

FROM ASIA TO COSSACK

Education Package for Years 5 and 6 HASS



WHAT'S SO SPECIAL ABOUT COSSACK?

It is full of stories – and the beginning of Pilbara as we know it today.



Cossack today. Source: A. Kopp, Writilin

We would like to acknowledge the traditional owners/custodians of the land on which we stand. We would like to pay our respects to the Elders past and present.

Cossack sits on the traditional land of the Ngarluma people, whose rich history spans over 30,000 years.

In 1861 Francis Gregory undertook the first European exploration of Nickol Bay and the surrounding country, reporting favourably about the suitability of the land for grazing and other pastoral pursuits. Two years later, Cossack (or Tien Tsin, as it was initially named), became the landing point for the first settlers into the North West, and from then until the turn of the 20th century it played a vital role in the development of the region, becoming a busy port and a key transport hub, shipping supplies, stock and wool in and out of the surrounding areas.



The existence of nearby pearling fields saw Cossack become a centre of the state's early pearling industry in which hundreds of indigenous, and later Asian, workers were employed. More migrants arrived following the discovery of gold in the region. As a consequence, Cossack has a uniquely multicultural history, with its Asian and Aboriginal population always outnumbering the European settlers.

The harshness of the environment, marked by heat, drought and regular cyclones, the remoteness and isolation from other population centres, the early contacts between the settlers and the local indigenous people, and the ethnic diversity of the town provide a rich backdrop to stories of colonial hardship, survival, resilience, conflict and cooperation.

By 1900, after the pearling fields were depleted, the gold rush diminished and another, deeper port was built nearby, Cossack quickly fell into decline and most residents moved out. Some efforts were made to keep the town going with the introduction of a turtle soup factory and a leprosarium, but neither initiative lasted long, and the town was abandoned in the 1950s.

Cossack has since been subject to several archaeological surveys and is now recognised as a significant historic site, offering a unique window to the state's past.

* Cover image: Map of Cossack based on recollections of C. Thompson, City of Karratha Local History Collection

YEAR 5 AND 6 HASS: FROM ASIA TO COSSACK

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

Central inquiry question	What were the experiences of Asian migrants who came to Cossack, and how did they contribute to society and the development of Western Australia?
Learning sequence	<p>This education resource enables students to explore the role, experiences and contributions of Asian migrants in Western Australia. Although the program focuses on the history of Cossack, it can be used as part of a broader discussion about the development of the Swan River Colony in the 1800s, and of Australia as a whole. The suggested activities guide students to interact with a range of primary historical sources and help develop a broad range of research and inquiry skills.</p> <p>The learning sequence for this program is as follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The need for labour: Where did the migrants who lived in Cossack come from, and why did they come? 2. Living and working in Cossack: What was daily life like for Asian migrants in Cossack? 3. Becoming Australian, building Australia: How easy was it for Asian migrants to become citizens and be treated as other Australians?

General capabilities	Literacy	Numeracy	ICT capability	Critical and creative thinking	Personal and social capability	Ethical understanding	Intercultural understanding
----------------------	----------	----------	----------------	--------------------------------	--------------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------

Key concepts:	Continuity and change	Cause and effect	Perspectives	Empathy	Significance	Sources
---------------	-----------------------	------------------	--------------	---------	--------------	---------

	Questioning and researching	Analysing	Evaluating	Communicating and reflecting
HASS Skills	Year 5 - 6			
	<p>Identify current understandings, consider possible misconceptions and identify personal views on a topic (e.g. KWL chart, concept map)</p> <p>Develop and refine a range of questions required to plan an inquiry</p> <p>Locate and collect information and/or data from a range of appropriate primary sources and secondary sources (e.g. museums, media, library catalogues, interviews, internet)</p> <p>Record selected information and/or data using a variety of methods</p> <p>Use ethical protocols when gathering information and/or data (e.g. acknowledge the work of others, reference work appropriately, obtain permission to use photographs and interviews)</p>	<p>Use criteria to determine the relevancy of information (e.g. consider accuracy, reliability, publication date, usefulness to the question)</p> <p>Interpret information and/or data collected (e.g. sequence events in chronological order, identify cause and effect, make connections with prior knowledge)</p> <p>Identify different points of view/perspectives in information and/or data (e.g. analyse language, identify motives)</p> <p>Translate collected information and/or data in to a variety of different formats (e.g. create a timeline, draw maps, convert a table of statistics into a graph)</p>	<p>Draw and justify conclusions, and give explanations, based on the information and/or data in texts, tables, graphs and maps (e.g. identify patterns, infer relationships)</p> <p>Use decision-making processes (e.g. share opinions and personal perspectives, consider different points of view, identify issues, develop possible solutions, plan for action, identify advantages and disadvantages of different options)</p>	<p>Present findings, conclusions and/or arguments, appropriate to audience and purpose, in a range of communication forms (e.g. written, oral, visual, digital, tabular, graphic, maps) and using subject-specific terminology and concepts</p> <p>Develop a variety of texts, including narratives, descriptions, biographies and persuasive texts, based on information collected from source materials</p> <p>Reflect on learning, identify new understandings and act on findings in different ways (e.g. suggest additional questions to be investigated, propose a course of action on an issue that is significant to them)</p>
HASS Knowledge	Year 5			
	<p>History</p> <p>The patterns of colonial development and settlement (e.g. geographical features, climate, water resources, transport, discovery of gold) and how this impacted upon the environment (e.g. introduced species) and the daily lives of the different inhabitants (e.g. convicts, free settlers, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples)</p> <p>The economic, social and political impact of one significant development or event on a colony and the potential outcomes created by ‘what if ...?’ scenarios (e.g. frontier conflict; the gold rushes; the Eureka Stockade; the Pinjarra Massacre; the advent of rail; the expansion of farming; drought)</p> <p>The contribution or significance of one individual or group in shaping the Swan River Colony, including their motivations and actions (e.g. groups such as explorers, farmers, pastoralists, convicts or individuals such as James Stirling, John Septimus Roe, Thomas Peel)</p>			
	<p>Geography</p> <p>The way people alter the environmental characteristics of Australian places (e.g. vegetation clearance, fencing, urban development, drainage, irrigation, farming, forest plantations, mining)</p> <p>Features of environments (e.g. climate, landforms, vegetation) influence human activities and the built features of places</p>			
	<p>Civics and Citizenship</p> <p>The key values that underpin Australia’s democracy, including freedom, equality, fairness and justice</p>			

