7. ‘Received into the very best society’

After the rigours of life on the land, Henry Prinsep settled into a career in the Department of Lands and Surveys, applying his technical and drafting skills to the tasks of allocating, managing and cataloguing a steadily-expanding colonial estate. ‘The work is what I like’, he wrote to Annie in April 1874:

I have a very large table for my own use, high up and fitted for plan drawing, a shaded window in front of it and colours, mathematical instruments … here I am stationed but not sedentary. We … are in charge of the multitudinous charts, plans, tracings, documents connected with the management of lands of the colony and every application for sale, pastoral lease, agricultural lease, reserve & c has to come through our hands first of all before going on to the Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Governor. Each of these applications & c has to be calculated and plotted on the working plans to scale and entered in a variety of books. We are constantly interrupted by all manner of extra incidental jobs, such as tracings wanted for this that the other, questions about certain places, alterations of boundaries, surveys & c, so that there is heaps of work but it is work that allows plenty of movement and chat together and is not too monotonous. My chief is very gentlemanly and always trusts to our honour, so gives us leave whenever we ask it in reason. Josephine gives me a little lunch wrapped up in paper before I start in the morning. It takes me about seven minutes to reach the office and at four I come out. Then we either go calling, shopping or amusing ourselves till dusk and then sit down to a table dinner. As yet we have no servant, but you cannot imagine how quietly and imperceptibly J seems to get through everything, even the washing. The dinners are the most recherché little affairs as far as they go. We have been received into the best society with open arms and have been considerably gay … sufficiently tickled to prevent our lives seeming dull.1

Prinsep was a perfect civil service recruit for, in addition to his technical and drafting skills, he possessed ‘a good education in England having passed the examination for entrance into Woolwich, is a man of culture and of general knowledge, and may be safely relied on to maintain the dignity of the post both in its official and social relations’.2 Importantly, the job allowed him the flexibility to

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1 Henry Prinsep to Annie Prinsep, April 1874, private collection, Claremont WA.
2 Notation in support of H.C. Prinsep by A.C. Onslow, 23 April 1885, SROWA, Colonial Secretary’s Office File Acc. 527 1668/1885.
participate in the social and cultural life of the small city. He cultivated contacts with a succession of Governors and was a loyal supporter of the Governor’s supreme authority over the Crown Colony until the late 1880s. His diaries refer to dinner parties at Government House, attendance at balls ‘as part of the vice-regal party’, ‘tennis at Government House’, and a social standing that allowed him to call on the Governor informally. Prinsep was a popular companion whose ‘multi-faceted and convivial personality … drew people of talent to his hearth’. His diaries are littered with descriptions of social life, ‘grand dinners’ at Government House, musical soirees, ‘jolly days’ on the Swan River and at the riverside family holiday cottage, The Chine, of fishing, crabbing and eating oysters with friends, and gentlemanly conversations and business dealings at the exclusive Weld Club for the city’s political and business elite. Contemporary diarist, Alfred Hillman, related to Prinsep by marriage, referred to the constant social activity surrounding the Prinsep household: ‘After dinner walked up to Prinsep’s where, as usual, we found a host of visitors but not the particular one we went to see’. Prinsep was active in amateur theatre, directing, acting and painting the sets for local productions. His adaptation of ‘The Colleen Bawn’ in 1880 was warmly praised by the local newspaper:

Now we were in a wild dell, now in a country house, by a lake or in a cavern. Not only had Mr. Prinsep carefully considered the requirements of the piece, but the different portions were in thorough working order, and there was not the slightest hitch or delay in the movement. The drop scene … is a masterpiece, and we feel sure that if it were exhibited at the emigration agents’ in London, numbers of adventurers would speedily flock to our shores.

Prinsep’s positions within the Department of Lands and Surveys were relatively lowly and, until 1894, he never advanced beyond the level of a senior clerk, except for a brief period in 1884 when he served as Private Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the Administrator, his friend and mentor, Alexander Onslow. To Prinsep, paid employment seems to have been a necessary but unwelcome intrusion into the more valued aspects of life. His family now numbered five, with the birth of daughters Emily in 1875 and Virginia in 1879. Maintaining his family’s social position was of supreme importance to Prinsep, his diaries betraying an abiding concern with the rigid barriers between his position in

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3 For example, see Prinsep, Henry C., ‘Diaries 1866–1922’, SLWA Acc. 499A, 3 July 1871, 14 April 1874, 25 April 1882, 7 December 1885.
6 The West Australian, 9 December 1879.
7 Prinsep’s starting salary was 2 pounds and 2 shillings a week, as he wrote in his diary entry for the 6 January 1874. By 1876, his pay as a temporary officer, as recorded in 1876 estimates for the Department of Lands and Surveys was 10 shillings a day, or 156 pounds and 10 shillings per annum. Government of Western Australia 1870/71–1880, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, SLWA Acc. 328.941 WES.
7. ‘Received into the very best society’

Perth society and numerous others, whose family backgrounds, income and land holdings disqualified them from the social, business and cultural concerns of the elite few. Prinsep was able to offer his skills as one of the colony’s few competent, trained artists who had the time and expertise to teach art and photography to the citizenry and their children, which supplemented his meager civil service income. His professional competence as an artist, together with his interest in theatre and music was one of his chief contributions as a member of the colonial elite, ensuring his active involvement in many of the city’s cultural activities and nascent institutions, such as museums, art galleries and theatres. He utilised his knowledge of art and his skill as an artist to reinforce his social relationships, giving art lessons to Governor W.C.F. Robinson’s wife, Frances, and providing ‘designs of swans’ and invitation cards for Lady Broome.8

