

## First flights in South Australia's systematic beekeeping and honey harvesting

### Second part

**Bridget Jolly**



Five cups, or cells, in which young queen bees are growing, below hexagonal comb cells.<sup>1</sup>

### A glance at the past

In the decade after the founding of the province, in 1846 Jacob Pitman, an architect-builder from London, was described as the owner of a hive for a country gentleman made after Nutt's English patent. This most likely was Nutt's Collateral hive (figures 1 and 2). At the time, the lack of increase in the province of exotic bees was attributed to both 'ants and the want of proper hives'.<sup>2</sup> As honey-harvesting from Nutt's hive did not disturb, much less kill, the bees it might have been hailed as a useful tool. But it was not available to those of little means, and therefore not used widely, appearing to be a contrivance unsuited to pioneer conditions.

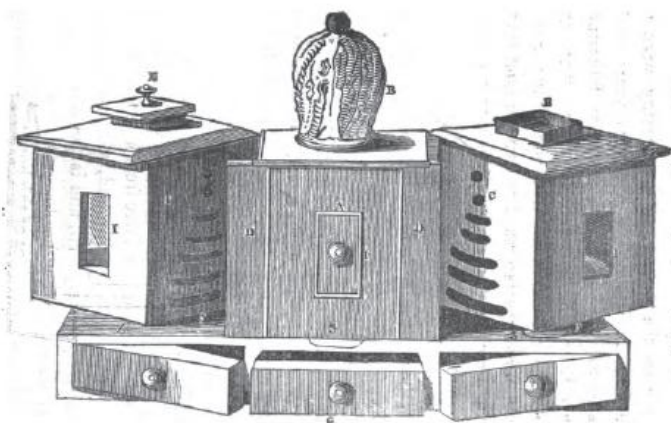


Figure 1. A set of Thomas Nutt's collateral bee-boxes both open and detached, seen from the rear. A decorative bell glass with comb inside sits in the centre (<http://books.google.com.au>, accessed 19.9.2010).

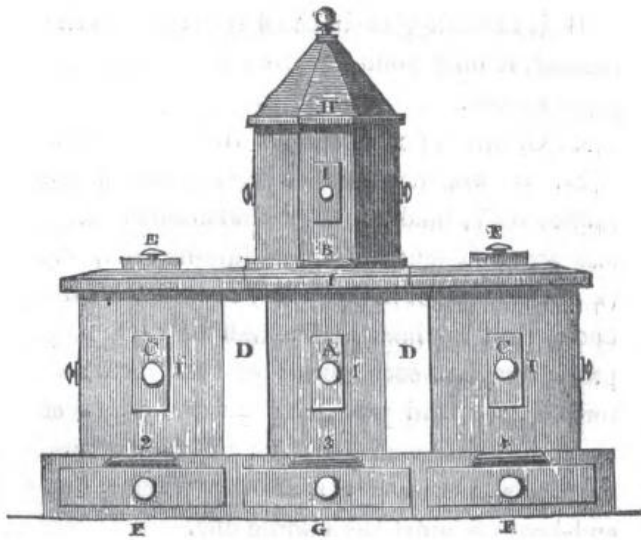


Figure 2. Nutt's collateral hive closed. Rear view. The bell glass is protected in the octagonal house (<http://books.google.com.au>, accessed 19.9.2010).<sup>3</sup>

Yet, holdings of bee colonies multiplied, albeit slowly. Robert Marsh recorded in 1913 that he had brought bees with him from England on 24 December 1849. He placed them on land where 'the Asylum' (later the site of Glenside Mental Hospital) was built, near Glen Osmond Road, and later he formed an apiary on the section opposite the present-day suburb of Goodwood, which at that time was farming land.<sup>4</sup> So, having a small population and hard-working bees, by the late 1890s a honey glut was given as a reason to develop European markets for this produce. The adoption of Langstroth-principle hives served production far more efficiently than would Nutt's or other complex hives, and by 1906-1910 beekeepers established their support, although somewhat sporadically, for a regular honey supply to Britain. The following observations and comments are mere glimpses at how South Australian beekeeping fared to the end of the Great War.