	How regulations and laws affect the lives of citizens (e.g. the different types of laws, how laws protect human rights)
	Year 6
	<p>History</p> <p>Experiences of Australia’s democracy and citizenship, including the status and rights of Aboriginal people and/or Torres Strait Islander Peoples, migrants, women, and children Stories of groups of people who migrated to Australia (including from one Asian country), the reasons they migrated (e.g. push-pull factors) and their contributions to society</p>
	<p>Geography</p> <p>The location of the major countries of the Asia region in relation to Australia and the geographical diversity within the region Australia’s connections with countries (e.g. trade, migration, tourism, aid, education, defence, sport) and how these connections change people and places</p>
	<p>Civics and Citizenship</p> <p>Who can be an Australian citizen, the formal rights and responsibilities, and shared values of Australian citizenship</p>
Achievement standards	<p>Achievement standard (Year 5 and 6 HASS Skills)</p> <p>Students develop questions for a specific purpose. They locate and collect relevant information and/or data from primary and/or secondary sources, using appropriate methods to organise and record information. Students apply ethical protocols when collecting information. They use criteria to determine the relevance of information and/or data. Students interpret information and/or data, sequence information about events, identify different perspectives, and describe cause and effect. They use a variety of appropriate formats to translate collected information and draw conclusions from evidence in information and/or data. Students engage in a range of processes when making decisions in drawing conclusions. They consider audience and purpose when selecting appropriate communication forms. Students develop a variety of texts that incorporate source materials, using some subject-specific terminology and concepts. They reflect on findings to refine their learning.</p> <p>Achievement standard Year 5 (HASS Knowledge)</p> <p>Students identify the key features of Australia’s democracy, and explain the significance of laws and how they are enforced.</p> <p>Students describe the characteristics of places, and the interconnections between places, people and environments. Students identify the impact of these interconnections and how people manage and respond to a geographical challenge.</p> <p>Students identify the cause and effect of change on Australia’s colonies, and describe aspects of the past that have remained the same. They describe the different experiences of people in the past. Students recognise the significance of a group, individual, event or development in bringing about change in the Swan River Colony.</p> <p>Achievement standard Year 6 (HASS Knowledge)</p> <p>Students identify the democratic values associated with Australian citizenship and describe the rights and responsibilities of being an Australian citizen.</p> <p>Students identify the location of Asia and its major countries, in relation to Australia. They recognise the geographical and cultural diversity of places, by describing the physical and human characteristics of specific places, at the local to global scale. Students identify that people, places and environments are interconnected and describe how these interconnections lead to change.</p> <p>Students explain the significance of an individual, group or event on the Federation of Australia, and identify ideas and/or influences of other systems on the development of Australia as a nation. They describe continuity and change in relation to Australia’s democracy and citizenship. Students compare experiences of migration and describe the cause and effect of change on society.</p>

THE NEED FOR LABOUR

WHERE DID THE MIGRANTS WHO LIVED IN COSSACK COME FROM, AND WHY DID THEY COME?

The first fifty odd years of the Swan River Colony were marked by a general shortage of labour. In the south west, this was alleviated somewhat by the arrival of convicts. However, colonial laws prevented the use of convicts above the 26th parallel, and the Pilbara's harsh environment, isolation and remoteness meant that it was particularly difficult to recruit people into the region from Perth and other parts of Australia. This meant that the settlers relied heavily on Aboriginal people, engaging them – sometimes against their will – in domestic and pastoral work, as well as in the emerging pearling industry. However, as demand for workers outstripped the supply, there were increasing calls to import workers from south east Asia.

The first Asian migrants to Cossack were pearl divers and other indentured workers from Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei and southern Thailand, known collectively as 'Malays'. They were later replaced by Japanese divers, who showed particular aptitude for using the newly introduced diving apparatus. Other groups included 'Manilla men' from the Philippines and 'Koepangers' from Timor. Outside of pearling, Chinese workers were recruited for domestic work, such as cooks and gardeners.

Whilst some Asian migrants might have been attracted to the North West by the spirit of adventure, most came for economic reasons, driven by hope to make enough money to send back to their families. They typically returned home at the end of their contracts, although some, especially those who arrived as 'free' migrants on their own initiative and who paid their own passage, managed to stay on despite strict government regulations and become merchants, entrepreneurs, and even land owners.

After the pearling industry moved to Broome and the gold rush diminished, Cossack's population fell. Most of the Asian workers left, although a small Japanese community remained until the bombing of Pearl Harbour in the Second World War, after which they were interned in POW camps.

Please note, before you start this unit, you may want to discuss with students how language has changed over time. Explain that some terms once commonly used in newspapers and other historical sources to refer to people from Asia – eg. "Chinamen", "Japs", "Asiatics", "yellows" - are now considered offensive. You might want to explore this in the broader context of talking about respect or using helpful/hurtful words.

Ensure also that students know where Cossack is and have a general understanding of the town's history. Consider running some activities from the two associated City of Karratha Library education packs, *Cossack Now and Then* and *Changing Lives*.

THINKING ABOUT LEARNING

KWL CHART

Explain that students will be learning about the role, experiences and contribution of early Asian migrants in the North West.

Encourage students to reflect on and discuss what they already might know about the topic, and what they would like to learn, and start a KWL chart.

If you find that students are listing false understandings, you can correct them at this point, or leave the misconceptions so that they can be corrected later as students learn new material over the course of this program.

Put up the Wiederhold Question Matrix to help students generate a wide range of 'Want to learn' questions. Tick off the questions that are answered as you progress through the different activities, and add any additional ones which may arise. If there are any unanswered questions at the end of the unit of study, you may use these as foundation for further investigation.

Wiederhold Question Matrix example:

<http://edcr3332015gardenersmultipleintelligences.weebly.com/the-question-matrix.html>

