, retrieved 13 May 2012 from Trove database. Goodwin, M, A, 2005, <i>Captain George J Dorward On Ship and Shore</i> , published by Margaret Goodwin, Victoria. Nicholson, 2004, <i>The incomparable Cadell</i> , Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest NSW.

Mr. Cook and Friend	1855	Albury	Lake Alexandrina	Flat bottomed boat		“In it sailed the entire length of the river” (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913, p.9). It seems likely however, that they would have had a pair of oars to ensure that they could manoeuvre from tight corners. Interestingly, they passed the first steamer to travel from Albury to Echuca (Cook 1913 in MacDonald, 1913).	Cook, J, H, R, 1913, ‘Murray Voyaging’, in MacDonald, D, 1913, ‘Notes for Boys. Boat or Canoe’, <i>The Argus</i> , 25 February, electronic version, retrieved 16 January 2014.
Captain Francis Cadell	1856 (1856, ‘Edward River District’)	Edward River (1856, ‘Edward River District’)	Unknown	Skiff (1856, ‘Edward River District’)		According to Nicholson (2004) Cadell was bombarded with many suggestions including to test the navigability of the Edward River (pp.154, 160). The suggestions came at the end of the public dinner that was held in his honour after his paddle steamer the <i>Lady Augusta</i> completed its trip on the Murray (pp. 154, 160).	1856, ‘Edward River District’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 25 December, electronic version, retrieved 13 May 2012 from Trove database. Nicholson, 2004, <i>The Incomparable Cadell</i> , Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, New South Wales.
Dr and Mrs Benjamin Gummow	1858	Echuca	Swan Hill	Rowboat	“small”	Prominent citizen of Swan Hill, responsible for the development of the hospital in Swan Hill.	Swan Hill Genealogical and Historical Society Papers. Courtesy of the Swan Hill Genealogical and Historical Society.

John George Thornley	c.1850s	“Upper Darling” (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’).	“North-West Bend” (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’).	Bark Canoe (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’)		He was journeying home from the New South Wales goldfields when his horse escaped (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’). He then acquired a bark canoe and travelled to North-West Bend (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’). From there he commenced walking (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’,). Does not state when exactly, except that it was “before any shipping sailed on those waters” (1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’).	1928, ‘Mrs J. G. Thornley’, <i>Chronicle</i> , 14 April, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database 1925, ‘A Pioneer’s Recollections’, <i>The Register</i> , 4 February, electronic version, retrieved 15 August 2013 from Trove database.
Three unsuccessful diggers from the Snowy Mountains region	May -11 June 1860 (1860, ‘A Novel Journey on the Murray’;1860, ‘Wellington’)	Albury (1860, ‘A Novel Journey on the Murray’;1860, ‘Wellington’)	Wellington (1860, ‘Wellington’).	Rowing Boat (1860, ‘Wellingt-on’)		They travelled from the Snowy Diggings to Albury (1860, ‘A Novel Journey on the Murray’). From there they progressed in a boat to Wellington (1860, ‘A Novel Journey on the Murray’; 1860, Wellington) Many other diggers were starving and selling mining equipment for food (1860, ‘Wellington’).	1860, ‘A Novel Journey on the Murray’, <i>The Argus</i> , 19 May, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database. 1860, ‘Wellington. [From our Correspondent]’, <i>South Australian Register</i> , 15 June, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.
Mr and Mrs Abram Martin and Mr A. Woolley and eight others on the return journey (1860, ‘A Boat Trip on the Murray’).	April/May- November 1860 (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’).	Swan Hill to Albury (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’)	Return trip from Albury to Currency Creek (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’).	“4 oar sprit rigged boat” (1860, ‘Boat Trip Up and Down the Murray’)		Intended to pull up the Murray from Glenelg, but unfavourable weather forced them to travel overland to Currency Creek (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’). From Hart’s Station they were towed to Swan Hill from which they rowed upstream to Albury (1860, ‘Boat Trip up and Down the Murray’).	1860, ‘A Boat Trip on the Murray’, <i>Bendigo Advertiser</i> , 5 December, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database. 1860, ‘Boat Trip Up and Down the Murray’, <i>Examiner</i> , 29 December, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database. 1860, ‘Boat Voyage down the Murray to Adelaide’, <i>South Australian Register</i> , 30 October, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.

						<p>Once at Albury they walked to the Kiandra gold fields, spent four months there before abandoning the diggings (1860, 'Boat Trip up and Down the Murray'). They returned to Albury from which they and eight other diggers embarked to Currency Creek in a boat, although some got off earlier in South Australia (1860, 'A Boat Trip on the Murray').</p>	<p>Please note: judging by the date of departure, the diggers referred to in this article appear to be the same ones that travelled with Mr and Mrs Martin and Mr Woolley on the downstream voyage.</p>
<p>Captain Tilbrook (and possibly nine men): "A whaleboat arrived here this morning, bound for the Snowy River, commanded by Captain Tilbrook, with a party of ten" (1860, 'RIVER MURRAY[From a Correspondent]').</p>	1860	Goolwa?	<p>Blanchetown (1860, 'RIVER MURRAY. [From a Correspondent]').</p>	<p>Whaleboat (1860, 'RIVER MURRAY[From a Correspondent]').</p>		<p>They originally intended rowing further upstream, but the current and weather conditions made them await the arrival of a paddle steamer to take them to closer to their destination (1860, 'RIVER MURRAY. [From a Correspondent]').</p> <p>It seems likely that they were bound for the diggings. The reporter mentioned that there had been other groups who had to abandon their boat and that others should heed their warning (1860, 'RIVER MURRAY. [From a Correspondent]').</p>	<p>1860, 'River Murray', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 22 May, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1860, 'RIVER MURRAY. [From a Correspondent]', <i>Adelaide Observer</i>, May 26, electronic version, retrieved 18 January 2015 from Trove database.</p>

Trapmann, Chittleborough and Deichman	July 1860	Albury	Snowy River or Adelaide?	Punt	"14 ft. by 4 ft. by 2 ft."	According to A T. Saunders of Adelaide who wrote in about individuals travelling by boat on the Murray: "By 1860, when the Snowy River diggings existed, the Murray was a highway for boat traffic...In July 1860, Trapmann, Chittleborough and Deichman arrived from Albury in a punt 14 ft. by 4 ft. by 2 ft., having been four weeks on the voyage."	1929, 'Early Days on Murray', <i>News</i> , 15 April, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.
Thomas Smith and another man	1860	Milang	Darling Junction (Wentworth)	Small boat		Departed Milang for the Snowy Diggings, but stopped at the Darling Junction where they gained work.	1861, 'The Rivers Murray and Darling', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 2 January, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.
John Morris and wife and child	c.1860s	Menindie (1920, 'Personal').	Mannum (1920, 'Personal').	Canoe (1920, 'Personal').	Canoe was constructed by John Morris (1920, 'Personal').	Appears to have undertaken the journey "with his wife and child" as a holiday (1920, 'Concerning People'; 1920, 'Personal'). The articles do not state when he canoed down the rivers, but one claims he had arrived in Australia in 1854 "and spent several years on the Victorian and New Zealand and gold diggings" (1920, 'Concerning People'). Then "After a period of station life on the Darling" plied downstream (1920, 'Concerning People').	1920, 'Concerning People', <i>The Register</i> , 8 June, electronic version, retrieved 14 August 2013 from Trove database. 1920, 'Personal', <i>Sunday Times</i> , 20 June, electronic version viewed 14 August 2013 from Trove database. 1920, 'Obituary.', <i>Chronicle</i> (Adelaide, SA : 1895 - 1954), 12 June, electronic version, retrieved 7 November 2013 from Trove database.

Mr Harvey and "another party"	1861	Echuca	Deniliquin	Rowboat		<p>"They brought a rowing boat from Echuca... to the mouth of the Edward (if the Edward has a mouth at all), and thence down the river to Deniliquin" (1861, 'Navigation of the Edward, <i>The Argus</i>).</p>	<p>1861, 'Navigation of the Edward', <i>The Argus</i>, 14 January, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1861, 'Navigation of the Edward', <i>The Moreton Bay Courier</i>, 2 February, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>Please note that the two articles are syndicates.</p>
<p>George Burnell & Edward William Cole</p> <p>According to the Echuca Historical Society Museum index the trip was in 1862.</p>	<p>1861/1862</p> <p>(Turnley, E. Cole, 'Cole, Edward William (1832–1918)'; Echuca Historical Society Museum)</p>	<p>Echuca</p> <p>(Turnley, E. Cole, 'Cole, Edward William (1832–1918)')</p>	<p>Goolwa</p> <p>(Lincoln, 1947, p.10)</p>	<p>Rowboat</p> <p>(Turnley, E. Cole, 'Cole, Edward William (1832–1918)')</p>	<p>"18 ft long and 5ft beam. Flat bottom and drawing about 6 inches of water when aboard with all their gear...The whole was covered in at night with a tent supported by a pole at each end, and a ridge from stem to stern, the tent being fastened to the gunwale all around" (Lincoln, 1947, p.9).</p>	<p>Burnell took photographs along the way (Turnley, E. Cole, 'Cole, Edward William (1832–1918)'), some of these photos are presented online at the National Gallery of Australia website (n.d, COLE, E W BURNELL, George Natives' bark canoes – Murray River).</p> <p>"Many are illustrative of native manners and customs, and they form altogether a very valuable collection" (1862, 'Goolwa').</p>	<p>Turnley, E. Cole, 'Cole, Edward William (1832–1918)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cole-edward-william-3243/text4897, accessed 15 April 2012.</p> <p>Echuca Historical Museum Society Inc.</p> <p>Lincoln, F, 1947, <i>A Short Sketch of the Life of George Burnell 1830-1894</i>, available at The State Library of South Australia.</p> <p>1975, 'Melbourne Millionaire offered £20 For a good wife', <i>Sydney Sun</i>, 7 November, p.12 [NLA Biographical Cuttings Cole, E.W].</p> <p>1862, 'Voyage in an Open Boat', <i>The Argus</i>, 16 May, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1862, 'Goolwa', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 31 May, electronic version, retrieved 30 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>n.d, COLE, E W BURNELL, George Natives' bark canoes – Murray River, viewed 24 August 2014, http://artsearch.nga.gov.au/Detail.cfm?I</p>

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George Burnell & his younger brother (Lincoln, 1947, p.11)	1863 (Lincoln, 1947, p.11)	Goolwa (Lincoln, 1947, p.11)	Wentworth (Darling/Murray Junction) or the Murrumbidgee/Murray Junction (Lincoln, 1947, p.11 and no page number).	Rowboat (Lincoln, 1947, no page number and pp.11-12)		<p>Photographic images of the boat are available online at the State Library of South Australia (n.d, Photographer George Burnell's Boat on the River- SLSA online catalogue).</p> <p>It is uncertain how far they travelled as there is a photo caption of the boat at the Murrumbidgee Junction in Lincoln's book, whereas the text stated that they travelled at least as far as the Murray-Darling Junction (1947, no page number).</p>	<p>n.d, Photographer George Burnell's Boat on the River- SLSA online catalogue, http://encore.slsa.sa.gov.au/iii/encore/record/C__Rb2086159__SGeorge+Burnell__P0%2C1__Orightresult__X3?lang=eng&suite=cobalt viewed 23 June 2012</p> <p>Lincoln, F, 1947, <i>A Short Sketch of the Life of George Burnell 1830-1894</i>, available at The State Library of South Australia.</p>

<p>Augustus Baker Peirce and an “unnamed Aborigine and a ‘dancing master called Everest’”</p> <p>(Reschke in Wright, 1997, p.i)</p>	<p>c.1863/1864</p> <p>(n.d, Augustus Baker Peirce:: biography at :: at Design and Art Australia Online; Peirce, 1984, pp.74-75; 1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’)</p>	<p>Albury</p> <p>(Peirce, 1984, pp.56, 58, 60)</p>	<p>Lake Alexandrina</p> <p>(Peirce, 1984, pp. 73, 74)</p>	<p>Rowboat</p> <p>(Reschke in Wright, 1997, p.i)</p>	<p>“...fifteen-foot clinker- built boat provided with both sail and oars...”</p> <p>(Peirce, 1984, p.56)</p> <p>Peirce fitted in a small table on which he sketched the course of the river and marked the locations of soundings and obstructions (Peirce, 1984, p.58).</p>	<p>Hydrographer hired by “the proprietors of the <i>Lady Daly</i> line of steamers” to provide a detailed chart of the “Murray and its tributaries” (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’). His journey and recordings resulted in a 200 m long map that unfurled as the boat progressed on the river (n.d, Augustus Baker Peirce:: biography at :: at Design and Art Australia Online). The map located snags and other obstacles that could impede traffic from Albury to Goolwa (1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’).</p>	<p>1864, ‘Wednesday, October 5, 1864’, <i>The Argus</i>, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>n.d, Augustus Baker Peirce:: biography at :: at Design and Art Australia Online, viewed 20 November 2012, http://www.daa.org.au/bio/augustus-baker-peirce/biography/</p> <p>Peirce, A, B, 1984, <i>Knocking About Being Some Adventures of Augustus Baker Peirce in Australia</i>, Shoestring Press, Wangaratta Victoria. (facsimile, originally published in 1924).</p> <p>Wright, M, 1997, <i>River Murray Charts Remark to Yarrawonga</i>, 6th edition, B.J and M.A Wright, South Australia.</p>
<p>Two unnamed men</p>	<p>1864</p>	<p>“About Mungindi”</p>	<p>Adelaide (intending), reached at least as far as Walgett</p>	<p>Boat</p>		<p>“...three different lots of men at different times came from the Upper Barwon, about Mungindi, in boats being carried downstream rapidly by the current. I remember one of the boats had two men who were bent upon finally reaching Adelaide, and with them they had a dog and a cat.”</p> <p>This was during the 1864 flood on the Namoi River when it was “impossible to travel either by horse or vehicle...and no railway within hundreds of miles [of Walgett?]”.</p>	<p>‘A.T.C’, 1921, ‘In 1864’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 13 August, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.</p>

Unnamed men	1864	"About Mungindi"	Bourke	Boat		"...three different lots of men at different times came from the Upper Barwon, about Mungindi, in boats being carried downstream rapidly by the current.... The second boat got as far as Bourke..." This was during the 1864 flood on the Namoi River when it was "impossible to travel either by horse or vehicle...and no railway within hundreds of miles [of Walgett?]"	'A.T.C', 1921, 'In 1864', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 13 August, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.
Unnamed man	1864	"About Mungindi"	Brewarrina	Canoe		"...three different lots of men at different times came from the Upper Barwon, about Mungindi, in boats being carried downstream rapidly by the current.... the third was a large canoe, made from the burnt-out butt of a large tree, with a bow added. It had only one occupant, and he disposed of his craft at Brewarrina, because the current by that time had ceased to be strong enough to carry him as quickly as he desired." This was during the 1864 flood on the Namoi when it was "impossible to travel either by horse or vehicle...and no railway within hundreds of miles [of Walgett?]"	'A.T.C', 1921, 'In 1864', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 13 August, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.
Mr and Mrs Edward and Helena Forde, "with four professional assistants and nine labourers from the Sydney Government" (1865, 'Telegraphic Despatches.')	1865	Wentworth (1866, 'The South [From the Southern Argus]')	About 15 miles above Menindee, intended to make way to Bourke (1866, 'The South [From the Southern	Boat (1865, 'Country Works.')	Carried 12 months provisions and equipment (1865, 'Country	Surveying party despatched to assess the Darling River during low flow, to map and describe obstructions, for	1865, 'Telegraphic Despatches.', <i>The Bendigo Advertiser</i> , 4 August, electronic version, retrieved 15 December 2013 from Trove database.

			Argus]')		Works.')	<p>the purpose of removing them to enable year-round navigation; and suggest sites for new towns supported by revitalised river traffic (1865, 'Country Works').</p> <p>The survey put to a halt after the death, from typhoid, of Edward Forde, the leader of the expedition (1910, 'The Last of the Artist-Naturalists.').</p> <p>Helena drew sketches of plants that interested her during the journey (1910, 'The Last of the Artist-Naturalists.').</p> <p>They surveyed "from Wentworth to about 15 miles above Menindee" (1866, 'The South [From the Southern Argus]').</p> <p>It is uncertain how far they travelled in a boat as pictures by Helena suggest very low river levels (Helena Forde - 'Sketches of Murray and Darling Rivers Taken in Camp, 1865-66 - H. Forde' [Album view]).</p>	<p>1865, 'Country Works.', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 21 July, electronic version, retrieved 20 December 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1865, 'The Survey of the Darling. To the Editor of the Herald', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 22 August, electronic version, retrieved 15 December 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1866, 'The South [From the Southern Argus]', <i>South Australian Weekly Chronicle</i>, 9 June, 22 August, electronic version, retrieved 15 December 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1910, 'The Last of the Artist-Naturalists.', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 14 December, electronic version, retrieved 15 December 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>c.2007, Helena Forde - 'Sketches of Murray and Darling Rivers Taken in Camp, 1865-66 - H. Forde' [Album view], viewed 7 August 2015, http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/albumView.aspx?acmsID=430614&itemID=824232</p>
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Captain Hugh King and two crewmen	1867	Wentworth (p.74)	Echuca (p.76)	Canoe of "company construction" (<i>Riverine Herald</i> cited in Phillips, 1972, p.74)		Delivered the paddle steamer <i>Moira</i> to its new owners at Wentworth (Phillips, 1972, pp.74, 76). Would have taken a paddle steamer to Echuca but the river was too shallow (Phillips, 1972, pp.74, 76).	1867, 'Thursday 30 May', <i>The Argus</i> , 30 May, retrieved 28 October 2013 from trove database. I believe that this article is referring to King and his crew as the departure and destination were the same and it was during the same time period. Phillips, P, 1972, <i>River Boat Days on the Murray, Darling, Murrumbidgee</i> , Lansdowne Press, Melbourne, pp.74, 76.
Bayfield Moulden & "Bay"	c.1872	Overland Corner (Bayfield, 1872, pp.10-11)	Mannum (Bayfield, 1872, p.20)	Canoes (Bayfield, 1872, p.3)	"Fifteen feet by two and ten inches deep... A mast, sail and a paddle... paddle 8 feet in length and with a blade at each end" (Bayfield, 1872, p.11).	Inspired by Mr. Macgregor's account of travelling in his canoe "The Rob Roy." (Bayfield, 1872, p.3). Journal originally "for private circulation" (see its front cover).	Moulden, B, 1872, <i>Journal of a Canoe Trip Down the River Murray</i> , printed by Webb, Vardon & Pritchard, King William St. Available from the State Library of South Australia. [for private circulation] n.d, Bayfield Moulden 'Journal of a canoe trip 200 miles down the river Murray, Christmas 1872' New South Wales State Library/Catalogue, viewed 1 November 2016, http://primo-slnsw.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=SLNSW_ALMA21123821840002626&indx=1&recIds=SLNSW_ALMA21123821840002626&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&dscnt=0&scp.scps=scope%3A%28ADLIB%29%2Cscope%3A%28SLNSW_ALMA%29&mode=Basic&vid=SLNSW&srt=rank&tab=default_tab&vl(freeText0)=moulden%20bayfield&dum=true&dstmp=1477952858960

Deiner: occupation hawker	Unknown			Rowboat	Sometimes used a sail (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.79). “Paddle each side... he turned these paddles by hand and by the use of a handle attached to each” (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.79).	He travelled in a rowboat upon one of the rivers to sell goods (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.79). “After many years he saved up enough money to buy a small paddle steamer” (Richards-Mouseley, 2010, p.80). Account does not say which river, but it seems to be the Darling River.	Richards-Mousley, C, 1995, <i>Big Men Long Shadows: A Story of the History and Happenings of a Sheep Station on the River Darling 'Windalle'</i> available from the Wentworth Shire Library as part of Wentworth Historical Society. Richards- Mousley, C, 2010, <i>Big Men Long Shadows: A Story of the History and Happenings of a Sheep Station on the River Darling 'Windalle'</i> 2 nd edn, Nelen Yuku Publications, Kensington, available from the NLA.
“Two young gentlemen from Melbourne” [planned journey and had railed to Echuca]	1872	Echuca	Adelaide (intending)	Canoe	“Rob Roy canoe”	Writer or editor believes that they won't be able to go further than Swan Hill due to river conditions (1872, 'Long Journey Ahead').	1872, 'Long Journey Ahead', <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 30 March, microfilm at the Echuca Historical Society Museum. Thanks to the Echuca Historical Society Museum.
Elia D'Arrob and “Essex”	11 April 1873 (D'Arrob, 1877, p.8)	Seymour (D'Arrob, 1877, pp.6-8)	Echuca (D'Arrob, pp.34-35)	2 Canoes (D'Arrob, 1877, p.6).	Named: “New Moon” and “Bunyip” (D'Arrob, 1877, p.6).	“Earliest recorded canoe trip in Australia” (Prior, 1982, p.14). This is not true: there is at least one earlier canoe journey. See Bayfield Moulden and Bay, 1872.	Prior, J, 1982, 'History of Canoeing – Part 1', <i>The Paddler</i> , Vol. 39, pp.11-15. D'Arrob, A, F, E, 1877, <i>Canoeing in Victoria 1873</i> , Printer: (Rhymney: G.J. Jacobs) NLA.
Mr Tommie Short with his wife and child	1875	Somewhere on the Murrumbidgee does not specify where exactly (Hill, 1958, p.58).	Mildura? [Said to be one of the first inhabitants of the Mildura area before the Chaffey brothers started the Mildura Irrigation Colony (Hill, 1958, p.58). Hill also mentions that a few weeks after having to stop due to an almost dying baby, another was born in a traveller's hut in Mildura (Hill, 1958, p.58)].	Rowboat (Hill, 1958, p.58)		Searching for employment (Hill, 1958, p.58)	Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i> , 11 th edn, Robertson and Mullens Ltd, Melbourne.