### **In 'the interests of a most natural and pleasing industry'**<sup>5</sup>

Perhaps Johann Weidenhöfer accounted for the stringent economic climate of the later 1880s when he suggested to the 'Vegetable Products' committee in 1887 that the position of bookkeeper might be joined to that of apiary inspector (and offered his friend August Fiebig for the position). The reading of the Foul Brood Bill quoted Weidenhöfer's submission to that committee:

It is as necessary to stamp out this disease amongst bees as it is to eradicate smallpox among the human race . . . . [W]hen in the beginning of the season 1884 I had 46 colonies, and the disease was showing itself, but I did not take any active steps to get rid of it [at the season's end I had only six colonies and] not very strong in numbers. [Now free of the disease, each hive numbers from 50 000 to 60 000 bees].<sup>6</sup>

Initially, private gumption filled the gap in providing the needed inspector. Robert Homburg of the Central Agricultural Bureau arranged with the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Arthur Bonney's employer, the Engineer-in-Chief, to allow Bonney to 'make a tour (at his own expense)' to beekeeping centres to lecture and instruct 'in the methods of modern bee management', including the detection and cure of Foul Brood.<sup>7</sup> If it were ever printed, he probably distributed the pamphlet on the legislation and methods to destroy Foul Brood that the SA Beekeepers' Association intended to issue in both English and German.<sup>8</sup> Later, the new government-sponsored honey export trade seemed adrift without some production control, and economic advantage certainly favoured inspectorial authority.

Across the State police constables added inspection under the Foul Brood Act<sup>9</sup> to their many other duties; in 1891, for example, E. Wilson, an inspector of Working Men's Blocks, and Mounted Constable H. Panton of Minlaton were appointed inspectors.<sup>10</sup> The number of such *ad hoc* appointments is not known here. Almost three years after the Bill was enacted, in late 1890, the SA Beekeepers' Association noted recent legislation found necessary to control bee diseases in Canada and Germany, and the agitation for similar legislation in England,<sup>11</sup> and decided – as it was to do many times over in future years – that the appointment of a dedicated inspector in South Australia was long overdue.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Early Inspectors of Apiaries under the Act***

#### ***George Quinn***

George Quinn, who became the Chief Horticultural Instructor, and the Chief Inspector of Fruit, was made inspector under the Foul Brood Act in 1894 (figure 3). In 1907 Quinn, when Horticultural Instructor, visited New Zealand where he was 'much interested in the fine object lessons' for graziers and for apiarists, in the form of a model apiary; but

however deeply impressed he was, these were not strictly his work's province.<sup>13</sup> Quinn felt his knowledge of bee culture was inadequate to maintain his responsibility, and added to this reluctance was the increased work of the horticultural inspectors in the early 1900s due to Commerce and Quarantine Acts brought into being by Australian Federation.

Quinn must have felt relieved when asked if he knew of an officer capable of becoming Inspector. He suggested the orchardist Sydney Curnow of Cherry Gardens, a part-time orchard inspector, and a beekeeper who had been 'mixed up with bees in an extensive way at Wirrabara and elsewhere for many years.'<sup>14</sup> However, Quinn's September 1909 report noted the appointment as Inspector, at the request of the SA Beekeepers' Association, of C.G. Gurr. Quinn was to direct his operations, although he admitted to being unable 'to do justice to an important body of producers.'<sup>15</sup> Quinn's obituary in the *Journal of Agriculture* did not note his apiary work.

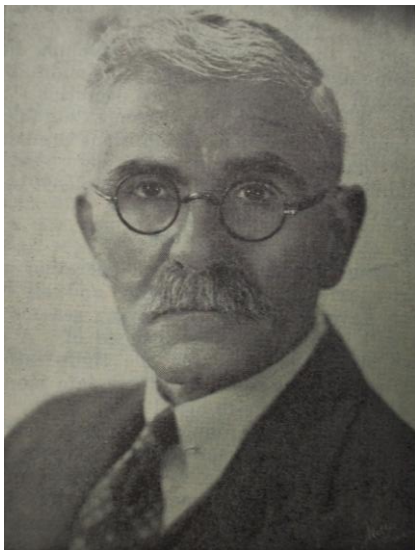


Figure 3. George Quinn, who died in 1943, was with the Department of Agriculture from 1894 to 1935 ('George Quinn', *Journal of Agriculture*, January-February 1943, p.137. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

### ***Caleb George Gurr (1856-1929)***

In 1907 South Australia had 24,866 hives; during the 1908 season there were 23,630 hives (by comparison, Victoria had 43,212 hives).<sup>16</sup> The SA Beekeepers' Association's half-yearly meeting in 1908 showed forty-four members on the books, whereas twenty-seven was the total shown at the previous meeting.<sup>17</sup> Although beekeepers' numbers were

only slowly increasing, their assertiveness was growing, informed members were very concerned about constraining Foul Brood, and in 1908 the Association requested the appointment of an expert beekeeper as inspector. At the time, Samuel Mitchell, MP, was president, and the accountant, Caleb Gurr, was secretary of the Association. The appointment of an Inspector of Foul Brood was recommended by ballot paper returned from every known beekeeper in the State (only three members opposed the move), and subsequent election slips resulted in the recommendation of the 53-year old Caleb George Gurr (figure 4).<sup>18</sup>



Figure 4. Caleb Gurr was an auditor, later councillor, then mayor (1891-1892 and 1899-1900) of the City of Unley (Courtesy of the Unley Museum).