Resource sheet 1: KWL Chart. See Appendix

<p>Return to the KWL chart periodically throughout this programme, and get students to add information about what they have learned into the last column.</p>	
<p>MULTICULTURAL AUSTRALIA</p> <hr/> <p>MIGRATION TIMELINE AND PRIMARY SOURCE SEARCH</p> <p>Explore the SBS interactive map which shows where Australia’s migrants were born, and compare the statistics in the area where you live to other parts of Australia.</p> <p>Get students to research Australian migration history (the Australian National Maritime Museum website is a great start) and create a timeline which shows the main waves of migration.</p> <p>Introduce students to the Trove website, and get them to use the website to find pictures and photographs to illustrate the timeline. Make sure students acknowledge the source of the images they use. Ask them to explain why they chose the images they did.</p> <p>Explain that in this unit of study, students will be focusing on the stories of Asian labourers who arrived in Western Australia in the second half of the 1800s and early 1900s.</p>	<p>Map showing where Australia’s immigrants were born: http://www.sbs.com.au/news/map/where-australias-immigrants-were-born</p> <p>Australian Immigration History: https://www.sbs.com.au/news/a-brief-history-of-immigration-to-australia</p> <p>Trove: http://trove.nla.gov.au/</p>
<p>WANT TO DO MORE?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct a class survey of which countries or regions students’ families are from. Represent the data as fractions/percentages and/or create a bar graph showing the results. • Show students the 1870 census data showing the countries of birth of people in Western Australia (which was just before indentured workers from Asia started to arrive in the North West) and discuss how the number and origins of migrants have changed over time. https://research-repository.uwa.edu.au/en/datasets/western-australian-colonial-census-1870-processed-data 	
<p>NOT ENOUGH LABOUR</p> <hr/> <p>INFORMATION GATHERING AND REFLECTION</p> <p>Explain that Cossack was the first port in the North West which supported the early pastoral industry and that it was the birthplace of the WA pearling industry in the second half of the 1800s.</p> <p>Discuss the contribution of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander divers in the pearling industry, and the dangers associated with pearling in the early days.</p> <p>Direct students to the Australian government website about the pearling industry. Working in pairs or small groups, get students to complete a two column table, where on one side they write down some key facts or events associated with pearling in Australia, and on the other side they note down some of their thoughts and feelings about these facts or events. Discuss findings as a class.</p>	<p>Background information about pearling in WA and the use of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people in the pearling industry:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The practice of blackbirding and slavery: https://www.creativespirits.info/aboriginalculture/history/australia-has-a-history-of-aboriginal-slavery#toc0 • WA Museum Lustre exhibition panels about Aboriginal pearl divers: http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/lustre-online-text-panels/finding-shell <p>History of Australian pearling industry: http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/lustre-online-text-panels/pearling-timeline</p> <p>Resource sheet 2 – Facts and feelings table. See Appendix</p>

<p>Some sources estimate that the mortality rate amongst divers was about 50% of divers. To illustrate the point, get students to stand up. Say that they are divers and all needed to collect pearls – then progressively instruct some students to sit down, saying that they died as a result of the bends, by being eaten by sharks, by not having sufficient food, by falling sick, by being mistreated by their employers and by getting stuck in a cyclone, until only half the class is still standing. Explain that now there is not enough workers, but there is still a huge demand for pearls and pearl shell, which is why eyes turned to Asia to try to get more workers.</p>	
<p>COSSACK, A CULTURAL MELTING POT</p> <hr/> <p>USE A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE TO CREATE AN ILLUSTRATION</p> <p>MAPPING</p> <p>Explain that although in the 1800s the number of Asian migrants in Western Australia was low compared to today, Cossack itself became very multicultural when the pearling industry took off, and even more so after the discovery of gold in the North West.</p> <p>Use Resource sheet 3 to read C. E. Flinders’ account of visiting Cossack in 1887. Use the source to identify and discuss the different nationalities of people who used to live in Cossack. Students can colour in the countries the migrants came from on a blank map of the region. (Note that ‘Malays’ was a general term given to people who lived on and around the Malaysian peninsula, and could refer to people from Malaysia, Brunei, southern Thailand, Singapore etc. Note also, that although not mentioned in the source, there was a sizeable Chinese population in town).</p> <p>Discuss with students that some place names and borders would have changed over time.</p> <p>Show students an image of what European settlers in Cossack looked like in this time period, and get them to draw a picture of what the ‘Malays’ and ‘Koepangers’ looked like, based on the description given.</p>	<p>Resource sheet 3 – Malays, Koepangers and Europeans. See Appendix.</p> <p>Blank maps of the Asia/Australia region: https://www.eduplace.com/ss/maps/pdf/asia_pacific.pdf https://www.eduplace.com/ss/maps/pdf/asia_pacific_nl.pdf</p>
<p>GAINFUL EMPLOYMENT</p> <hr/> <p>ANALYSE A TABLE TO IDENTIFY A TREND</p> <p>Look at a list of occupations that Asian migrants to Cossack were employed in and ask students whether they can make any generalisations about the type of work the migrants were offered. A good way to approach this is to ask students what types of jobs are NOT listed? (eg. doctors, teachers, engineers). You can show students a graph of occupations of recent migrants to Australia today, for comparison.</p> <p>Divide students into groups and give each group a different job done by Cossack’s migrants to focus on. Get them to discuss what the specific tasks the job might entail, and the personal qualities or skills that an ideal candidate for the job might need</p>	<p>Resource sheet 4 - Occupations of Cossack’s Asian migrants. See Appendix.</p> <p>Graph of occupations of recent migrants in Australia, see: Main+Features22011?OpenDocument">http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/3416.0>Main+Features22011?OpenDocument</p>

to have. Students can create a newspaper advertisement for their job.	
---	--

.....
WANT TO DO MORE?

- Investigate the vegetation, climate, landforms or animals of one of the Asian countries that Cossack's migrants came from, and compare to those found in the North West. Students can write a letter home from the perspective of a migrant, explaining what it is that they find most interesting about their new environment and what they miss the most.

LIVING AND WORKING IN COSSACK

WHAT WAS DAILY LIFE LIKE FOR ASIAN MIGRANTS IN COSSACK?

There is limited information available about the living conditions of Asian migrants in Cossack; eg. there are no known first person accounts from the Asian perspective of life in Cossack's Chinatown, and no detailed photographic evidence. However, what archaeological and historic sources do suggest is that the Asian population congregated on the fringes of the town, with most living in simple humpies and in crowded conditions, especially during the pearling layup season. At this time, the area often became plagued by crime, fuelled by drinking, opium use and gambling.

Although the European and Asian communities were dependent on each other for their livelihood, they were segregated. The norm was that when workers' contracts expired they returned to their home country, so there was neither the expectation nor desire for migrants to assimilate.

On the whole, whether in Cossack itself or aboard one of the pearling luggers, the Asian migrants were engaged in physically demanding work, with little pay (although they generally received higher wages than Aboriginal workers).

COSSACK'S CHINATOWN

USING A MAP AND STATISTICS TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS

SECONDARY SOURCE STUDY AND PMI ANALYSIS

Use Resource sheet 5 to show students Christopher Thompson's map of Cossack and ask them to find 'China town'. This is the place where Asian community lived. The white settlers lived in the rest of the town. (You will need to enlarge the map to A3 or project it on a screen). Explain that Thompson lived in Cossack until he was 16. As an adult, he returned to Cossack and wrote an account of his early life there, and drew a sketch map of the town as he remembered it. His writings (recorded under the name W.A. Thompson) and the map provide a lot of information about what Cossack was like in the late 1800s. After he died, his map was redrawn by a draftsman and this is the map provided in the resources.

In the layup season (between December and March, when the risk of cyclones was high) the pearling luggers were in port for safety and maintenance, and the town's population increased dramatically. According to Thompson, the population in Chinatown grew from 120 to 350 at this time. Show students Thompson's estimated population statistics, and get them to compare the size and the number of people who lived in Chinatown to the size and number of people who lived in the rest of the township. What does this information suggest about how crowded the different areas are?

Get students to use the map to identify the location where Aboriginal people lived. What does this suggest about the relationship between the different groups of people?

