

**Temporary camps on hillside opposite Lotus Bay  
Westlake (now Stirling Park & Capitol Hill)  
No 1 Labourers (1923-27) & Tradesmen's Camps (1924-27)**

**Background**

In the period from 1912 to around 1920 married construction workers in the territory built their own homes from whatever material was at hand. The majority of humpies were constructed using timber frames, hessian walls and had corrugated iron roofs. Single men lived in tents camps – usually two men sharing each small tent.

Following resumption of construction work around 1921 some accommodation was built by the Federal Capital Advisory Committee (FCAC 1920-1924) for married tradesmen. Single men – that included men who left families behind to come to the territory to work – continued to live in tents. Their camps were segregated by occupation - Labourers, Pug (horse & dray) and Tradesmen.

The Christmas issue of *Canberra Illustrated* has an article *Toilers of the Territory* written by Robert C Jones in which he refers to this situation ...*But still, the main consideration in man's social well-being is the manner in which he is housed, and if the standard of a workman's habitation has not passed the calico tent stage it is futile to expect his mentality to be at a stage to assimilate say, a lecture on "Art" as applied to the home.*

*On enquiry it is found that huts ten feet by twelve feet, with fire place, (an absolute necessity, unless we can breed hibernating – not Hibernian – navies),<sup>1</sup> window and door could be built at a low cost. These rented at a shilling per week would give a handsome return per annum above interest and depreciation...Even under present conditions tradesmen are entitled to better accommodation than the labourers, thus fostering that spirit of snobbishness which is to be deplored.*

*Not that they ought not to have better quarters, for the labourers' camps are only different from the abos in that bags and calico are used instead of bark and boughs. Even if a labourer wanted to build a humpy for himself he is so bound by restrictions and red tape that the job becomes too formidable...<sup>2</sup>*

Mr Jones also mentioned that the cost per man per week for his accommodation and meals at a Mess was around 26/- (Two dollars, sixty cents). The average wage per week was between four and five pounds (8-10 dollars). The majority of camps had their Mess Caterer provided by the Commonwealth. The Tradesmen at Westlake, however, worked on a co-operative basis and the men employed their own caterer.

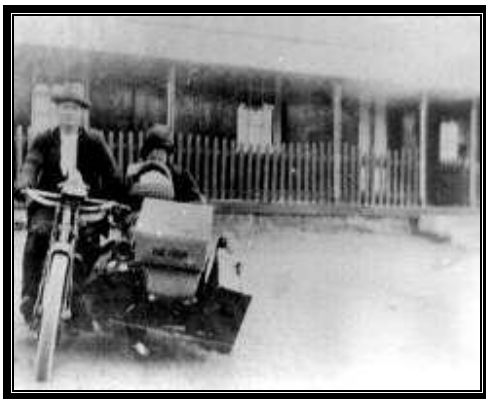
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<sup>1</sup> From 1926 the Federal Capital Commission (FCC) began a building programme of replacing tents with small cubicles of the type suggested by Robert Jones but these were not constructed at Westlake.

<sup>2</sup> Married men, however, if they wished to bring their families to the FCT if one of the few cottages rented out by the FCC was not available could construct their humpies at Riverbourne and from 1926 at Russell Hill where 120 sites were made available.

Canberra's camps were usually erected as close as possible to work sites and out of sight of permanent buildings. In 1926 a programme of replacing tents with small timber cubicles began and in addition to the many camps near work sites in 1925 three semi-permanent camps were established at Civic (White City Camp), Capitol Hill and Causeway (near the Power House). Capitol Hill and Causeway Camps remained into the 1960s. In 1921/22 a few lucky men were accommodated in ex-Molonglo Internment Camp timber buildings at Molonglo and at sites at Brickworks, Civic and Arsenal Camp. Steam driven traction engines were used to move the Molonglo and Mess buildings to camp sites.

Below photographs taken at Molonglo around 1926. The Molonglo cottages were the former German Internment Camp built in 1918. Around half the buildings were sold off in 1920. The remaining ones, with the exception of a few dragged to Westridge, Eastlake, Civic and the Arsenal Camp for use by single men and some married men, were converted in 1921-22 into 120 3-6 roomed cottages for married men and rooms for 150 tradesmen. Accommodation for 150 tradesmen was provided at Molonglo.



Before the main transfer of government departments in 1927 the majority of people in the territory were construction workers who lived in the temporary camps and settlements. A memorandum to the Transport Officer in May 1925 at the time of a proposed meeting to form the Social Service Association gives an idea of the population spread at that time. Oaks Estate and villages such as Hall were left out of the scheme.

(Australian Archives A6266/1 G27/4505)<sup>3</sup>

FEDERAL CAPITAL COMMISSION

11.5.1925

MEMORANDUM TO THE TRANSPORT OFFICER

*The Commissioner has decided to hold a meeting of various persons representatives of all communities of employees at Canberra, at the Acton Recreation Hall at 8 pm on Monday 18<sup>th</sup> May, 1925, for the purpose of a general discussion upon proposals for the development of the general well being of the several committees.*

*A list is attached of those who have been directly invited to attend, and it is desired that you make arrangements for their motor transport (gratis) to and from the Hall, informing them direct of times and picking up places. You may of course, find that some living in outlying places (e.g. Foreman Ryan of Mugga Quarry) will have and prefer their own means of transport. Details are left to your discretion. A debit will be "Secretary's Department: Contingencies." A formal order will follow. Secretary*

**Acton**

Lands & Survey Mess	14
15 Portable cottages	60
8 Officers' Quarters	25
Bachelors Quarters	60
[Total]	160

**White City** 80

**Civic Centre**

32 Cottages, brick	128
Hotel Ainslie [later Gorman House]	80
[Total]	200

**Westlake**

51 Portable Cottages	250 [10 more cottages erected in 1926]
Hotel Camp single men	50 [Hotel Camp was also known as Hostel Camp]
Contractor Howie's 20 families	80
Tradesmen's Mess	110
No 1 Daniels Mess	150 [Herbert Daniel was the Mess Caterer for No 1 Labourers.]
No 3 Sewer Camp Men's Labourers on top of Gap	100
	Say 700

<sup>3</sup> Call numbers changed following the move from Mitchell to Parkes ACT)

**Eastlake**

15 Tenements	60
37 Brick Cottages	148
Labourers' Camp	60
Engineers Mess	50

Say 300

**No 4 Sewer Camp** (Op Parliament House) 120

**Scott's Camp** (awn drays) 60

**Red Hill** 200

**Mugga Mess** 17

**Molonglo**

120 Tenements	600
Tradesmen's Mess	150

[750]

**Blandfordia**

19 Brick Cottages 95

**Westridge**

6 Brick Cottages 25

Single Tenements 19

[The single tenements were ex-Molonglo buildings re-erected in what is now Banks Street near the Forestry School.]

The following is a typed copy of a document found in Australian Archives that sets out the requirements for sanitation in camps.

**WORKMEN'S CAMP SITES AND SANITATION**

1. *When choosing a camp site bear in mind the length of time the occupation is likely to last, elevation, aspect, the neighbourhood of storm water, and convenience to the works; carefully select accordingly. If the water supply is to be taken from either a surface streams or well, no person should be allowed to camp above or within 100 yards of the point from which water is to be taken. Intercepting or diverting drains should, if necessary, be made to prevent the contamination of the water supply.*
2. *Avoid camp sites that have been recently occupied. High ground and the slope of a hill with grass are the best. Clay should be avoided and gravel or sand chosen. Although the neighbourhood of trees is desirable, avoid thick undergrowth. Rank vegetation indicates dampness of soil. River beds, ravines, depression, tilled or made ground should be avoided.*