W.P. Delay and A. Van de Poorten	1876	Echuca (1876, 'December 19 1876'; 1876, <i>Riverine Herald</i>).	Albury then to Lake Alexandrina (1876, 'December 19 1876').	"Gig" which is a small narrow boat propelled by four or six oars and is often stored on a ship, was 20ft long, 4ft and 8 inches in the bream and a sail was attached (1876, 'December 19 1876'; Dear & Kemp eds c.2014).	Named Gitano (1876, 'December 19 1876').	"An adventurous holiday strongly suggestive of "a thousand miles in a Rob Roy Canoe"" (1876, <i>Riverine Herald</i>). Plenty of game and displayed Belgian flag as they proceeded on the water (1876, 'December 19 1876').	1876, <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 5 August, electronic version, retrieved 5 August 2013 from Trove database. 1876, 'December 19 1876', <i>The Argus</i> , 19 December, electronic version, retrieved 29 August 2014 from Trove database. Dear, I, C, B & Kemp, P, (eds), 2007, <i>Oxford Companion to Ships and the Sea</i> , 'Gig Oxford Reference', viewed online 29 August 2014, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.canberra.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780199205684.001.0001/acref-9780199205684-e-1103?rskey=8W7wae&result=2
Captain Sinclair according to Dr. G. E. Morrison built a "flatty of his own construction" (Morrison, 1881, p.2). The <i>Australian Country and Town Journal</i> does not state which sort of craft he used, however considering that the river was full of snags, it's likely that he may have used a small human-powered boat to navigate the river.	1877	Forbes (Morrison, 1881, no.5, p.2)	According to Morrison who spoke to Sinclair on the steamer, "After travelling [on a flatty] 1100 miles took him [Sinclair] to the Murrumbidgee" (Morrison, 1881, no.5, p.2).	"Flatty" (Morrison, 1881, p.2). Or "Small dinghy which he caused to be built at Forbes" (1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan River February 20.').		Was despatched to the Lachlan to see whether it could be navigated by steamers (1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan River February 20.').	1877, <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 10 November, electronic version, retrieved 12 May 2012 from Trove database. 1878, 'Hillston, Lachlan River February 20.', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 2 March, electronic version, retrieved 12 May 2012 from Trove database. Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe no.5', <i>The Leader Supplement</i> , September 3, p.2. 1878, 'Navigating the Lachlan', <i>The Maitland Mercury & Hunter River Advertiser</i> , 12 February, electronic version, retrieved 12 May 2012 from Trove database.
Captain David Simpson Kirkwood and five others	1878	Forbes (1901, 'The Lachlan River.').	Lachlan-Murrumbidgee Junction (1901, 'The Lachlan River.')	Whaleboat and skiff (1901, 'The Lachlan River.')		Was employed by the Works Department to survey the Lachlan River, and did so from Forbes to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, and he later reported to the Engineer in Chief, Harbours and Rivers about the potential of	1901, 'The Lachlan River.', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 11 May, electronic version, retrieved 4 December 2014 from Trove database. Kirkwood, 1901, 'Along the Lachlan.', <i>Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal</i> , 30 April, electronic version, retrieved 4 December 2014 from Trove

						<p>steamer navigation (1901, 'The Lachlan River.').</p>	<p>database.</p> <p>1901, 'Down the Lachlan in a Boat.', <i>The Wyalong Star and Temora and Barmedman Advertiser</i>, 14 May, electronic version, retrieved 4 December 2014 from Trove database.</p> <p>Green D., Petrovic J., Moss P., Burrell M. (2011) Water resources and management overview: Lachlan catchment, NSW Office of Water, Sydney 2011, www.water.nsw.gov.au/.../34/catchment_overview_lachlan.pdf.aspx</p> <p>Kirkwood, 1901, 'The Lachlan River. An Official's Experience.' <i>Evening News</i>, 1 May, electronic version, retrieved 4 December 2014 from Trove database.</p> <p>1901, 'Along the Lachlan. An Explorer's Narrative. Sixteen Miles of Reeds', <i>The Grenfell Record and Lachlan District Advertiser</i>, 4 May, electronic version, retrieved 4 December 2014 from Trove database.</p> <p>1879, 'Survey of the Lachlan. As to its Adaptability for Navigation.', <i>The Riverine Grazier</i>, 25 October, electronic version, retrieved 12 July 2014 from Trove database.</p>
Man [mentioned in Morrison, 1881, no.1]	c.1878	Albury	Wahgunyah	Scull boat "he sculled"		Morrison sometimes says rows when he means paddle a canoe (Morrison, 1881, no.1).	Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe no.1', <i>The Leader Supplement</i> , August 6, pp. 1-2.
Dr. George Ernest Morrison	1880-1	Albury (Morrison, 1881, no.1)	Murray Mouth and Coorong (Morrison, 1881, no.8)	Canoe	"14 ft long, 28 inches broad, up to 1ft deep... cedar, clinker built with an arched deck and a sheer fore and aft like a whaleboat belted inside with cork"(Morrison,	Mentions Sturt's account (Morrison, 1881, no.4). Might have gone part of the way by paddle steamer to Morgan (Morrison, 1881, no.6). A paddle steamer also took the canoe along a	1903 'Dr. G.E. Morrison' <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 28 January, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database. Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.1', <i>The Leader Supplement</i> , August 6, pp. 1-2. [All <i>Leader</i> articles were on microfilm at the

					1881, no.1).	<p>small distance from Goolwa (Morrison, 1881, no.8).</p> <p>Morrison seems to have enjoyed his trip and was thankful for the hospitality he received (Morrison, 1881, no.8).</p>	<p>SLV].</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.2', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, August 13, pp. 2-3.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.3' <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, August 20, p. 2.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.4', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, August 27 pp. 1-2.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.5' <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, September 3, p.2.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.6', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, September 10, pp.1-2.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.7', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, September 17, p.2.</p> <p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.8', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, September 24, pp.1-2.</p> <p>1883, 'Mr George Ernest Morrison', <i>Illustrated Australian News</i>, 11 July, electronic version, retrieved 30 October 2013 from Trove database. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article63184776 (picture of Morrison)</p>
<p>Two men who claimed to "have rowed from Bourke on the Darling some 1600 miles"</p> <p>[mentioned in Morrison, 1881, no.4]</p>	c.1880	Bourke	<p>"Opposite side of the River to Glynn's" (if not further)</p> <p>(Morrison, 1881, no.4).</p>	By "rowed" Morrison sometimes means paddled in a canoe (Morrison, 1881, no.4).			<p>Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.4', <i>The Leader Supplement</i>, August 27 pp. 1-2.</p>

Carpenter in a man-propelled boat [mentioned in Morrison, 1881, no.6]	c.1880	Wentworth	Met Morrison near Cutlers Billabong, he might have proceeded further from there. Probably started at Wentworth (Morrison, 1881, no.6)	Craft made out of a furniture case and propelled by sculls. This he built at Wentworth where he presumably started his trip (Morrison, 1881, no.6).		Trying to find work (Morrison, 1881, no.6).	Morrison, G, E, 1881, 'Down the Murray in a Canoe, no.6', <i>The Leader Supplement</i> , September 10, pp.1-2.
Mary Holden, her baby and deceased husband	c.1884	Berri-Berri Bend	Overland Corner	Rowboat		Mary rowed for two days to the nearest township with her infant and deceased husband, looking for help (Pownall, 1975, pp.236-237).	Pownall, E, 1975, <i>Australian Pioneer Women</i> , Rigby Limited Adelaide.
Sidney H. Jones and Frank Bauer	1884	Bourke	Morgan	Dinghy	"8 ft dinghy"	"In 1884 with a mate Frank Bauer, I decided to leave, but the fares were so high [presumably paddle steamer or coach fares] that we bought an 8-ft dinghy..." (1928, 'Adventurous Life'). They seemed to enjoy their experiences: "We lived by the gun on ducks and other game, and baked Johnny cake in the coals. It was a great life. We would start each morning at 4.30 or 5 o'clock, stop at 8 for a swim and breakfast, and then on again until sunset" (1928, 'Adventurous Life').	1928, 'Adventurous Life Experiences of Rosewater Man Followed Many Callings', <i>News</i> , 17 May, electronic version, retrieved 16 December 2013 from Trove database.

James Henry Shaw	Pre 1886	Walgett	Wentworth	Canoe			1886, 'A Canoeing Voyage', <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 6 July, electronic version, retrieved 30 October 2013 from Trove database.
Mr J H Shaw with his pet dog	1884-1885 Started on the Lachlan River with hopes to also travel on the Murrumbidgee and Murray (1884, 'More Journalistic Enterprise. A Canoe Voyage Down the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, Murray &c').	Approximately "12 miles above Forbes" (1884, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan Commencement of the River Trip').	Murray Mouth (1885, 'For the next issue of the journal'). Went overland from Wallanthy to Hay (1885, 'The Cruise of our Canoe VI').	Canoe (1884, 'More Journalistic Enterprise. A Canoe Voyage Down the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, Murray &c').	"...Rob Roy pattern, stoutly constructed on the clinker principle of Huon pine. The principle dimensions are: length overall 14ft, beam amidships 2ft 0in, depth one foot..." (Shaw, 1884, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan Commencement of the River Trip').	Shaw also visited Papua New Guinea three times (1885, 'Fate of the Explorers'; MacFarlane, 1878). One time he went with Andrew Goldie--an explorer and settler of Papua New Guinea (MacFarlane, 1878).	1878, 'Discovery of Gold in New Guinea', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 12 January, electronic version, retrieved 8 May 2012 from trove database. MacFarlane, S, 1878, 'A Visit to the Ports Moresby District,' <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 19 January, electronic version, retrieved 8 May from Trove database. 1884, 'More Journalistic Enterprise. A Canoe Voyage Down the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee, Murray &c', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 8 November, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1884, 'Town and Country. Canoe Expedition', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 22 November, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1884, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan Commencement of the River Trip', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 13 December, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 3 January, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan. V Overcoming Obstacles,' <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 10 January, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan IV. An

							<p>Inland Lake', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 24 January, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan V. Hospitality in the Dry Country', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 7 February, electronic version, retrieved 2 May 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1885, 'The Cruise of our Canoe VI Balranald, January 28. Jolly Under Difficulties', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 28 February, electronic version, retrieved 1 May 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1885, 'Our Canoe on the Lachlan. II. Goodbye to Forbes', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 3 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1885, 'The Naturalist Notes on the Natural History of the Upper Lachlan, I', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 7 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1885, 'The Cruise of Our Canoe. VII Drop them mussels quick', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 7 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database</p> <p>1885, 'Our Canoe upon the Murrumbidgee VIII Balranald, January 31 Meeting of the Waters.', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 14 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database</p> <p>1885, 'Notes on the history of the Upper Lachlan II', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i>, 21 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.</p>
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Shaw met two men near Ned's Corner "...two rabbiters with their dogs and traps" [Mentioned in 1885, 'Our Canoe upon the Darling. XI Wentworth (Continued)']	1885	Unknown	South Australia (intending)	"Two hand-paddle craft"			1885, 'Our Canoe upon the Darling. XI Wentworth (Continued)', <i>Australian Town and Country Journal</i> , 25 April, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.
Mr J. H. Shaw & Mr. Shaw	c.1886	Albury (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe')	Glenelg where they were forced to finish as rough seas and sand in the canoe made it hazardous to go any further (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe').	Canoe (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe').	"Double centreboard Rob Roy canoe on the pearl pattern-built of oak and mahogany" (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe').	Canoe called <i>Golden Butterfly</i> after a novel of the same name (1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe'). <i>The Argus</i> (1886) mentioned that J.H Shaw had passed through Echuca in his canoe, with the same description as the one mentioned in later articles about his trip with his brother to Port Adelaide, however, <i>The Argus</i> does not mention anything about his brother accompanying him. Once again, a journalist refers to MacGregor's journey: "Mr Shaw... bids fair to rival the deeds of the famed Mr McGregor in his "Rob Roy canoe" (1886, 'A Canoeing Voyage').	1886, 'Echuca', <i>The Argus</i> , 5 July, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database. 1886, 'Over Two Thousand Miles in a Canoe', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 20 November, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database. 1886, <i>South Australian Register</i> , 26 November, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database. 1886, 'A Canoeing Voyage', <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 6 July, electronic version, retrieved 30 October 2013 from trove database. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article114643321
Rev. F. C. B. Fairey	13 June – August 1888 (1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist')	Albury (1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist')	Murray Mouth (1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist')	Canoe (1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist')	According to one article the canoe was named "Rob Roy" after John Macgregor's Canoe (1888, 'Arrival of Great Canoeist'). According to several other	The canoe was razed in a fire at the North Adelaide Congregational Church (Bevan, 1888). Plenty of sympathy was expressed for Rev Fairey and his canoe (1888, Burning of the Rev.C.B Fairey's Canoe'; Bevan,	1877, 'Rev. F. C. B. Fairey's Canoe Evangelist.', <i>Illustrated Australian News</i> , 3 October, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database. 1877, 'The Canoe "Evangelist"', <i>Illustrated Sydney News</i> , 13 October, electronic version, retrieved 17 July

					<p>articles the canoe was called the “<i>Evangelist</i>” and at least one article implied that he canoed from Albury and around Tasmania in the same canoe (1888, ‘Blanchetown’; 1888, ‘Australian River Mission’; 1888, Voyage in a Canoe Down the Murray; 1888, ‘Current Topics’).</p>	<p>1888; Crase, 1888). In particular, Bevan sent a letter to the <i>South Australian Register</i> asking for donations to be sent so that Fairey could procure a new canoe and continue his missionary work (Bevan, 1888).</p> <p>According to 1888 article ‘Church Intelligence’ from the <i>South Australian Register</i>, Fairey had arrived in Renmark and hoped to present a lecture of his trip after he had completed it. His arrival and details of his trip were noted in several newspaper articles (1888, ‘Church Intelligence’, 29 August; 1888, ‘Canoeists Lecture’; 1888, ‘Renmark Notes’; 1908, ‘Early Mildura’; 1888, ‘South Australia’; 1889, ‘Epitome of News’).</p>	<p>2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Arrival of Great Canoeist’, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i>, 23 August, electronic version, retrieved 25 February 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Church Intelligence’, <i>South Australian Register</i>, 2 August, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Blanchetown.’, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i>, 7 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Church Intelligence’, <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i>, 29 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1903, ‘Port Esperance’, <i>The Mercury</i>, 11 February, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Burning of the Rev. C. B. Fairey’s Canoe’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 8 September, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Canoeist Lecture’, <i>South Australian Register</i>, 11 September, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, ‘Renmark Notes (from our correspondent)’, <i>The Mildura Cultivator</i>, 9 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1879, ‘Religious.’ <i>The Mercury</i>, 12 May, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1887, ‘Country News from our correspondent’, <i>The Mercury</i>, 27 July, electronic version, retrieved 17 July</p>
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							<p>2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Australian River Mission', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 20 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Religious News', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 2 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1908, 'Early Mildura (from Cultivator, 4th October 1888.)', <i>The Mildura Cultivator</i>, 7 October, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Bevan, L, D, 1888, 'The Rev F. C. B.. Fairey's Canoe', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 8 September, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Cruse, G, 1888, 'The Rev. F. C. B Fairey and his lost Canoe to the Editor', <i>The South Australian Advertiser</i>, 10 September, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Fairey, F. C. B., 1877, 'Mr. Fairey's Canoe To the editor the Argus', <i>The Argus</i>, 10 July, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Current Topics', <i>Launceston Examiner</i>, 23 October, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Religious', <i>The Queenslander</i>, 15 September, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Voyage in a Canoe Down the Murray. [By telegraph] from our correspondent), <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 15 June, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove</p>
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							<p>database.</p> <p>1888, 'Epitome of News', <i>The Mercury</i>, 24 October, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'Australian River Mission', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 17 August, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1889, 'Epitome of News', <i>The Mercury</i>, 1 February, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'South Australia', <i>The Mercury</i>, 11 September, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1888, 'A Provincial Press Kiosk', <i>Bendigo Advertiser</i>, 16 June, electronic version, retrieved 22 September 2013 from Trove database.</p>
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"Pope and Power"	c.1888	Moama	Moama (it seems as if they finished the journey at Moama the article does not mention finishing there, but it appears that they did reach Deniliquin)	2 Canoes	One canoe referred to as a "timber Rob Roy" and "the other of canvas" (Power, 1931).	They paddled in a circuit by following the Murray until they reached the junction of the upper Edward River, turned back, paddled past Moama until they arrived at the junction of the lower Edward river, canoed on the Edward until they reached the junction of the upper Edward with the Murray, and then it seems they canoed the Murray until they reached Moama. After they arrived in Deniliquin the local press wrote an article titled "six hundred miles in a canoe." The author of this thesis could not find a copy of the Deniliquin article.	Power, P, K, 1931, 'A Canoe Voyage', <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> , 16 October, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database.
Nurse Wells of Gol Gol	c.1888	Gol Gol	Mildura	Rowboat		"Houses of tin, wood, adobe, lath and plaster, Murray pine and Murray red-gum were cropping up all over the place, and already there were ninety children playing about them. Nurse Wells of Gol Gol, brought all the babies in to the world free, rowing over the river in a boat, and walking miles through the bush to do it" (Hill, 1958, p.68).	Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i> , 11 th edn, Robertson and Mullens Ltd, Melbourne.

“Oldest known inhabitant [of Renmark]” [in c.1888]	c.1888			Rowboat		Was a “river-cobbler” who would row to places on the Murray River to repair boots (Hill, 1958, p.71). One time he managed to persuade one of the steamers going past to tow his boat (Hill, 1958, p.71).	Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i> , 11 th edn, Robertson and Mullens Ltd, Melbourne.
People smuggled alcohol into “temperate” Mildura using canoes, distances unknown.	c.1890		Mildura	Canoe		Canoes were used to smuggle alcohol during the night to a club of purchasers in Mildura (Hill, 1958, p.97). Mildura Irrigation Colony which was advertised as a temperate settlement was actually the opposite (Hill, 1958, p.96). The river inhibited detection as there were so many curves and bends the smugglers originally managed to escape the police (Hill, 1958, p.97).	Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i> , 11 th edn, Robertson and Mullens Ltd, Melbourne.
“George Lindsay”	“c.1890”	“Approx Darling Anabranche (Mooroora NSW)”	“Swan Reach via Pt McLeay”	“Boat”			IRNMR Register, Docket No.108, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust.
Mary Trevor and James Trevor Real names before they left New Zealand and got married were: Mary Esdaile nee Dobell and James Tanner (Trinca, 2003, pp.26, 27, 33-40, 58-60).	May 1894- March 1895 (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.23).	Bourke (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.1).	(near) Albury (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.23).	Rowboat (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.1; Trinca, 2003 p.2)	“18 ft long, almost 5 ft wide, flat bottomed and looked very dirty and uninviting as she lay in a stagnant little backwater just outside the town” (cited from Edith or Mary’s diary in Trinca, 2003, p.1)	Jim constructed a paddle wheel and they both attached it to the boat while still travelling on the Darling River (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, pp.5, 6). “As Jim was an expert marksman, ‘we decided to shoot one of everything we saw and only more for food’” (Mary Trevor cited in Trinca, 2003, p.1).	Swan Hill Genealogical and Historical Society, Inc. Trinca, J, C, 2003, <i>Incredible Trevors: The amazing story of an artist and an adventuress</i> , published by John Collier Trinca, Victoria.