Read two historians' descriptions of Chinatown (also included in Resource 5). Get students to use a dictionary and Google images to find out the meaning of 'shanty town' and 'ghetto'. Use the sources to complete a PMI (plus/minus/interesting) chart of what it might have been like to live in Chinatown in Cossack.

KEEPING CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

RESEARCH AND COMMUNICATING FINDINGS TO OTHERS

Resource sheet 5 – Map, population statistics and description of Cossack's Chinatown. See Appendix.

Resource sheet 6 – PMI chart. See Appendix.

Resource sheet 7 – Quote from Withnell Taylor and Asian ceramic artefacts. See Appendix

Explain that Asian migrants in Cossack maintained a strong ethnic identity.

Show students the quote by Withnell Taylor, which identifies two Asian cultural traditions practised by residents in Cossack, and the remnants of Asian ceramics found in the Asian Quarter (there are generally no items like this in the rest of Cossack township, which helps to illustrate the segregation of the two communities). Explain that Asian workers brought with them everyday items such as teapots, food jars, medicine bottles and implements for opium smoking. Later, Chinese store owners imported similar items.

Discuss reasons why it might be important for cultural groups to preserve their traditions, and get students to research examples of some significant Japanese, Chinese, Malaysian and other south-east Asian festivals or practices. Students can work in pairs or groups to present their findings to the rest of the class in a creative way eg. they could role play a tea ceremony, teach how to make origami etc.

WANT TO DO MORE?

- Get students to study the photos of the broken Asian ceramic artefacts and draw what they think the plates, bowls or cups might have looked like when they were whole. They can write a creative story, set in Cossack's Chinatown, which includes an explanation of how a particular ceramic item got broken.

CHINESE MARKET GARDENS

USE A PHOTOGRAPH TO CREATE A REPLICA MODEL OF A CHINESE IRRIGATION SYSTEM

A Chinese-operated market garden was situated just north of Cossack's Chinatown. European settlers in the North West experimented with establishing small kitchen gardens, but generally found this difficult.

Read Thompson's account of the garden and discuss the important role Chinese gardeners played in the community. Ask students if they can suggest reasons for why the garden in Cossack 'grew barely enough' supplies, and get them to brainstorm the specific tasks the garden workers would have needed to do (eg. clear land, plant, weed, water crops etc).

Explain that there was a general shortage of good quality water in Cossack and surrounds, so watering the gardens would have been an arduous task.

Show students the picture of the Chinese irrigation system and ask if they can figure out how it might have worked (the crane is used to pull the water out of the well, and then the water is tipped into a chute which relies on gravity to take it to the garden plot). Challenge students to build a working model of the system, using materials of their own choice.

Resource sheet 8 – Chinese irrigation system and account of market gardens

WANT TO DO MORE?

- If you have a suitable area at your school, get students to start a 'market garden'. Plant vegetables traditionally eaten by European settlers (eg. carrots, potatoes, turnips) as well as Chinese vegetables (eg. choy sum, daikon).
- Make two Chinese style yokes (you can use a broom handle and two buckets). Divide students into two teams and hold a race where they have to transfer water with the yokes from one end of a field to another, without spilling any.

PEARLING LIFE

WRITING A POEM IN RESPONSE TO WEB SEARCH

The majority of Asian people who lived in Cossack worked in the pearling industry. Get students to research the working conditions aboard pearl luggers (the WA Museum *Salt Water Cowboys* web page is an excellent resource) and make a list of difficulties that pearl lugger crews faced. Ask students, if they were employed as one of the crew, what would be the hardest thing to deal with, and why? Discuss with students the sort of characteristics the pearling crews might have had to have or had to develop as a result of facing these challenges.

Students can write a song or a poem about the pearling life - eg. 'an ode to a pearl diver', or a haiku poem to reflect the Japanese heritage of many of the divers.

WA Museum *Salt Water Cowboys* web page:
<http://museum.wa.gov.au/explore/lustre-online-text-panels/saltwater-cowboys>

BECOMING AUSTRALIAN, BUILDING AUSTRALIA

HOW EASY WAS IT FOR ASIAN MIGRANTS TO BECOME CITIZENS AND BE TREATED AS OTHER AUSTRALIANS?

The prevailing attitude towards Asian migrants in the 1800s and early 1900s was that they were a 'necessary evil'. On the one hand, Asian labour was vital to the development of the state, but on the other hand, Asian people were generally considered inferior, and many people felt that Asian migrants needed to be controlled, especially in cases where they started their own businesses which competed with businesses ran by white settlers.

The Colonial, state and federal governments variously introduced a range of legislations to restrict migration:

- Imported Labour Registry Acts (1874, 1882, 1884, 1897)
- Act to Regulate and Restrict Chinese Immigration (1886)
- Goldfields Act (1886)
- Chinese Immigration Restriction Act (1889)
- Immigration Restriction Acts (1897 and 1901)
- Factory Act (1904)

After World War II the 'White Australia Policy' was progressively dismantled by the Menzies and Holt governments, and finally abandoned all together in 1975 with Whitlam government's introduction of the Racial Discrimination Act.

SHOWING THEM WHO'S BOSS

ANALYSING LANGUAGE IN A NEWSPAPER ARTICLE

Show students an 1896 article from the Western Mail, which presents some moralistic attitudes towards the Asian population in Cossack. Explain that this article was written at the end of a pearling layup season during which several violent incidents occurred in Chinatown.

Challenge students to rewrite the article into more modern, colloquial language. Alternatively, get them to complete the worksheet provided and match the modern day English sentences to the correct sentences within the original article.

Ask students to analyse the language used in the article, and discuss:

- What was the author's opinion about Asian people? How can you tell/what makes you say that?

You can show students part of another article, from the Inquirer, which explains the attitudes towards Asian migrants a little further.

- What were the non-Asian settlers worried about and why?

Point out that both articles did not have a proper headline – ask students to suggest one.

Resource sheet 9 - *Western Mail* article transcript and matching activity. See Appendix.

Resource sheet 10 – *Inquirer* article showing attitudes towards Asian migrants

WANT TO DO MORE?

- Spend some time as a class or individually exploring the ‘Harvest of Endurance’ scroll, from the National Museum of Australia website:
http://www.nma.gov.au/collections/collection_interactives/endurance_scroll/harvest_of_endurance_html_version/home . Students can define the terms of ‘freedom’, ‘equality’, ‘fairness’ and ‘justice’, and use evidence from the scroll to explain the extent to which Chinese migrants in Australia were free and equal, and whether they were treated fairly.