3. *Ground should be prepared before pitching tents, and long grass, stones, and rubbish should be removed. Long grass and bushes within the camp harbour insects, hide refuse, and make it difficult to detect the fouling of the ground. The surface of the ground might be hardened by using all ashes from kitchen fires.*
4. *The form of the camp depends upon the space available, but in every case the tents should be arranged in an orderly manner. Enough space should be allowed to make it possible to occasionally shift every tent forward or to the side and thus allow ground covered by the tent to occasionally be exposed to the sun.*
5. *Whether the camp is to be occupied for a short or a long time, it is essential that the ground it covers should be kept clean, and this is materially aided by keeping the surface dry; in all camps channels should be cut to drain the ground, and to carry off rainwater from the trenches surrounding the tents.*
6. *Nothing should be allowed to foul the surfaces; it commonly happens that refuse from tents, such as meat-tins, bones, washings from the men's mess-tins &c, are thrown on the ground outside the tents and at night the men will urinate there, especially if the urine trenches are far away, and there is a want of supervision. All these cause fouling of the surface of the ground, and may become a grave source of disease.*
7. *There should be night urinals close to the lines, and men should be discharged for breaking the camp regulations. It may be necessary to dig special trenches; but wherever possible pans or tubs, one for each ten men, should be provided. A very useful urinal for night use can be made by filling a wheat sack with sawdust. This can be used without emptying for several weeks.*
8. *In standing camps an ablution place, for all washing, with proper gutters or drains and concrete floors, are necessary.*
9. *Kitchen refuse and grease readily decompose and become offensive. Rubbish bins must be used at all kitchens. Refuse must be burned or buried each day, care being taken that such method of disposal does not contaminate the water supply. Apply fire to all refuse. Burn everything that will burn; bury what the fire leaves.*
10. *Latrine should not be closer than 100 yards from the tents on the leeward side, and as far from the kitchens as possible to avoid the danger of flies passing from the latrines to the food. Ample chloride of lime or quicklime is needed for latrines and urinals to prevent contamination. Blue oil freely sprinkled over the trench contents daily is useful for the development of flies. Enforce the use of deodorants to be provided for latrines. If closet pans are used in the latrines, the contents must be buried 9" below ground level outside the lines of the camp, but if the cesspit method be adopted the pits must be filled in on the breaking up of camp, or as soon as the contents come within 9 inches of the surface of the ground.*
11. *The ground around latrines should be covered with cement concrete or ashes laid down as often as available.*
12. *Horse stalls or tethered ground must be kept very clean and horse dung removed daily, otherwise it will breed flies and get blown about into food and water. If*

*the horse dung or litter cannot be removed daily right away from the camp for manurial purposes, it should be burned or buried.*

Below is a detail from a Mildenhall photograph (Australian Archives) showing the burning of rubbish. Perhaps the same system of confining the burning rubbish may have been used in the camps. The detail is from a photograph showing men working near the Hotel Canberra in 1926.



Following is a typed copy of camp rules dated 1926. There is mention of cubicles that were beginning to be erected from 1926. The men of Westlake continued to live in tents.

FEDERAL CAPITAL COMMISSION

CAMP RULES

26/10/95

RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN CAMPS WITHIN THE FEDERAL TERRITORY.

Camp life is a necessity on all large Construction Works, and though it has many disadvantages, there is no need for it to be made unbearable by the disorderly conduct of a few.

If a man cannot live in Camp without being a nuisance to his fellow Campers, he is not wanted in the Territory.

1. No Tent or Cubicle or other accommodation, the property of the Commission, will be occupied by any person, and no employee will transfer from one camp to another unless he has received a Permit from the Camps and Tenements Section of the Industrial Branch.
2. No new camping structure or additions to existing structures will be erected within the Territory without written authority from the Commission.
3. No camp equipment, material or stores of any description, the property of the Commission, will be removed from any Camp without authority from the Camp Supervisor.
4. No motor or horse drawn vehicle shall be parked within any Camping Area, except at the place set apart for that purpose. No horse or animal of any description will be kept within the Camp lines.
5. No petrol or other inflammable liquid of a similar character will be kept in any tent or cubicle.
6. Rowdiness will not be tolerated in the Camp, Mess Room or Recreation Room.
7. Intoxicating liquors are not permitted to be brought into any of the Camp buildings.
8. Gambling will not be permitted within the precincts of any Camp.
9. Wax Matches are not to be brought within the Territory.
10. Rubbish or waste material of any kind must not be thrown about the Camping Area, but will be placed in the receptacles provided for that purpose.
11. Unnecessary use of water or electric light is prohibited.
12. No person is permitted to sleep or store goods in any Recreation or Dining Room.
13. All Tents or Cubicles must be cleaned out at least once daily by the occupier.
14. Any person found fouling the ground within the Area will be immediately removed from the Camp.
15. All electric lights in Cubicles, Recreation Rooms, Kitchens, and Dining Rooms must be extinguished at midnight.

FAILURE TO OBSERVE THE ABOVE RULES WILL INVOLVE THE DISMISSAL AND REMOVAL FROM THE CAMP OF OFFENDERS.

Ab266/6  
G26/1095  
Ave. A. S. S. S.

*Secretary*  
Herewith camp rules which  
are in force & posted in Camps.  
Kindly advise whether you intend  
to act on them.

### **Contemporary Reports on Camp Life by HLB Lasseter<sup>4</sup>**

In early 1926 HLB Lasseter came to the FCT to work as a carpenter. He wrote for the *Canberra Community News* - established under the auspices of the Social Service Association - under the nom-de-plume of *The Gleaner*. He made it a practice to visit the camps and wrote well about life in the territory at that time. Following are excerpts from his writings in that magazine.

11<sup>th</sup> March 1926

*To separate the unskilled from the skilled workers in the various camps appears an unwise move. This is a democratic country you know. St Valentine must have the city under his special care - there was no dust blowing on that Saint's day. [The strong winds, open plains and raw earth opened by construction work, made dust a big problem.] The postal arrangements at the various camps are most unsatisfactory. At present it costs about six pence a letter. [5cents a letter - at this time men's wages were around \$8 to \$10 per week.] Could not the Commission arrange with the postal officials to deliver mail to each camp in care of the camp steward, thereby obviating the necessity of the camp steward being absent when he should be guarding the property from fire and other loss, especially in canvas towns.*

*Capitol Hill steward is to be commended for the care taken and the improvements in appearance by planting flowers, etc. Will other stewards please follow this lead, so that we may obtain "bookays" for the girls we go courting?*

*White City canteen does a brisk trade and this should encourage the installations of canteens at each camp. It is creditably reported that 2000 pounds a week is spent in Queanbeyan by employees of the Territory, much of it on "the drop that cheers." Would it not be better to establish canteens where a man could get a drink if they want to, to the same rules that govern the Army and Navy - drink all you want on the place, but carry none away?...*

11<sup>th</sup> June 1926

*After making the rounds of the camps to gather impressions as to what most interests the people, I came to the opinion that two-up holds pride of place at the Tradesmen's Mess and No 1; football at Riverbourne,<sup>5</sup> Sewer, Molonglo and Northbourne; racing at Red Hill, Mugga Quarry, Ainslie, and politics at Capitol Hill...*

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<sup>4</sup> He came to Canberra in 1926 and remained until after the opening of Parliament in 1927. He lived initially at Northbourne Camp and after the arrival of his wife and new daughter, Betty, towards the end of 1926 he moved to married area of Russell Hill – site established in 1926 for men to build humpies for themselves and their families. After he left Canberra he returned to Kogarah in Sydney and thence to the Northern Territory and his ill fated trip to find gold. He died and was buried by Aboriginal people. His body was discovered by a film group who brought his body back to Alice Springs where his bones were reburied.

<sup>5</sup> Riverbourne was a married area where men constructed humpies to house themselves and their families. It was three miles from the Queanbeyan Post Office on the southern bank of the Molonglo River.

In other articles such as 11<sup>th</sup> October 1926, Lasseter noted that cricket pitches were laid down at White City, Causeway, Capitol Hill, Eastlake, Northbourne and South Ainslie. One had already been laid on the flat land on the eastern end of Stirling Park by Westlake men. In the 11<sup>th</sup> April 1927 issue he noted that the Tradesmen's Camp at Westlake *should put a brighter face on itself. Say, boys, why not spruce up a bit before the Dook arrives!*