His artistic activity further illustrates his place within networks encircling the British imperial world, both as a creator and distributor of colonial imagery, and as a purveyor of the methods and principles of British art in the colony. Art historian Janda Gooding described his involvement in setting up the first of the colony’s artistic societies, the Wilgie Sketching Club, in 1889 as an attempt to build a ‘collegiate environment among artists through a mixture of painting classes and social gatherings’, based on the ‘hospitality, friendship, creativity and congeniality he had absorbed in London’.9 The club gave him the opportunity to work closely with other prominent Western Australian artists, including Herbert Gibbs and his daughter, May, George Temple Poole, Bernard Woodward, and Margaret Forrest. He was also diligent in calling on artists visiting Perth, such as botanical artists, Marianne North (a friend of Julia Margaret Cameron) and Ellis Rowan, who was described by Prinsep as ‘an astonishingly clever flower painter (amateur)’, whose ‘perspective and hues were most excellent’.10

The Western Australian art market was too small to sustain a professional artist and much of his painting and drawing activity was due to his sheer enjoyment of the craft. Prinsep was nonetheless able to earn additional income through commissions and art classes, and by exhibiting and selling his work. One money-making artistic venture in 1880 was his ‘grand painting’ of Mrs. Boldt, the wife of a sea captain, who had earned public admiration for her feat in bringing the ship ‘Mowbury’ into Brisbane harbour after her husband had fallen ill. Prinsep’s oil painting shows a heroic Mrs. Boldt standing alone at the wheel, the ship buffeted by massive waves. In a letter to mother-in-law Charlotte in Paris, he described an ‘animated and fascinating scene, she standing bare headed

8 Prinsep, ‘Diaries’, 22 April 1882; Lady Broome to H.C. Prinsep, no date, SLWA Acc. 3594A/26/16.
10 Prinsep, ‘Diaries’ 14 January 1882. See also, Rowan, Ellis 1898, The Flower Hunter, Angus & Robertson, London, in which she describes her visit to Western Australia.
with her eyes fixed on the fore yardman, a scanty costume, bare arms and eager face, the main object of the picture’. The canvas was exhibited over a number of days in Perth and Fremantle, and then sent to the Melbourne Exhibition where Prinsep hoped it would be sold for a good price. Tickets were available for ‘sixpence to gentlemen and three pence for working men’, and brought in 27 shillings and sixpence on the first day, 19 shillings on the second and 30 on the third. When it was exhibited in Fremantle, ‘the crowds came in to see it,’ and he was delighted to make 68 shillings and ninepence on the first day. Later that year, London-based friend, Alfred Harrison, told Prinsep of a ‘very flattering notice of your picture’ in ‘some Glasgow paper’. ‘You can have no competitors worth mentioning in Australia’, he wrote, ‘so I see no reason why you should not really make a very good thing of it. At any rate, you have made an excellent start, and I for one heartily wish you success.’

In addition to painting and drawing, Prinsep had been an enthusiastic photographer since his school days at Cheltenham in the 1860s. His prints and cabinet cards depict aspects of colonial life and scenery, many of which he sent to family and friends in Australia and overseas, while others were used to illustrate books and official documents on Western Australia. Many show the forests and trees of the colony, which were among his favourite subjects. Family life also features prominently: prints of the family at home, on holiday at The Chine or one of the family homesteads in the south-west. There are photographs of Aboriginal people from places throughout the colony, particularly the south-west and Perth, but also more distant regions, such as the Goldfields and the Gascoyne. The exchange of photographs was part of the currency of his interconnected world, and images of far-flung family members regularly arrived in the mail, including cartes de visite, cabinet cards, and richly illustrated volumes prepared by leading British photographers, including Julia Margaret Cameron. Although the subjects of some of these photographs often cannot be identified, they vividly illustrate the transnational perspective of a man such as Prinsep, and the way his connections and interests extended well beyond his local colonial environment.

Prinsep took on the role of colonial image maker through his art and photography with enthusiasm. While he was part of the social elite and had a peripheral involvement in political life, he was primarily focussed on the task of portraying Perth as a good place to settle, boasting an active cultural and social life, an efficient system of government equipped to manage the development of the land, and hardy settlers engaged in the venture of making their homes and

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11 Henry Prinsep to Charlotte Bussell, August 6 1877, SLWA MN771, Acc. 1247A.
13 Alfred Harrison to H.C. Prinsep, 29 December 1880, SLWA Acc. 3594A/30/6.
14 Louisa sent him Cameron’s illustrated volume of Tennyson’s ‘Idylls of the King’ as a birthday present in 1876.
turning a harsh environment into a productive one. His paintings, drawings and photographs portray an orderly world in which the colonisers are well in control of a sometimes unruly and rugged but beneficent land. Rustic settings and arcadian parklands feature prominently in his landscapes of Western Australia, set against an unusual and exotic natural environment, different trees, flowers and animals, wild places that would soon be tamed by the onset of orderly British development. The imagery of the new colony also required a gallery of its leading men, and Prinsep was regularly commissioned by the colonial government to prepare portraits of governors and speakers of the Legislative Council and other great men of the colony, including the explorers who risked their lives to open up the vast interior and north of the colony. These explorers encountered all that was wild and different in the interior: resistance and anger from ‘savage’ Aboriginal peoples, continuous hardship, thirst, and risk of death. It was the job of Prinsep and others like him to illustrate such episodes in the development of the colony and, in the process, build and perpetuate an image of the colony in its transnational world, in many aspects different, yet intimately connected with the metropole and its sister colonies.

Prinsep’s paintings and drawings of John Forrest’s explorations of the Western and Victoria deserts in 1874, and Alexander Forrest’s exploration of the Kimberley in 1879, portray the Aboriginal people encountered by these expeditions as savage aggressors, attacking randomly, despite the reported efforts of the explorers to avoid violence. Prinsep utilised the field sketches and written descriptions of the explorers and then submitted preliminary sketches for their comment and correction: ‘Very busy with two new duplicates of A. Forrest’s arrival at the Fitzroy R at p[hotograph] office, the first one having been found defective in that the river was too narrow’.