<p>Mr & Mrs George Clark</p>	<p>c.1895 2 March finished November 4</p> <p>(1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'; 1895, 'A Wonderful Trip through Australia by Water').</p>	<p>Goondiwindi (Queensland)</p> <p>(1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe; 1895, 'A Wonderful Trip through Australia by Water').</p>	<p>Goolwa via the "MacIntyre, Barwon, Darling and Murray Rivers." Reached Goolwa then proceeded to Adelaide. There is no mention of them canoeing from Goolwa to Adelaide.</p> <p>(1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water').</p>	<p>"Flat bottomed canoe"</p> <p>(1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe')</p> <p>"16 ft long. 4 ½ ft beam and drawing 6 ½ inches when loaded"</p> <p>(1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water').</p>	<p>Called "snipe" "fitted with centre board and one mast"</p> <p>(1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water').</p>	<p>Wilcannia Boating Club met them outside their town and escorted them to it (1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'). Sometimes surname is spelled "Clarke" or "Clark." (1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'; 1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water').</p> <p>Received attention in Queensland, Victorian, Tasmanian, South Australian and New South Wales newspapers (1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe'; 1895, 'A Great River Voyage'; 1895, 'A Great River Voyage'; 1895, 'Down the Darling in a Canoe').</p>	<p>1895, 'A Great River Voyage', <i>The Argus</i>, 28 February, electronic version, retrieved 18 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1895, 'A Great River Voyage', <i>The Mercury</i>, 2 March, electronic version, retrieved 18 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1895, 'A Wonderful Trip Through Australia by Water -2574 miles Traversed from Queensland to South Australia', <i>Western Mail</i>, 29 November, electronic version, retrieved 7 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1895, 'Down the Darling in a Canoe', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 17 August, electronic version, retrieved 18 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1895, 'From Queensland in a Canoe', <i>South Australian Register</i>, 22 October, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1895, 'The Snipe on the Darling.', <i>The Queenslander</i>, 21 December, viewed 14 August, 2013, http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article21639038 (photo of Snipe)</p>
<p>"Two adventurous spirits"</p> <p>They embarked on their journey but I could not discover at what point they finished.</p>	<p>1895</p>	<p>Towong</p>	<p>Adelaide (intending)</p>	<p>"Boat, stout and tight" built by Mr Brown who was a Corryong local carpenter</p>		<p>According to Wild and McMahon (2006, p.126), one of the two travellers was Mr Brown, but a look at the <i>The Ovens and Murray Advertiser</i>, does not state that he went with them.</p>	<p>1895, <i>The Ovens and Murray Advertiser</i>, 21 December, referenced from C, G, Wild & McMahon, D, 2006, <i>Old News Today, Tales of the Upper Murray, Newspaper Snippets from random years, 1876-1900</i>, page 126</p> <p>1895, <i>The Ovens and Murray Advertiser</i>, 21 December, viewed 29 October 2013 on microfilm at NLA.</p>

Samuel Sudden	1895	Menindee (1895, 'Intercolonial Items').	"Serpentine Weir on the Loddon" River (1895, <i>The Horsham Times</i>).	Canoe (1895, 'Four Months in a Canoe').		Described as an "elderly man"; "wearisome" journey and that in three weeks he was only able to canoe what is by land only 18 miles (1895, 'Remarkable River Trip'; 1895, 'Intercolonial Items'). Intended to reach Bridgewater (1895, <i>Zeehan and Dundas Herald</i> , 1895, 'A Remarkable River Trip'). The same article entitled 'A Remarkable River Trip' appeared in the <i>Zeehan Dundas Herald</i> as it did in <i>The Argus</i> (1895, <i>Zeehan and Dundas Herald</i> , 1895; 'A Remarkable River Trip').	1895, 'Four Months in a Canoe', <i>The Argus</i> , electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. 1895, 'Intercolonial Items', <i>Launceston Examiner</i> , 21 March, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1895, <i>The Horsham Times</i> , 22 March, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1895, 'A Remarkable River Trip', <i>The Argus</i> , 19 March, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1895, <i>Zeehan and Dundas Herald</i> , 22 March, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database.
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Alexander Sutherland Murray & companion referred to as "S---"	c.1898	Echuca (Murray, 1898, p.12)	Goolwa (Murray, 1898, p.33)	Rowboat (Murray, 1898, p.12)	"16 feet, clinker built nearly flat bottomed" (Murray, 1898, p.12). "Built by Edwards of Melbourne" (Murray, 1898, p.33).	Painted scenes along the River in what appears to be water colour (Murray, 1898). Was inspired by Sturt's account of rowing the Murray River (Murray, 1898, p.12). According to comments included in the back of his next book <i>Tasmanian Rivers, Lakes and Flowers</i> , his book <i>Twelve hundred miles on the Murray</i> was well received in both England and the Australian colonies. He wrote in his second book that the reception of his first book spurred him to write the second (Murray, 1900, pp.v, vi).	Murray, A, S, 1898, <i>Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray</i> , George Robertson & Co Australia. 1900, 'Art. Tasmanian Rivers, Lakes and Flowers', <i>The Queenslander</i> , 9 June, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1898, 'Mount Gambier institute', <i>Border Watch</i> , 3 September, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1898, 'Review of Books', <i>South Australian Register</i> , 5 November, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2014from Trove database. 1900, 'Tasmanian Rivers, Lakes and Flowers,' <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> , 19 May, electronic version, retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. 1898, 'Twelve Hundred Miles on the River Murray', <i>The Argus</i> , 27 August, electronic version retrieved 4 June 2012 from Trove database. Murray, A, S, 1900, <i>Tasmanian Rivers, Lakes and Flowers</i> , George Robertson & Co, Australia.
Man travelled for a week in a bark canoe (According to A.S. Murray, 1898, p.30)	c.1898	Unknown (Murray, 1898, p.30).	Unknown (Murray, 1898, p.30)	Bark canoe (Murray, 1898, p.30)	Bought "for 5 shillings" (Murray, 1898, p.30).	"He had journeyed thus without tent or blanket living a life as rough as that of the blacks. He is typical of a class who lives thus on these rivers; begging for food at houses &c" (Murray, 1898, p.30).	Murray, A, S, 1898, <i>Twelve hundred miles on the River Murray</i> , George Robertson & Co Australia.
W. J Bournes	1905	Bourke	Wilcannia	Rowboat			Bournes, W, J, 1933, '2,000 Miles Along the Darling and Murray in a Rowing Boat' <i>The Mail</i> , 10 June, electronic version, retrieved 26 February 2012 from Trove database.

Murray Whalers	c.1905					According to Ernestine Hill (1958) as paddle steamers began navigating the Murray, wood cutter cottages and fishermen shacks increased (p.22). In between these cottages and shacks Murray Whalers would travel in a rowboat either begging, stealing or fishing. (p.22).	1905, 'On the Murray. Among the Settlers.', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 6 September, electronic version retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database. Hill, E, 1958, <i>Water into Gold</i> , 11 th edn, Robertson and Mullins, Melbourne.
Mr H. L. Ellis	1906	Bourke (1906, 'Beecroft', 28 April)	Louth (1906, 'That Canoe Trip') Intended on also travelling upstream on the Murray (1906, 'Canoeing), however I could not find anything that stated he went further.	Canoe (1906, That Canoe Trip')		"... had met with plenty of sport..." (1906, 'That Canoe Trip')	1906, 'Canoeing', <i>The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate</i> , 14 April, electronic version, retrieved 14 August, 2013 from Trove database. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article85941180 1906, 'That Canoe Trip', <i>The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate</i> , 28 April, electronic version, retrieved 14 August, 2013 from Trove database.
Group of Sydney men [Planned journey and were constructing their craft at the time of reporting]	1915	Narrabri	Unknown	Canoes		"Here, a centre of interest was a little band of Sydney young men who were making canoes with which they intended to do some hundreds of miles on the interior river system, starting from Narrabri and enlisting when their canoe journey was over"	"Visitor", 1915, A Trip to the North-West IV—About Narrabri', <i>The Maitland Daily Mercury</i> , 22 November, electronic version, retrieved 9 May 2015 from Trove database.
Sil Rohu and Bertram Duckworth	24 Dec 1919 – 7 Jan 1920 (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', pp.10,11)	Michelago (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10)	"Reached Yass arm of river where picked up by steam launch and so taken to the [Burrinjuck] Dam" (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.11)	Canoe (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10)	"...collapsible (often), with a canvas skin extended by a frame of American ash, strengthened by additional ribs of Australian spotted gum" (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10).	"160 miles" (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.11). The route mostly consisted of waterholes fast flowing water and waterfalls (1935, 'Upper Murrumbidgee', p.10)	'Upper Murrumbidgee', <i>Splashes</i> , 1935, pp. 10-11 Phillips, E, C, 1951, 'No. 5 Murrumbidgee River – Cotter River to Taemas', <i>Splashes</i> , August, Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 11-13

Joseph Myles Dunphy & Roy Davies [planned journey] [According to Richard Gowers in the <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography online</i> , Dunphy was accompanied with Roy Rudder, another of his bushwalking friends. According to <i>Selected Writings Myles Dunphy</i> , it seems Dunphy went with Roy Davies, although the book did not mention anything about the Murray River trip other than preparation (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, pp.128-135)]	1920 (Gowers, Richard, 'Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985))	Albury (Gowers, Richard, 'Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985))	Murray Mouth	Canoe	Called Aya Minya (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, pp.132, 134). “All wood Canadian type of canoe...17 feet long overall 3 feet 3 inches overall beam 2 feet high at bow and stern ends, and 1 foot 2 inches high amidships... (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.133).	Believed that they might be the first to canoe the whole river (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.130). Hoped to “walk down the South Coast of New South Wales into Victoria make it run into 2 months” (Dunphy cited in Thompson, 1986, p.131). According to Meredith’s 1999 <i>Myles and Milo</i> , Dunphy hurried home from his walking trip arriving home a day after his mother was buried (p.78). Afterwards he decided not to canoe the Murray River but to canoe the “lakes and rivers of north of Newcastle and on the lower North Coast of New South Wales” (p.79).	Gowers, Richard, 'Dunphy, Myles Joseph (1891–1985)', <i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i> , National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dunphy-myles-joseph-12446/text22381 , accessed 4 July 2012. 1986, Compiled and annotated by Patrick Thompson <i>Selected Writings Myles Dunphy</i> , Ballagirin, Sydney. Meredith, P, 1999, <i>Myles and Milo</i> , Allen & Unwin, New South Wales. Glascott, J, 1985, 'Myles Dunphy, Conservationist Obituary', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 2 February, p.10 [NLA Biographical Cuttings Myles Dunphy]. Mosley, G, 1987, 'Salute to Australia's First Wilderness Crusader', <i>The National Times</i> , 11 January, p.26 [NLA Biographical Cuttings Myles Dunphy].
Mr and Mrs H.E. Hughill and their infant	1920	Hay	South Australia	Canoe			1923, 'River Rovers 876 Miles in a Canoe', <i>The Register</i> , 8 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 February 2012 from Trove database.
Mr. H.E. & Albert Hughill	c.1923	Narrandera	Renmark	Canoe	“Liner constructed of... galvanised iron... a pair of light sculls were used to propel the boat in addition of a paddle.”	Enticed by the idea of game.	1923, 'River Rovers 876 Miles in a Canoe', <i>The Register</i> , 8 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 February 2012 from Trove database.
Dennis G Brabazon	1924 (IRNMR Dennis Brabazon 1924/1)	Albury (IRNMR Dennis Brabazon 1924/1)	Goolwa (IRNMR Dennis Brabazon 1924/1)	“rowing boat named “The Joke”” (1924, ‘Personal		Brabazon was a correspondent for the Melbourne “Herald”, however his articles	1924, 'Personal Notes', <i>Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record</i> , 4 July, electronic version, retrieved 4 November 2013 from Trove database.

				Notes’).		<p>about his journey were published in the <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> (1924, ‘Personal Notes’).</p> <p>“Rowing on I came to the junction of the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, and was disappointed at not finding anything to mark Captain Sturt’s discovery of the rivers in 1830” (Brabazon, 1924, ‘An Inland Voyage II’).</p> <p>“The ‘Bidgee seemed small and slow in comparison with the mighty Murray. This is partly owing to the holding back of the waters by Burrinjuck Dam” (Brabazon, 1924, ‘An Inland Voyage II’).</p> <p>The National Library has 20 of his photos.</p> <p>The first article Brabazon wrote about his journey is difficult to read because the print had faded.</p>	<p>1924, Dennis G. Brabazon, ‘An Inland Voyage I’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 20 September, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, Dennis G. Brabazon, ‘An Inland Voyage II’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 27 September, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, Dennis G. Brabazon, ‘An Inland Voyage III’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 4 October, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, Dennis G. Brabazon, ‘An Inland Voyage IV’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 11 October, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>IRNMR Dennis Brabazon 1924/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p> <p>Larkins, J & Howard, B, 1975, <i>The Great Australian Book of Nostalgia</i>, Rigby Limited Adelaide.</p>
Mr and Mrs Elder, their 13 year old daughter, another man and woman	1924	Mungindi	Waikerie	<p>Rowboat with an outboard motor attached (see Other).</p> <p>Constructed a 6ft “punt” to store provisions.</p>		<p>They were not able to use the motor as the river was ridden with snags, and so they used oars to proceed on the Macintyre and Barwon. They had engine problems as they reached the Murray, so they might have used the oars again to proceed to</p>	<p>1924, ‘Through the Heart of Australia in a Rowing Boat’, <i>The Mail</i>, 24 May, electronic version, retrieved 10 November 2013 from Trove database.</p>

						<p>Waikerie.</p> <p>Mr Elder wanted to go on an adventure. He spoke to the man who later accompanied him and came up with the idea of travelling on the Darling, believing that not many have done so before.</p> <p>Mr Elder and friend travelled to Mungindi from Sydney by train. The women joined them at Brewarrina.</p>	
<p>Captain Bisby, with James Percy Skeyhill and two others Known as the “Canadian Exploring Quartette”</p> <p>(1924, ‘For Science and Britain’; 1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’).</p>	<p>November 1924 (1924, ‘In a Canoe’)</p>	<p>Mungindi (1924, ‘In a Canoe’)</p>	<p>Adelaide (intended), ended up paddling 77 miles (1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’; 1924, ‘In a Canoe’).</p>	<p>Canoes (1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’)</p>	<p>Constructed from timber (1924, ‘In a Canoe’).</p>	<p>Two of the three canoes sunk at least 77 miles below Mungindi (1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’). The party rested for three days and finding no safe passage, Bisby made smoke signals (1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’). They were picked up by drovers (1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’).</p> <p>Other articles mention Captain Skeyhill and Captain Bisby (sometimes they report a H.S Skelton accompanying Skeyhill and nothing about Bisby) were on a cycling trip around the world (1923, ‘Bicycle Ride Around The World’; 1923, ‘Tour of World’)!</p> <p>Another newspaper</p>	<p>1924, ‘In a Canoe’, <i>Chronicle</i>, 15 November, electronic version, retrieved 7 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, “‘Explorers’” Thrills’, <i>The Richmond River Herald and Northern Districts Advertiser</i>, 25 November, electronic version, retrieved 7 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1923, ‘Bicycle Ride Round The World’, <i>The Register</i>, 21 December, electronic version, retrieved 9 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1923, ‘Round the World on Wheels’, <i>The Advertiser</i>, 27 December, electronic version, retrieved 8 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1923, ‘Tour of World’, <i>News</i>, 29 December, electronic version, retrieved 9 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, ‘A World Tour’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 29 April, electronic version, retrieved 8 November 2013 from Trove database.</p>

						<p>reported that the four were embarking on an expedition uncover information about lesser known countries and therefore contribute to science and British imperial expansion (1924, 'For Science and Britain'). For part of their Australian journey, their organisers directed them to construct canoes out of native wood and in their journey down the Darling to the Murray (1924, 'For Science and Britain').</p>	<p>1924, 'World's Cyclists Pay Homage', <i>Mullumbimby Star</i>, 1 May, electronic version, retrieved 8 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, 'Round the World Cyclists', <i>The Western Champion</i>, 5 July, electronic version, retrieved 7 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, 'Cycling', <i>Northern Star</i>, 18 September, electronic version, retrieved 8 November 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1924, 'For Science and Britain', <i>Moree Gwydir Examiner and General Advertiser</i>, 30 October, electronic version, retrieved 8 November 2013 from Trove database.</p>
Mr W. Trader	1927					<p>"Mr W. Trader rowed down the rivers alone in 1927, and the journey took him three months."</p>	<p>1935, 'Man, 65, and Brother Paddle 1,400 Miles Down River', <i>News</i>, 14 August, electronic version, retrieved 16 December 2013 from Trove database.</p>
"Young Lochinvar" (18 years old) and 18 year old girl	1927	Alexandra	Seymour	Rowboat		<p>The <i>Alexandra and Yea Standard</i> introduced and quoted the report from the <i>Age</i>. The <i>Alexandra and Yea Standard</i> stated that the <i>Age</i> journalist embellished parts of the story: and that the boat was not transported to Alexandra by rail. It would be very interesting to know who the authors were! (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure').</p> <p>"Young Lochinvar" was a reference to Sir Walter Scott's poem about a</p>	<p>1927, 'An Amazing Adventure', <i>Alexandra and Yea Standard and Yarck, Gobur, Thornton and Acheron Express</i>, 30 September, electronic version, retrieved 16 December 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>Delahunty, A & Dignen, S, 2010, Lochinvar- Oxford Reference <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Reference and Allusion</i> (3 ed.), viewed 6 September 2014, http://www.oxfordreference.com.ezproxy.canberra.edu.au/view/10.1093/acref/9780199567454.001.0001/acref-9780199567454-e-1112?rskey=cOJ2vJ&result=1</p>

						<p>knight who claims his sweetheart and takes her away from her betrothed (Delahunty & Dignen, 2010 online).</p> <p>Once at Seymour, the girl tried to withdraw funds, the bank notified her parents in Melbourne who swiftly took her home (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure'). Her companion intended to continue (1927, 'An Amazing Adventure').</p>	
Nurse M.A. Hunt	<p>1928</p> <p>(1928, 'Nurse's Big Trip Paddled Canoe down Murray River)</p>	<p>Renmark</p> <p>(1928, 'Country News')</p>	<p>Murray Bridge</p> <p>(1928, 'Country News')</p>	<p>Canoe</p> <p>(1928, 'Nurse's Big Trip Paddled Canoe down Murray River)</p>	<p>"Named Sveeternget"</p> <p>Constructed out of timber and iron</p> <p>(1928, 'Nurse's Voyage Canoeing down the Murray).</p>	<p>Only managed to travel "210" miles from Renmark to Murray Bridge due to hazardous "weather conditions" (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe down the River Murray'). The rest of the way she was able to get lifts on motor boats (1928, '210 Miles in Canoe down the River Murray').</p> <p>Spoke well of the fishermen she encountered (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage Canoeing down the Murray').</p> <p>Stayed at some places along the river for more than a day (1928, 'Nurse's Voyage Canoeing down the Murray').</p> <p>She intended to dispose of her canoe before she left for Adelaide (1928,</p>	<p>1928, '210 Miles in Canoe Down River Murray', <i>Barrier Miner</i>, 8 May, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1928, 'Nurse's Big Trip Paddled Canoe down Murray River', <i>Singleton Argus</i>, 8 May, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1928, 'Lady Canoeist's Venture', <i>The Register</i>, 28 March, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1928, 'Country News', <i>The Register</i>, 6 April, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1928, 'A Lady in a Boat. Trip down the Murray.', <i>The Advertiser</i>, 4 April, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1928, 'Nurse's Voyage. Canoeing Down the Murray', <i>The Register</i>, 5 May, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.</p>

						'Nurse's Voyage Canoeing down the Murray').	
J. M. Thompson & F. Robertson	c.1929	Tocumwal (Thompson, 1929; FTR, 1929)	Swan Hill (would have continued to Murray Bridge but resolved to try another time when the river was suitable). (Thompson, 1929)	Canoes (Thompson, 1929)	"2 11ft galvanised iron canoes" (Thompson, 1929)		Thompson, J, M, 1929, 'Down the Murray by Canoe 375 Mile Holiday Journey', <i>The Mail</i> , 16 March, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. F, T, R, 1929, 'Murray Holiday 400 Mile Canoe Trip', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 2 February, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. This article does not state the traveller's full names, however their accounts sound remarkably similar so it stands to reason that they might have been companions on the same journey. 1929, 'Down The Murray In Canoes', <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 12 January, viewed 14 August, 2013, (Detailed story of the trip up to Echuca)
F. Newnham and Orry Clague [One article named them: D Clague and F Newham (1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray')]	1929 (1929, 'Down the Murray Trip in 14 ft Canoe')	Wagga Wagga (1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray')	Lake Alexandrina (1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray')	Canoe (1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray')	"14ft canoe" (1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray')	They often relied on game (1929, 'By Canoe to Adelaide').	1929, 'Canoe Voyage Down the Murray', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 10 December, electronic version, retrieved 24 September 2013 from Trove database. 1929, 'By Canoe to Adelaide', <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 9 December, electronic version, retrieved 22 May 2014 from Trove database. 1929, 'Down The Murray Trip in 14 ft Canoe', <i>The Mail</i> , 24 September, electronic version, retrieved 15 March 2014 from Trove database.