### **The workmen and their leisure pursuits.**

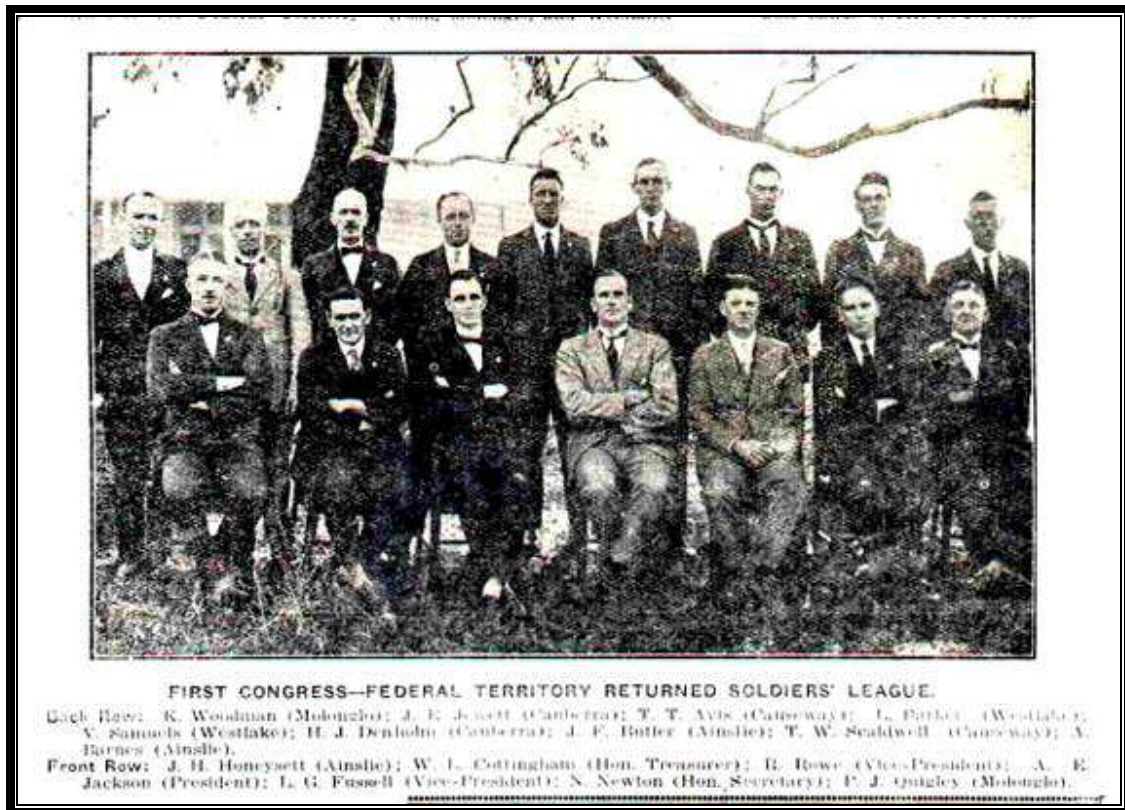
High on the priority of the men's activities were the sports referred to by Lasseter - football , cricket, horse racing and two-up being high on the list. Many of the men joined Friendly Societies such as the Druids and the ex-servicemen's RSS&AILA that was established in the mid 1920s in the Territory. Branches of the RSS&AILA were established in a number of centres such as Causeway and Westlake. In a time before Post Traumatic Stress was known, the *Smoko* evenings held by the men were probably the one of the few times these ex-servicemen had a chance to talk to others about their time in the trenches.



Left is a photograph of Acton Race Course that served as a paddock during the non-racing periods. It was on Springbank land and before the arrival of Europeans had on it a bora ground. Stirling Ridge is just across the river.

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It was established in 1925 and people moved to Russell Hill and other sites from 1926. The camp closed in 1927.



Above: Photograph in the *Canberra Community News* (1926) showing the representatives of the First Congress, Federal Territory Returned Soldiers' League. Back Row L-R K Woodman (Molonglo), JF Jewett (Canberra), TT Avis (Causeway), L Barker (Westlake), Vic Samuels (Westlake), HJ Denholm (Canberra), TW Scaddwell (Causeway), A Barnes (Ainslie). Front Row - JH Honeysett (Ainslie), WL Cunningham (Hon Treasurer), R Rowe (Vice President) AE Jackson (President), LG Fussell (Vice President), N Newton (Hon Secretary), PJ Quigley (Molonglo). The following three photographs are from the *Canberra Illustrated* issue Christmas 1925. The photograph below may have been from a Westlake Camp on the hillside opposite Lotus Bay. The other two are of men from different areas but are representative of the types of organizations that the men joined. Not represented in photographs in this section are the football teams that formed the major winter sport in Canberra.



SUNDAY MORNING SERVICE.

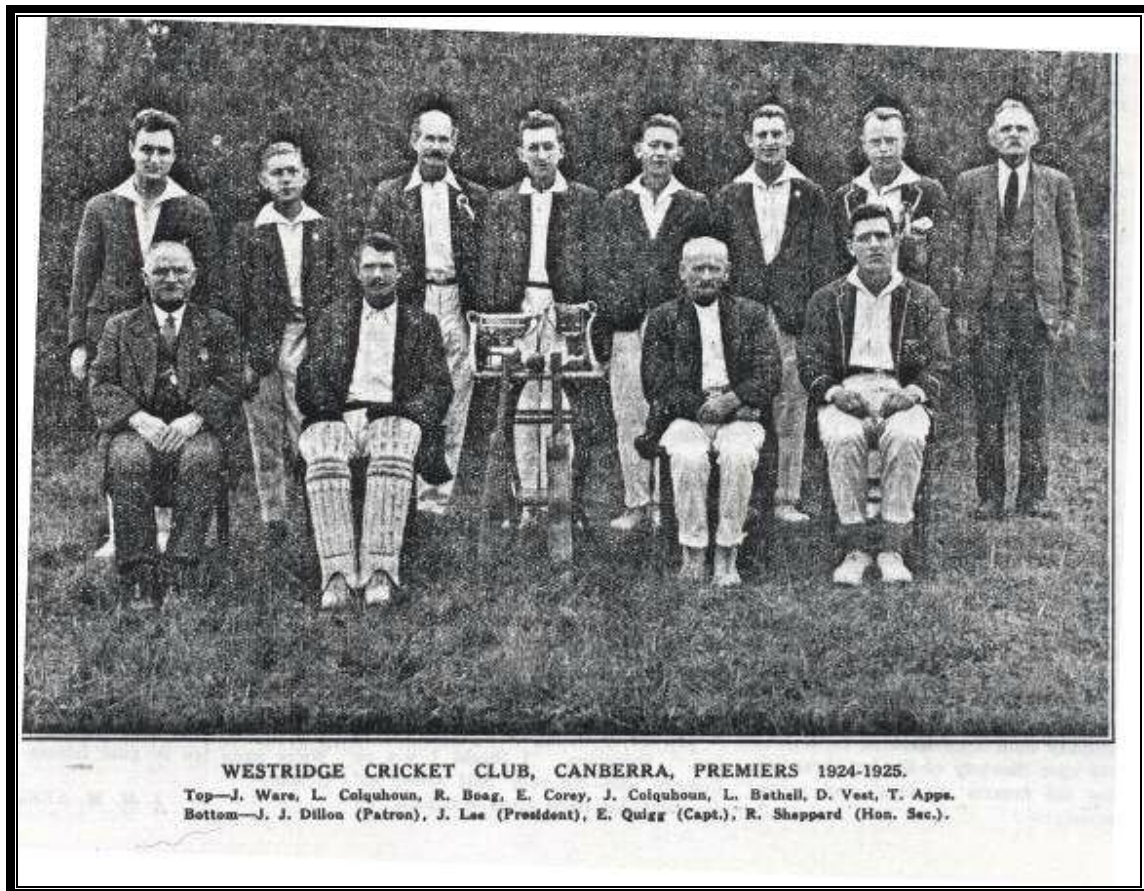


A NEW LODGE

Photo "Mail"

The new lodge of Ancient Order of Foresters recently opened at Canberra. The group is composed as follows:—Standing (left to right): H. C. Phillips, D.B., R. F. Watson, Secretary, F. S. Harrison, P.D.C.R., J. G. Baikie, D.C.R., W. L. Smith, D.M.C., John Stuart, D.S., H. E. Bosley, I.P.D.C.R., John West, M.H.R., M. Heselden, P.C.R. In front: W. L. Davies, D.M.C., W. H. Bosser, D.S.C.R.

The following is taken from the An- THE MOLONGLO PROGRESS



The majority of men in the camps used *Shanks' Pony* (walking) or bicycles as a means of transport. Some used horse and dray to get to work. One photograph of an accident at Molonglo in the mid

1920s (shown below) shows workmen having a look at the car that didn't make it across the earth bridge. Photograph courtesy Gallagher family

### **The Westlake Camps on the hillside opposite Lotus Bay & Capitol Hill**

Westlake between 1922 and 1927 was the site used to house men working on the main intercepting sewer (1922-1925) construction of Canberra's Provisional Parliament House<sup>6</sup> and the Hotel Canberra. The sewer men had their camp on the lower slope of Stirling Ridge near their worksite. Below the tents of this camp in *The Gap* the small timber cottages built for the married tradesmen working on the Provisional Parliament House were built. Two government single men's camps (Tradesmen & No 1 Labourers) were erected on the eastern side of the quagmire on the hillside opposite modern Lotus Bay and Capitol Hill. Also on the hillside opposite Lotus Bay on the western side of the quagmire was Contractor John Howie's settlement that consisted of timber cottages for his married men and timber barracks for his single men. The latter was known as the Hostel Camp. The men of Howie's built the Hotel Canberra and were the men who formed the Byrnes Club in 1924 and established the football and cricket field near Capital Hill. The Sewer Camp and Howie's settlement are discussed in separate sections.