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION ACT

COLOUR, SYMBOL, IMAGE RESPONSE TO RESEARCH EXPRESSING PERSONAL IDEAS ABOUT IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

Discuss the start of post Federation “White Australia Policy” and the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. The NSW Migration Heritage Centre website provides some good information about this, and includes a brief video related to the topic. Give students some time to explore this topic, and then get them to suggest:

- a colour;
- a symbol; and
- an image

that best represents or captures the essence of ‘Immigration Restriction’

Explain that other restrictions against migration were already in place before this act was introduced (eg. the WA Immigration Restriction Act of 1897 imposed a dictation test for migrants, which required them to write out a passage in English). You can show students a short article which shows that many residents around Cossack were arguing that exemptions to immigration restrictions should be put in place, to enable them to import ‘coloured’ workers for domestic duties.

Ask students how they would feel if similar laws about immigration restriction based on race were introduced today. You can broaden the discussion about current issues in migration to Australia. Students can create a poster which expresses their views and/or write a letter to the editor outlining their position about immigration restrictions.

Immigration Restriction Act background:
<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/immigration-restriction-act/>

WA Immigration Restriction Act 1897
https://www.legislation.wa.gov.au/legislation/statutes.nsf/law_a3299.html

Call for exemption under the Immigration Restriction Act:
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/67048487>

WANT TO DO MORE?

- Explain that today, restrictions still apply as to who may enter Australia and become a citizen. (eg. Residents of some countries need special visas to enter the country, people need to be ‘of good character’ and sit a citizenship test). You can give students an opportunity to sit a Citizenship Test: <https://immi.homeaffairs.gov.au/citizenship/test-and-interview/learn-about-citizenship-interview-and-test>
- To help students develop a sense of empathy, you can tell them that they will receive a special privilege if they correctly write out an audio recording you play to them. Then, play an audio recording in a different language (this could be a language spoken only by some students in class, a language studied at the school, or a language that is unfamiliar to all). Discuss students’ reactions.

<p>JIRO MURAMATS CASE STUDY</p> <hr/> <p>USING PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES TO DRAW CONCLUSIONS</p> <p>Show students selected sources about Jiro Muramats. Explain that he was once a long term resident in Cossack. Ask students to use the sources to explain:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role did Jiro Muramats play in Cossack? • Thinking about what students have learned so far about the work and status of other Asian migrants in Cossack, was Muramats' work and living conditions the norm? <p>Explain that Muramats' family came to Western Australia as 'free' settlers, and not indentured labourers, which gave them more independence.</p> <p>Read the Muramats' biography included in the Resource sheet, and get students to answer the following questions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where has Jiro lived in Australia? • What challenges did he have to overcome? • What is something that he might have been proud of? • What is something that he might have been disappointed or sad about? 	<p>Resource sheet 11 – Jiro Muramats. See Appendix.</p>
<p>MIGRANTS WHO BUILT AUSTRALIA</p> <hr/> <p>INDEPENDENT RESEARCH OR INTERVIEW</p> <p>ORAL PRESENTATION AND CONTRIBUTION TO A CLASS PROJECT</p> <p>Get students to investigate the experiences and contribution of migrants today. They can focus specifically on Asian migrants, or migrants in general, and either use library or internet searches to learn about a famous Australian who was born outside of the country, or interview a person within their own community.</p> <p>To present their findings, get students to create a cube, with one side showing a picture of the migrant and the rest of the sides explaining a different aspect of their migrant's experience. A template is provided in the Resource sheet, which you will need to photocopy to A3. The headings for each side can be similar to the questions raised in the Jiro Muramat activity above (ie. the challenges their migrant had to overcome, something they might have been proud of, something they might have been disappointed by, jobs they held), or present other information (eg. the reasons they came, their achievements, their first thoughts of Australia and how they feel about the country now).</p> <p>Students can give an oral report about their migrant, explaining to the class what they put on their cube in greater detail, and the cubes themselves can be stacked together to create a class display titled "the migrants who built Australia".</p>	<p>Resource sheet 12 - Migrant cube template. See Appendix</p>

WOULD YOU LIKE TO LEARN MORE?

In addition to the resources and weblinks included in this education pack, you may be interested in the following items, available from the City of Karratha Libraries:

For teachers:

- *Cossack gold: the chronicles of an early goldfields warden* / W. Lambden Owen.
- *Pearl shell and pastures: the story of Cossack and Roebourne and their place in the history of the north west, from the earliest explorations to 1910* / Kathy de la Rue.
- *A History of Cossack* / compiled by the Roebourne District Youth Club
- *A saga of the north west: Yeera-muk-a-doo: an authentic history of the first settlement of North West Australia told through the Withnell and Hancock families, 1861 to 1890* / Nancy E. Withnell Taylor
- *Reminiscences of Mr W.A. Thompson 1890 – 1900* / W. A Thompson

For children:

- *Talking about immigration* / Sarah Levette
- *Ziba Came on a Boat* You Tube video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t3qkcsGKRkE>
- *Out* / Angela May George
- *The little refugee* / Anh Do and Suzanne Do
- *Boy Overboard* / Morris Gleitzman (e-book)
- *The Best Day of My Life* / Deborah Ellis (e-book)

For these, and other titles, go to <https://karratha.spydus.com> to access the City of Karratha Library catalogue.

VISIT COSSACK!

Although an excursion to Cossack is not mandatory to complete this unit of study, it is highly recommended.

For further information about booking an excursion to Cossack contact Cossack Caretakers, 0408 937 677, or cossack@karratha.wa.gov.au.

DO YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS?

For information about local history resources held at the City of Karratha Library contact:

local.history@karratha.wa.gov.au
(08) 9186 8660

For information about this education resource contact:

Alex Kopp, Writilin,
writilin@gmail.com.

APPENDIX: RESOURCE SHEETS

<p style="text-align: center;">K</p> <p style="text-align: center;">What do I already know about the experiences and contribution of Asian migrants in the North West?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">W</p> <p style="text-align: center;">What would I like to learn about the experiences and contribution of Asian migrants in the North West?</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">L</p> <p style="text-align: center;">What have I learned about the experiences and contribution of Asian migrants in the North West?</p>

HISTORY OF PEARLING IN AUSTRALIA

FACTS I FOUND OUT	MY THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS ABOUT WHAT I LEARNED

An account of a visit to Cossack by Charles Edward Flinders, who lived in the North West during the late 1800s and early 1900s.


mine hose of the White Horse. What a motley crowd there was to receive us as we stepped ashore! A few white-clothed Europeans and hundreds of coloured people, with Malays and Koepangers predominating. The wily Japanese were there too, but not in such large number as are seen nowadays in the pearling industry.

Lay-up Season.

I remember, even now, that what struck me most at the time—even after the novel experience of being on a steamer which anchored almost at the door of the pub—was the coloured population. It was lay-up season—which extended in those days from November to March—for pearl-ers had a wholesome dread of the fearful willy-willy. The Creek was full of schooners, and luggers, and the foreshore camps were swarming with coloured people. The burning, blistering sun beat down on the bodies of these coloured men, some of whom were clad only in brightly coloured "sarongs," their brown bodies glistening in the sun, the Malays' jet black hair well plastered with coconut oil, making a striking contrast with the dull-looking Koepangers, clad in trousers and shirt, the shirt outside the trousers for coolness. It was a striking scene, which I remember vividly. What a splendid type of men those old-time pearl-ers were! They lived an almost ideal life, carefree and happy. Pearlsell was selling at a very profitable price, pearls were bringing almost fabulous figures, and divers and crew were cheap to employ.