<p>Mr W. P. Clubb also referred to as A. Temple (1930, 'Local and General').</p>	<p>1930</p>	<p>Gunnedah to near Walgett then upstream to Goondiwindi, downstream to Wentworth then up the Murray and Murrumbidgee to Narrandera. (1930, 'Long River Journey')</p>	<p>Narrandera (1930, 'Travel by Rowboat border to Narrandera')</p>	<p>Rowboat (1930, 'Travel by Rowboat border to Narrandera')</p>	<p>"Boat is fitted with an ingeniously worked hand paddle, and is covered in order to protect the occupant from the sun and rain". (1930, 'Travel by Rowboat border to Narrandera')</p>	<p>Mr Clubb was 66 years old and travelled intermittently and worked en route (1930, 'Long River Journey').</p>	<p>1930, 'Long River Journey', <i>Narrandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i>, 7 January, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. 1930, 'Travel by Rowboat border to Narrandera', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 7 January, electronic version, retrieved 27 February 2012 from Trove database.</p>
<p>Stanley Rose</p>	<p>c.1931</p>	<p>Manilla (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing')</p>	<p>Goolwa (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing')</p>	<p>Canoe (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing')</p>	<p>"12 foot long named <i>Wanderer</i> [italics added by author]" (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing')</p>	<p>Englishman travelled with a magpie "on the Namoi, Barwon, Darling and Murray Rivers..." (1932, 'Touring Country with Canoe'; 1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing'). He mostly ate fish and game (1932, 'Touring Country with Canoe'). "Particularly impressed with the genial and hospitable character of the people with whom he came in contact during his journey" (1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing'). "He pushed his canoe on wheels when water facilities were not available" (1932, 'Long Canoe Tour')</p>	<p>1931 'Will Paddle His Canoe', <i>Mirror</i>, 2 May, electronic version, retrieved 14 August 2013 from Trove database. 1932, 'Long Canoe Tour' <i>Examiner</i>, 22 January, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. 1932, 'Touring Country With Canoe', <i>Werribee Shire Banner</i>, 7 January, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. 1933, 'World Wanderer Walking and Canoeing', <i>Cairns Post</i>, 24 June, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database.</p>

Jack Sergeant	1931	Texas, Queensland border (1931, 'Bourke')	"within 60 miles of the Murray Mouth" (1931, 'Voyage Down the Darling').	12ft Rowboat (1931, 'Bourke')		"No fewer than eight unsuccessful attempts to accomplish this feat have been made within the past 12 months" (1931, 'Voyage Down the Darling'). Sergeant was from Glen Innes (1931, 'Voyage Down the Darling'). Aspires to publish a book about the voyage and will return overland to revisit towns he passed through (1931, 'Bourke').	1931, 'Voyage Down the Darling', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 17 August, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database. 1931, 'Bourke', <i>Narromine News and Trangie Advocate</i> , 19 June, electronic version, retrieved 10 November 2013 from Trove database.
Two (or three) unnamed men	1931	Gundagai (1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga').	South Australia (intending) (1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga'). The party reached Wagga in October (1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga').	Canoe (1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga').		"They said that they were "fed up" with walking about Sydney looking for work" (1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga').	1931, 'Canoeists at Wagga', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 13 October, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database. 1931, 'Long Canoe Trip in Search of Work' <i>Mirror</i> , 19 September, electronic version, retrieved 12 April 2012 from Trove database. Judging by the close publication dates, the two articles may have been reporting about the same journey. The <i>Mirror</i> may have been mistaken about the numbers in the party, or another one has since joined them. Since they are not named, it will be difficult to ascertain for certain that they are the same people. It seems quite likely that Power was referring to these two men early in his article: Power, P, K, 1931, 'A Canoe Voyage', <i>The Brisbane Courier</i> , 16 October, electronic version, retrieved 22 April 2012 from Trove database.
Robert Lucas, Frederick Bath, William Hannaford, James McCulloch, John	c.1932	Mannum	Hoped to "reach the towns on the New	Dinghy and two	"10 ft flat bottomed dinghy" (1932,	Two of the youths wanted to journey on the	1932, 'River Murray Adventure Two of Five Port Lads Get Jobs Others Row

Henry & Benjamin Giles		(1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').	South Wales border where they intend to stay six or seven months, picking up what odd jobs they can" (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').	canoes (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').	<p>'Adventurous Port Youths').</p> <p>"8 ft and 6 ft canoes on a jinker to Mannum" (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').</p> <p>Dinghy had mast, bowsprit, oars, sail and rowlocks (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').</p> <p>They made the dinghy themselves (1932, 'Adventurous Ports Youths').</p>	<p>Darling River into Queensland (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). Many others wanted to join but the boats lacked space and could not accommodate for more (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths').</p> <p>The group acquired a lift in a motor vehicle to Mannum (1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths'). Hendry and McCulloch obtained employment on a paddle steamer (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'). The rest travelled on hoping to find an island so they could live Robinson Crusoe style (1932, 'River Murray Adventure'). Hendry mentioned how demoralised they had been in Adelaide with doing nothing to do but receive government handouts (1932, 'River Murray Adventure').</p>	<p>On', <i>Barrier Miner</i>, 4 October, electronic version, retrieved 12 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1932, 'Adventurous Port Youths by Dinghy and Canoe to New South Wales Walking to Mannum', <i>The Advertiser</i>, 20 September, electronic version, retrieved 25 February 2012 from Trove database.</p>
W. J. Bournes	November 17 1932	Bourke	Lake Alexandrina	Rowboat			Bournes, W, J, 1933, '2,000 Miles Along the Darling and Murray in a Rowing Boat', <i>The Mail</i> , 10 June, electronic version, retrieved 26 February 2012 from Trove database.

Jack Sweeney & Frank Groom	c.1932	Unclear. It appears that they started from Mannum then, at an undisclosed location, received a lift by paddle steamer to Mildura, reached Renmark by canoe, hoping to paddle all the way to Goolwa (1932, “Paddling their own canoe” Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.’),	Renmark -hoped to reach Goolwa (1932, “Paddling their own canoe” Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.’).	Canoe	“15-ft Canadian type canoe” (1932, ‘Novel Quest For Work Up The Murray By Canoe’)	They “intend to keep a full diary of the trip” (1932, ‘Paddling Canoe up the Murray’). The author of this thesis could not find the diary. Undertook trip to find employment (1932, ‘Novel Quest For Work Up The Murray By Canoe’).	1932, ‘Novel Quest For Work Up The Murray By Canoe’, <i>The Advertiser</i> , 20 June, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. 1932, ‘Paddling their own canoe’, <i>The Advertiser</i> , 23 June, electronic version, retrieved 12 September 2012 from Trove database. 1932, ‘Paddling Canoe up the Murray Young Glenelg Men Leave for River Will keep a Diary’, <i>Barrier Miner</i> , 23 June, electronic version, retrieved 25 January 2012 from Trove database. 1932, “Paddling their own canoe” Enterprising Unemployed City Lads.’, <i>Border Watch</i> , 11 August, electronic version, retrieved 12 September 2012 from Trove database.
Frederick Carlile, Roy Brandon & James Burton [planned journey]	c.1932 (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	Yass (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	Adelaide (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	Canoe (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	“2 16ft canoes” (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	“Who have been unemployed for 3 years...motor to Yass, where they will embark on 2 16 ft. canoes in an attempt to paddle down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers to Adelaide.” (1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’)	1932, ‘Canoe Trip Down Murray’, <i>Barrier Miner</i> , 5 September, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. 1932, ‘Long Canoe Trip Down Murrumbidgee’, <i>Cootamundra Herald</i> , 5 September, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015 from Trove database. 1932, ‘Long Canoe Trip Down Murrumbidgee’, <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 5 September, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015 from Trove database. 1932, ‘Doings in Different Districts. Pars From All Parts’, <i>The Riverine Grazier</i> , 9 September, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015 from Trove database.
Charles Duncan, Alfred Duncan & William Gribble	c.1932	Gundagai (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and	Murray Bridge “came to Adelaide by train” (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and	Canoe	“14 feet long and 3 feet wide” (1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’).	Made their canoe (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’). Found	1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’, <i>The Advertiser</i> , 23 August, electronic version, retrieved 12 April

		Murray Happy Adventure’).	Murray Happy Adventure’). Planned to travel back to Sydney after they sold their canoe (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’).			work near Euston and spent 2 months fruit picking at Red Cliffs (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’). Gribble abandoned the trip at Red Cliffs and another fruit picker joined them on their journey (1932, ‘1300 Miles in Canoe Down the Murrumbidgee and Murray Happy Adventure’). “...travelled by train to Gundagai...” (1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’). Unemployed and were seeking work (1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’). They were happy to author newspaper articles and send photographs of their trip (1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’). They supplemented their diet with fish. They caught from the river (1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’).	2012 from Trove database. 1931, ‘Long Canoe Journey’, <i>The Gundagai Times and Tumut, Adelong and Murrumbidgee District Advertiser</i> , 13 October, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015. 1931, ‘Long Canoe Trip’, <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 12 October, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015. 1931, ‘The Great Adventure Better than No Work’, <i>Riverina Recorder</i> , 19 December, electronic version, retrieved 16 January 2015 from Trove database. 1931, ‘In a Canoe. Young Men seek Adventure’, <i>Western Champion</i> , 12 October, electronic version, retrieved 16 January 2015 from Trove database. 1931, <i>The Riverine Grazier</i> , 13 November, electronic version, retrieved 16 January 2015 from Trove database.
Mr. H.R. Waters, Mr. W. H. Bauld & Mr. H. Johnston	c.1932	Albury	Echuca (NB: report stated that they planned to go to Swan Hill and have now reached Echuca)	Canoe			1932, ‘News from Cities and Towns Warrnambool and District’, <i>The Argus</i> , 21 November, electronic version, retrieved 12 April 2012 from Trove database.
Mr D. Morris and Mr Harry W. Nolan	12 Dec 1932 – mid 1933 (1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’;	Jugiong (1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)	Murray Bridge originally intended to reach the Murray Mouth (1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’; 1933,	16 ft “collapsible canvas canoe” (1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’; 1933, ‘Canoe	Hunted for food (1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)	Mr Morris gave a presentation about the trip to the Popular Science Club in Elizabeth Street, Sydney—in the Australian Hall, which	1933, ‘Canoe Trip’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 24 June, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database. 1933, ‘Long Canoe Trip’, <i>Border Watch</i> , 30 March, electronic version, retrieved 4

			'Canoe Trip').	Trip').		later became an Aboriginal heritage site (1933, 'Canoe Trip'; Palma, c.2007). According to <i>Border Watch</i> Mr Morris was a journalist who was photographing their journey "for a travel book" (1933, 'Long Canoe Trip'). Whereas the <i>Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i> stated he was an employee of the Australian Museum (1932, <i>Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i> ; Palma, c.2007). Mr Nolan accompanied his friend for the thrill of adventure (1933, 'Long Canoe Trip').	November 2013 from Trove database. 1932, <i>Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i> , 23 December, electronic version, retrieved 4 November 2013 from Trove database. Palma, B, c.2007, 'Save Our Site: The Story of the campaign to save the Australian Hall, site of the 1938 Aboriginal Day of Mourning and Protest', viewed 8 September 2014, http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/collections/exhibitions/dayofmourning/images/pdf/a338890_a.pdf
J. D. Cusick and another	Late December 1933 until about late January 1934 (pp.14, 29)	"Balls Platform... about 10 river miles above Gundagai" (p.14)	Hay (pp.14, 29)	Canadian canoe model "12 ft 6 in" (p.14)		Cusick undertook the journey because he admired Sturt and wished to trace part of the route that he took (p.14). Cusick and his friend caught fish and rabbits (p.15). He commented on the many white cockatoos (p.15). From Hay they and the canoe took the train home (p.29)	Cusick, J, D, 1938, 'Murrumbidgee Journey', <i>Splashes</i> , pp.14-15, 29.
Gordon Doherty & Tom Connah Connah abandoned the journey at Murray Bridge, Mr. Edward H. Hurn accompanied Doherty for the rest of the way (Doherty, 1934, 'From Albury to Outer Harbor Adventurous Trip Down the Murray')	12 Aug 1933 – 14 Mar 1934 (Doherty, 1934, 'From Albury to Outer Harbor Adventurous Trip Down the Murray')	Albury (Doherty, 1934, 'From Albury to Outer Harbor Adventurous Trip Down the Murray')	Outer Harbour via Murray Mouth (Doherty, 1934, 'From Albury to Outer Harbor Adventurous Trip Down the Murray')	"16 ft canoe made of wood and canvas" (1933, 'Long Canoe Trip. Ambitious Journey Planned')		"First to travel by canoe from Albury and pass through Murray mouth" Doherty tried to canoe around the coast of Tasmania in a 16ft motor boat (1935, 'Athlete's Bold Venture'; 1935, 'Lone Seafarer Arrives at Hobart on Long	Doherty, G, 1934, 'From Albury to Outer Harbor Adventurous Trip Down the Murray', <i>News</i> , 19 March, electronic version, retrieved 29 March 2014 from Trove database. 1933, 'Long Canoe Trip. Ambitious Journey Planned', <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> , 28 December, electronic version, retrieved 25 February 2012

						<p>Voyage Will Circumnavigate Tasmania in his 16-ft Motor Boat’).</p> <p>According to <i>The Sydney Morning Herald’s</i> ‘Athlete’s Bold Venture’ they “... accomplished the feat never previously achieved, of navigating the turbulent waters of the Murray Mouth in the same frail vessel [in the same canoe in which they paddled from Albury to the Murray Mouth]” (1935, ‘Athlete’s Bold Venture’).</p> <p><i>The Advertiser’s</i> (1934) ‘Through Murray Mouth by Canoe Sydney Men’s Ambitious Project’ and another article by <i>The Advertiser</i> each provide a picture of the canoe that the two men travelled in (1934, <i>The Advertiser</i>; 1934, ‘Through Murray Mouth By Canoe Sydney Men’s Ambitious Project’).</p>	<p>from Trove database.</p> <p>1934, ‘Through Murray Mouth By Canoe Sydney Men’s Ambitious Project’, <i>The Advertiser</i>, 4 January, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1934, ‘Long Canoe Sea Voyage Young Man to Attack Record’, <i>Barrier Miner</i>, 15 September, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1934, <i>The Advertiser</i>, 21 February, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1934, ‘Ambitious Canoe Trip Ends Capsize near Murray Bridge’, <i>The Advertiser</i>, 20 February, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1935, ‘Lone Seafarer Arrives at Hobart on Long Voyage Will Circumnavigate Tasmania in his 16-ft Motor Boat’, <i>Examiner</i>, 23 August, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1935, ‘Athlete’s Bold Venture’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 23 May, electronic version, retrieved 10 July 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1935, ‘Fate’s Grim Trick’, <i>Advocate</i>, 7 October, electronic version, retrieved 18 July 2012 from Trove database.</p>
Norman Smith, George Turner & Jack McBlane	<p>c.1934</p> <p>“via Tumut, Murrumbidgee, Murray Rivers and then along the coast”</p> <p>(1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)</p>	<p>Tumut</p> <p>(1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)</p>	<p>Mildura intending to reach Perth</p> <p>(1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)</p>	<p>Canoe</p> <p>(1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)</p>	<p>Constructed their own canoes</p> <p>(1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’)</p>	<p>The <i>Barrier Miner</i> (1934) article mentioned that they had arrived in Mildura and plan to continue their trip.</p> <p>“They are unemployed and say that they are making the trip to find work” (1934, ‘Long</p>	<p>1934, ‘Long Canoe Trip’, <i>Barrier Miner</i>, 4 January, electronic version, retrieved 12 April 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1934, ‘Seeing Australia Two Sun-Tanned Youths in Canoes’, <i>Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record</i>, electronic version, retrieved 30 March 2014 from Trove database.</p>

						Canoe Trip’).	
Unnamed shearer	c.1934	Wagga	Murray, Darling and Murrumbidgee. This entry is his second journey down the Murrumbidgee.	Constructed his own rowboat		During the non-work season he would earn money by killing foxes and water rats. He obtained food from homesteads. Mentioned on page 29 of Cusicks account.	1938, ‘Murrumbidgee Journey’, <i>Splashes</i> , p.29.
Rob Webster and Ron Minter	1934	Brisbane (1934, ‘Remarkable Journey’)	Mannum (1934, ‘Remarkable Journey’)	Dinghy, with oars (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’).	“102 days” “She spread 70 feet of canvas, with a big iron centreboard through the keel, and was described as a flier but completely unpredictable, hence the name.” (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’)	The men left Brisbane in the <i>Krazy Kate</i> , an unpredictable dinghy, and journeyed upstream on the Brisbane and Bremer Rivers to Ipswich (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). From Ipswich they took a train to Dalby (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). From there they continued on water through Chinchilla (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). Among other rivers, they also travelled on the Darling and Murray (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). From Lock 6 on the Murray a steamer towed them for two days and two nights (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). It is uncertain to me how far they were towed. In Mannum they sold the craft and made their way to Adelaide (1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’). Boredom, the difficulties travelling further to Adelaide and Webster’s concern for his family due to his	1934, ‘3500 Miles of Inland Rivers’, <i>Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i> , 5 June, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database. 1934, ‘Remarkable Journey’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 25 May, electronic version, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database. 1934, ‘Long Inland Boat Voyage’, <i>The West Australian</i> , 25 May, electronic version, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database. 1991, ‘The Cruise of the Krazy Kate’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 4 May, electronic version, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database. IRNMR Register, entry 1934/2, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust.

						<p>father's death, they sold their craft, wrote articles about their journey and used the cash to return home (1991, 'The Cruise of the Krazy Kate').</p> <p>The journey was estimated to be 3500 miles long and the "longest inland boat journey made in Australia" (1934, 'Remarkable Journey').</p>	
Peck and Larriat(?)	1934	Newcastle	Murray River (intending)	Canoe		<p>According to <i>The Maitland Daily Mercury</i>, on 27 February Mr Roy Ekert found a bottle containing a letter stating: "Singleton: This note is to certify that the two youths who set out from Newcastle to paddle up the Hunter River, Messrs. Peck and Larriat (the writing at this stage was bad having been damaged by water and the name looked to be Larriat) have reached here, where we are held up by floods; have been here for four days; water still rising" (1934, Canoe Trip). Interestingly they had spoken to Ekert, but since the letter was not dated, and the article is a bit obscure, it is uncertain whether they had spoken to him before or after they left the message.</p>	1934, 'Canoe Trip', <i>The Maitland Daily Mercury</i> , 28 February, electronic version, retrieved 10 September 2013 from Trove database.

M. Coughlan and H. Roarty	1934/1935 (Coughlan, 1935).	Tumut (Coughlan, 1935).	Hay (Coughlan, 1935).	Canoe (Coughlan, 1935).		Journey undertaken to investigate river erosion and settlement along its banks (1935, 'Students' Canoe Trip on Inland Rivers. Study of Erosion and Settlement).	1934, 'Long Canoe Trip', <i>The Argus</i> , 31 December, electronic version, retrieved 30 January 2013 from Trove database. 1935, 'Students' Canoe Trip on Inland Rivers. Study of Erosion and Settlement.', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 1 January, electronic version, retrieved 30 January 2013 from Trove database. Coughlan, M, P, 1935, 'From Tumut to Hay by River. 500 Miles in a Frail Craft. Interesting and Educational Journey by Two Adventurous Young Men', <i>The Tumut and Adelong Times</i> , 29 January, electronic version, retrieved 15 January 2015 from Trove database.
"Braemar" (John Fairfax) and Stephen	c.1935	Gundagai	Wagga	Canoe	Named <i>Queen Mary</i> (“Braemar”, 1935, p.6)	Braemar and Stephen paddled the Murrumbidgee from Gundagai to Wagga in c. 1935 (“Braemar”, 1935, p.6). He mentioned the war in Ethiopia (see “Braemar”, 1935, p.8), so the voyage must have occurred in 1935 (Marcus, 1994, pp.142-143). He described how picturesque Wagga was (“Braemar”, 1935, p.9). They received a lift in a car from Wagga (“Braemar”, 1935, p.9).	“Braemar”, 1935, ‘Waterway to Wagga’, <i>Splashes</i> , pp. 6-9. 1948, John Fairfax, <i>Run O'Waters</i> , John Sands Pty Ltd, Sydney, pp. 32-39. Marcus, H, G, 1994, <i>A History of Ethiopia</i> , University of California Press, pp.142-143, viewed 9 September 2014 on google books, http://books.google.com.au/books?id=jX7-0ROBfyIC&pg=PA56&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false
Clem Cerini and friend	1935	Khancoban	Wodonga South Australia (intending)	Canoe			1935, 'Adventurous Youths', <i>Wodonga and Towong Sentinel</i> , 1 November, electronic version, retrieved 6 August 2013 from Trove database.