Above is a 1990s photograph of Stirling Park with the sites of 29 & 39 Westlake Cottages marked. The hillside where Contractor John Howie established his settlement and the single men's camps (Tradesmen & May 1927 servicemen's camp) is opposite Lotus Bay (identified by the small dots – yachts & two promontories of land. No 1 Labourers Camp mid way between the curve of State Circle and Commonwealth Avenue (straight road that leads to Commonwealth Bridge).

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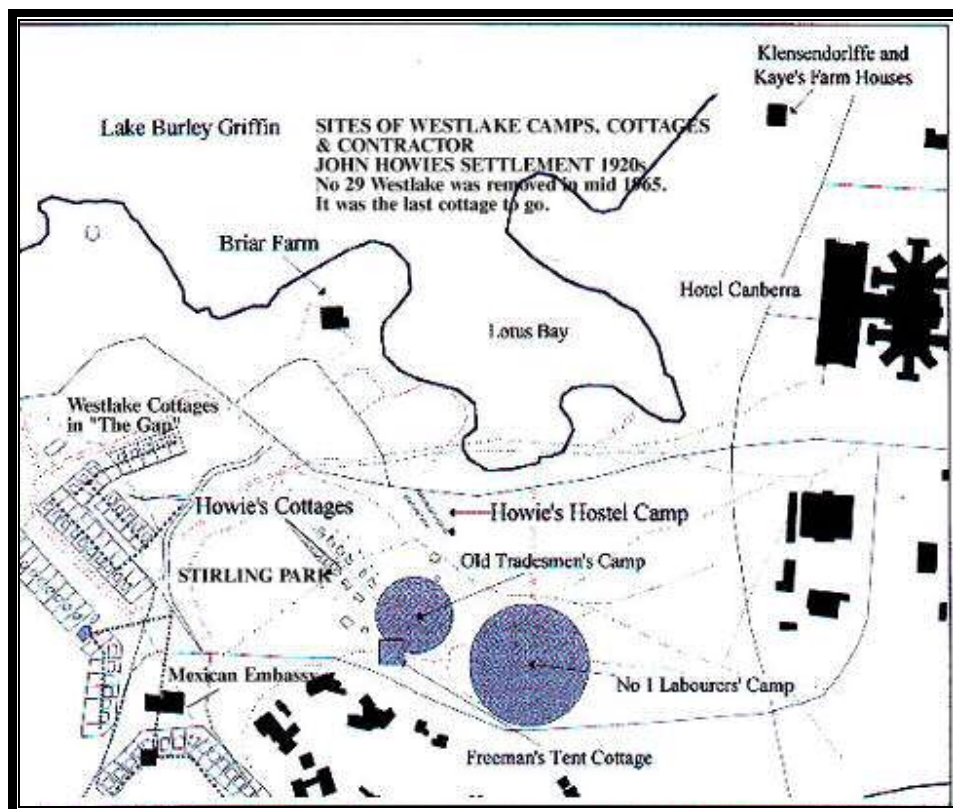
<sup>6</sup> Without this building and a hotel to house the politicians the move of the Federal Parliament from Melbourne to Canberra could not occur.



Right 1926 photograph of No 1 Labourers Camp. In the background is Black Mountain. The land below the camp and to the right is today part of Lake Burley Griffin.

Below is a mud map showing the sites of the camps. Missing from this map is No 3 Sewer Camp. The tents of this camp were established along the base of Stirling Ridge on the site later covered with Westlake Cottages 53-62. The Mess of No 3 later became the Westlake Hall. There is evidence of a number of

humpies belonging to No 3 built above the line of tents. Nearby to the camps and cottages were two farm houses - Briar Farm and Kaye's who tenanted Klensendorff's stone villa from 1854 until 1924. The original land grant was to William Klensendorff. This property was later leased to a number of tenant farmers. The area marked No 1 on this mud map was the site of the May 1927 Camp.



On the map is marked the site of Freeman's tent cottage that was probably the tent used by the Mess Caterer for the Tradesmen's Camp is also shown. This tent had wooden floors and sides. It was probably first used by Mrs Erikson, Mess Caterer for the Tradesmen's Camp. In 1924 she and her husband moved into a Westlake cottage and Arthur Freeman, ex-mess caterer for No 3 Sewer Camp moved with his family into this accommodation. This accommodation is discussed in the section on the Tradesmen's Camp.





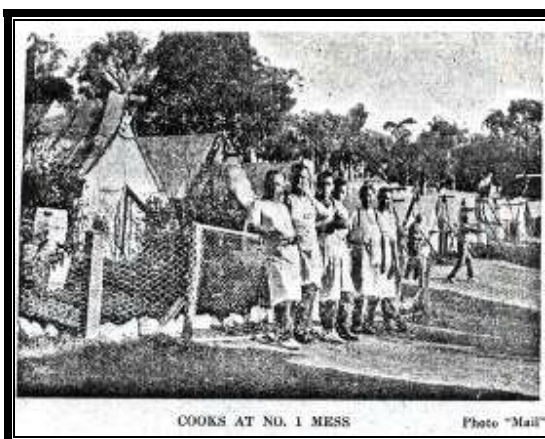
1926 photograph of the Tradesmen's Camp. Note the timber sides on the tents.



The 1890s road that cuts across the lower slope just above the treeline of the hill opposite Lotus Bay was a useful access road used by the camps. There are also roads above the camps (below modern Forster Crescent) and below. Evidence of the sites of the tents is found on the ground and on the hillside. The Tradesmen erected the majority of their tents on the lower side of the 1890 road

and the men of No 1 above and below. Each was nestled within a curved cove like section of hill. Below left is a May 1927 photograph showing the Police Camp on the lower slopes of the hill opposite Lotus Bay. In the background is the Tradesmen's Camp.

The men who lived in the tents had the *luxury* of a timber floor being provided. The Tradesmen's tents differed to the other camp tents in that they had timber sides to their temporary dwellings. All tents were placed in rows packed tightly together, which seemed an unnecessary camp regulation because of the available space around the site sites. Below are two photographs of the Cook's tents at No 1 Labourers Camp at Westlake. Some have bag walls – one noted with the brand *Kandos* (cement).

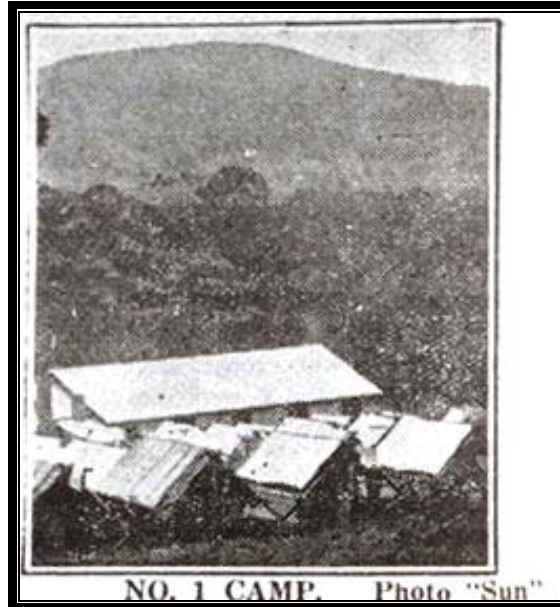


The photograph above left is of the Cooks' tents No 1 Camp 1925 comes from the Australian Archives collection Series No CRS A 3560, Item No 870. On the right is a photograph printed in *Canberra Illustrated* Christmas 1925 issue. Note the rock lined garden beds. These are the only photographs found that shows a garden in the area of the camps. One reason for the lack of gardens in general in the camp perhaps is that the majority of men living there were transient labourers. The cooks on the other hand were permanent members of the camps and had time during the day to tend to gardens built on stony ground. Below a general photograph of the men of No 1 1924 – CDHS photograph.