1933 '45 YEARS IN THE NORTHWEST.', *The West Australian* (Perth, WA : 1879 - 1954), 20 May, p. 5.

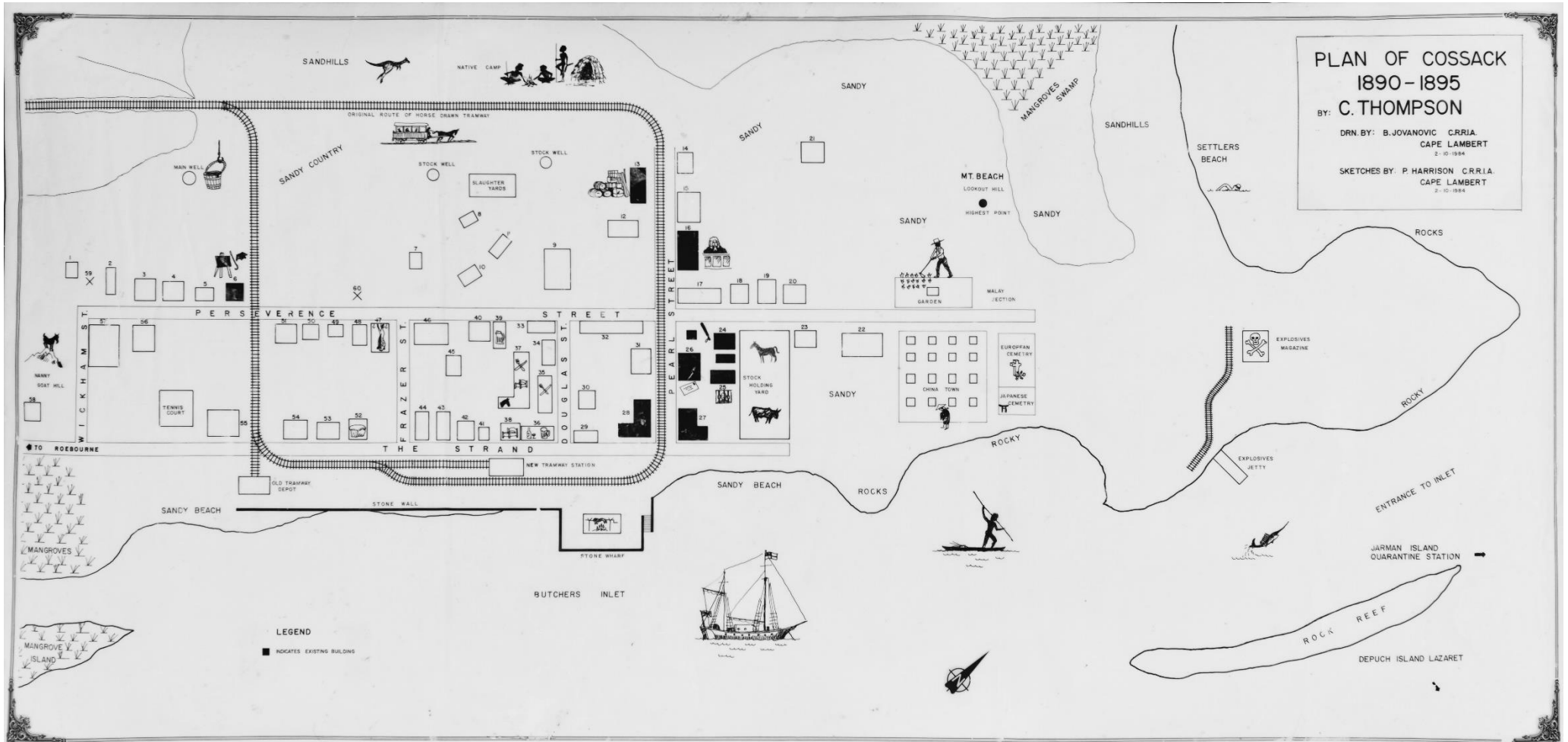
<http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article32471181>

What did the 'Malays' wear/ look like?	What did the 'Europeans' wear/ look like?	What did the 'Koepangers' wear / look like?
	<p>Some of Cossack's settlers, who have European heritage.</p>  <p>McRae brothers, partners of the North West Mercantile Company McRae and Co. In 1883 they established a regular mail service from Cossack to the Kimberley, calling into every port.</p> <p><i>Source: State Library of Western Australia, 327B</i></p>	

EXAMPLES OF OCCUPATIONS OF ASIAN MIGRANTS IN COSSACK

NATIONALITY	NAME	OCCUPATION	DATES LIVED IN COSSACK
MALAY	SINTAL	FISHERMAN	1881
CHINESE	AH SING	STORE KEEPER	1887
CHINESE	CHENG A EK	GENERAL SERVANT	1887-1889
CHINESE	ONG HENG GOAT	CARPENTER	1887-1889
CHINESE	CHIAM TO DECK	SHIP'S COOK	1888-1890
JAPANESE	HAYASHI, F	LAUNDRYMAN	1888
CHINESE	LIM A MENG	BOAT HAND	1888-1890
CHINESE	SI GOAN CHHUN	GENERAL LABOURER	1888-1890
CHINESE	TAN LAI HOAT	BOAT HAND	1888-1890
CHINESE	UI A CHEK	COOK	1888-1890
CHINESE	CHAN A KAN	COOLIE	1889-1891
CHINESE	CHIA A BUN	INDOOR COOLIE	1889-1891
CHINESE	TAN A KAN	GENERAL SERVANT	1889-1891
CHINESE	TAN BOAN CHENG	COOLIE	1889-1891
CHINESE	THANG A PANG	INDOOR SERVANT	1889-1891
MALAY	ALI, OMAR BIN	BOATMAN	1891
CHINESE	CHHOA CHOAN	GENERAL LABOURER	1891-1893
CHINESE	KOEH A PANG	GENERAL SERVANT	1891-1893
CHINESE	HOP SHING	STOREKEEPER	1892-1895
MALAY	KADELL, MAHOMED	COOK	1892
MALAY	MOHAMET, WERO	FISHERMAN	1891
JAPANESE	MURATA, SIGENO	DOMESTIC SERVANT	1897-1916
JAPANESE	NESHIO, FRANK	LAUNDRYMAN	1892-1898
CHINESE	WONG HONG	TAILOR	1894-1896
JAPANESE	HISTORIO AMANA	GOLDSMITH	1903
JAPANESE	SAKAMOTO, T.	WATER CARRIER	1906-1915
JAPANESE	MASUMOTO, T.	MARKET GARDENER	1911
FILIPINO	CRESTOBAL, TORENZO	WOOD CUTTER	1913-1915
JAPANESE	INARI, YOSAMATSU	DIVER	1916 & 1941

This table is adapted from McIlroy, J. (1988), *An Archaeological Survey of the Asian Quarter of Cossack*, Human Studies Division, Western Australian Museum, Perth.