The drawings for John Forrest’s account of his 1874 expedition, from Champion Bay through the continental interior to Adelaide, which included nine pen, ink and watercolour plates of scenes from the expedition, were completed by the end of March, when Prinsep ‘showed them to Mr Fraser who took them to the Governor who was much pleased with them and ordered them to be sent to Melbourne for reproduction’. Each of the illustrations matched Forrest’s account of a particular episode, including his dramatic description of a battle with Aboriginal people at Pierre Springs, in which they were portrayed by Forrest as determined to attack, despite his efforts to be friendly. ‘The Skirmish with Natives at Pierre Springs’ illustrates the restraint of the Forrest party, as its five members face a large group of Aboriginal people, spears poised, advancing in battle formation. Forrest stands at the head of his party, his hand held up in an attempt to forestall the attack, rifle pointed downwards:

16 Ibid., 22 March 1875. The illustrations are included in Forrest, 1875, Journal of proceedings of the Western Australian exploring expedition.
While they were about 150 yards off I fired my rifle, and we saw one of them fall, but he got up again and was assisted away ... The natives seemed determined to take our lives, and therefore I shall not hesitate to fire on them should they attack us again. I thus decide and write in all humility, considering it a necessity, as the only way of saving our lives.17

A similar illustration was prepared for Ernest Giles’ account of his 1872–1876 expedition through the Victoria Desert. As with Forrest, Prinsep used Giles’s field accounts and sketches to illustrate a violent clash between Aboriginal people and the exploration party at a place called Ullaring.18 Giles’s journal description is puzzling, for he records that his party was repeatedly warned to stay away from the place they had chosen as a camp, and that the Aboriginal traditional owners, rather than wantonly seeking violence, went to great lengths to avoid confrontation. The attack took place on the evening of 16 October 1875, and Prinsep’s illustration faithfully follows Giles’s account. A ground cover is laid where the exploration party had been about to enjoy their supper before being disturbed by the ‘grand and imposing army’, its warriors ‘painted, feathered, and armed to the teeth with spears, clubs, and other weapons ... ready for instant action’, looking like ‘what I should imagine a body of Comanche Indians would appear when ranged in battle’.19 The ‘inoffensive spies’ in the ranks of Giles’s party, two men and one ‘pretty little girl’, sought to distract the party. One of the men ‘ran and jumped on me, put his arms round my neck to prevent my firing’, The young girl, meanwhile,

became almost frantic with excitement, and ran off to each man who was about to fire ... clapping her small hands, squeaking out her delight, and jumping about like a crow with a shirt on. While the fight was in progress, in the forgetfulness of his excitation, my black boy Tommy began to speak apparently quite fluently in their language to the two spies, keeping up a running conversation with them nearly all the time ... After the attack, Tommy said, ‘I tol’ you black fellow coming,’ though we did not recollect that he had done so.20

Other Prinsep images of Aboriginal people infantilise its subjects, locating them in a state of nature or portraying them as noble savages. An 1880 collection of drawings, paintings and photographs, entitled ‘Scenes of Travel and Adventure

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18 Originals of the Giles Expedition paintings are held by the Art Gallery of Western Australia. Lithographs representing episodes from all three expeditions are in the relevant Parliamentary Papers volumes in the State Library of Western Australia.
19 Giles, Ernest 1889, *Australia Twice Traversed*, viewed online at http://etext.library.adelaide.edu.au/g/giles/ernest/g47a/, University of Adelaide, Adelaide
20 Giles 1889, *Australia Twice Traversed.*
in Western Australia’, the original of which was purchased in 2005 by the National Library of Australia, illustrates a series of journeys in the bush by Henry and Josephine Prinsep with an English ‘lady of means’, Miss Hocking, sister of Prinsep’s friend, Attorney General Henry Hocking. Prinsep later made lithograph copies of this album to send to his brother, sisters and extended family overseas and friends in Perth, and was commissioned to produce a number more for the colonial government. Aboriginal people appear as background in some of these drawings, such as those depicting Rottnest Island, in which they are distant figures carrying spears. In others, they are represented as caricatures of domestic servants, working while Prinsep and his companions relax over a pipe and a cup of tea. Another set of pen and ink drawings by Prinsep was included in an 1882 report by Surveyor General Malcolm Fraser on the colonial timber trade. These present a contrast between the forests in their natural state, complete with Aboriginal lords of the forest, and as a harvested economic resource. Prinsep’s illustrations depict two Aboriginal people in a state of nature in the foreground, walking through the jarrah forest, carrying weapons and implements on the one page, contrasted with a similar scene, this time of two Europeans dwarfed by massive karri trees, no doubt contemplating their value as a harvestable economic resource.

Prinsep’s collection of photographs of Aboriginal people at times continues the portrayals of his art and drawings. Often the subjects are posed, frequently painted up in traditional costume and carrying spears and boomerangs, but nameless, suspended from their geographical and spatial context, representations of a disappearing people on the postcards and images of the Empire. Others document the grim reality of a colonised people and the various points in which their lives came up against the colonial social body. They portray the marginality of Aboriginal lives in the colony, incarcerated men on their way to jail, ragged children, and large, usually unnamed groups of people in camps and ration depots. Housing is makeshift or non-existent, clothing is poor, and the expressions on the faces of some of the subjects suggest reluctance and alienation, a hope that the unwelcome intrusions of the photographer will soon end and leave them to their own affairs. This was indeed becoming the overarching reality of their colonised lives under the new regime, hunger and dispossession, alienation from the system of power and authority, loss of control over destinies and life freedoms. Many of Prinsep’s photographs portray this creeping subjugation, the white boss or missus in the background, a part of the photograph, but obviously the one in control, distanced from the subjected others by dress, bearing and authority.