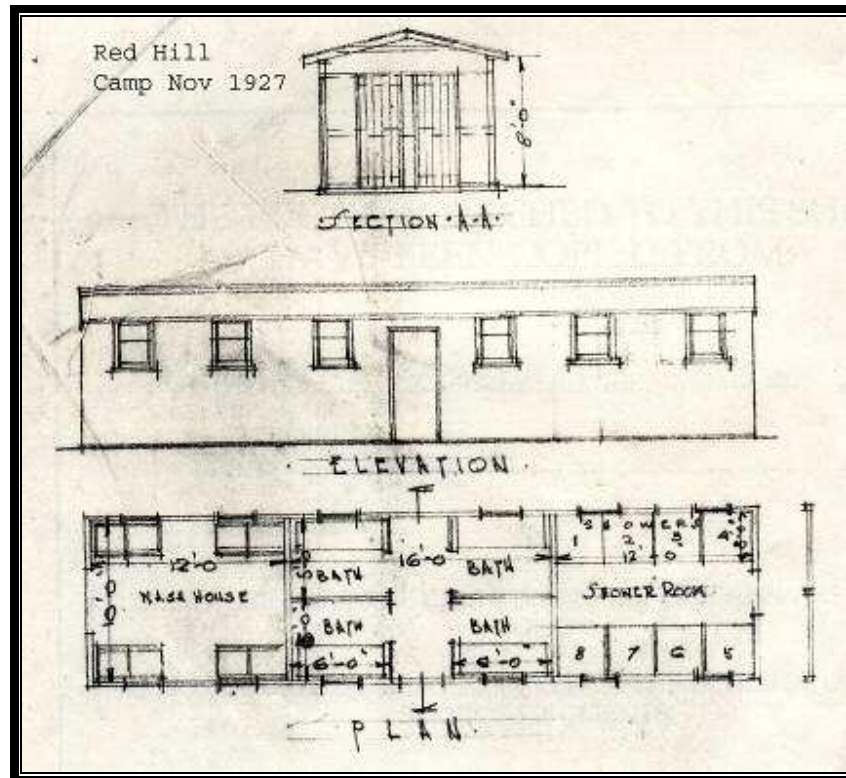


On the next page is a 1925 photograph of the camp taken by *Sun*. It appeared in the *Canberra Community News*. The numbers in the camp varied from between 100 to 150 according to the number of men employed in the area. This in turn meant that the tents that were tightly packed together in rows numbered from around 50 to 75. Below is a photograph that appeared in the *Canberra Community News* December 1926. It shows

a view of No 1 Labourers Camp with Black Mountain in the background. The long building that may be a Mess, Recreation or Bathing building shown in the photograph may have been the building that caused the shadow in the above photograph?



Below is a plan found in the Australian Archives [A2501/1 \AA400] for a new Bath Block at Red Hill Labourers Camp. It is dated 2/11/1927. The men of No 1 Westlake moved to Eastlake and Red Hill. The shape of the building is similar to the one shown above and may be the type used in this camp.



The numbers of men in each camp varied according to the requirements on the construction sites. The facilities were poor and bathing facilities primitive. Only cold water was provided for showers and baths. Usually a wood fired copper was supplied to heat water for baths.

Following and on the next page is a letter that gives some idea of the problems of camp life.

*Sec. Chief Commr. ACE*  
FEDERAL CAPITAL COMMISSION

JMcD/VT.

*Urgent*

*1/27/2800*  
*1/27/2800*

9th August, 1927.

MEMORANDUM for -

The Chief Engineer:

MESS CATERERS COMPLAINTS.

In connection with the Secretary's minute attached, it is pointed out that the Commissioner has verbally approved of a lease not exceeding 12 months in the case of caterers who are giving satisfactory service. I recommend that the following caterers be granted leases:-

Messrs Godfrey & Morrison	Eastlake Barracks.
J. Mitchell	Red Hill Labourers' Barracks.
J. Howe	Molonglo Tradesmens' Barracks.

It will be noted that I have not included Capitol Hill Tradesmens' Barracks in this recommendation. This is due to the fact that with the transfer of the Old Trades Mess, (now being run on a co-operative basis) to the Capitol Hill Tradesmens Barracks, a vote of the men will be taken as to whether or not Capitol Hill Barracks will be run on co-operative lines.

*Copy in  
trans file*  
The Caterer at White City, (Mrs Campbell), has assigned her estate and a new caterer may have to be appointed in the near future.

Mrs Townsend, who is about to take over the Brickworks Mess, is on 3 months trial owing to the unsatisfactory condition of the Mess recently occupied by her.

No. 1., Labourers' Camp will be abolished shortly and the men transferred to Eastlake and Red Hill Barracks.

The Caterer at Mount Ainslie Tradesmens Mess has only recently taken possession and it is too early yet to consider the granting of a lease.

The Caterers have requested that batchers be accommodated at other than Mess Camps but this is impossible as the Commission do not intend establishing any further camps.

The policy of this Branch has been to discourage, as far as possible, batching in any camps, but to lay down a hard and fast rule in connection with this matter would be to inflict hardships in those instances where married men with homes outside the Territory receive hampers and parcels of food from their homes in order to cut down their living expenses.

The Caterers also asked that private people be prevented from catering for men accommodated at the various Barracks. In this instance also it would not be advisable for the Commission to lay down a rule as it would savour of interference with the liberty of the subject.

It is pointed out that the system at present in operation provides for the accommodation of the Caterers' staff in cubicles, upon payment of the rates laid down.

*Chief Commr. Submitted  
for 1/27/2800*

*A6270/1  
1/30/184*

FEDERAL CAPITAL COMMISSION

- 2 -

9/27/2800

The Union Representatives have already been approached with a view to establishing a system to deduct the charge for board at the Messes from monies due as wages to employees, but have refused to allow this procedure.

Apart altogether from any opinion which the Unions may have on this matter, I would like to point out that deduction does not constitute payment, and a form of indemnity would have to be provided by each employee. It will be readily understood that this procedure would be unwieldy and would lead to endless confusion.

The Caterers have made continuous efforts to have the amount being charged for board increased, but it is considered that the rate at present being charged, namely 26/- per week, is adequate.

The losses to Caterers are confined to men leaving without paying their accounts but any Caterer with business instincts can soon institute a system to prevent these defalcations.

*McGowan*  
Industrial Officer./

The Secretary.

Forwarded of command in

*W. J. H. H.*  
Acty. Chief Engineer  
10/10/27.

A.C.E.

Will you please ask Mr. D. to explain for my benefit just what extra confusion would result - Will he also help the caterers by developing a system on paper to prevent defalcations - at least in the case of those "business" contracts?

I think a Draft reply should be submitted advising to the specific provisions asked by the caterers

I should like to discuss the provision of facilities to

1. Office  
for such report  
interest  
17/9/27  
Chief Engineer  
10/10/27

*McG*

A 6270/1  
E 2/30/184

Before the opening of the shops at Kingston in 1925 the nearest place to buy goods was the Co-operative Store at the Railway Station or Queanbeyan. Hawkers did come around the camps from time to time but that was illegal. Some of the camps had their own barber shops and boot repairing men. Others did have canteens with limited goods for sale.

The territory was dry and alcohol although forbidden made its way into the territory. Men in the camps managed to get regular supplies via a number of obliging people one of whom was George Sykes who had Canberra's first taxi. He lived in one of the camps until he married and in 1929 he moved into 29 Westlake where he remained until 1965. His house was the last to go from the area.

Empty beer and soda bottles were worth money as the deposit was paid on return. Even so, the men usually stacked them neatly in each camp and Westlake children were quite enterprising in collecting and returning such bottles. A story was told by Sergeant Cook, second policeman in charge of the FCT, that the bottles were collected by an



enterprising Sydney bottle collector who came to the FCT - went the rounds of the camps, collected bottles sufficient to fill a train. The bottles found today on the hillside are with the exception of the post camp eras, broken. Left are two 1960s NSW BOTTLE COMPANY beer bottles on the hillside left behind by the drinkers of Westlake probably on their way

home from the Hotel Canberra – six o'clock closing. No unbroken bottles have been found from the time of the camps. The earlier bottles were a similar size, colour and shape.

Several violent deaths took place during the lifetime of the camps. Two men burnt to death when their tent in No 1 Labourers Camp caught on fire. The likely cause was a candle falling over or a spark from the fire place. Many of the men built tin fireplaces attached to their tents in an attempt to keep warm during the severe Canberra winters. Another man at No 1 was stabbed during a drinking bout and died in the Canberra Hospital a short time later. Another, a returned soldier who was a heavy drinker, died in the Labourers' Camp of natural causes. His burial at St John the Baptist Church Cemetery was paid for by his mates at the camp.