Gurr received 12/- a day while inspecting, the amount suggested by Quinn and determined by the widely scattered nature of the apiaries, and 8/- a day for trap hire and other travelling expenses. The 'appointment and arranging were only half-hearted', Gurr said; and to persuade a continuing appointment, in December 1909 he proclaimed to the government that 'the experimental stage is passed & the value of an Inspector substantiated.'<sup>19</sup> He was re-appointed for six months from late January 1910 while George Quinn, still not free from this unwelcome yoke, was ordered to draw up suggestions for the work of future inspectors.



Over some twenty days in the year to the Spring of 1910, Gurr inspected forty-nine apiaries with a total of 2,959 hives in the Barossa, Flaxman's, and Eden Valleys, and south at Kangarilla, O'Halloran Hill and Noarlunga. Many of his earlier inspections were north of Adelaide city, at Sandy Creek, nearby Williamstown (where he spoke to beekeepers just before Christmas 1909 in the church Sunday school), and Salisbury.

Gurr began beekeeping in about 1881, becoming secretary of the SA Beekeepers' Association some ten years later. He was instrumental in forming the new beekeepers' association in 1906. When in 1907 the Victorian Apiarists' Association wanted to contact leading beekeepers in South Australia – for 'working cooperation' with the recently re-formed South Australian Beekeepers' Association – Gurr suggested A. Wild of Williamstown, O. Hannaford of Gumeracha, W. Halliwell of Fulham, and J.J. Drage of East Adelaide.<sup>20</sup> Many of the pioneering generation, but not necessarily their descendants, were by now out of the picture.

In presenting his credentials for the position of Inspector, Gurr seems strangely to have devalued the decisive and professional contributions of Arthur Bonney in establishing 'systematic' South Australian beekeeping. Gurr wrote to the Commissioner of Crown Lands:

A.E. Bonney was a coworker [*sic*] with me in the old Association & he will know something of my work altho, I think he, with most of the other old members, gave up the Hobby, but I have stuck to it all through ... and ... I started the present Beekeepers Association.<sup>21</sup>

Gurr wrote the small pamphlet *Beekeeping and honey production in South Australia* (Adelaide, July 1909), in which he related his loss to Foul Brood in about 1894 of twenty-seven of his forty-two colonies. At the time of writing, Gurr found that twenty-six

colonies were the most he individually could cope with. I believe he kept his bees at his large residential holding on the corner of Fullarton Road and Watson Avenue (from 1966 owned and developed by Elderly Citizens' Homes of South Australia).

Gurr concluded his engagement in 1910, but not before advising the authorities that the Act had not been costly to administer and if queen bee rearing by the government were established, as in New Zealand, it would earn revenue.<sup>22</sup> (Such breeding began some thirty-five years later on Kangaroo Island with the Ligurian Stud Bee Farm). Gurr also suggested – perhaps because he had helped sample export honey at the Government Produce Export depot at Port Adelaide, an inspection provided since 1908 by SA Beekeepers' Association members – that the duties of the Inspector might include such assistance and the delivery of talks in various centres to develop beekeepers' understanding of the proper methods for ripening (allowing honey to gain keeping qualities in the hive, and density, through lowered water content), and selection of only the best quality honey for London.

### ***T.E. Whitelaw***

In August 1910, T.E. Whitelaw, a full member of the British Beekeepers' Association, was appointed Inspector of Apiaries. After apprenticeship to a beekeeping appliance manufacturer, Whitelaw profitably managed large apiaries in Britain for ten years, four and a half of them with an experimental scheme in Berkshire, and in South Australia he spent some time in the Produce Export depot examining honey for shipment. He gained 'local experience under one of our leading beekeepers' – which, is not known.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps progressively, Whitelaw suggested that English paper jars would answer beekeepers' needs at one eighth the cost of glass jars.<sup>24</sup>

Some beekeepers were unhappy at what they considered to be the unexpected and uncalled for change from the satisfactory incumbent, Gurr, and his replacement by an outsider suspected of little knowledge of Australian conditions. Yet Whitelaw spoke enthusiastically about bee lore to beekeepers, at the Colton Hall of the Young Women's Christian Association headquarters in Hindmarsh Square, and gave lantern slide lectures elsewhere, and in 1912 the Department of Agriculture published his pamphlet on Foul Brood because of the need to dispel the very worrying existing ignorance among

beekeepers of the symptoms and treatment of the disease – a whole generation after the Act was passed. Significantly, the government believed Whitelaw's knowledge of the requirements of the British honey trade would be to its distinct advantage.