22 The drawings are reproduced in Crawford, Patricia and Ian Crawford 2003, Contested Country: A history of the Northcliffe area, Western Australia, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp.47–8.
Alongside this imagery of a colonised and marginalised people, Prinsep’s photographs also illustrate the known and the familiar, a nuanced and subtle portrait of a world where people lived alongside each other, interacted constantly, and knew each other’s family lives and histories. They are products of Prinsep’s photographic eye, part of a photographic diary, capturing moments of spontaneity, everyday interactions in which the subjects pose for the camera rather than act as props, and are actively engaged in the recording exercise, gazing directly at the lens, showing off their clothing, lifting a child to be included in the picture, sitting around the homestead with the white people, smoking pipes and relaxing together. Far from being disheveled, dirty or apparently intruded upon, these are people known to the photographer, who directly engage with one who is both known and understood, and whose family is part of the local community.

**Politics laid bare**

As a prominent citizen of Perth and member of a large landholding family, Prinsep inevitably became involved in the internal politics of the small Crown Colony. From the 1870s, constitutional development was an area of particular conflict, as powerful members of the elite social body became increasingly impatient for Western Australia to follow its eastern Australian neighbours into a system of responsible government. Imperial authorities balked at the idea, principally because of doubts that a small and sparsely-distributed population of colonisers had the capacity to govern an enormous land area, much of it still unexplored. The colony’s ability to govern the large indigenous populations spread throughout the territory was a particular concern to imperial authorities, and allegations of violence, cruel treatment and conditions of virtual slavery fuelled a reluctance to cede responsibility for Aboriginal populations to colonial authorities without the mollifying involvement of the Colonial Office. For their part, the colonists resented imperial portrayals of them as incapable of protecting Aboriginal peoples from cruelty and exploitation, and worried that continued bad publicity would cast a slur on the colony’s international reputation. The colony’s ability to attract imperial business interests and banks to invest in the colony’s economic development in the 1890s was a crucial concern to the first colonial government of John Forrest. In his ten years as Premier, he energetically pursued the rapid development of the gold industry, with massive international borrowings to allow major capital projects, including harbours, railways and water pipelines. By 1900, the public debt had reached 12.8 million pounds, while annual revenue had increased from 1.2 million pounds to 3.08 million.
pounds. The colony was very much in debt to the banks and businesses of the metropole, a bad time to acquire such an indifferent reputation as a manager of its internal affairs. Forrest went to great efforts to restore the reputation of the colonial government. In 1894, he travelled to England to argue the case for the repeal of the Imperial Government’s reservation of powers over Aboriginal affairs, and talk to banks and investors about the potential for business in the colony, particularly in the gold mining sector.

Prinsep was on the periphery of many of these developments in colonial politics, initially a loyal supporter, but later a critic of the system of Crown rule. His civil service position gave him a particular perspective on the life of the colony, involved as he was on a daily basis with a system of land management to regulate, catalogue and map lands throughout the vast land area of the colony. He was an unabashed supporter of Crown rule, socially close to a succession of governors and their families, and proud to proclaim himself a conservative.

Although he tried to maintain a relationship with Frederick Broome, governor between 1883 and 1889, he found himself caught between loyalty to the Governor and the pro-responsible government sentiments of some of his closest friends. Broome, in fact, supported the colony’s movement towards responsible government and did all he could to promote a new constitution in London, but poor relationships with some of the colony’s elite meant that matters became personal between the Governor and the colonial social body. The Governor was thus often portrayed as the embodiment of all that was wrong with the system of Crown rule. Broome’s suspension from office of Alexander Onslow in 1885, and Alfred Hensman in 1886, and an enduring resentment about low pay and lack of promotional opportunity in the civil service, changed Prinsep’s mind about representative government. He also found his family excluded from the Government House circle, as Carlotta recalled: ‘The Governor and Mr. Onslow and others had a dispute over some law case and all Perth took sides and one night they had a dreadful scare burning the poor Governor in effigy on the Esplanade. Charlie Stone came up and told us all about the shocking affair.’

Thereafter, Prinsep’s opposition to Broome intensified as he dispassionately recorded the growing antagonism of his friends to the Governor. A public meeting, at which Broome’s effigy was burned, is described by Prinsep as a ‘tremendous public meeting in Town Hall protesting against the Govr’s interdiction of Onslow, the Ch Justice and proposals by the people to have the Govr recalled. HE’s [His

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24 Constitution of Western Australia, 1890, Section 70.
Excllency’s] effigy was burnt. We heard loud cheering at our home.’27 Next day he chided one of Broome’s supporters, Sir Thomas Cockburn Campbell, when he came to visit for ‘affecting knowledge which he really had not got on which to base tales of Onslow and Forrest & c at Govt House and I warned him to desist such schemes in future’.28 In a letter to Charlotte Bussell in Paris, he wrote of the ‘exceedingly bad terms’ between Broome and his friend, John Forrest, that had brought a situation where ‘HE does his best to upset every recommendation that Jack makes and to ride rough shod over him’. Nonetheless, he was confident that his ‘upright and so clever and cautious’ friend would succeed in seeing the Governor ‘suffer a recall for the exceedingly unconstitutional and personally actuated way in which he is acting’.

It is the same with Hensman and he certainly has two stout opponents in J [Forrest] and Hensman and is sure to be tripped up at the last. The great fault in his character … is selfishness and an overbearing dictatorial manner. There is no suavity about him, or consideration for others.29

Prinsep’s sympathy with the anti-Broome forces and support for Onslow, Hensman and the native-born John and Alexander Forrest became public as he joined the editorial team of Alexander Forrest’s weekly newspaper, The Possum, whose chief aim was the removal of Broome, and contributed satirical poetry and graphics to its first series of productions. In the first issue, his cartoon depicted a young boy looking at the stately Queen Britannia; ‘Appeal!’ the caption read, ‘Please let me paddle my own canoe Mammie!’30 Also included was a poem by Prinsep, written under the pseudonym ‘Dry Crust Harry’, entitled ‘A Leaf from the Diary of a West Australian Ninety-pounds-a-year Slave (to Society)’, which expressed resentment against gubernatorial domination of the civil service. Later editions referred to Broome as ‘Frederick the Little’, as ‘that lump, which occupies the top position of our body, and which some people have the impertinence to call a head, is now completely addled—we are lost in a maze of doubt and perplexity’.31 The Legislative Council was accused of ‘toadyism’: ‘A certain author once wrote, “It is human to err.” If the author of that terse remark had only been acquainted with the proceedings of the West Australian Legislative Council, he would have added “and they do little else.”’32