Source: Map of Cossack based on the memory of former resident, Christopher Thompson. City of Karratha Local History Collection

COSSACK POPULATION 1890/1895

TOWNSHIP	222
EXTRA DURING GOLD RUSH	40
ABORIGINES	20
CHINATOWN LAYUP SEASON	350
TOTAL	752

Source: *Reminiscences of Mr W.A. (Christopher) Thomson*, State Library of Western Australia, ACC 867A

With very few exceptions all the permanent Chinese, Japanese, Malay and other Asians lived in small shanty town situated to the west of the cemetery. Within this area, they had their homes, their stores, their grog shops and a gambling den. In this way, the European residents by and large managed to ignore them, and, except for the few daring white teenagers who ventured in 'Chinatown' or 'Japtown' as it was variously called, they avoided the area. Within the ghetto, the Asians ran their own lives, and even the officers of the law rarely interfered with their activities. Racial conflict, as such, was usually restricted to fights between the Asians of different nationalities within Japtown.

De la Rue, K. (1979) *Pearl shell and pastures: the story of Cossack and Roebourne and their place in the history of the North West, from the earliest explorations to 1910*, Cossack Project Committee

...There stood humpies of every description and in its hey-day there were two Chinese stores, a Chinese bakery, a Japanese store owned by the Muramats family and a Singalese tailor...Sly grog shops were numerous and their presence, together with the sale of opium, was tolerated. Quantities of liquor, gin, scotch, champagne, port, wine and beer were drunk and gambling on a wide scale for high stakes took place. Many snide pearls changed hands and were traded at the port...

Withnell Taylor, N.E. (1987) *Yeera-Muk-A-Doo: A Saga of the North West*. Hesperian Press, Perth, Western Australia

PLUS What might have been the positives of living in Cossack's Chinatown?	MINUS What might have been the negatives of living in Cossack's Chinatown?	INTERESTING What might have been interesting about living in Cossack's Chinatown?

...The Chinese added their own colourful culture by parading a giant Dragon through the streets at their festival time...

...Over the hill from Chinatown the Cossack cemetery lay. Divided by death as in life a fence divided the different sections for whites and coloured. Japanese headstones in uncounteracted ground stood at the foot of the graves. Some were erected to those who lost their lives at sea and whose bodies were never recovered. However if any of the departed one's belongings were found they were buried under the tombstone. Each year a ceremony was held at the cemetery. Food and drink was left for the departed spirits and small boats laden with food were set adrift and floated out to sea...

Withnell Taylor, N.E. (1987) *Yeera-Muk-A-Doo: A Saga of the North West*. Hesperian Press, Perth, Western Australia

REMNANTS OF ASIAN CERAMICS FOUND AT COSSACK



Source: City of Karratha Local History Collection



A gravity fed irrigation system built over a well in the North West. It is not known whether a similar structure was in place in Cossack, but the photographer who took the photo lived in Roebourne, so it is likely that the picture was taken in the area.

Source: State Library of Western Australia BA338/1/70

...A small Chinese garden was situated behind the sandhills at the rear of the township, but this garden grew barely enough to keep the 2 hotels in supplies. For a part of the year a Chinese vegetable cart came from Roebourne once a week; but with every reasonably severe willy willy the garden was swept away by the Harding River and for a period we had no supply except for what we could collect on the flats at the Junction of the Harding River and Cossack creek, where (produce) such as tomatoes and melons grew prolifically for some time...

5

Source: Reminiscences of Mr W.A. (Christopher) Thomson, State Library of Western Australia, ACC 867A

The coloured population are still a cause of anxiety; petty quarrels, which may not rest at that point, occurring amongst them. And it seems that familiarity with the Europeans is breeding a feeling of contempt: and the sooner it is shown that such conduct will not be tolerated by enforcing a very strong hand over such degrading intercourse, the better it will be for the safety of the European residents, who, up to the present, have looked at the current folk as being harmless. Those inhabitants who have lived here for some time cannot help noticing the lesser degree of respect shown by the coloured people to the whites to what was evinced on their first arrival, and this greatly leans towards the risk of the latter should a wider quarrel than has happened so far occur among this class, and some restriction should be placed upon them. The loafers should be forced to find a more honest way of living, and if they cannot prove that such is the case, surely the law is strong enough to step in to make some alternation, and when the coloured people are made to know their position there will be very little heard of such crimes as have been committed lately.

1896 'No title', *Western Mail (Perth, WA : 1885 - 1954)*, 6 March, p. 14. , <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article33123479>

MATCH THE BOXES WHICH MEAN THE SAME THING

A. The coloured population are still a cause of anxiety; petty quarrels, which may not rest at that point, occurring amongst them.

1. People who have lived in the area for a while have noticed that the coloured people are showing less respect to them now compared to when they first arrived. This could become dangerous should arguments in the coloured community increase, so it's best if some sort of control is put on them.

B. And it seems that familiarity with the Europeans is breeding a feeling of contempt: and the sooner it is shown that such conduct will not be tolerated by enforcing a very strong hand over such degrading intercourse, the better it will be for the safety of the European residents, who, up to the present, have looked at the current folk as being harmless.

2. Dark skinned people continue to be a bit of a worry, since they have small arguments amongst each other that they can't resolve.

C. Those inhabitants who have lived here for some time cannot help noticing the lesser degree of respect shown by the coloured people to the whites to what was evinced on their first arrival, and this greatly leans towards the risk of the latter should a wider quarrel than has happened so far occur among this class, and some restriction should be placed upon them.

3. Lazy and unemployed people should be made to find a job, and if they can't show that they have done so then surely there must be some legal solution; once coloured people know their place.

D. The loafers should be forced to find a more honest way of living, and if they cannot prove that such is the case, surely the law is strong enough to step in to make some alternation, and when the coloured people are made to know their position there will be very little heard of such crimes as have been committed lately.

4. It seems that as when these people get to know the white settlers, they are becoming a bit scornful of them; this must not be tolerated, and Europeans, for their own safety, should make sure that they don't interact too closely with them and put a quick stop to any improper behaviour.

ANSWERS

A. The coloured population are still a cause of anxiety; petty quarrels, which may not rest at that point, occurring amongst them.

1. Dark skinned people continue to be a bit of a worry, since they have small arguments amongst each other that they can't resolve.