On the next page is a detail from a CDHS photograph showing men of No 1 Camp. In the foreground are two beer bottles and nearby an *Arnott's* Biscuit tin. The reason for adding the beer bottles may relate to the drinking habits in the camp and the fact that the drinking of alcohol was forbidden in the camps and that Canberra was officially dry.



Many of the men in these camps were not single. They left families in other parts of Australia to find work in the territory. Up until 1925 when a decision was made to push the working hours back into five days instead of five and a half it was almost impossible



for the men to travel distances home on weekends to visit families. One chap, Frank Clowry who lived in the Tradesmen's Camp until a cottage became available at Westlake, rode his push bike home every fortnight to a village near Braidwood. There is a now famous story that when Mr Clowry was offered a lift by a chap driving his T model (near Bungendore), Mr Clowry replied in his usual gentle way - *No thank you kindly, I'm in a bit of hurry*. Since the driver was likely to stop at various spots for a drop or two of the amber liquid Mr Clowry was probably wise in his decision to continue on.

Above is a cartoon of Frank Clowry in the Christmas issue 1925 of *Canberra Illustrated*. He was the Carpenter Foreman in charge of Parliament House work.

Although children were officially not permitted in the camps at least two boys lived with their fathers. One was Ken Dinnerville. Ken, in his story in *Past Images, Present Voices* by Val Emerton, had the following to say about his accommodation with his father at Westlake: *I was only ten when my father brought me here from Sydney. We arrived in Queanbeyan at 3am and drove to Canberra in Dad's horse and sulky in what I think was the biggest frost and fog I have ever struck. My first home was in the Tradesmen's Mess at the Westlake camp, which was all tents. The tents had wooden floors and were quite*

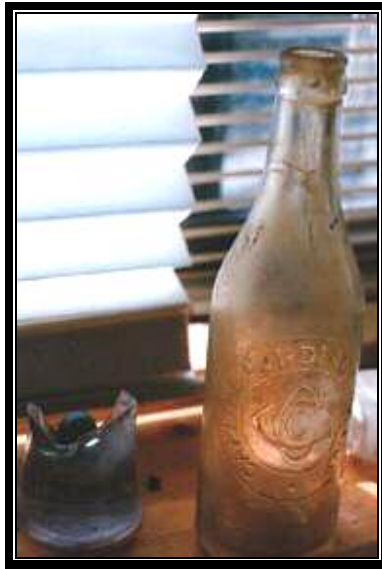
*warm and comfortable but I found it very cold in Canberra. My bed was made of two corn bags stuffed with straw in between two shafts. The camp was pretty wild and woolly then. The men used to play two-up - it was illegal, but they still played...[Ken's mother died during the time his father was in the armed forces and his aunts were concerned about the youngster staying in the camps and took him back to Sydney, but his father wanted him back]...so he left the camp and built us a one bedroom house near John Howie's Cottages using left-over materials - the best of Pacific maple. When he finished he called it the "Ut". The front garden beds were edged with empty beer bottles - there were plenty of them around at the time...*

Charlie Law, another Westlake lad, also recalled in his story in *True Tales from Canberra's Vanished Suburbs of Westlake, Westridge & Acton* that his father also lived at the Tradesmen's Camp until a Westlake house became available. The family owned a large dining room table that did not fit into the new cottage. Mr Law, a carpenter, took out his trusty saw and cut a section out of the middle of the table. Mrs Law was not amused. This family also has a story about keeping the glue for the Speaker's Chair (Parliament House) liquid. It had to be kept at the back of the wood fired stove and its aroma left much to be desired.

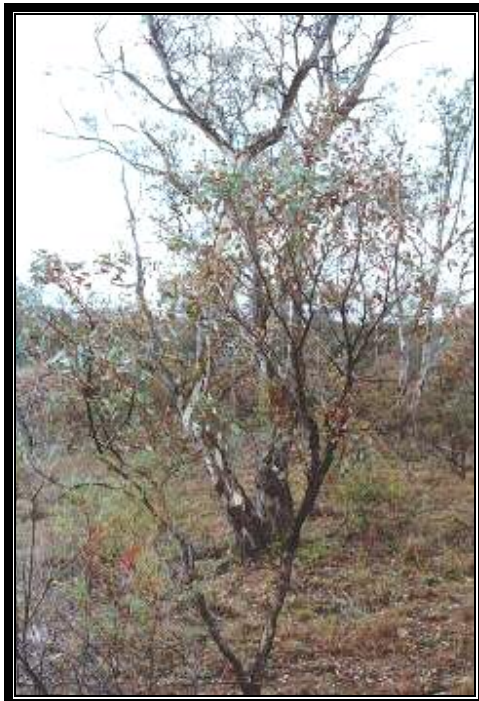
Following the closure of each camp the sites were cleared of most rubbish. Left behind are numerous burn up areas and small dumps. Still littering the ground are numerous small pieces of rubbish missed the big clean up. These surface after rain.

With the exception of the area of the shortlived May 1927 camp rubbish left behind by the men – single and married is found throughout the park. The rubbish - now called artifacts - shows that these men were not rich. The beer and cordial bottles found are usually broken. One enterprising Bottle-Oh from Sydney made the rounds of the Canberra Camps where he collected the beer bottles that were neatly stacked in piles in each camp. He managed to fill a train with them and upon his return to Sydney made a profit with the repaid deposits on the bottles. Cordial bottles also had a deposit paid on them. There are many fragments of beer and cordial bottles found on the hillside. Ginger Beer usually came in ceramic crocks and a few broken ones have also been found. The majority of beer bottles were NSW BOTTLE COMPANY and Email Resch. Arthur Freeman whose family moved into the Mess Caterer's Tent Tradesmen's Camp, remembered that Sheekeys delivered soft drinks to the camps once a fortnight. The ginger beer came in crockery crocks and on the hillside in various dumps or just left lying on the surface of the land following the departure of the men and families are numerous broken pieces of crocks.

Below is a later crock that shows the type of crock used. This one belonged to the Commonwealth Cordial Company of Queanbeyan and later Canberra. The bottles – shown right – had the CCC motif. The name was later changed to Capital Cordial Company (1930s onwards).



Still littering the hillside are the round tins of W&HO Wills tobacco, belt buckles, padlocks, glass, and crockery. One surprise was the find of fragments of a delicate tea cup and a silver plated teaspoon with C of A marked on it. It was probably thrown out accidentally. Below left is a photograph of a tree that has near it a small dump. It contained many broken beer bottles - and on the right is a photograph of some of the tin found nearby including W&HO Wills tobacco tin lid.





Above are examples of the types of bottles found on the sites of the camps. The photograph left shows pieces of NSW Bottle Company Beer Bottles – one piece is dated 1921. In the center is an Email Resch bottle. The bottle on the right is an unbroken codd bottle of the type found on the hillside (small fragments only). This type of soft drink bottle was broken by children to get the codd that was later used as a marble.

Below are photographs of artifacts found on the hillside. After rain more come to light.



During the period of drought during walks (June 2003) on the hillside opposite Lotus Bay I became aware of a number of small burn up areas that have a few artifacts scattered on the surface. Artifacts on the surface include a small number of broken bottles such as pickle jars, medicine jars, blue bottle, Coffee & Chicory bottles and fragments of NSW Bottle Company beer bottles with the date 1921. One bottle with only the neck missing has embossed on its clear glass, *Dr Blackman Queanbeyan*. Several of few fragments of white plate found have an embossed pattern of wheat grain, flowers and others

bows. This plate is a Johnson Brothers 1920 style. One fragment of fine pottery cup has a small gold motif found in a house dump site at Howie's Cottages. [I think that these dumps were used by Howie's men after the camps closed.]

The earth where these objects were found indicate that fires had been lit to burn rubbish and each is near holes dug into the earth probably used to take water from washing? A number of gum trees on the hillside have small holes dug near their trunks on the upper side of the hill. Perhaps these too were used to take waste water. None had rubbish in them.

Below is a photograph taken in June 2003. Behind the big tree in the center of the photograph is another old gum tree. Several large burn up areas were found in this area. I had walked over them for years and it was not until 2003 that the rubbish on the surface hidden by grass for so many years was seen. Pieces of white plate, Coffee bottles, broken ornaments and tools were thrown on to the pile of rubbish. Several other burn up areas were found including one over near Camp Hill.