The colonists finally got their wish when Broome left the colony in December 1889, acting as Governor of Barbados and, from 1891, of Trinidad, a position he filled until his retirement and death in England in 1896. A new constitution, which Broome himself had advocated, was ratified by the House of Commons

27 Prinsep, ‘Diaries’, 17 August 1887.
28 Ibid., 18 August 1887.
29 Henry Prinsep to Charlotte Bussell, undated, SLWA Acc. 1274A.
30 The Possum, Volume 1 No. 1, 30 July 1887.
31 Ibid., Volume 1 No 6, 24 September 1887.
32 Ibid., Volume 1 No. 4, 10 September 1887.
in August 1890, in which the Imperial Government reserved responsibility for Aboriginal people in Western Australia. Social life rapidly returned to normality for Henry Prinsep after the ructions of the Broome years and he and his family once again became regular visitors and enjoyed the benign patronage of Broome’s successors, William Robinson (1890–1895) and Frederick Bedford (1903–1909).

John Gribble and the Church of England Mission Committee

A recurring discourse in the story of Henry Prinsep is the belief that the injury suffered by indigenous populations through colonisation was the responsibility of the coloniser, who had the duty to provide compensation by making sure the colonised were provided with the benefits of colonisation, including induction into Christianity. As described in chapter five, as early as 1834, Captain F.C. Irwin called for establishment of a Church of England mission to Swan River Noongars, while another evangelical settler, Robert Menli Lyon, strenuously advocated a treaty and conciliation between the colonisers and colonised.33 Shortly afterwards, the Reverend Dr Louis Giustiniani arrived in Perth as a missionary and, by 1837, earned the wrath of many colonists by defending Noongars against the violence and exploitation of settlers, publicising a list of principles which he argued should guide relationships between the two populations. These included the relief of destitution, equality and justice and the suspension of punitive expeditions, together with a threat to expose the colonial social body before ‘enlightened British public, and the whole civilised world’.34 Guistiniani’s subsequent departure from the colony set an unfortunate pattern. Those who spoke out in support of Aboriginal populations became liable to vilification, and were often left with no other alternative but to leave.

This was the context in which Prinsep joined a new Mission Committee on the invitation of the ‘saintly, scholarly and idealistic’ Bishop H.H. Parry. Like Prinsep, Parry was a man of the Empire, born in Antigua and educated in England, who had arrived in Perth to take up the role of Bishop in 1876.35 The Prinseps had long been close to the leading figures of the colonial Church of England establishment, men such as Mathew Blagden Hale, the first Bishop of Perth, who in 1848 had married Sabina Molloy, eldest daughter of Captain John and amateur botanist Georgiana Molloy, who had been associated with the Bussell family in the south-west. Hale frequently expressed his anguish over

33 Reynolds, Henry 1998, This Whispering in our Hearts, Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, Australia, pp.71–84.
34 Ibid., p.85.
the poor relationships between colonizers and Aboriginal people, calling for a treaty and a commitment from his church to establish missions throughout the colony. But his advocacy was muted by recognition of the realities of the conflict between colonised and coloniser, the political sensitivities that if they were infringed could damage both his own standing in the colony and the prestige of the church.

After Hale left Perth to become Bishop of Brisbane in 1875, Parry decided that a northern mission to the colony’s Aboriginal population was necessary, and established a committee, with Prinsep as one of its members, to negotiate a lease with the Government and recruit a missionary. It took some years for the Bishop to overcome the hesitancy of the Government to support the venture, historian Su-Jane Hunt remarking on the opposition by elected members of the Legislative Council to ‘any endeavour to civilise and christianise these northern natives’.36 The West Australian foresaw tension between missionaries and pastoral station managers, and called for ‘tact’ in ‘understanding of the relative positions of the whites and blacks in the district’.37 In John Gribble, the mission committee thought they had found the right person for the job. He was a man with extensive mission experience in New South Wales and Victoria who was also knowledgeable and had published papers on Aboriginal issues.38 He held strong views on the obligations of colonisation, which he enunciated in December 1885 at a public lecture in Perth, stating his opinion that mission activity was part of the compensation owed to Aboriginal people for the loss of their lands and traditional economy.39 Arriving in the Gascoyne port of Carnarvon in September 1885, Gribble quickly alienated the local community of pastoralists and police who, within three months of his arrival, realised he was intent on confronting them about their practices on the use of Aboriginal labour. As he later described, ‘at one station where I called, and where I found a large number of natives in the ownership of the manager’,

I drew attention to the neglected appearance of certain of the natives, and that if the blacks were unkindly treated they would certainly run away. I was told in reply that the treatment was quite good enough for the ‘niggers’, and that it was absurd to think they should have tea, sugar, etc. And mark—these same natives I found were saving this very station hundreds of pounds per annum.40

37 The West Australian, 12 March 1880.
39 Prinsep, ‘Diaries’, 9 December 1885; The Inquirer, 11 December 1885.
40 Gribble, J.B. 1987, Dark Deeds in a Sunny Land: Or, blacks and whites in North-West Australia, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, p.10.
He described the ‘intolerable conditions’ under which Aboriginal people were employed, how they were ‘chained like so many dogs to each other round the neck’, and the sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by white men. He quickly learned that, in the minds of the white population, the scope of the mission was extremely limited. Aboriginal people ‘belonged to the owner of the runs on which they were found, and … the Mission had no right whatever to any but the old and crippled.’ Public meetings of the white population demanded his recall, and within a few months, his role in the Gascoyne came to an end. As Gribble put it, in his three months in the Gascoyne he had,

Travelled 400 miles into the interior, built Mission house and native hut, commenced school house, fenced part of garden block, sunk well, small community of natives gathered by their own free will. Church services for whites organised and regularly maintained: and last, but not least, got the whole district (I will not say town of Carnarvon) against me—Why?