Mr C.G.M. Trader and Mr W. Trader	1935	Bourke	Renmark	"Open rowing boat"	16 ft	<p>"Mr. C Trader is aged 65".</p> <p>Slept under the open sky.</p> <p>"He [Mr W. Trader] said that hardly any fishermen were left on the river now [it is unclear if he was referring to the Darling], because the growth of weeds in the water had made it practically impossible for them to cast their nets".</p>	1935, 'Man, 65, and Brother Paddle 1,400 Miles Down River', <i>News</i> , 14 August, electronic version, retrieved 16 December 2013 from Trove database.
A.G. Grant [planned journey]	c.1935	Seymour (1935, 'Melbourne Journalist Will "Paddle His own Canoe"')	Brisbane (1935, 'Melbourne Journalist Will "Paddle His own Canoe"')	Canoe (1935, 'Melbourne Journalist Will "Paddle His own Canoe"')		According to the <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> (1935) Grant had "left Melbourne" but does not say if he had started paddling or was travelling to his starting point on the rivers. The <i>Courier-Mail</i> (1935) provided a picture of A. G. Grant pulling a boat. Underneath the picture is a caption saying that his destination will be Brisbane.	1935, 'Melbourne Journalist Will "Paddle His own Canoe"', <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> , 9 November, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. 1935, <i>The Courier-Mail</i> , 19 November, electronic version, retrieved 17 July 2012 from Trove database.

3 men from the River Canoe Club: "Admiral", "Bos'n" and "Captain"	c.1936	Tumut	Gundagai	Canoe and Folboat (p.18)	"22 hours" over 4 days (p.20)	They paddled a canoe named the <i>Queen Mary</i> (p.18). The author writes in the same style as John Fairfax. For those two reasons, I believe that one of the three men was Fairfax. They camped along the river bank and hunted (p.19). They certainly had a leisurely trip. The "Admiral" left early but the others continued on (p.20). "There could be no better way of spending a week's holiday" (p.20).	1936, 'The Tumut River', <i>Splashes</i> , pp.18-21.
A. A. Hiscock and others	December 1935 (p.26)	Albury (p.26)	Echuca (p.29)	"two twelve foot canoes" (p.26)		They transported their crafts by rail ahead of them (p.26). He remarked on the birds: "Generally speaking the river is broad and the water pleasantly soft, cool and clear. Ducks, swans and various other types of water fowls abound..." (p.26).	Hiscock, A. A., 'From Albury to Echuca', <i>Splashes</i> , 1936, pp. 26-29
Unnamed voyager [Hiscock and others met him while they were on their voyage to Echuca]	? – December 1935	Albury	Murray Mouth and return	"flat-bottomed boat"		"...and headed for Corowa, passing on our way another voyager in a flat-bottomed boat, who had made the journey downstream to the mouth of the river, and was almost home again to Albury on the return journey" (p.27).	Hiscock, A. A., 1936, 'From Albury to Echuca', <i>Splashes</i> , p.27.

Honeymooning couple	c.1936	Hay (might have started further upstream)	Balranald (intending)	Canoe		Rev. Peacock travelling in a motor boat states "Just prior to our leaving the town [Hay], a young man and his bride set out by canoe on part of a honeymoon trip to Balranald. We overtook them later, sun-tanned and radiant, steadily dipping their paddles, and making progress that fitted the occasion."	Peacock, L, 1936, 'River Exploration', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 11 April, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.
John Robson	1936	Tumut (1936, 'Long River Trip').	Goolwa (1936, 'Long River Trip').	Canoe (1936, 'Long River Trip').	"Self-made galvanised iron canoe" (Vox, 1936).	Looking for work in Adelaide (Vox, 1936).	1936, 'Long River Trip', <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 30 April, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. Vox, 1936, 'Out Among the People Thrills of a Canoe Trip', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 5 June, electronic version, retrieved 29 March 2012 from Trove database. IRNMR Register, entry 1936/1. Courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust. Robson Letters, unnamed newspaper articles, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 1936/1. Courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust.
Unnamed boy of about 16 years	1936	Tumut River	Adelaide	Canoe		Spent one night on a steamer on the Murray, then set out the next day (Lawson, 1950) perhaps determined to do the rest unaided.	Lawson, W, 1950, 'River Voyaging', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , December 28, electronic version, retrieved 5 November 2016 from Trove database.
Murray Whaler article	1936					"Croweater" gives the impression that Murray whalers are a nuisance.	"Croweater", 1936, 'The Murray Whaler', <i>Western Mail</i> , 9 January, electronic version, retrieved 23 April 2012 from Trove database.

Charles Morrice and his wife	1936 (1936, 'Four Thousand Miles by Canoe')	Pratten, QLD – “21 miles below Warwick” (1936, 'Voyage Abandoned')	Approximately 2 miles (1936, 'Voyage Abandoned').	Canoe		“...in an attempt to cover the world’s long-distance canoeing record of 3540 miles which was made in America by John Nolan, a young Englishman (1936, 'Four Thousand Miles by Canoe'). They intended to paddle down the “Condamine, Balonne, Culgoa, Darling, and Murray Rivers to the Southern Ocean and back...” (1936, 'Four Thousand Miles by Canoe'). They quit the journey due to low flow (1936, 'Voyage abandoned').	1936, 'Four Thousand Miles by Canoe', <i>Border Watch</i> , 28 November, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. 1936, 'Voyage Abandoned', <i>The Charleville Times</i> , 11 December, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Gilbert and Harold Simon [planned journey]	1937	Texas, QLD	Adelaide	Canoe		They were adventurers and wanderers: they previously travelled the world and were intending to do so again via sail after their trip.	1937, 'Adventurous Trip for Brothers', <i>The Courier-Mail</i> , 7 May, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Unnamed man	c.1937	Unknown	Wentworth	Boat		“...a man came down the River Darling to Wentworth. He tired of being in a boat, and sold it; bought a rubber-tyred sulky and harness, and pulled the vehicle back to Wilcannia.”	1937, 'Pulling his own Sulky', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 15 April, electronic version, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database.

C. G. Arden and W. Duke	1938 (1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.)	Omeo, Mitta Mitta River (1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.)	Albury (1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.)	Canoe (1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.)		"It is believed that this is the first time this river has been navigated for such a distance" (1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.)	1938, 'Exploring by Canoe. Young Men Leave for Omeo', <i>The Argus</i> , 7 January, electronic version, retrieved 7 January 2013 from Trove database. 1938, 'River Voyage. Thrills in a Canoe.', <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> , 24 January, electronic version, retrieved 7 January 2013 from Trove database. 1938, 'Hazardous Voyage in Canoe Down the Mitta Mitta', <i>Horsham Times</i> , 7 January, electronic version, retrieved 7 January 2013 from Trove database.
Murray Whaler article	1938					Provides unflattering comments such as "imagining they own the river."	1938, 'The Murray "Whaler"', <i>Western Argus</i> , 15 March, electronic version, retrieved 23 April 2012 from Trove database.
Mr. A. L. Hunt & A. H. Harrison	c.1939 Murrumbidgee, Murray hoped to get to Port Adelaide (Hunt, 1939; 1939, 'Long Journey by Canoe. Travellers Reach Ocean. Driven Ashore by Gale').	Canberra (Hunt, 1939)	Goolwa "reached the Southern Ocean" (1939, 'Long Journey by Canoe. Travellers Reach Ocean. Driven Ashore by Gale')	Canoe with motor (Hunt, 1939)	"At Gundagai, we fitted an outboard motor and a device which we designed and made for snag jumping" (Hunt, 1939).	This was included to demonstrate that some articles are too brief. An example would be the three articles on A L Hunt and A H Harrison. <i>The Sydney Morning Herald's</i> (1939) 'Canoe Journey from Adelaide Preparations for Sea Voyage' states nothing about a motor. If it were not for the fact that the other two articles were digitised then it would not have been possible to know that a motor had been added to the canoes. As long as there is no evidence that other canoes had a motor attached then it would be assumed that they did not. Hunt (1939) mentioned Sturt.	1939, 'Canoe Journey to Adelaide Preparations for Sea Voyage', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 14 August, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. 1939, 'Long Journey by Canoe. Travellers Reach Ocean. Driven Ashore by Gale', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 29 September, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. Hunt, A, L, 1939, 'By Canoe to Adelaide. Two Adventurers. Snag Jumping as An Art.', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 29 July, electronic version, retrieved 29 April 2012 from Trove database.

Harold Lade and Ken Baynes	c.1939	Towong (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34)	Albury (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34)	Canoe (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34)		Their voyage was enjoyable. They competed with a black swan down the rapids and got up close to platypuses (H.L, 1939, pp.16, 17).	H.L. 1939, 'Ole Man Murray', <i>Splashes</i> , pp.16-18. 1939, 'Club Doings', <i>Splashes</i> , p.34.
Howard Done and friend	c.1939	Inverell	Wallangra	Canoe		The River Canoe Club of New South Wales magazine claimed that Howard Done and friend paddled from Inverell to Wallangra on the Macintyre (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34). Flood conditions forced them to terminate their journey at Wallangra and take the canoe to Goondiwindi (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34).	1939, 'Club Doings', <i>Splashes</i> , p.34.
Jack Williams and friends	c.1939 (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34).	Bredbo (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34).	Burrinjuck (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34).	Canoes (1939, 'Club Doings', p.34).		Jack Williams might have completed the Cotter River to Taemas Bridge section alone in the middle of the year (Phillips, 1951, pp.11-12).	1939, 'Club Doings', <i>Splashes</i> , p.34. E. Canines Ted Phillips, 1951, 'Come up and Sea ["Sea" as opposed to "see" was intentional] me Sometime', <i>Splashes</i> , Vol.1, No 6, August pp. 11-13.
John Fairfax "The Captain" and Archer Russell "The Explorer"	c.1940	Khancoban (Fairfax, 1948, p.115)	Howlong (Fairfax, 1948, p.115)	Canoe (Fairfax, 1948, p.116)	250 mile journey completed in two weeks (Fairfax, 1948, p.115).	"A company of soldiers stood on guard [possibly at the Hume Weir] lest the long arm of Adolf Hitler attempted any sabotage" (Fairfax, 1948, p.114). "...not an idyllic journey... It is [man-made waterscape, the Hume Dam] a magnificent achievement" (Russell, 1941).	Fairfax, J, 1948, <i>Run O'Waters</i> , John Sands Pty Ltd, Sydney, pp. 107-116 Russell, A, 1940, 'Shooting the Murray Rapids', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 24 February, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database. Russell, A, 1941, 'Our Australia Canoe Voyage Crossing the Hume Dam' <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 24 May, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database

Keith Line, John Batty, Don, Norm and Barney	1940 (Anon, 1951, p.16)	Towong (Anon, 1951, pp.16-17)	Albury (Anon, 1951, p.22)	Canoes (Anon, 1951, p.16)			Anon, 1951, 'Murray River', <i>Splashes</i> , Vol. 2, No. 1, October, pp. 16-22.
John Fairfax and Duncan MacRae	c.1945	Albury (Fairfax, 1948, p.124)	Tocumwal (Fairfax, 1948, p.127)	Canoe (Fairfax, 1948, p.124)			Fairfax, J, 1948, <i>Run O'Waters</i> , John Sands Pty Ltd, Sydney, pp. 123-127 1946, 'Hell-Ship on the Murray', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 4 May, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 from Trove database.
Roger Montrose	1945-1946	Noreuil Park, Albury (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.211).	"...just before Murray Bridge" (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.212).	Canoe	Home-made used instructions from <i>Popular Science</i> magazine (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, pp. 208, 210) "...marine ply cladding over the wooden framework..." (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.210).	"It was almost a spiritual thing, it changed my life forever" (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.208). "The birdlife I remember was just fantastic." (Montrose cited in Nixon, 2009, p.211).	Montrose in Nixon, A, M, 2009, <i>Riverfolk Life Along the Murray</i> , Penguin Group Australia, pp.208-213.
Ted Riley, Ted Phillips, Laurie ("Barney") Barncastle, Jim McRorie, Frank Bennett "and Mrs E. Caines Ted-in-brackets"	1946 (p.12)	Cotter (p.12)	Taemus (p.12)	Canoes (p.12)			Phillips, T, 1951, 'No. 5 Murrumbidgee River – Cotter River to Taemas', <i>Splashes</i> , Vol. 1, No, 6, pp.11-13.

<p>Major R. Raven-Hart & Jack, who accompanied Raven-Hart on the Murrumbidgee leg of the trip (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.18, 19, 37, 79).</p> <p>Mr B.L Hebbard of Mildura accompanied Raven-Hart from Mildura to Morgan (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.95-138).</p>	<p>1946</p> <p>(1946, 'Canoe Journey Down Murray 1,100 Mile Trip Finishes Tomorrow')</p>	<p>Gundagai-Balranald</p> <p>(Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.12, 79)</p> <p>Paddled the Murray River in two segments: Gundagai- Balranald then Mildura-Morgan</p> <p>(Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.79, 95-138).</p>	<p>Mildura-Morgan</p> <p>(Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.95-138)</p>	<p>Canoe</p>	<p>"...seventeen feet long..." canoe made out of canvas, rubber, wooden rods, and cross frames among other materials (Raven – Hart, 1948, p.15).</p>	<p>Did not canoe from Balranald to Mildura (Raven-Hart, 1948, pp.79-81).</p> <p>"For me the gums of the rivers are the loveliest trees of the world, perhaps because I am a sculptor and they are above all a sculptor's tree, beautiful in shape rather than in colour" (Raven-Hart, 1948, p.36).</p> <p>Also mentioned becoming bored with the landscape when there were no gum trees to see from the river (Raven-Hart, 1948, p.71).</p>	<p>Raven-Hart, R, 1948, <i>Canoe in Australia</i>, Georgian House Pty Ltd, Melbourne.</p> <p>1946, 'Author-Traveller In Adelaide', <i>The Advertiser</i>, 14 November, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database</p> <p>1946, 'Big Canoe Trip Plan Down Murray River', <i>Cairns Post</i>, 26 August, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1946, 'Canoe Journey Down Murray 1,100 Mile Trip Finishes Tomorrow', <i>The Advertiser</i>, 9 November, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1946, 'Gundagai to Murray Bridge by Canoe', <i>The Mail</i>, 14 September, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>Burley, C, 1946, 'Canoeing Airman Likes to be Called Major', <i>The Mail</i>, 16 November, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database.</p>
<p>Unnamed New Zealand man mentioned by Raven-Hart who supposedly did three different trips</p>	<p>By 1946</p>			<p>Rowboat</p>		<p>"I met at the riverside hotel an exceptionally interesting New Zealander, who did the Darling in a rowboat (at the expense of long pull overs on shoals) while I was on the Murray, and who had previously rowed down the 'Bidgee from Wagga and the Murray from Swan Hill" (Raven-Hart, 1948, p. 191).</p>	<p>Raven-Hart, R, 1948, <i>Canoe in Australia</i>, Georgian House Pty Ltd, Melbourne.</p>

Michael Stocks [planned journey]	1947	Seymour (1947, '800-Mile Canoe River Trip').	SA Border then to Adelaide or as close as he can get by canoe (1947, '800-Mile Canoe River Trip'; 1947, 'Canoeist for Adelaide')	Canoe (1947, '800-Mile Canoe River Trip').	"cataraman (native canoe)" (1947, '800-Mile Canoe River Trip').	"800 miles" (1947, '800-Mile Canoe River Trip').	1947, '800 Mile Canoe River Trip', <i>Daily News</i> , 10 May, electronic version, retrieved 22 September 2013 from Trove database. 1947, 'Canoeist for Adelaide', <i>Chronicle</i> , 22 May, electronic version, retrieved 22 September 2013 from Trove database.
John Everingham	1948	"Albury	Goolwa	Canoe", but looks remarkably like a kayak			IRNMR Certificate, vol 3, no.062, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and Goolwa National Trust staff.
Colin Burchett and Jim Paul [planned journey]	1948 (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles')	Menindee (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles')	500 miles (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles')	Canoe (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles')	14ft made by the men (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles')	Will take food and equipment, but will also hunt and shoot for additional sustenance (1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles').	1948, 'Whyalla Youths Plan Canoe Trip of 500 Miles', <i>Recorder</i> , 29 November, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Miss Ida Philpot & Betty Daly Will be accompanied by five men (<i>The Mail</i> , 1948). In her diary she typed that they were accompanied by Ken Griggs, George Morcom and Bill (junior) Calaby (Daly, 2001, p.1).	27 December 1948-3 January 1949 (Daly, 2001).	Morgan (Daly, 2001).	Mannum (Daly, 2001).	Canoes (Daly, 2001).	"...2 canoes a 16' 16" Canadian, planked and canvassed and a 16' kayak type, wooden frame and canvassed" (Daly, 2001, p.1).	"Miss Daly said today:- "I've always been interested in canoeing ever since I read a school story by Zane Grey about the Canadian Rockies."" (1948, '110 Mile Murray Trip Planned').	1948, '110-Mile Murray Trip Planned', <i>The Mail</i> , 18 December, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database. Daly, B, 2001, <i>River Murray Canoe Trip Diary of Betty Daly Morgan to Mannum Youth Hostel Association Monday 27 December 1948 to Monday 3 January 1949</i> , available at the State Library of South Australia.
Harry Nuttal & Frank George	1948 (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	Albury (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	Lake Alexandrina (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	Canoe (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	"18 ft canoe" (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	"...taking odd jobs to cover expenses." "took the journey in easy stages" (1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe')	1948, '1,340 Mile Trip Down Murray in 18ft Canoe', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 28 April, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database. 1948, 'The Passing Show Down the Murray by Canoe', <i>The West Australian</i> , 28 April, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database. 1948, <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> , 3 May, electronic version, retrieved 12 September 2012 from Trove database.