Below is a photograph of a dump with blackened earth indicating that this was a burn up area. Another second large burn up area was later found nearby. To hold the rubbish down during the time of burning pieces of brick and some rocks were thrown on the fire. Below left is a photograph of one of the broken bricks - note the double frog mark. Bricks such as this were used in the foundations of the Provisional Parliament House and are found on the sites of Howie's and Tradesmen's Camp. Some have the frog indent on one side only. The photograph on the right shows the area near the dump - one of the large holes that dot the landscape in this area.



Amongst the fragments found on the surface of this dump is a nail, a cleat of the type used on the light rail (sewer), pieces of tin, fragment of timber, pieces of white plate - one with a motif of a similar type found in a Howie's Cottage dump, a 19<sup>th</sup> century light blue bottle, numerous condiment bottles - three necks with tin screw top still in situ, nail, 1921 NSW Company beer bottle pieces (2), broken horse shoe, fragments of white plate and cups.

Below left is a detail of one of the dug drains leading to the hole shown in the photograph on the right. Also in the right hand photograph is the site of the dump - greener than the surrounding land. In the background top centre right is one of the pine trees in the yard of Lord Casey's house. Several other burn up areas have come to light in this area as the effects of the long drought continue.



Below left is a detail showing burnt earth in the dump. On the right is a piece of Canberra Tile from the Canberra Brickyards and a piece of bottle. Both were found in the dump next to the one shown below left.



Further to the east of the dumps shown earlier is one of the major tracks in the area. A detail is shown in the above photograph. It goes from the camp areas towards Capital Hill. Nearby is this area with a number of large holes and the vine that was often grown near outdoor lavatories. On the next page right is a detail of the rock. Following documenting the rock arrangements found throughout the park it is likely that this rock is part of the Aboriginal history of the parkland. There are several sites in the park where large rocks have depressions dug around them. It is likely that the rock and depression were incorporated into a drainage system used by the men of No 1. Nearby



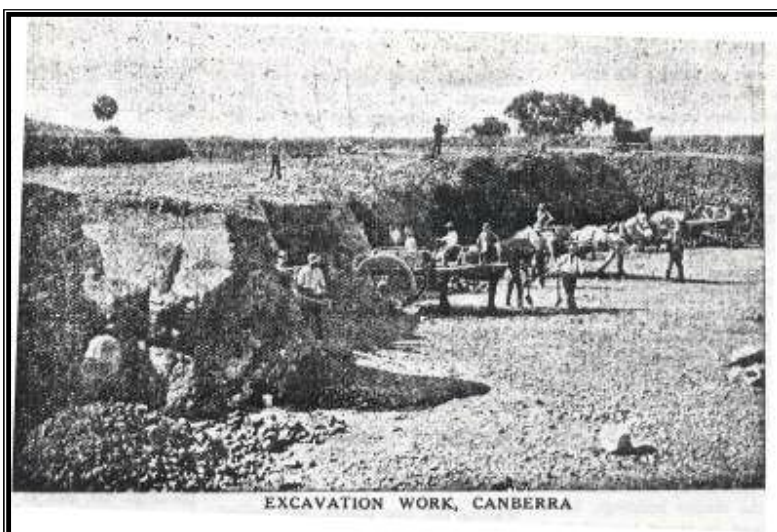
(see background photograph on the left) is a vine that was often grown near outdoor lavatories.



A few documents refer to a Westlake Horse Camp. Exactly where this camp was is not known. It may be that it was part of the Labourers Camp? [In 2008 a photograph owned by Ron Baum whose father worked in 1927 for the Monolyte company –camp on Red Hill – showed me a photograph of the Red Hill Horse camp – it was near Latrobe Park – see the file on the Red Hill Camps.]



Above right is a detail from a Mildenhall photograph in Australian Archives showing men working near the Provisional Parliament House (1926). It is likely that these men lived at Westlake. Note the use of horses.



Left is a photograph in *Canberra Illustrated* 1925 Christmas Issue that shows men and their horses at work. Construction work in Canberra was labour intensive with very few machines used to assist workers. The horse was integral to construction work.

### **No 1 Labourers Camp, Westlake – The Site**

May 1923 No 1 Labourers Camp established at Westlake.<sup>7</sup> In late 1927 it was moved to another site on Red Hill. Reference to the move to Westlake is found in a note in Australian Archives CP464/3/1 Bundle 1/B968. It states that the occupants of No 1 Workmen's Mess (H Daniel Caterer) *are notified that all rooms and tents to be vacated by 13<sup>th</sup> May, 1924*. Tents were to be ready at Westlake for the men. This camp was due to be pulled down circa August 1927 and the men moved into cubicles at Red Hill.

In the background of the above photograph is the Brazilian Embassy in Forster Crescent.

### **Background Information relating to the post World War One beginnings of No One Labourers Camp, Westlake<sup>8</sup>**

No 1 Labourers Camp was established in the post war years in two camps – one at Civic and the other at Eastlake. Many of the men who made up the members of the camp were unemployed ex-servicemen sent to the FCT to work. An earlier camp is mentioned in some documents on the slopes of Mt Pleasant.

Australian Archives holds a number of documents related to the establishment of the Labourers Camps in FCT. After World War 1 there was high unemployment amongst the unskilled workforce. To lure skilled Tradesmen from the building booms of Melbourne and Sydney the FCAC (Federal Capital Advisory Committee) had a limited building programme to provide housing for number of married tradesmen, but nothing for married labourers.

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<sup>7</sup> A number of documents refer to the site as being part of Capital Hill. Aerial photographs show that Camp Hill, Capital Hill and the hills in Stirling Ridge are all part of the same formation.

<sup>8</sup> This camp is discussed in this section only. The Tradesmen's Camp has additional information added in a separate chapter.

There was concern by parliamentarians and the RSS&AILA about the numbers of unskilled ex-servicemen unable to get work and the shortage of labourers in the FCT. A plan was put in place to bring unskilled ex-servicemen from other parts of Australia to the construction sites of the FCT (Australian Archives A199/2/95). The men were chosen by the RSS&AILA from Victoria, NSW, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania.

Documents quoted from below give some idea of the problems faced by the men and the organizers.

**7th April, 1922** arrangements were made for fifty men to be delivered to Canberra on or about Monday 17th April, 1922. The selection of the first fifty men by the RSS&ILA was made by 11th April, 1922. The Department of Supply was to make arrangements for Mess Buildings, Mess tables and benches, kitchen and firewood. Caterers were to be appointed. The rail fares were paid for the men, however they were expected to repay the money from their first two weeks' wages.

**11th April, 1922** document stated that 50 men were due to arrive in Canberra the following week and were to work with pick and shovel on road construction. 50 were to arrive in about ten days time and work in the Weetangera area; 50 to work on excavations for the Hostel [Hotel Canberra] and another 50 to be absorbed on work on the sewer – a total of 200 ex-service men.

PT Owen<sup>9</sup> was in charge of the work in Canberra and arrangements were made for four men to be assigned to each 12 foot x 14 foot tent. As there were not sufficient tents for the expected men Sydney was telegraphed to supply an additional 14. Rental of 9 pence per man was charged each week. When the men arrived they found no blankets supplied and each tent was big enough for three men not four.

The arrival of the ex-servicemen also heralded the first strike in the Territory. A document in Australian Archives (A1/1 22/7034) and dated **20th April 1922** mentions the proposal of the authorities intention to increase working hours and reduce wages. The August dated 21<sup>st</sup> April, 1922 reported the incident. The article in part reads:

*A message from Queanbeyan tonight states that the sewer and roads workmen are on strike, although the brickyards and power houses are working there is a likelihood of cessation at any moment, it is reported that 50 men who have just arrived will not work. A meeting of the builders' labourers union who are employed at Canberra will be held at Sydney tomorrow, to decide what action shall be taken on the proposal to reduce wages and lengthen working hours...about 250 men affected.*

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<sup>9</sup> The surveyors and other early officials who lived in tents before cottages and Bachelors Quarters at Acton provided more substantial accommodation had their own tent. Some photographs show men of this class in their tents with luxuries of rugs on the floor etc. The idea of one tent being shared by four men is ludicrous.

The list for the first 25 men selected by RSS&ILA 12.4.1922 follows:

(Note the number of married men who left wife and families behind to come to FCT to work.)