Gribble wrote a full exposition of his experiences for publication in the colonial press, in which he not only described what he had seen, but named and criticised. This caused enormous controversy in the city and further alienated him from the pastoralist lobby, to the extent that he was attacked and physically threatened on a voyage from Carnarvon to Fremantle in January 1886. His attempt to lay charges further antagonised his critics. The charges eventually lapsed, in Gribble’s opinion because of the opposition of key colonial officials. This caused him to refer his complaints to the Secretary of State for Colonies, sending copies of his letter to the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, Dean Joseph Gegg, in the absence of Bishop Parry, who was in England, and the Mission Committee. The Committee, however, condemned his actions, Prinsep recording in January that they ‘sat a long time discussing Gribble’s conduct as Missionary at the Gascoyne. The feeling was against his action in publishing his late journal and I was against spending too much’ on the Gascoyne venture. Resolutions were adopted, criticising the ‘temporarily excited feeling’ on the part of ‘many influential settlers’ as ‘discourteous, so unjust in mode of procedure, and so unconstitutional’, but also expressing an ‘unqualified condemnation’ of Gribble’s actions. The Committee especially deplored the publication of his allegations ‘which has already done much to alienate the public … and which must prove extremely detrimental, if not fatal, to the success of the mission among the white population’. It demanded that Gribble publish a statement regretting ‘that he should have taken the course which he did in publishing to the world, after so short an acquaintance with the district, the details of the domestic life and faults

41 Ibid., p. 11.
42 Ibid., p. 13.
45 Church of England Mission Committee, Minutes, October 1 1887, SLWA Acc. 996A/5.
of the settlers therein committed to his pastoral care’, and sought to prevent him from sending further reports to the newspapers of the colony.\textsuperscript{46} By February, the Committee had decided to restrict Gribble’s activity to the Dalgety Reserve, 400 kilometres east of Carnarvon, and, by June, at the instigation of Dean Gegg, he was refused permission to preach at the cathedral in Perth. Effectively isolated and with support from the Church heavily qualified, Gribble published his exposé, ‘Dark Deeds in a Sunny Land’, in the pages of local newspaper, \textit{The Inquirer}, which had supported Gribble against what it saw as the interests of the narrow colonial elite dominating the Mission Committee. ‘Of whom is this committee composed?’ asked \textit{The Inquirer}: ‘Mainly of men who, however honest they may wish to be, have their interests bound up with the settlers—men some of whom would feel keenly in a pecuniary sense the defection of influential members of their church.’\textsuperscript{47}

In Hunt’s words, ‘Dark Deeds’ was received in Perth ‘with a tone bordering on hysteria’, and Gribble was accused of seeking only ‘to catch the ear and tickle the fancy of Exeter Hall’.\textsuperscript{48} By doing so, he had ‘traduced and maligned the settlers of Western Australia in the eyes of the world’. The whole colony was ‘held up to execration’, and had been ‘insulted and degraded before the whole world’.\textsuperscript{49} \textit{The West Australian} called Gribble a ‘lying, canting humbug’, which caused him to sue the proprietors of the newspaper, one of whom, Charles Harper, served with Prinsep on the Mission Committee.\textsuperscript{50} The resultant case was heard before two judges, including Onslow. Although it was eventually decided in favour of the defendants, the case had wide ramifications. Onslow was accused by the proprietors of the newspaper of bias towards Gribble, who expressed his view that a ‘conservative colonial element’ was behind the attack in an attempt to preserve its proprietary interests in land and access to a cheap labour force.\textsuperscript{51}

Prinsep found his involvement in the Mission Committee challenging, and his diary entries imply exasperation at the time he was required to spend on the matter and the level of controversy surrounding Gribble. He shared the concern of other members, such as Joseph Gegg and Charles Harper, at Gribble’s willingness to go public with his allegations and the potential damage to the colony’s reputation overseas, and supported resolutions to restrict his activities. At the same time, he was worried about the virulence of the attack on Gribble, which may have underlined his horror at the frontier violence Gribble was alleging. While nowhere in his diaries does he express an opinion on Gribble’s

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{46} Ibid.
\footnotetext{47} \textit{The Inquirer}, 23 June 1886.
\footnotetext{48} Hunt, ‘The Gribble Affair’, p. 46.
\footnotetext{49} Reynolds, \textit{This Whispering in our Hearts}, p. 153.
\footnotetext{50} Church of England Mission Committee, Minutes, October 1st 1887.
\end{footnotes}
allegations, there are many instances in which members of the family express
their abhorrence of the kind of violence Gribble claimed to have witnessed. ‘The
natives should be made to understand’, wrote Prinsep’s sister-in-law, Caroline
Bussell, from Paris, ‘that a white man has no rights to flog a Black and the
Whites should be punished severely for doing so. They are so much stronger
and more muscular than the poor natives that they cannot judge of the deadly
effect of their blows on the weaker bodies of the natives.’

The Gribble affair, as it came to be known, had a lasting impact on the
subsequent mission policies and the reputation of Western Australia in the
eastern colonies and metropolitan Britain. Prinsep recorded in November
1888 that, in preparation for the visit of the Archbishop of Adelaide, whose
jurisdiction included Western Australia, the Committee met to prepare a
statement ‘vindicating our actions’ in the Gribble case. The previous year, it
had adopted a policy to guide future mission functions, in which it adopted
advice provided by Gribble. In a confusing and contradictory statement, the
Committee accepted that the ‘Australian aboriginal’ had just as much right to
humane treatment as any other indigenous subject of Britain: ‘The Australian
aboriginal (as compared with the North American Indians, & c) is a difficult
subject to deal with owing to his lack of manhood and want of intelligence in
his native state.’

But the broad principle should stand that a Christian nation or colony
should not be guilty of taking and leasing land occupied by aborigines
without rendering them as compensation proper legal protection, bodily
maintenance, and Christian teaching. Any forcible occupation without
such compensation is theft.