Trezise Family (Mother and six sons): Hilda, Tony, Bill, Mick, David, Arthur and Adam	1948-1949	Seymour (Trezise, 2007, p.6)	Mungindi (Trezise, 2007, p.6)	Canoes (Trezise, 2007, p.6)		<p>“3500 river and road miles” (Trezise, 2007, p.61). This would include the road sections: Melbourne to Seymour; just above Tilpa to Bourke; and north of Bourke to Collarenabri (Trezise, 2007, pp.6, 59). The canoe sections were: Seymour to just above Tilpa, a small distance on the Culgoa River then down to the Darling and up the Barwon River to Marion Downs Station, and finally from Collarenabri to Mungindi (Trezise, 2007, pp.6, 57, 59).</p> <p>They journeyed on the Goulburn, Murray, Darling, Culgoa and Barwon Rivers (Trezise, 2007, pp.6, 57, 59).</p> <p>The father went part of the way but his abusive behaviour frightened the children and so, fearing for his life, he left them on the Darling River (Trezise, 2007, pp.38, 39).</p>	Trezise, T, 2007, <i>Against the Current A Family's Exploits Canoeing From Melbourne to Mungindiin 1948-1949</i> , Published by the Author. [Found at Wentworth Shire Library].
Jessie Bywater, Monica Barnes & Elsie Kopiesky	c.1948 Launched at Albury and intended paddling to Tocumwal (1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i>).	Albury (1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i>).	Tocumwal (1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i>).	Canoe (1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i>).		Supposedly 200 mile trip (1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i>).	1948, <i>Barrier Miner</i> , 25 February, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from Trove database. 1948, ‘Southern Snapshots’, <i>Townsville Daily Bulletin</i> , 2 March, electronic version, retrieved 23 January 2012 from

							Trove database.
Peter Jones and (his) wife	1949	Talbingo (Jones, 1950, p.12)	Balranald (Jones, 1950, p.12)	Canoe (Jones, 1950, p.12)		They were originally going to paddle to Adelaide (Jones, 1950, p.12)	Jones, P, 1950, 'A Letter from Pete', <i>Splashes</i> , vol. 1, no. 2, pp.12-13.
19 members Victorian Amateur Canoe Association	1948-1949	Yarrowonga	Echuca	16 Canoes		6 unnamed members of the Victorian Amateur Canoe Association finished their canoe journey from Yarrowonga to Echuca, the other thirteen members were expected to catch up in the next few days.	1949, 'Yarrowonga to Echuca by Canoe' <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 5 January, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Norma and Russ Wilkins, Allan Tapsell, Noel Cleland, George Blumer, Peter Blackwell and Bruce Gilmore	c.1949	Kings Bridge (p.13)	Mitta Mitta, although the crew of the shattered canoe ended up walking three miles to Mitta Mitta (p.14)	Canoes (p.12)		They portaged the canoes several times before finally arriving at Mitta Mitta (Wilkins et al, 1950 republished 1982, pp.13, 14).	Wilkins, N, Wilkins, R, & Tapsell, A, 1950 republished 1982, 'The Murray Come Mitta Mitta Trip', <i>Splash</i> , March, pp.12-14.
Colin Burchett, Jim Paul and David Kew	1950	Menindee	Unknown	Canoe		"...down the Darling and Murray Rivers" (1950, Canoeing Down Darling and Murray). "They left Menindee last Wednesday, and expect the trip will occupy three weeks" (1950, Canoeing Down Darling and Murray).	1950, 'Canoeing Down Darling and Murray', <i>Murray Pioneer</i> , 12 January, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Mr Alan Tapsell, Mr and Mrs Russell Wilkens, Miss Ann Stanford, Mr Howard Duncan and Mr George Blumer	c.1950	Tumut Ponds (Wilkens, 1951, pp.3-6).	Lobbs Hole (intended) (Wilkens, 1951, p.3).	Canoes		Travelled only 6-8 miles due to dangerous weather conditions, perilous waterfalls and obstacles such as enormous boulders and precipitous cliffs which made canoeing and portaging difficult (Wilkens, 1951, pp.3-6).	1950, 'Students Plan Canoe Trip', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 5 December, electronic version, retrieved 30 January 2013 from Trove database. Wilkens, R, 1951, 'Canoeist Pioneers', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 2 January, electronic version, retrieved c.30 January 2013 from Trove database. Wilkens, N, 1951, 'You'll Never make It', <i>Splashes</i> , April, Vol.1, No. 4, pp. 3-6, NLA

Ron Austin & Maurice Reeves	c.1950	Berri	Loxton	Canoe		They ceased canoeing due to unfavourable weather.	1950, 'Abandon Canoe Trip Down Murray', <i>Border Watch</i> , 4 February, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.
Sergeant Major J. M. McFarlane; P. Trost; J. C. J. Laughlin; B. C. Forward; R. W. O Pugh; R. E Wells; L. G. C. Gilmore. A.N Sturt (Sturt's Great Grandson) to take part in re-enactment (A. N. Sturt, 1950).	1951 (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.1)	Maude (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.1)	Goolwa (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2)	Whaleboat (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2)		About the film <i>Inland with Sturt</i> (1951): "Starring as George McLeay in this film, <u>Rod Taylor</u> is actually the great-great-grandnephew of English Explorer of Australia, Captain Charles Sturt, the film's subject." (<i>Inland with Sturt</i> (1951) – Trivia – IMDb, 2012). A crowd of about 9000 greeted the Sturt re-enactment as it reached Goolwa (1951, 'Sturt Party Ends 1100 Mile Trip at Goolwa'). Celebrations were held in towns on the Murray River as the re-enactment party passed through (Gilmore, Trost & Pugh, 2001, p.2).	Rolfe, B, 1951, 'Two hard rivers to row', <i>The Australian Women's Weekly</i> , 6 January, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. 1951, 'Sturt men "hopped in"', <i>The Argus</i> , 17 January, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. 1951, 'Sturt Party Ends 1100 Mile Trip at Goolwa,' <i>The Advertiser</i> , 12 February, electronic version, retrieved 24 April 2012 from Trove database. Murray Bridge and District Historical Society Inc. Papers Sturt, A, N, 1950, 'Charles Sturt River Expedition Relics of Historic Trip are Family Treasures', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 29 December. [NLA Biographical Cuttings Charles Sturt]. 1951, 'Sturt Expedition's Long Jubilee Ends', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 12 February, p.1 [NLA Biographical Cuttings]. Inland with Sturt (1951) – Trivia - IMDb, viewed 10 July 2012, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1810653/trivia Trost, P & Pugh, R, 2000, 'Inland with Sturt', <i>The Duntroon Society</i> , November, viewed 14 November 2012, www.dunsoc.com/Newsletter-web/2-2000-web.pdf . Gilmore, I, Trost, P & Pugh, R, 2001, 'Inland with Sturt Part 2', <i>The Duntroon Society</i> , April viewed 14 November 2012, www.dunsoc.com/Newsletter-web/1-

							2001-web.pdf
<p>“Mr Ted Phillips and his wife Gene Phillips” with Miss Sue Graves and Mr Pat Edmondson</p> <p>(1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’; 1950, ‘On Their Way To The 49th River...’)</p>	<p>1951</p> <p>(1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’)</p>	<p>Bathurst</p> <p>(1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’)</p>	<p>Wellington, NSW (Macquarie River)</p> <p>Mr and Mrs Phillips continued to Dubbo</p> <p>(1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’)</p>	<p>Canoe</p> <p>(1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’)</p>		<p>Their voyage was interrupted by rocks and waterfalls which forced them to portage (1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’; 1950, ‘On Their Way To The 49th River...’). Mr and Mrs Phillips were members of the River Canoe Club of New South Wales and voyaged 49 New South Wales Rivers (1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’; 1951, ‘Canoe Party Arrives from Denman’).</p>	<p>1950, ‘On Their Way To The 49th River...’, <i>The Sunday Herald</i>, 17 December, Supplement: Sunday Herald Features, viewed 14 August, 2013,</p> <p>1951, ‘Canoe Party Arrives From Denman’, <i>Singleton Argus</i>, 3 October, viewed 14 August, 2013,</p> <p>1951, ‘Arduous River Journey from Bathurst to Dubbo’, <i>Wellington Times</i>, 22 January, electronic version retrieved 22 May 2014 from Trove database.</p>
Mr K. J. Brown	“1952	Albury	Goolwa	Rowing boat”			IRNMR Register, entry 1952/1, thanks to Frank Tuckwell and staff of the National Trust Goolwa.
Mr K. C. Tesdorpf	1952	Seymour	Echuca	Canoe		“...cooked, ate and slept in his 16 foot canoe” Intended to continue his trip from Echuca a year later.	1952, ‘World Traveller Intrigued with our Rivers’, <i>Riverine Herald</i> , 31 December 1952, electronic version, retrieved 22 September 2013 from Trove database.
<p>Charles Reiner</p> <p>Max Rosen</p> <p>Michael Kain</p> <p>John Rosenberg</p> <p>Jean Sojka</p> <p>[Planned journey]</p>	c.1953	<p>Upper Murray</p> <p>(1953, ‘Murray Raft Trip Plan’)</p>	<p>Albury</p> <p>(1953, ‘Murray Raft Trip Plan’)</p>	<p>Raft</p> <p>(1953, ‘Murray Raft Trip Plan’)</p>			<p>1953, ‘Murray Raft Trip Plan’, <i>Barrier Miner</i>, 30 December, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012 from Trove database.</p> <p>1953, ‘Raft Trip Down Murray Planned’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 29 December, electronic version, retrieved 31 March 2012, from Trove database.</p>

John Reid and John Howard	1953	Wagga	Darlington Pt (intending)	Canoe		They paddled from Wagga to Narrandera. "Yesterday morning Messrs. Reid and Howard transferred the canoe to the canal and set off for Yanco."	1953, 'Canoeing Down the 'Bidgee', <i>Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser</i> , 15 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database.
"30 Boy Scouts from St Peter's College scout troop"	1954	Renmark	Morgan (intending)	"Ten new canoes..."			1954, 'Canoe Trip', <i>Chronicle</i> , 26 August, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Bill Confoy and Les Phillips Please Note: Les Phillips abandoned the trip at Tilpa on the Darling, to return to work (Confoy, 1955, p.15).	1954 (Confoy, 1955, p.20; Confoy, 1955, p.28, no.19)	Goondiwindi (Confoy, 1955, p.20)	Goolwa (Confoy, 1955, p.28, no.19)	Canoe (Confoy, 1955)		Wanted to have an adventure, to "see the real Australia" (Confoy, c.1955, p.20). "...or maybe just the desire to do something different" (Confoy, c.1955, p.20).	1954, 'At End of 3000-Mile Paddle', <i>The Courier-Mail</i> , 27 October, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. 1954, 'Lone Canoeist Sails Murray', <i>The Argus</i> , 19 October, electronic version, retrieved 26 August 2013 from Trove database. 1954, 'I'd Never Do It Again – Canoeist', <i>The Mail</i> , 30 October, electronic version, retrieved 31 August 2013 from Trove database. 1954, 'He's Back to His Painting', <i>The Courier-Mail</i> , 9 November, electronic version, retrieved 31 August 2013 from Trove database. Confoy, B, 1955, '3000 Miles by Canoe', <i>The Silver Jacket</i> , Vol. 3, No. 18, pp. 20, 21, 28 Confoy, B, 1955, 'River Adventure', <i>The Silver Jacket</i> , Vol. 3, No. 19, pp. 14, 15, 28 Hart, J, D & Leininger, P, W, 2013, 'Huckleberry Finn, Adventures of,' in <i>The Oxford Companion to American Literature</i> , 6 edn, published online, viewed 24 April 2015 on Oxford Reference. June Confoy letter to Mitchell Library NSW, letter received 21 December 1964

Bill and June Confoy	August 1959 (1959, 'Personal News Flashes')	Bourke (Confoy, c.1964)	Goolwa (Confoy, c.1964)	Canoe (Confoy, c.1964)	"... 17ft. canoe, 24ins. at the widest part, and it weighs 65 lbs" (1959, 'Personal News Flashes').	They wished to launch at Cunnamulla, but could not as the Warrego was dry (1959, 'Personal News Flashes'). In a letter from June Confoy to the Mitchell library from about December 1964, June wrote about how she and her husband paddled from Bourke to Goolwa in 52 days, claiming that no other man or woman had achieved the feat previously.	1959, 'Personal News Flashes', <i>Western Herald</i> , 14 August, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. June Confoy letter to Mitchell Library NSW, letter received 21 December 1964.
Bill Confoy	1960	Bourke	Goolwa (intending)	Canoe		"One of the reasons for Mr Confoy's present trip is to prove the lasting protective powers of Forminex the paint-on plastic finish with which his canoe is coated."	1960, 'Two Thousand Mile Voyage by Canoe', <i>Western Herald</i> , 29 July, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database.
Anthony Stewart	1960 (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip')	Hume Weir (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip')	Wagga via the Murray Mouth (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip')	Rowboat (1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip')			1963, 'Row-boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip', <i>The Age</i> , 31 May, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Google News database 1960, 'Big Row Over', <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 23 June, electronic version, 14 December 2014 from Sydney Morning Herald Archives.
Unnamed owner of island, possibly in Canada (1962, 'Adventurous Pair Near End of 1200-Mile Kayak Trip').	Pre 1962				Darling River	"The owner of the island had once made a 1,200-mile trip down the Darling River in Australia."	1962, 'Adventurous Pair Near End of 1200-Mile Kayak Trip', <i>The Calgary Herald</i> , 24 August, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Google News database.

Anthony Stewart	1963 (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer').	Mungindi (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer').	Boundary Bend, intending to reach Albury (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer').	Rowboat (1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer').			1963, 'Row-Boat Nomad on 850-mile Trip', <i>The Age</i> , 31 May, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Google News database. 1963, '2,200 Miles By River Long row by buckskin explorer', <i>Sydney Morning Herald</i> , 20 July, electronic version, 14 December 2014 from Sydney Morning Herald Archives.
Terry Lees and Tony Summerville	1967 (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time')	Gundagai 1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time'	Renmark (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time')	"10 ft aluminium canoe" (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time')		They intended to reach Lake Alexandrina, they went over time and were expected at work, so they finished their trip at Renmark (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled By Time'). Hunting and fishing provided some sustenance (1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled By Time').	1967, 'Sturt Route is being Retraced', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 17 March, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database. 1967, 'Two Canberra Canoeists Foiled by Time', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 28 April, electronic version, retrieved 28 October 2013 from Trove database.
Neil McBane	1967	Albury	Adelaide	Kayak			1968, 'Rickshaw Has No Rights', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 31 August, retrieved 21 July 2013 from Trove database.
Outward Bound School (Clayton) and Charles Sturt Memorial Trust 8 crew members	"December 26 1968" – "January 26 1969"	Balranald	Goolwa	Whaleboat		"[Sturt] Re-enactment"	IRNMR Register, entry 1969/3, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff of the Goolwa National Trust.

Ted Jackson and Norm Jackson	26 Jan – 3 April 1969 (IRNMR register number 42, 69/1).	Texas, Queensland (1969, 'Tale of Two Men, One Canoe, 3700 River Miles')	Murray Mouth (1969, 'Tale of Two Men, One Canoe, 3700 River Miles').	Canoe (1969, 'Tale of Two Men, One Canoe, 3700 River Miles')		"Australian and world record for inland river distance" (IRNMR register number 42, 69/1).	2007, 'Happy to watch and admire the paddlers', <i>The Age</i> , 6 January, electronic version, retrieved 3 November 2013 http://www.theage.com.au/news/sport/happy-to-watch-and-admire-the-paddlers/2007/01/05/1167777280980.html# 1969, 'Tale of Two Men, One Canoe, 3700 River Miles', <i>The Age</i> , 7 April, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Google News database. 2000, 'Ted Jackson', <i>KC Paddler</i> , Vol 16, pp. 30-31 IRNMR Register, entry 1969/1.
Phillip Davis and Robert S. Lodge	"28 Dec. 1970 – 1 Feb. 1971" (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).	Albury (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).	Murray Bridge (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).	Canoe (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).		This was the record for downstream canoeing on the Murray, and was recorded in the 1974 <i>The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)</i> (McWhirter & McWhirter eds., 1974, p.254).	McWhirter, R. & McWhirter, N. (eds), 1974, <i>The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)</i> , 21st edn, Guinness Superlatives Limited, Enfield, p. 254.
Robert Chapman Darryl Chapman Jim Chadwick Carole Gander Ivan Matthews Daphne Matthews (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip'). [planned journey and had already arrived in Jugiong the first part of their journey].	1971	Jugiong (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip')	Goolwa (intending) (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip')	Canoes (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip')	"three 16 ft fibreglass canoes" (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip').	Hoped to make a film and publish a book about the journey for educational purposes (1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip').	1971, 'In the wake of Sturt', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 10 December, p.3 [NLA Biographical Cuttings Charles Sturt]. 1971, 'Canoeists to begin trip', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 13 December, p.11 [NLA Biographical Cuttings Charles Sturt].
Michael Guppy (21), Peter Liston (21), John Craig (22) [planned journey]	10 November 1972	Jugiong	Mildura (they might proceed to Lake Alexandrina depending how the rest of the trip goes).	2 canoes and a rubber raft		"Amateur Ornithologists"	1972, 'Going Bird-watching', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 5 September, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database.

Wade Butler	27 Dec 1972 – 12 April 1973	Dalby	Goolwa via “Condamine, Balonne, Culgoa Darling” and Murray Rivers.	Canoe	“Customised fibreglass Canadian Canoe”	Had company for parts of the journey	IRNMR, entry 1973/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and Goolwa National Trust staff.
Ray and John Fisher, Ray Asmus	30 August 1974 to 8 November 1974 (IRNMR Certificate, entry 1974/2).	Queensland or Mungindi, however, Mungindi is very close to the NSW/QLD border (1976, ‘Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists’; IRNMR Certificate, entry 1974/2)	Lake Alexandrina (IRNMR Certificate, entry 1974/2).	Kayaks (1976, ‘Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists’)		“...they beat the world record for the longest trip made in single kayaks” (1976, ‘Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists’).	1974, ‘Three Men Plan Long kayak trip’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 15 August, retrieved 21 July 2013 from Trove database. Meldrum, J, 1974, ‘Snakes, Bullets did not Deter Canoeists’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 12 November, viewed 14 August, 2013, 1976, ‘Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 14 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database. IRNMR Certificate, entry 1974/2, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and Goolwa National Trust Staff
T. Jackson and N. Jackson presumably Ted Jackson and Norm Jackson	8 December 1974 – 25 February 1975	Condamine	Goolwa	Canoe		“70 days”	IRNMR Register, entry 1975/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff of the Goolwa National Trust.
“Six Students of St. Albert’s College, University of New England” (McWhirter, 1984, p.254).	November 1975 to February 1976 (1976, ‘Canoe Trip’).	Gunnedah (McWhirter, 1984, p.254).	Lake Alexandrina (McWhirter, 1984, p.254).	2 canoes 1976, ‘Canoe Trip’).	3186 km (McWhirter, 1984, p.254).	Possibly the record for long distance downstream canoeing on the Murray-Darling Rivers (see McWhirter, 1984, p.254).	1976, ‘Canoe Trip’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 18 February, electronic version, retrieved 20 July 2013 from Trove database. McWhirter, N. (ed), 1984, <i>The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)</i> , 30th edn, Guinness Superlatives Limited, Enfield, p. 254.
Eric de Red (Eero Elias Elomaa)	1975	Albury	Wellington	Rowboat	“3m aluminium boat”	Finnish by birth. “He bought his 3m aluminium boat from Phillips Marine and literally surfed his way right down to Wellington, where the Murray flows into Lake Alexandrina”, this was during flood.	Wilson, P, 2008, ‘Part 5: The Conquerors’, <i>The Border Mail</i> , viewed 6 June 2015, http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/42482/part-5-the-conquerors/

Eric de Red (Eero Elias Elomaa)	1975 or 1976	Wellington	Loxton	Rowboat	"3m aluminium boat"	"...he had then turned around and rowed 482km upstream to Loxton where he lived for the next four years."	Wilson, P, 2008, 'Part 5: The Conquerors', <i>The Border Mail</i> , viewed 6 June 2015, http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/42482/part-5-the-conquerors/
Ray Fisher and Ray Asmus	January 1976 (1976, 'Canberra Men Set World Canoe Record')	Bringenbrong Bridge (1976, 'Canberra Men Set World Canoe Record')	"Dorra Dorra near Talmalmo" (1976, 'Canberra Men Set World Canoe Record')	Kayaks (1976, 'Canberra Men Set World Canoe Record')		Broke the world speed record for paddling 100 miles in kayaks (1976, 'Canberra men set world canoe record'). They completed the journey in 16 hours and 12 minutes from Bringenbrong Bridge to Dorra Dorra, 53 minutes faster than the previous record setters (1976, 'Canberra men set world canoe record').	1976, 'Canberra Men Set World Canoe Record', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 29 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database. 1976, 'Record Attempt by ACT Canoeists', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 14 January, electronic version, retrieved 25 September 2013 from Trove database.
Eric de Red (Eero Elias Elomaa)	1979	Loxton?	"Junction of the Murray and Swampy Plains rivers"	Rowboat		"In May 1979 he started [presumably from Loxton] his epic journey up the Murray River, eventually reaching the junction of the Murray and Swampy Plains rivers, where he called it quits."	Wilson, P, 2008, 'Part 5: The Conquerors', <i>The Border Mail</i> , viewed 6 June 2015, http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/42482/part-5-the-conquerors/

<p>Ray Fisher, John Fisher, Ray Asmus,</p> <p>Please note that <i>The Guinness Book of Records Australian edition</i> 1989 did not mention John Fisher.</p>	<p>1 April – 20 June 1979</p> <p>(IRNMR Certificate 79/1)</p>	<p>Warwick</p> <p>(IRNMR Certificate 79/1)</p>	<p>Goolwa</p> <p>(IRNMR Certificate 79/1)</p>	<p>Kayaks</p> <p>(1979 'Slalom and Down-river Events April 7, 8.')</p>		<p>“They also took part in the Murray River marathon at Christmas, which Asmus described as only a training run” (1979 'Slalom and Down-river Events April 7, 8.').</p> <p>According to the <i>Guinness Book of Records Australian edition</i> (1989), they completed 3678km in their canoes (p.342)</p>	<p>Carter, A, 1979, ‘One World record Canoe Trip Enough’, <i>The Canberra Times</i>, 1 July, retrieved 21 July 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1979 'Slalom and Down-river Events April 7, 8.', <i>The Canberra Times</i>, 1 April, viewed 14 August, 2013, from Trove database.</p> <p>McFarlan, D. (ed), 1989, <i>The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)</i>, 35th edn, Guinness Superlatives Limited, Enfield, p. 342</p> <p>IRNMR Certificate, entry 1979/1, Courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at the Goolwa National Trust.</p> <p>Roberts, S, 1978, ‘4,000 kilometres the Hard, Wet, Dry Way’, <i>The Canberra Times</i>, 11 June, electronic version, retrieved 26 November 2013 from Trove database</p>
<p>10 men to row replica of Sturt’s boat in 150th anniversary celebrations of Sturt’s journey down the Rivers</p> <p>“have begun in Gundagai” as stated on 5 November 1979 in <i>The Canberra Times</i></p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt expedition anniversary celebrations’)</p>	<p>1979</p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’)</p>	<p>Gundagai</p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’)</p>	<p>Goolwa</p> <p>(intending)</p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’)</p>	<p>Whaleboat</p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’)</p>	<p>“Replica of Sturt’s”</p> <p>(1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’)</p>	<p>“Festivals and celebrations are planned at more than 40 towns along the way” (1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary celebration,’ p.9).</p> <p>Due dates were advertised in <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i> for when the crew expected to arrive in each town (1979, ‘Join the Sturt 150 year celebrations’).</p>	<p>1979, ‘Sturt Expedition Anniversary Celebration’, <i>The Canberra Times</i>, 5 November, p.9 [NLA Biographical Papers Charles Sturt].</p> <p>1979, ‘Join the Sturt 150 year celebrations’, <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 22 October, p.5 [NLA Biographical Papers Charles Sturt].</p>