<b>Name</b>	<b>Address</b>	<b>S/M Remarks</b>	<b>Work</b>
JJ Shepherd	144 Ballair St Kensington	S remounts	lab
J Lee	32 Charles St Prahan	M 7th Btn	lab
ET Kinninmont	189 A'Beckett St, City	M 60th	pick & shovel
ET Wallace	Vict St Altona	M 5th Btn	pick & shovel
A Moles	4185 Canterbury Rd	Middle Ph M 6th	pick & shovel
H Quinn	Booths Home, Lonsdale St City	S	miner
S McMillan	14 Edward St Elsternwick	S 59th	labourer
JP Kelt	19 Nimmo St Middle Park	S 58th	miner
LJ Coverdale	40 Caroline St Clifton Hill	S 5th	hand & drill
LJ Cleverdale (crossed out)			
E Powers	36 David St East Brunswick	S 1st tunneling Co	miner
JH Flood	126 Napier St, S Melbourne	14th Btn	labourer
A Waters	255 Victoria Parade EM	M 1st Pioneers	labourer
WH Haviell	Gordon House, Little Bourke St City	Widower, reinforcements	labourer
AJ Wylie	Arondale Rd, Chelsie	M 7th Btn	labourer
J Drayton	35 Milton St W Melb	M 8th Btn	labourer
J Drayton (crossed out)			
C Bishop	Gordon House, Little Bourke St City	M 2nd Tunnel Co	miner
W West	125 Queensberry Street N Melbourne	M 5th Pioneer	labourer
J O'Rourke	33 Stead St S Melbourne	S 3rd Pioneer	labourer
AJ Bannister	Royal Standard House, Little Bourke St Melbourne	M 60 <sup>th</sup>	labourer
HN Podger	147 Johnstone St Fitzroy	M Navy	pick & shovel
GL Podger	217 Young St Nth Fitzroy	S 24th Btn	labourer
J Armstrong	27 Creswick St Hawthorn	M 21st Btn	labourer
John Morley	71 Palmerston St Carlton	M 24th Btn	labourer

A further batch of 25 men was to arrive on the 21st inst. This group was due to leave on 18th April, 1922. The first lot were due to arrive in Queanbeyan at 4.15 am on Wednesday the 19<sup>th</sup> April, 1922.

Sir Austin Chapman MP in the House of Representatives, Canberra wrote a letter on 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1922 stating that the men had not been supplied with blankets and that the tents supplied were too small for four men and suggested that only three be accommodated and the rent be reduced to 6 pence per week. The RSS&AILA wanted to know where the men were to camp. PT Owen asked about Hope's gang at Russell Reservoir and Ainslie Channel (storm water).

**6th May, 1922** a further 50 tents were to be supplied. 16th May, 1922 the tents for the ex-servicemen had arrived and the supplies on the 29th. This camp was on the north side – Mt Ainslie and or Mt Pleasant area.

**29th May, 1922** 25 ex-soldiers arrived from NSW. At that time the camp for the men was nearly complete. The men were expected to provide their own cook. They did not.

A telegram to the Director at Melbourne said that 50 men could be used at Ainslie. Following is the list of the first men to arrive and commence work in FCT on 30th May, 1922. (The actual number was 47 – and some were the 25 mentioned as coming from NSW?).

J Lee, E J Waller, A Moles, J Wilson, LJ Coverdale, JH Flood, A Waters, WH Haviell, J Drayton, HN Podgers, G L Podgers, J Armstrong, H Emerson, M Marks, WH Loveland, BA Henessy, H Hines, JF Carroll, T Farrell, E Smith, W Flanagan, WE Hill, R Chisholm, J Grove, GA Bull, A Harris, JS Gibbons, LG Laurie, McGrath, H Rigby, L Crook, J Goddard, H Thornton, NA Beattie, J Rooney, D Kelly, J Clancy, C Andre, RJ Andre, R Reynolds, JP Kelt, P Paull, E Pike, W West, J Copeland, JJ Ryan, C Roberts.

**On 9th May, 1922** HM Rolland, Works Director and architect had a list of men who arrived– ten did not report for duty. Another note mentions that men who arrived on the 29th May, 1922 were anxious to obtain the services of Daniels, the Caterer for the Eastlake Soldiers' Camp. Herbert Daniels did work for a time for No 1 Labourers Camp at Civic (Ainslie) and then in 1922 moved to No 1 Labourers' Camp at Eastlake. When No 1 Labourers Camp moved to Westlake in 1924 Herbert Daniel moved with them and obtained accommodation in one of the newly erected temporary portable timber cottages at Westlake. The men of No 1 worked on the erection of the Provisional Parliament House and surrounds. They probably dug the foundations for Hostel No 1 (Hotel Canberra).

The project of moving ex-servicemen to Canberra to work was not a complete success. On 4th July, 1922 one of the ex-servicemen from NSW was found to be suffering from a contagious disease which was a menace to the general health of the district. Another report dated 14th July, 1922 stated that the men were not up to the standard expected and so on. Following is a list of the men who left by 12th August, 1922

<b>Name</b>	<b>From</b>	<b>Date/reason</b>
C Andre	Melbourne	10.8.22 voluntary
RJ Andre	Melbourne	5.8.22 voluntary
G Bull	Melbourne	Cleared out
J Armstrong	Melbourne	7.8.1922 voluntary
RF	Melbourne	Cleared out
J Carroll	Melbourne	28.6.1922 voluntary
L Crook	Melbourne	30.5.1922 voluntary

J Clancy	Melbourne	5.6.1922 voluntary
W Flanagan	Melbourne	11.7.1922 L7S
FJ Daveron	Sydney	29.6.1922 voluntary
F Farrell	Melbourne	22.5.1922 voluntary
Ferguson	Sydney	8.6.1922 voluntary
J Groves	Melbourne	24.7.1922 voluntary
WH Haviell	Melbourne	22.5.1922 cleared out
EH Hennessy	Melbourne	10.8.1922 voluntary
H Hines	Melbourne	5.7.1922 incurable illness
H Jones	Sydney	5.7.1922 voluntary
F Johnson	Sydney	29.6.1922 voluntary
D Kelly	Melbourne	25.7.1922 voluntary
J Lee	Melbourne	5.8.1922 discharged
L McGrath	Melbourne	25.7.1922 discharged
JC McGrogan	Queanbeyan	7.11.1922 voluntary
R McCauley	Queanbeyan	11.7.1922 voluntary
F North	Bungendore	8.7.1922 voluntary
JP Paull	Melbourne	5.8.1922 discharged
M O'Rourke	Queanbeyan	29.6.1922 voluntary
FN Pickering	Sydney	29.6.1922 voluntary
C Roberts	Melbourne	5.8.1922 discharged
J Rooney	Melbourne	11.5.1922 voluntary
RB Stowe	Queanbeyan	25.7.1922 voluntary
EJ Wallis	Melbourne	6.6.1922 voluntary
A Waters	Melbourne	7.6.1922 voluntary
W West	Melbourne	1.6.1922 voluntary
F Wilson	Queanbeyan	10.7.1922 voluntary
F White	Sydney	8.7.1922 discharged
JP Woods	Bungendore	29.6.1922 voluntary
W Woods	Bungendore	21.9.1922 voluntary
R Chisholm	Melbourne	7.8.1922 voluntary

The total number who departed were: 40

29 left voluntarily, 3 cleared out, 6 discharged and 1 had an incurable disease.

On **12th August 1922** R Chisholm was given a rail ticket to enable him to return to Canberra.

**14th August, 1922** L McGrath (from Melbourne) was granted leave and he along with others were told to draw their time following returning under the influence of liquor.

Other notes in the file state that blankets were sold to the ex-servicemen for 5/3d each and one of the sellers kept the money. He was sentenced to time in Goulburn Gaol.

## General Photographs of Labourers in Canberra in the 1920s.

Below is a 1926 photograph of the men of Northbourne Camp. Harold Lasseter is second from the right in the top row. The family who loaned the photograph are descendents of Mr Biddle's who is the man second from the right in the cardigan. Note that many of the men have a white forehead. They wore hats.





Above Capitol Hill Mess in 1928. The lady on the left is pouring beer which suggests that this photograph was taken shortly after the revoking of the no alcohol law in the territory. Cecily Hinckman (nee Roberts) is seated on the right. Her brother is the man wearing braces above her to the left. Her mother, Mrs Stanley, Mess Caterer is standing in the doorway top left. Arthur Freeman, whose father was the first Mess Caterer at No 3 Sewer Camp at Westlake and later moved from the Mess buildings there to the Mess Caterers tent on the hill opposite Lotus Bay, told me that his family used to walk over to Capitol Hill Mess where they played cards with Mrs Stanley and her husband. Below is a photograph of the new Sanitation Vehicle with solid rubber tyres. It went into service 28<sup>th</sup> July 1927. It is unlikely that it was used to collect the pans at Westlake. The horse and dray system was probably still in use in that area.