The statement set out future priorities for mission activity. ‘Boarding schools’ in
each district should be established for all children aged from three to 14, ‘to be
under the management of clergymen, the children to be taught to read and write
and do useful work, clothed and brought up religiously, and returned to their
stations at the end of their schooling period. A law of compulsory education
for the future education of the children would be only an apparent cruelty.’

Adult Aboriginal people employed on stations would be the responsibility of
‘an itinerating minister’, whose responsibility would be to ‘instill into their
minds the simple truths of the Gospel’. Reservations would be established for
‘wild natives’, who would be compulsorily collected by constables (‘and kind
treatment would do the rest’) and placed under the control of an ‘experienced
manager’ on a property on which there would be ‘a school, church, and resident
minister, made self supporting’.

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52 Caroline Bussell to Josephine Prinsep, 3 June 1898, MN 773 Acc. 3593A/25.
53 Church of England Mission Committee, Minutes, October 1 1887.
54 Ibid.
The Gribble affair had the effect of unifying resistance in Western Australia to what was believed to be external interference in Aboriginal affairs in the north of the colony. It served to limit the future role of missions to frontier districts where there was little likelihood of interference in the relationships between pastoralists and Aboriginal people. Missions would, in future, complement and support colonial demand for labour by confining their activities to regions where there were no pastoral interests, by removing unproductive children from the stations and training them for a return to station work, and by restricting the activities of missionaries to the ‘spiritual needs’ of the Aboriginal station workforce. Missions thus accepted the primacy of the need for cheap station labour over their own interests, and sought to avoid establishing missions as local alternatives to the exploitation of labour by the pastoral industry. Future missions were to take account of the power of the colonial landholding elite, and avoid any hint of imposition on their jealously guarded rights to the labour of Aboriginal people. The next 30 years saw a small number of missions established well away from the scope of the pastoral industry, in places such as the Cambridge Gulf and Sunday Island on the Kimberley coast. While the Dalgety mission that Gribble had first sought to establish retained its status as reserved land, future mission interest moved to the Forrest River in the Kimberley, where, in the early 1900s, Gribble’s son Ernest would take up his father’s mantle of missionary. As such, the ramifications of the Gribble affair extended into Prinsep’s tenure as Chief Protector of Aborigines, the Church of England manifesto on mission activity which Prinsep had helped to craft also coming to influence the development of government policy on Aboriginal affairs.

A colonial bull market

An unwelcome consequence of the Gribble affair was the attention from outside the colony that came to be focussed on Western Australia, which meant that its treatment of Aboriginal people would be scrutinised overseas and in the eastern colonies of Australia for the next 30 years. This attention would come to occupy much of Prinsep’s time and energy when he became Chief Protector. Meanwhile, the colony was forced into a position where its reputation overseas was of crucial importance. It was vital to project the image of a well-governed and well-managed colony, a safe environment for imperial investors to put their money. Prinsep’s long-awaited promotion to the senior position of Under Secretary of Mines in 1894 launched him into the world of mining and economic development, and into a civil service position in which his office was charged with regulating the rampant capitalism of transnational business by managing and facilitating development of new and lucrative industries. By the early 1890s, major discoveries of gold in the Eastern Goldfields and Murchison districts, north-east of Perth, brought an ‘economic watershed for the whole
community’. In a single decade it experienced a ‘fourfold increase in population and an increase in capital which lifted infrastructure to a level hitherto thought impossible to achieve’. For families such as the Prinseps, the rapid rise in population, from 48,502 in 1890 to 179,967 in 1900, changed the colony forever. Perth no longer was like a village in its social and community life, the inflow of capital and population bringing a massive expansion of construction in the metropolitan area.

Prinsep took up his new position early in 1894 and was immediately launched into a maelstrom of work to establish the new department. By 1896, he was complaining to his brother, Charlie, that he had no time to do anything. ‘I am beset by crowds of people who daily pour into my office’, he wrote, ‘I’ve never worked so hard or continuously in my life before.’

The revenue of our Department alone has jumped others—for the year ending June 30 1895 it was £5,000 and for the year ending 30th June next it will have been £135,000 and it increases monthly. Machinery is pouring into the fields and that is the wand which will create a miracle almost. … The office is almost overwhelmed with work. Last week we recorded in three days 500 incoming letters and Crockett and I are slaving away till 11 or 12 every night and four or five other men come in too. Poor Fred Roe the accountant hardly knows which way to turn.

As Under Secretary, Prinsep was responsible firstly to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, William Marmion, and, after December 1894, to a newly created Minister for Mines, Edward Wittenoom. His initial tasks were to establish the administrative machinery to process demand for licenses, and supervise the network of quasi-judicial mining wardens and surveyors. He was also responsible for establishing a regulatory framework, which included drafting amendments to the Mining Act to establish local mining boards with the power to regulate activities through by-laws. In 1886, he prepared the Goldfields Bill, which reduced the powers of mining wardens to act summarily, restricted the issue of miners’ permits to ‘Asiatics, Afghans and Chinamen’, provided exemptions from requirements to lease land that was exclusively alluvial, and included reef gold deposits within the purview of the legislation. By 1895, the new Goldfields Act, which repealed previous goldfields legislation and established ‘liberal leasing provisions and specific reservation of the Executive’s regulation-making powers’, was passed. The size of the Mines Department increased to meet these

58 Western Australian Parliamentary Debates, Volume 6, 1894.
demands, particularly in its employment of surveyors and draftsmen who, by the end of 1894, had produced lithographs of all mining centres and adopted a system of keeping them up to date.60

A scan of Mines Department files from the years of Prinsep’s administration suggests a competent administrator, who provided consistent and clear advice to his Minister and managed the growing staffing establishment of the department in a professional manner. Prinsep and his staff earned the praise of parliamentarians, such as Charles Moran, member for the Eastern Goldfields electorate of Yilgarn, for the manner in which they undertook their duties, ‘and the courteous and obliging treatment they always extended to the public’.61