<p>Sapper Ian Dellar and Sapper Michael Wentworth</p> <p>(21 Construction Squadron Royal Australian Engineers)</p>	<p>3-21 or 22 December 1979</p> <p>(1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1; IRNMR Register, entry 1979/4).</p>	<p>Albury</p> <p>(1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1)</p>	<p>Goolwa</p> <p>(IRNMR Register, entry 1979/4)</p>	<p>TK2 (two person kayak)</p> <p>(1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1; IRNMR Register, entry 1979/4).</p>	<p>"Plaque containing this information [the route and the time it took] is mounted at the Goolwa Barrage" (IRNMR Register, entry 1979/4).</p> <p>They broke three records:</p> <p>"16 days, 3 hours, 55 minutes to Murray Bridge (previous record 36 days).</p> <p>80 miles per day (previous record 20 miles per day).</p> <p>Maximum distanced paddled in TK2 - 1640 miles (after the Marathon) in 28 days"</p> <p>(1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.1).</p> <p>"completed the Red Cross Marathon 6 days later"</p> <p>(1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', p.4).</p>	<p>1980, 'An Epic Canoe Trip from Albury to the Sea on the River Murray', <i>The Paddler</i>, Vol. 25, pp. 1-4.</p> <p>IRNMR Register, entry 1979/4, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p>
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Peter Lee and Terry Thompson, both in their early 20s.	1979-80 (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds').	Mungindi (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds').	Goolwa (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds').	Canoe (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds')		"5000 km" in 4 months (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds'). Peter 22 and Terry 21 were unemployed and "lived off the land" (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds'). They were inexperienced canoeists, who were inspired to undertake the journey after reading about Bill Confoy's journey (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds'). They consulted with Confoy who lent them equipment and drove down to Goolwa to take the men back to Brisbane (1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds').	IRNMR Register, entry 1980/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 1980, 'Paddling Against the Odds', no newspaper title provided, 24 January, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 1980/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Greg Rawkins	1981	Killarney	Goolwa	Canoe			IRNMR Register, entry 1981/2, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Ron Bath	1981	Hume Weir (p.28)	Murray Mouth (p.28)	Kayak or canoe (p.28)		Paraplegic (p.26). The journey raised funds for the Red Cross and towards an establishment of a canoe club for the disabled (Sheppard, 1984, p.28).	Sheppard, T, 1984, <i>Australian Adventurers</i> , Angus & Robertson Publishers, North Ryde.
Kevin Moody and friends	1988, 1985, 1986 (Moody, 2013).	Murray source (Moody, 2013).	Murray Mouth (Moody, 2013).	Walking, lilo, a raft that was steered by oars and motor boats (Moody, 2013).		Employed as a cartographer for the Division of National Mapping in Victoria (Moody, 2013). In 1985 he realised that many maps erroneously named the start of the Murray, from its source to Bringenbrong Bridge, as the Indi River (Moody, 2013). As most famous journeys along the supposed length of the	Moody, K, n.d, 'Flashback... The Murray River from Source to Sea', viewed 1 February or 2 January 2013, http://xnatmap.org/adnm/docs/mirv/mriv.htm n.d, Upper Murray Murray-Darling Basin Authority, viewed 9 June 2015, http://www.mdba.gov.au/about-basin/how-river-runs/upper-murray

						<p>Murray therefore started at Bringenbrong, he realised that not many started their journeys from the actual source (Moody, 2013). This inspired him to travel the river from its actual source, to the sea (Moody, 2013).</p> <p>Please note that some residents from the area and some historians refer to the segment of the Murray from its source to the junction with the Swampy Plain River, as the Indi River (n.d, Upper Murray Murray-Darling Basin Authority)</p>	
Ted Jackson	8 November 1981 – 23 January 1982	“At the headwaters of the Condamine River above Killarney”	Goolwa	Canoe		“[Record claimed]... 5,230kms. Australian distance record over an inland river course.”	IRNMR Certificate, entry 1982/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Corporal David McManus	23 November – 9 December 1981 (IRNMR Register, entry 1981/8) <i>Or</i> 15 November – 1 December 1981 (McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342)	Albury/Hume Weir (1981, ‘Record Man Paddles on’; McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342)	Goolwa (McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342)	Canoe (McFarlan ed., 1989, p.342)		<p>“16 days and 17 hours” (IRNMR Register, entry 1981/8).</p> <p>Undertook the journey to beat Dellar and Wentworth’s record breaking trip (1981, ‘Record man paddles on’).</p>	<p>1993, ‘Down the Murray, <i>Paddler</i>, vol. 95, August.</p> <p>IRNMR Register, entry 1981/8, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p> <p>1981, ‘Record Man Paddles on’, <i>Riverine Herald</i>, 20 November, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 1980/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p> <p>McFarlan, D. (ed), 1989, <i>The Guinness Book of Records (Australian ed.)</i>, 35th edn, Guinness Superlatives Limited, Enfield, p.342.</p>
Norman and Pat Sprintall	c.1985	Goondiwindi	Goolwa	Canoe			IRNMR Register, entry 1985/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.

<p>Eight crew, plus a total of sixteen others from Waikerie and Mannum where the original crew and the second crew stopped respectively, to allow more people to participate. "Organised by the Blackwood Apex Club"</p> <p>(Jeanes 1986, 'A re-enactment with a Difference')</p>	<p>4-26 January 1986</p> <p>(IRNMR Register, entry 1986/4)</p>	<p>Renmark</p> <p>(Jeanes 1986, 'A re-enactment with a Difference')</p>	<p>Goolwa</p> <p>(IRNMR Register entry 1986/4)</p>	<p>Whaleboat</p> <p>(Jeanes 1986, 'A re-enactment with a Difference')</p>		<p>Not a strict re-enactment, but a way to involve youth "in a jubilee event that would give them a sense of adventure" (Lorraine cited in Jeanes 1986, 'A re-enactment with a Difference'). The jubilee was possibly celebrating the founding of Adelaide.</p>	<p>IRNMR Register, entry 1986/4, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p> <p>Jeanes, T, 1986, 'A Re-enactment with a Difference', <i>The Advertiser</i>, 6 January viewed in the IRNMR Register, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p>
<p>Don and Robert Gomer</p>	<p>1986</p>	<p>Texas</p>	<p>Goolwa</p>				<p>IRNMR Register, entry 1986/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.</p>
<p>Holger Knaack, Tony Burke, Mark Lloyd, Steve Molino, John Holmes, Allan Suthern</p>	<p>4-6 November 1983</p> <p>(p.3)</p>	<p>Tom Groggin</p> <p>(p.3)</p>	<p>"almost to Colemans Bend"</p> <p>(p.5)</p>	<p>did not say, but they used paddles (pp.3-5)</p>		<p>"about 35 km" (p.3).</p> <p>Their journey consisted of traversing rapids in difficult sections where there were "steep banks and bush", a trip only worth doing when properly prepared (pp.3-5).</p>	<p>Suthern, A, 1984, 'Indi River (Murray Gates)', <i>Splash</i>, February, pp. 3-5.</p>
<p>Ron Bath</p>	<p>1986</p>	<p>Possibly the Murray Mouth, or somewhere along Lake Alexandrina</p>	<p>Hume Weir</p> <p>(1986, 'Today's People and briefly... Ron Bath')</p>	<p>Canoe</p>		<p>"...the first man to paddle the Murray River upstream" (1986, 'Today's People and briefly... Ron Bath').</p> <p>Ron Bath was a paraplegic (1986, 'Today's People and briefly... Ron Bath').</p>	<p>Blum, R, 2009, 'A Little Bit of River Murray paddling History', viewed 30 September 2013, http://mcc.canoe.org.au/16110/a-look-back-in-time</p> <p>1986, 'Paraplegic Paddler', <i>The Canberra Times</i>, 9 April, electronic version, retrieved 30 September 2013 from Trove database.</p> <p>1986, 'Today's People and briefly... Ron Bath', <i>The Sydney Morning Herald</i>, 1 May, retrieved 30 September 2013 from Google News.</p>

Debbie Lawrence	28 October – early December 1986 (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth')	Bringenbrong Bridge (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth')	Murray Mouth (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth')	Kayak (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth')		Intended to walk from the headwaters of the Murray to Bringenbrong Bridge when the weather was more suitable (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth') She was an adventurer. Her experience was practice for when she paddled down the Amazon (1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth').	IRNMR Register, entry 1986/5, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 1986, 'Murray Marathon ends at Mouth', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 12 December viewed in IRNMR, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Bill Barnett and five other members of the North Narabeen Surf Lifesaving Club	14 April – 14 June 1988	Texas	Goolwa	Surf Boat	"7.8m aluminium Surf Boat"	They assisted the Great Bicentennial River Relay, by transporting the message cylinder from Mungindi to Bourke during the flood (IRNMR 88/1).	IRNMR Register, entry 1988/1, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
At least 11 surfboats in the Commonwealth Bank Outback Surf Boat Classic	1989	Brewarrina	Bourke	Surfboats		200 km race It appears that the race had been run before.	1989, 'Boost for Bulli from Brewarrina to Bourke', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 2 October, electronic version, retrieved 27 October 2013 from Trove database.
Jagaran Hale	1989 – 1 February 1990 (IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4).	Khancoban (IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4).	Goolwa (IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4).	Kayak (IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4).		(IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4).	IRNMR Register, entry 1990/4, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 1990, <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 23 March, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 1990/4, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Carol and John Wilson	1990					"Carol [was] the first female to complete the 2,400 km journey [the Murray]". This may not be true- see Debbie Lawrence, 1986.	n.d, People – Riverland Paddling Marathon, viewed 30 September 2013, http://www.riverlandpaddlingmarathon.com/people.html

Michael Allford	March 1990 (p.40)	Bringenbrong Bridge (p.40)	Goolwa (p.40)	TK1 kayak (p.40)		30 days (p.40). Inspired by his nephew's severe asthma attack, paddled from Bringenbrong Bridge to near the Murray Mouth to raise funds in support of the Asthma Foundation (p.40).	Allford, M, 1993, 'Down the Murray, <i>Paddler</i> , vol. 95, August, pp.40-41.
Michael Allford	October-November 1992 (pp.40-41)	Bringenbrong Bridge (p.40)	Goolwa (p.40)	TK1, K1 and sea kayak (p.40)		Realising that with training he could possibly break McManus record, he eventually paddled from Bringenbrong Bridge upstream of Albury, but to break the record his attempt would commence at Albury (Allford, 1993, p.40). His paddle from Albury to Goolwa took "15 days 20 hours and 32 minutes" with the assistance of a ground crew and a support boat (Allford, 1993, pp. 40, 41)	Allford, M, 1993, 'Down the Murray, <i>Paddler</i> , vol. 95, August, pp.40-41.
Terry Bolland	c.1990 or 1991 (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way').	Tom Groggin (1994, Introducing Terry Bolland, p.41)	"Ocean near Goolwa" (1994, 'Introducing Terry Bolland, p.41)	Kayak (1994, 'Introducing Terry Bolland, p.41)		Part of a running-paddling-swimming-walking expedition around Australia (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way'). He wanted to physically test himself, and incorporated the journey as part of his "Australian Challenge Expedition where he covered 24,000 km in one year" (1991, 'Around Australia the hard way'; editor in Bolland, n.d, vol.1, no.14 <i>Paddle Power</i> , p.38).	Murray River Expedition, viewed 26 August 2013, http://www.canoeingdownunder.com.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=155&Itemid=275 1994, 'Introducing Terry Bolland', <i>Paddler</i> , Vol. 100 June 1994, p.41. 1991, 'Murray Descent', <i>Australian Canoeist Paddle Power</i> , Vol. 1, No 14 1991, 'Around Australia the Hard Way', <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 29 June, electronic version, retrieved 22 September 2013 from Trove database. Kovacs, n.d, 'The 'Gates' in Summer?', <i>The Paddler</i> , vol.81, pp.14-15

						He was not able to break the speed record, due to dangerous fast water, but started his journey closer to the source than others and therefore “created a new distance record of 2500km in 21 days” (1991, ‘Around Australia the hard way’; Bolland, n.d. p.43).	
George John Nielsen	21 August – 11 November 1993 (IRNMR Register, entry 1993/6)	Bathurst (IRNMR Register, entry 1993/6)	Goolwa (IRNMR Register, entry 1993/6)	Kayak (IRNMR Register, entry 1993/6)		Done in stages: Bathurst to the Macquarie Marshes Nyngan to Bourke? (1993, ‘Paddlers Splash in for Fred Hollows’). Nielsen was a retiree who wanted to do something exciting and “came up with the idea through his friendship with Professor Hollows and took the proposal to Rotary clubs and the Blackmores company in an effort to get sponsorship. Both said yes” (1993, ‘Paddlers Splash in for Fred Hollows’). He was trying to raise funds for the Fred Hollows Foundation (1993, ‘Paddlers Splash in for Fred Hollows’).	1993, ‘Paddlers Splash in for Fred Hollows’, <i>The Canberra Times</i> , 13 September, electronic version, retrieved 23 September 2013 from Trove database. IRNMR Register, entry 1993/6, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Mike Bremers	1995-2007	Bringenbrong Bridge	Murray Mouth	Kayak			Bremers, M, c.2010, Murray Canoe Trip, viewed 19 November 2012, https://sites.google.com/site/murraycanoe/trip/home

Mike Bremers	1995-2008	Jugiong	Murray River	Kayak			Bremers, M, c.2010, Murrumbidgee Canoe Trip, viewed 19 November 2012, https://sites.google.com/site/murrumbidgeecanoetrip/
Bob Beer	1997	Fitzroy River near Rockhampton (Beer, 1998, p.4).	He finished paddling at Pullen Spit after traversing the Mouth of the Murray (Beer, 1998, p.66)	Kayak		Travelled on the Fitzroy, Barwon, Darling and Murray Rivers (Beer, 1998, pp.11, 35-38, 41).	Beer, B, 1998, <i>The Inland Sea Man Across Australia by Kayak Remarkable solo journey across Australia from Port Alma to Murray Mouth</i> , 2 nd edn, (self published?) available at NLA. Ginis, L, 1998, 'Paddling Australia's Inland Waters', <i>Australian Geographic</i> , no. 51, July to September. p.22
Paul Sinclair and Jen Hocking (Sinclair, 2001, pp.xi, xii), <i>The Murray A River and its People</i> (p.xi).	1997			Canoe		Two months canoeing during which he interviewed people for his thesis and or book, the latter published as Sinclair (2001), <i>The Murray A River and its People</i> (p.xi). "1330 kilometres" (see Sinclair, 2001, p.xi).	Sinclair, P, 2001, <i>The Murray A River and its People</i> , Melbourne University Press, Carlton.
Rolan Daly	10 March – 6 April 1998	Albury	Goolwa	Kayak		"Alternative routes between Achula [Echuca?] – Mildura + Tailem Bend to Mcgrath flats"	IRNMR Certificate, vol. 2, no. 013, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Paul Darlison and Woody Clark	25 February – 26 June 1998	Bringenbrong Bridge	Goolwa	Canadian Canoes		Judging by the fact that they departed and arrived at the same places at the same time, it is assumed that although they were issued separate certificates, they actually travelled together.	IRNMR Certificate, vol. 2 nos. 014-015, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Chris Bradbeer	4 November – 19 December 1998	The Pilot	Goolwa	Canoe		"Source to the Sea"	IRNMR Certificate, Vol 3 No. 031, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.

Members of the Avoca Beach Surf Life Saving Club	1999 (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip')	Gundagai (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip')	Balranald (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip')	Surf boat (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip')		Part 1 of retracing Sturt's trip as part of Centenary of Federation celebrations (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip').	2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 1 November, IRNMR, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 27 October, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Tom Batty	December 1999 – March 2000	Mt Kosciuszko	Murray Mouth	Canadian Canoe		As the Murray does not start from Mount Kosciuszko, it is assumed that he walked from the Mountain to the river and at some point commenced his canoe journey. Jenny Mee accompanied him from Renmark (2000, 'Brits finish Canoe Marathon').	2000, 'Brits finish Canoe Marathon', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 23 March, IRNMR, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Harry Hill and friends	c2000	Mt Jagungal (p.63)	Tumut-Murrumbidgee Junction (p.63).	Walk, swim, canoe (pp.60, 63, 66).		Tumut River from source to Murrumbidgee River (Hill, 2000, pp.62-63).	Hill, H., 2000, 'Down the Tumut', <i>Australian Geographic</i> , no. 58, April-June, pp. 60-71.
Byrne Family including 4 children aged 6-15	c2000	Corowa (p.107)	Coorong (intending) (p.107)	3 canoes		Already departed from Corowa, reached near Echuca Wharf intending to continue further (pp.107, 108).	2000, <i>The Australian Geographic Book of The Murray River</i> , Australian Geographic Pty Ltd, pp.107-8.
James Castrission, Justin Jones and Andrew Crawley	28 November 2000 – 15 January 2001 (McDonald, 2001)	Source (McDonald, 2001)	Murray Mouth (McDonald, 2001)	Kayaks (McDonald, 2001)		Hiked to Cowombat Flat to the Murray source and rafted for about 40km due to very thick bushland along the banks of the river (Castrission, 2010, pp.19, 20). They raised money for the Starlight Foundation (McDonald, 2001).	McDonald, P, 2001, 'Three River Kings', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 16 January, viewed in IRNMR Archives, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. Castrission, J, 2010, <i>Crossing the Ditch</i> , HarperCollins, Australia

Avoca Beach Surf Life Saving Club (105 rowers)	2001 (2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake').	Balranald (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip').	Wellington, possibly Goolwa (2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake').	Surf boat (2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake').		Part 2 of retracing Sturt's trip as part of Centenary of Federation celebrations (2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip'). More than 180 rowers participated in the re-enactment (2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake').	2001, 'Lifesavers Retrace Sturt's Trip', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 1 November, IRNMR, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 2001, 'Boat Crew Tackles Lake', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 27 October, IRNMR, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust.
From Source to Sea <i>"Forerunner III"</i>	2001 (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.44, 47, 28, 51)	Participated briefly in processions on the Murray River at Morgan, Mannum and Goolwa (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.47, 51, 60).		Canoe (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.31, 33).	Wooden frame covered with canvas and coated with acrylic to prevent water seeping in (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.31, 33).	Replica of Cadell's <i>Forerunner</i> which he took from Swan Hill to Lake Alexandrina (Reedman ed., c.2012, pp.6, 24, 26). For more information see Part A Exploration and Surveying.	Reedman, P (ed.), c.2012, <i>Forerunner</i> , a Petrus Publication. c.2002, <i>Restoration and preservation of Wooden Boats of Historical Value and Interest</i> , Armsfield Slipway and Boatshed Goolwa, viewed 16 October 2016, http://www.alexandrina.com.au/webdata/resources/files/Restoration_Preservation_of_Wooden_Boats_of_Historical_Value_and_Interest.pdf
Oliver Brown (archaeologist) and Mike Letnic (ecologist)	February 2002 (p.52)	Brewarrina (p.52)	"250km downstream [of Bourke]" (p.52)	Canoe (p.52)		They were "taking notes and photographs, and recording for an ABC Radio documentary..." (p.52).	Brown, O, 2002, 'Slowly Down the Darling', <i>Outdoor Australia</i> , August-September, pp.50-54.
Brian Jennings	21 September – 4 November 2003 (IRNMR Certificate, vol.3, no.0050)	Hume Weir (2003, '73yo ends Marathon Row at Mouth')	Murray Mouth (2003, '73yo ends Marathon Row at Mouth')	Skiff (IRNMR Certificate, vol.3, no.0050)	"Home built 15 ft skiff "Lonesome Dove"" (IRNMR Certificate, vol.3, no.0050)		IRNMR Certificate, vol 3, no. 0050, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 2003, '73yo ends Marathon Row at Mouth', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 30 November
Bill Robinson	c.2005	Yarrawonga	Goolwa	Kayak	Made his own kayak	Journey took 5 weeks, camped along the river banks	Leunig, C, c.2005, Bill Robinson conquers the Murray, viewed 21 October 2012, http://www.canoe.org.au/?Page=8113