B. And it seems that familiarity with the Europeans is breeding a feeling of contempt: and the sooner it is shown that such conduct will not be tolerated by enforcing a very strong hand over such degrading intercourse, the better it will be for the safety of the European residents, who, up to the present, have looked at the current folk as being harmless.

2. It seems that as when these people get to know the white settlers, they are becoming a bit scornful of them; this must not be tolerated, and Europeans, for their own safety, should make sure that they don't interact too closely with them and put a quick stop to any improper behaviour.

C. Those inhabitants who have lived here for some time cannot help noticing the lesser degree of respect shown by the coloured people to the whites to what was evinced on their first arrival, and this greatly leans towards the risk of the latter should a wider quarrel than has happened so far occur among this class, and some restriction should be placed upon them.

3. People who have lived in the area for a while have noticed that the coloured people are showing less respect to them now compared to when they first arrived. This could become dangerous should arguments in the coloured community increase, so it's best if some sort of control is put on them.

D. The loafers should be forced to find a more honest way of living, and if they cannot prove that such is the case, surely the law is strong enough to step in to make some alternation, and when the coloured people are made to know their position there will be very little heard of such crimes as have been committed lately.

4. Lazy and unemployed people should be made to find a job, and if they can't show that they have done so then surely there must be some legal solution; once coloured people know their place.

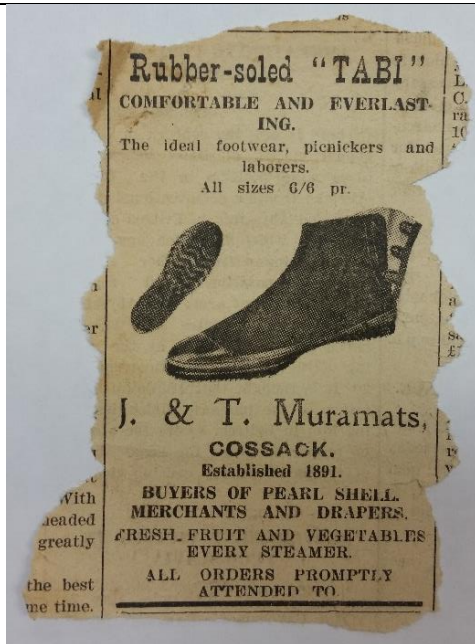
The Chinese are obtaining a strong hold in this place. One of the leading men among them only the other day applied to the Government to be naturalised. They have substantial buildings and are large importers. This has a very injurious effect upon the trade of the English stores. The Chinese run their own stores, and it is well known they can do so more cheaply than European firms possibly can. They are content to make a farthing profit, where a European would perhaps not be satisfied with a penny. Though in business competition is good in a general way, yet when the competition is with aliens, who have no interest in the country, and who are merely here to make a pile and take it away with them, it seems that such competition is an unfortunate thing, both for the country and the people. The bad effects of this has already shown itself, and the present stagnation in trade at present observable at the north is no doubt partly due to this Chinese trading.

1887 'NOTES FROM COSSACK.', *The Inquirer and Commercial News (Perth, WA : 1855 - 1901)*, 28 December, p. 2. , <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article66081194>

At the last meeting of the Cossack Town Council, a motion was carried in favor of the amendment of the Immigration Restriction Act, so as to enable persons wishing to import colored cooks or houseboys to do so, provided that at the expiration of their agreement they returned them to the place whence they came.

1899 'COSSACK.', *The Inquirer and Commercial News (Perth, WA : 1855 - 1901)*, 11 August, p. 10. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article67048487>

WHAT CAN YOU LEARN ABOUT JIRO MURAMATS FROM THESE SOURCES?



Torn out newspaper advertisement, sent in with an order for general supplies. The request from supplies came from a Pilbara station owner.

1934, Advertising; *Northern Times (Carnarvon, WA : 1905 - 1952)*, 7 Mar, p. 5. ,



Jiro and Hatsu Muramats, c.1940

Source: *State Library of Western Australia 6959B*



Leak, C. (1948) Muramats' house, Asian Quarter, Cossack

Source: *City of Karratha Local History Collection*

MALAYS REFUSE WORK
 Four Malays from the pearling luggers owned by Messrs. J. & T. Muramats refused to go on board the luggers and continue work and ran away to the bush. Information was given to the police who immediately commenced a search for the men and discovered them in the mangroves about six hours after they commenced the search. They were subsequently charged by Messrs. J. & T. Muramats for refusing lawful orders. Being charged before the resident magistrate in the police court three of the crew were sentenced to four weeks and one to 14 days. The men continued to refuse to go on board and would give no reason for refusing work.
 The oil ship Cerion berthed at Samson and discharged 70 tons of petrol and oils.

"MALAYS REFUSE WORK" *Northern Times (Carnarvon, WA : 1905 - 1952)* 21 November 1940: 1. <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article74941623>

Jiro Muramats was born in 1878 in Kobe, Japan.

His family took residence in Cossack in 1891, where Jiro's father became an importer and storekeeper for the Japanese community.

Jiro went to school in Cossack, and finished his education at a boarding school in Melbourne.

After his father's death, he and his brother, Tsunetaro, took over their father's business and expanded it, with Jiro looking after the operations in Australia and Tsunetaro in looking after operations in Japan.

Seeing the success of many pearling masters who came to Cossack, Jiro hoped to get his own pearling boat licence. However, 'coloured aliens' (as dark skinned people in Australia who were not citizens were referred to at the time) were not allowed to have pearling boat licences. Jiro had actually become naturalised in Victoria in 1899, but his status did not apply to Western Australia. Finally, he was recognised as citizen in 1904, and two years later was able to buy his first pearling boat. He purchased another nine soon after.

In 1912 the government introduced another law, which banned the grant of new pearling licences to people of Asian or African race. Although he wasn't able to increase his fleet himself, by then Jiro had expanded his business to offer credit (ie. loan money). This led to another seven luggers being mortgaged to him, and their owners were obliged to buy their provisions and sell their pearl shell through Jiro. In total, he had control of over half of Cossack's pearling fleet.

In addition to his store in Cossack, Jiro also opened up a pub, despite a lot of opposition for it on the grounds that he was Asian, and because there were already two other similar establishments in town.

In 1928, Jiro moved his fleet to Darwin and settled there himself, although he regularly returned to Cossack.

Despite officially being a citizen of Australia, Jiro's political rights were limited. The 1907 Western Australian Electoral Act made people who were 'aboriginal natives of Australia, Asia, Africa or the islands of the Pacific' ineligible to vote, and since the state voting rights were linked to the federal voting rights at the time, Jiro was not able to vote in the federal elections either.

During World War 2, Jiro, along with the rest of the Japanese community, was arrested and taken to the Tatura prisoner of war camp in Victoria. He died there, in 1943, after falling sick with cancer. After the war, his widow returned from Tatura to Cossack, and was one of the town's last inhabitants.

Adapted from the Australian Dictionary of Biography