Summing up Prinsep’s performance as Under Secretary, Spillman remarked that ‘his dedication to the service of government was unquestioned’:

Working long hours, he had overseen the Department’s growth and played a large part in determining its future role. Administering the orderly development of a notoriously disorderly industry was an unenviable task, but Prinsep had shirked nothing. A succession of salary increases had taken his salary from £350 to £550 per annum, and recognised the quality of his service and the importance of the position he held.62

After four hectic years, Prinsep left the position of Under Secretary in May 1898 for what he anticipated would be a less onerous role as Chief Protector of Aborigines. He maintained his salary of 550 pounds per annum, but was relieved of the responsibility for managing a department that, by the time of his departure, had grown from five to over 50. His diaries, the relative neglect of which during his period as Under Secretary is indicative of his work-load, refer to bouts of gastritis and periods of illness that forced him to take a seven-week holiday in Ceylon in late-1897, where he was joyfully reunited with his sister, Louisa, and his extended Cameron family and other old friends.63 On his return, at the age of 54, John Forrest’s offer of the Chief Protector’s role must have seemed to Prinsep to promise welcome relief from the unrelenting grind of mining administration. In such a role, he could practice his humanitarian beliefs and perhaps even see them into official government policy. Unbeknown to him, the new position was to bring probably the most politically and socially fraught period of his career.

60 Ibid., p.85.
61 Western Australian Parliamentary Debates, Volume 6, 29 August 1895.
63 The West Australian, 30 November 1897.
The Chine, Prinsep’s holiday home on Freshwater Bay, Swan River, about 15 kilometres downriver from Perth. Prinsep’s youthful connection with Freshwater on the Isle of Wight was reflected in his choice of the name for his resort.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/353.
The Chine was a place of peace and relaxation for the Prinsep family, where Henry could get away from the cares of the office and the city. Walter Roth congratulated him for escaping to the Chine to avoid the ‘great hubbub’ greeting the release of the 1905 inquiry into Aboriginal affairs in Western Australia.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/354.
The Prinseps reached The Chine either by river or the recently opened Perth-Fremantle railway, when they would arrange with the driver to stop at Bullen’s Siding and walk along a bush track to the river.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/355.
The Chine, a panorama from the low limestone cliffs behind it.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/351.
The children of the expanding Prinsep family could run barefoot at The Chine, go boating, swimming and crabbing on the waters of the Swan. In this photograph, Josephine and Emily Prinsep watch Frank and Caroline Brockman as they negotiate the waters of the well.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/350.
Nothing remains of The Chine today apart from two carvings by Prinsep. The image above shows his invocation to ‘dip your nose in’, which he carved in Greek letters next to the well.

Source: Author’s private collection.
On moving to Perth, Henry Prinsep supplemented his meagre earnings as a civil servant by taking on commissions to illustrate books, paint portraits and other design projects, such as the capitals for St George’s Hall in 1871, still visible as a façade to a new office block in Hay Street, Perth.

Source: Author’s private collection.
Mary Anne Tichbon (née Currie) who, with her sister Louisa, was taken in by the Prinseps as live-in maid after their mother died and their father was unable to care for them. Mary Anne stayed with the family in Perth for many years, while Louisa went to live with the Bussells in Busselton.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/38.
The women of the Prinsep family amongst friends, probably in the gardens of the Studio in the late 1890s. At center sits Josephine Prinsep, next to her is Carlotta, with Virginia at her feet and Emily on the far left.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/242.
Family group, from left to right: Emily, Carlotta, Josephine, Virginia and Henry Prinsep in their garden at ‘The Studio’, Howick Street, Perth.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/240.
The Prinseps were enthusiastic participants in fancy dress balls. This image, taken by Henry Prinsep, records one such event. Josephine is seated centre.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/547.
Rottnest Island holiday. Henry Prinsep is fifth from the right, with Premier John Forrest third, Margaret Forrest first, and Prinsep’s second daughter Emily next to him.

Source: Courtesy of Ailsa Smith, Claremont, WA.
Mementoes of family in England. The family of Henry’s sister Louisa Bowden-Smith (sitting at left) and William (right), including Vee (standing), Charlie (standing) and Bill (front). In the centre is Annie Prinsep. The image was taken in England, possibly at Brockenhurst, during the early 1900s.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/456.
'Lots of work and most woefully dull'. Prinsep’s brother Jim spent a few years in Ceylon in the 1870s, trying his hand as a coffee planter. In this image, Jim lies in front, with extended family members H. Cumberbatch and F.A. Fairlie. The Sri Lankan servants are not identified.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/904.
Jim Prinsep, Henry’s younger brother, during his career as a mining company secretary in London.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 Acc. 1423/910.
Aunt Julia Margaret Cameron lived in Ceylon, where she continued her photographic interests and was periodically visited by friends, such as botanical artist Marianne North, from 1875 until her death in 1879. This photograph captures North at the easel, creating an image of a Ceylonese labourer on the verandah of Cameron’s house, Dimboola.

Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Marianne_North_in_Mrs_Cameron%27s_house_in_Ceylon,_by_Julia_Margaret_Cameron.jpg.
Henry Prinsep with his staff in front of the Department of Mines, which he headed from 1894–1898, presiding over a period of expansion in the Forrest Government’s efforts to regulate the burgeoning Western Australian mining industry.

Source: Prinsep Papers, SLWA MN 773 BA 1423/87.
Prinsep’s pen and ink illustration of a scene from John Forrest’s 1874 exploration into the Central, Victoria and Western Deserts.

Source: Art Gallery of Western Australia.
‘Ularring (Attacked)’, an incident from the Giles exploration of 1875, which illustrates the episode as described by Giles in his journal Australia Twice Traversed.

Source: Art Gallery of Western Australia.
Prinsep’s mock-up of his illustration of an incident from the Giles exploration through the Victoria Desert in 1875.

Source: Art Gallery of Western Australia.