Peter Robinson	2005 (2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa', p.6)	Tumut (2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa', p.6)	Goolwa (2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa', p.6)	Canoe (2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa', p.6)		Journey made to raise funds for the Australian Rotary Health Research Fund, which contributes funds to mental health research (n.d. Australian Rotary Health – About; 2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa').	2005, 'Marathon Canoeist here Monday', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 15 December, viewed in IRNMR Archives, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. n.d. Australian Rotary Health – About, viewed 23 May 2015, http://www.australianrotaryhealth.org.au/About.aspx 2006, 'Marathon man arrives in Goolwa', <i>Rotary Health</i> , Autumn newsletter, p.6.
Rod Smith	2006	Yarrawonga	Murray Mouth	Canoe		Raised funds for the Ronald McDonald House Charity (Sproull, 2006). He battled against strong winds and huge waves (Sproull, 2006).	Sproull, R, 2006, 'Roar of pumps punctuated Murray paddle', <i>The Australian</i> , 23 November, electronic version, retrieved 27 June 2014 from ebscohost.
Simon Keenan	2007 or earlier			Kayak		"Simon Keenan in his */Paddling for Asylum Seekers and Refugees/* project, previously took to the Murray River in an epic 2,226 km, 116 day solo kayak journey, raising \$22,000 for organisations that assist asylum seekers living in the Australian community."	2007, Academic & Kayaker To Circle Christmas Island Scoop News viewed 15 June 2015, http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0707/S00362.htm
Leanne Jarchow	2006	Lake Hume	Wellington	Kayak		Effort to support and raise money for Melbourne's Alfred Hospital, which assisted her family while her father was dying of cancer (Williams, 2006). Due to her journey, \$25 000 was donated to the hospital (Williams, 2006).	Williams, M, 2006, 'River marathon in dad's memory', <i>The Advertiser</i> , electronic version, retrieved 10 December 2013 from EBSCOhost.
Steve John Posselt	2007	Brisbane	Adelaide	Kayak		"Journey was 3250 km in total with 2170 km	Posselt, S, J, 2009, <i>Cry me a River: One man's journey down the Murray Darling</i>

	(n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).	(n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).	(n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).	(n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).		spent canoeing and 1,080 km walking” (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map). The purpose of the journey and the book was to raise awareness of unsustainable use of the Rivers in the Murray-Darling Basin (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth – Talking Sustainability in the Face of Global Warming). Travelled on and/or along the Condamine, Balonne, Darling and Murray Rivers (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map). He then walked and paddled to Adelaide (n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map).	<i>with a kayak on wheels</i> , Ebono Institute, Mullumbimby. n.d, Kayak 4 Earth Journey Map, viewed 14 November 2012, http://www.kayak4earth.com/journeymap.htm n.d, Kayak 4 Earth – Talking Sustainability in the Face of Global Warming, viewed 14 November 2012, http://www.kayak4earth.com/cryme.htm
Tim Williams	2006, 2007 and 2008 (Williams, c.2006, c.2007 and c.2008)	Hume Dam (Williams, T, c. 2008)	Lake Alexandrina (Williams, T, c. 2007)	Kayak (Williams, c.2006, p.3 Part 1).	Ysak Sea Kayak (Williams, c.2006, p.3 Part 1).	“2022 km [in] 71 days” paddled in 3 sections: Hume Dam – Yarrowonga – Mildura – Lake Alexandrina (Williams, c.2006, c.2007 and c.2008)	Williams, T, c.2006, ‘The Paddling Journal of Tim Williams, Part 1: Yarrowonga to Mildura’, viewed 3 August 2015 Williams, T, c. 2007, ‘The Paddling Journal of Tim Williams Part 2: Mildura-Lake Alexandrina, viewed 4 August 2015 Williams, T, c. 2008, ‘The Paddling Journal of Tim Williams Part 3: Albury-Lake Mulwala, viewed 4 August 2015 All available from http://www.timshoney.com.au/kayak/
Christo Norman	30 March – mid July 2008	The start of the Darling River, upstream of Bourke (Norman, 2008, ‘Tilpa Reached’)	Wellington, Lake Alexandrina (Norman, 2008, ‘The Final Hurrah’).	Kayak (Norman, 2008, ‘The Journey Begins’).		Paddled the rivers to understand how riversiders survive in such unrelenting landscapes (Norman, 2008, ‘Darling River Facts’). He also wanted	Norman, C, 2008, ‘A Darling Journey’, viewed 20 June 2015, http://adarlingjourney.blogspot.com.au/ Norman, C, 2008, ‘The Final Hurrah’, viewed 7 November 2016, http://adarlingjourney.blogspot.com.au/2

						to “experience some of the challenges which faced the early explorers” (Norman, 2008, ‘Darling River Facts’).	008/08/final-hurrah.html Norman, C , 2008, ‘Tilpa Reached’, viewed 7 November 2016, http://adarlingjourney.blogspot.com.au/2008/04/tilpa-reached.html Norman, C, 2008, ‘The Journey Begins’, viewed 7 November 2016, http://adarlingjourney.blogspot.com.au/2008/03/journey-begins.html Norman, C, 2008, ‘Darling River Facts’, viewed 7 November 2016, http://adarlingjourney.blogspot.com.au/2008/03/darling-river-facts.html
Mig Reddin (starting)	2008	Hume Weir wall	Wellington (intending)	Kayak, operated by paddle and wheels		61 years old.	Thomas, D, 2008, ‘Animal Lover Embarks on River Voyage’, <i>The Border Mail</i> , 15 June, viewed 13 August 2013 http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/40360/animal-lover-embarks-on-river-voyage/
Scott Matthews (About to start as of 25 October 2008)	2008	Lake Hume	Goolwa (intending)	Kayak		Fundraising for sick children in a project named “kanoe4kids”.	Dulhunty, K, 2008, ‘River trip to aid children’, <i>The Border Mail</i> , 20 June, viewed 20 June 2015, http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/41746/river-trip-to-aid-children/
Steve John Posselt	2009	Echuca via the Goulburn and Murray Rivers	Melbourne	Kayak		Trying to raise awareness of the north-south pipeline which will drain even more water from an already dying river.	c.2009, Kayak for Earth The Victorian Women’s Trust friends of the Earth plug the pipe stopping the North, viewed 23 October 2012, http://www.kayak4earth.com/index.htm
Martin Gribble Left Albury 31 October 2009	2009	Albury	“2200km down the Murray River” (intending)	Kayak		Fundraising for brother recovering from spinal injury.	Dean, S, 2009, ‘Long Journey Starts to Help Brother walk Again’, <i>The Border Mail</i> , 1 November, viewed 13 August 2013, http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/47319/long-journey-starts-to-help-brother-walk-again/
Dave Cornthwaite	6 October-19 December 2009 (n.d, ‘Kayak – Dave Cornthwaite’)	Murray source (n.d, ‘Kayak – Dave Cornthwaite’)	Goolwa or the Murray Mouth (2009, ‘Canoe Adventure Ends’)	Foot to source? Then paddled in a kayak 2350km to the Murray Mouth		“...raising funds and awareness for the AV Foundation. One of the foundation’s aims is solar and water projects in	n.d, ‘Kayak – Dave Cornthwaite’, viewed 20 June 2015, http://www.davecornthwaite.com/#/kayak-murray-river/4572411343

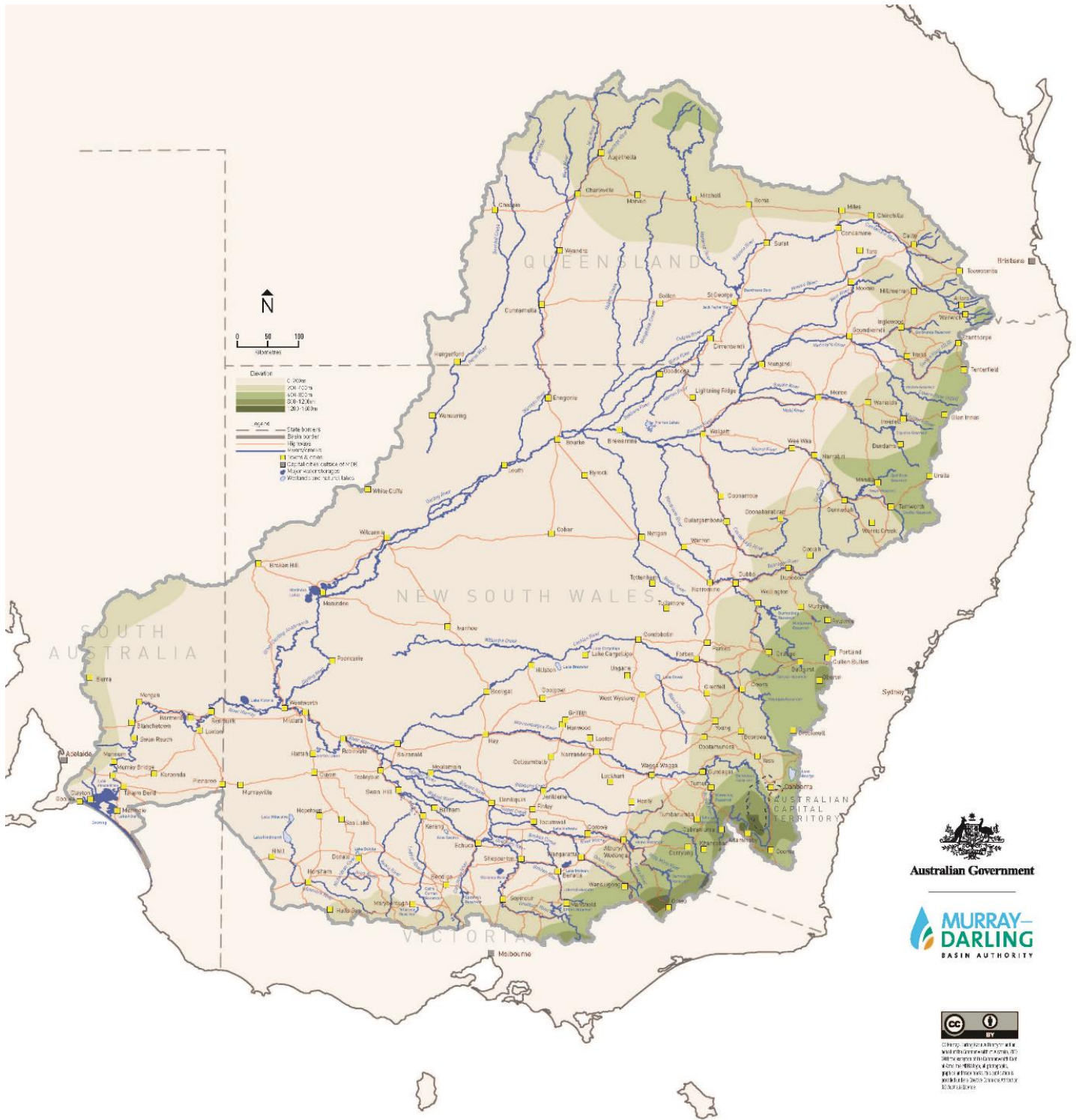
				(n.d, 'Kayak – Dave Cornthwaite'; 2009, 'Canoe Adventure Ends')		schools in developing countries.” (2009, 'Kayaker at end of river').	2009, 'Kayaker at end of river', <i>The Advertiser</i> , 19 December, viewed 20 June 2015 from Ebsco host 2009, 'Canoe Adventure Ends', <i>Victor Harbour Times</i> , 17 December, viewed in IRNMR Archives, entry 09/2, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and Staff at Goolwa National Trust.
Garry Pinnington [planned journey]	19 April 2010	Unknown	For 2200 km	Kayak		Raising money for men's health	Baltazarm M, 2010, 'Planner kayaks for men's health', 14 April, viewed 20 June 2015, http://www.financialstandard.com.au/news/view/28543/
Matthew Quick	2010	Murray Source	Ceased journey 40 km downstream of Robinvale (1184 km marker) due to injury (Quick, M, 2010, SourceToSea.org- Day 42: Robinvale to 1184 marker). He originally intended to paddle to Goolwa (c.2010, Source To Sea).	Walk, raft, kayak (Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Hiking 15/10-18/10; Quick, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Rafting 19/10)		Ceased journey 40 km downstream of Robinvale (1184 km marker) due to injury (Quick, M, 2010, SourceToSea.org- Day 42: Robinvale to 1184 marker). Quick paddled for two reasons: to raise money for the Juvenile Diabetes Research Foundation, he suffered from type 1 diabetes since he was 20, and to challenge himself (Quick, 2010, 'And Who am I...Matthew Quick').	c2010, Source to Sea, viewed 13 August 2013, http://www.sourcetosea.org/about.html Quick, M, 2010, SourceToSea.org- Day 42: Robinvale to 1184 marker, viewed 28 May 2015, http://www.sourcetosea.org/journal/2010/11/28/day-42-robinvale-to-1184-marker.html Quick, M, 2010, 'And Who am I...Matthew Quick', viewed 2 June 2015, http://www.sourcetosea.org/about/and-who-am-i-matthew-quick.html Quick, M, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Rafting 19/10. http://www.sourcetosea.org/journal/2010/10/21/raftinr-1910.html Quick, M, 2010, SourceToSea.org - Hiking 15/10-18/10, viewed 28 May 2015, http://www.sourcetosea.org/journal/2010/10/14/finally-.html c.2010, Source To Sea, viewed 7 November 2016, http://www.murrayriver.com.au/507-

							source-to-sea/
Chris Boyd and possibly Ian Bacon	Late 2010- February 2011 (2011, 'Young men paddling for cancer'; Caggiano, 2011).	Unknown	Murray Mouth (Caggiano, 2011).	Kayak (2011, 'Young men paddling for cancer')		"2500km" in 2 months (2011, 'Young men paddling for cancer'). Raising money for Lifehouse (Caggiano, 2011). Please note: Ian Bacon was not mentioned in Caggiano (2011).	2011, 'Young men paddling for cancer', 7 January 2011, viewed 20 June 2015, http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-01-07/young-men-paddling-for-cancer/1897360 Caggiano, A, 2011, 'River Murray – Living with cancer may feel', <i>Victor Harbor Times</i> , 10 February, viewed 20 June 2015 from EBSCOhost.
Travis Ewan and Dan Suttle	April – July 2011 (c.2012, Community Activities)	Condamine (c.2012, Community Activities)	Victor Harbour (c.2012, Community Activities)	Canoe (2011, 'Canoeing the basin for charity').		Their journey was to raise funds for "flood and cyclone victims" (2011, 'Canoeing the basin for charity'). They were inspired by a conversation with a work colleague who told them about a canoe trip from Warwick to Adelaide "after the last floods" (2011, 'Canoeing the basin for charity').	c.2012, Community Activities – General Trade Industries, viewed 28 May 2015, http://www.generaltradeindustries.com.au/community-activities n.d, 'Queensland to Adelaide in a canoe', viewed 21 June 2015, http://www.mycase.com.au/events/630 2011, 'Canoeing the basin for charity' <i>Chinchilla News</i> , 17 February, retrieved 11 November 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database. 2011, ' Canoeists make their way out of Queensland ', <i>Chinchilla News</i> , 24 March, retrieved 9 November 2013 from Factiva database. 2011, 'Intrepid travellers raise flood funds', <i>Western Star</i> , 29 March, retrieved 11 November 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database. 2011, 'Men paddle into Wilcannia to raise money' <i>ABC Regional News</i> , 20 April, retrieved 11 November 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database.

James Mumme, Bert Lloyd and John Thearle	2010-2011 (Paine, 2011)	Warraweena (Paine, 2011)	Wentworth (Paine, 2011)	Kayaks (Paine, 2011)		John Thearle did not paddle the Warraweena to Wilcannia section. (Mumme, c.2011)	Paine, J, 'Kayaking in Clancy's Overflow', 2011, AFLOAT, viewed 23 October 2012, http://www.afloat.com.au/afloat-magazine/2011/july-2011/Harbour_Happenings Mumme, J, c.2011, Paddling the Darling River: a must do... done', viewed 23 October 2012, http://www.lcrk.org.au/pmwiki/uploads/Main/Darling%20trip%20MUMME%202011.pdf
Bob DanceWilson [as spelt in the article], Greg Turner and Wayne Phillips (2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure'; Stuart, 2011)	2011 (Stuart, 2011; 2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure').	Bourke (Stuart, 2011; 2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure').	Wentworth (Stuart, 2011; 2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure').	Kayaks (2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure')		35 days to complete (Stuart, 2011).	2011, 'Trio's great kayak adventure' <i>Tweed Daily News</i> , 22 June, retrieved 17 August 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database. Stuart, D, 2011, 'Paddling river of dreams', <i>Tweed Daily News</i> , 22 June, retrieved 21 June 2015 from Newspaper Source Plus database
Heidi and Peter Hutton	2011	Bringenbrong Bridge	Murray Mouth	Kayak			Hutton, H, 2011, 'Kayaking the Murray River: source to sea', Australian Geographic viewed 1 April 2012 from http://www.australiangeographic.com.au/journal/kayaking-the-murray-river-source-to-the-sea.htm

Paul Langbein	23 September – 22 November 2011 (IRNMR Certificate, entry 11/9).	Tom Groggin (IRNMR Certificate, entry 11/9)	Goolwa (IRNMR Certificate, entry 11/9)	Stand-up Paddle Board (Olney, 2011).		Walked to the source, and rafted for 22km before the river could be navigated on his paddle board (Olney, 2011).	Olney, K, 2011, 'Paul paddles into history', <i>Mt Barker Courier</i> , November 30, Inland Rivers National Marathon Register, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff. 2011, 'SUP the Murray Marathon Canoe Club', viewed 21 June 2015, http://www.mcc.canoe.org.au/?page=22931&format= IRNMR Certificate, entry 11/9, courtesy of Frank Tuckwell and staff at Goolwa National Trust. 2011, 'With barely a splash, paddle pair master the Murray', <i>The Border Mail</i> , 30 September, viewed 1 December 2013 http://www.bordermail.com.au/story/65612/with-barely-a-splash-paddle-pair-master-the-murray/
Russell Green and Peter Sowden	March 2012-April 2012	Renmark	Goolwa, intending to reach Murray Mouth	"Built their own kayaks"		Both are over 59 years of age and trying to raise money for Australian Rotary Health	2012, 'Renmark to the Murray Mouth for mental health', <i>Victor Harbor Times</i> , 5 April, retrieved 17 August 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database.
Mark Walsh	2012	Biggara (Fonseca, 2012)	Goolwa (n.d, 'About Us :: Testimonials :: Sea Kayaks – find our store locations')	Salamander sea kayak (n.d, 'About Us :: Testimonials :: Sea Kayaks – find our store locations')		Attempt to "raise \$10,000 for the Cancer Council" (Fonseca, 2012).	Fonseca, A, 2012, 'Kayaking for cancer', <i>Sunraysia Daily</i> , June 24 2012, viewed 21 June 2015, http://www.sunraysiadaily.com.au/story/197568/kayaking-for-cancer/ n.d, 'About Us :: Testimonials :: Sea Kayaks – find our store locations', viewed 21 June 2015, http://www.canoes.com.au/about-us/testimonials/sea-kayaks-en-2.html

Chris Hayward	2012	Biggara (Cameron, 2012)	Murray Mouth (Hayward, c.2012)	Kayak (Hayward, c.2012)		<p>“...to raise money for environmental charity Green Fleet” (Cameron, 2012).</p> <p>“...youngest to kayak solo from source to sea down the Murray River.” (Hayward, c.2012).</p>	<p>Cameron, B, 2012, ‘Teen's happiest paddling his own canoe’ <i>Moorabool Weekly</i>, 16 October, retrieved 17 August 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database.</p> <p>2012, ‘Teenager paddling length of Murray’, <i>ABC Premium News</i>, October 10, Item: P6S204379481412, retrieved 19 August 2013 from Newspaper Source Plus database.</p> <p>Hayward, C, c.2012, Expedition River Rider, viewed 21 June 2015, see text and video, http://www.chrishayward.com.au/#!expeditionriverrider/cdmk</p>
Calam Small, 17 and brothers Jo and Will Ashley, 18 and 17	18 Dec 2012 – 27 Jan 2013	Albury	Murray Mouth	Kayak		Fundraising for cancer research	<p>Leslie, C, 2013, ‘Friends tackle Murray to aid cancer research’, <i>The Murray Valley Standard</i>, 30 January, viewed 13 August 2013, http://www.murrayvalleystandard.com.au/story/1268393/friends-tackle-murray-to-aid-cancer-research/</p>
Murray Whalers	2012 nostalgic newspaper piece about Murray Whalers					<p>“The term ‘Murray whaler’ was used to describe an old tramp that carried his swag from one hotel to another. Another definition is that of a wanderer who roamed Australia’s inland waterways, and was of a cheerful, work-shy, restless and shiftless character.” (Everingham, 2012, p.2)</p>	<p>Everingham, H, 2012, ‘Looking back – an image from yesteryear Whale tale: ‘Rotten with people’, <i>The Murray Pioneer</i>, June 22, p.2</p>



APPENDIX B: Map of the Murray-Darling Basin, courtesy of the Murray-Darling Basin Authority.

For a detailed map click on the following website: http://www.mdba.gov.au/sites/default/files/pubs/MDBA-Basin-Map-poster-2013_0.pdf

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