### **And so to market – ties to the Motherland: the Government Produce Export Department**

The great successes were told in 1870 of a German 'cultivator of honey at Lyndoch' who was the owner of 'a vast apiarian city', and who shipped honey to Europe 'by the ton every season', attracting 3d to 4d per pound (2.2kg).<sup>25</sup> It is not an over-statement to credit German settlers as instrumental in developing South Australia's bee culture. As a young man in the 1860s, the Prussian-born J.G. Otto Tepper, who became entomologist and natural history collector to the South Australian Museum,<sup>26</sup> lived with his parents at Lyndoch. He attempted to secure one of the escaped swarms from the many colonies around his home region, and after several mishaps, including death of the bees, sought advice and hints from 'a recent arrival from a part of the Continent where beekeeping was much in vogue'<sup>27</sup> – no doubt either a German or Polish-German person. By the later nineteenth-century beekeepers' individual achievements needed if possible to have combination and a united focus.

The concept of a Government Produce Export Department (figure 5) was put forward in 1893. The Wine, Butter and Produce Department was set up in 1894 under the Minister of Education and Agriculture, and divided in 1895 into the Produce Export Branch, Adelaide, and the Wine and Produce Depot, London, which received exports (figure 6). The two were brought together under a Produce Export Department in 1900 under the Minister of Agriculture. Following E. Burney-Young's years as manager of the South Australian Wine Depot at London, a Commercial Agent (later Trade Commissioner) for South Australia acted at London for the promotion and sale of South Australian produce overseas.

### ***Not only butter, pure blood manure, and 'fiddle strings, bungs, and runners' – exporting South Australia's progress***

The quantity of honey and beeswax (the products are not differentiated in the published list) shipped through the depot from 1895 to 1900 was nil, except for the 1896-1897 year



when forty-eight cases of honey with a value of £100 were shipped. A commerce notice in the *West Australian* suggests that honey was shipped in 1895: the tins of 'South Australian honeycomb' despatched on SS *Culgoa* 'burst on the way home. The produce is in consequence unsaleable'.<sup>28</sup> Presumably this was not a government-sponsored export.

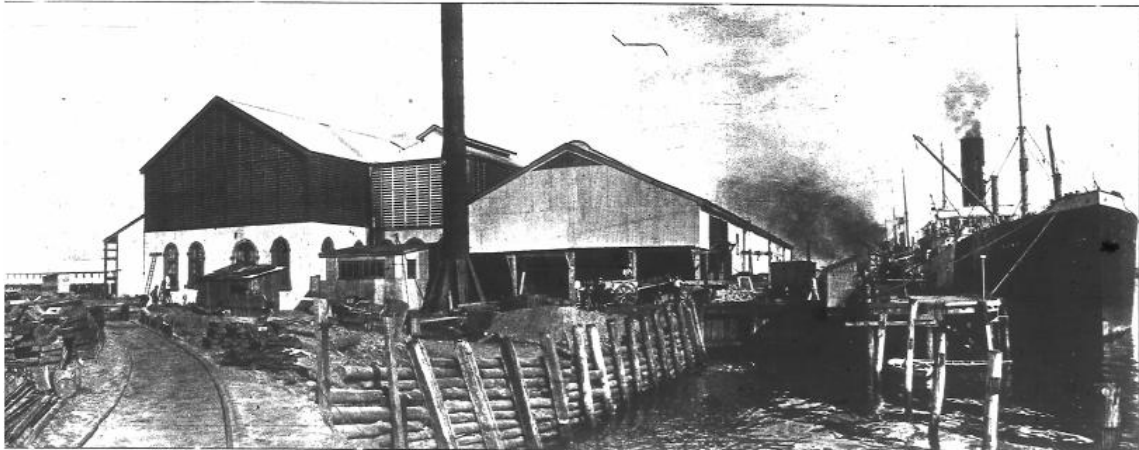


Figure. 5. Extensions to the receiving depot for chilling and storage of South Australia's perishable primary produce at Ocean Steamers' Wharf, Port Adelaide, which opened officially on 7 September 1908 ('The new produce depot at Port Adelaide', *Adelaide Chronicle*, 12 September 1908, p.29). In 1900 an expansion was urged of the works that had opened in April 1895.

In 1894 E. Burney-Young had reported that a 'market can be found for small consignments [of honey] ... if sent in kegs', but they would have to compete with British and imported honey. The British demand for honey (generally, not South Australian honey particularly) was 'steady and regular' throughout the year, he reported, from 'confectioners, grocers, and others' for food preparations, and for ordinary table use.<sup>29</sup> Early in 1896 Burney-Young sold the remainder of a honey shipment, amounting to 20 tons, at 23/6 per hundredweight. This was probably not part of the honey sent two years before.

In late Autumn 1893, prime grades of honey sold locally from only 2½d to 3¾d per pound;<sup>30</sup> and by the mid 1890s, partly because the price to producers stayed below 3d a pound, the Adelaide beekeeping appliance factories had 'all been closed, and the majority of the apiaries' had vanished.<sup>31</sup> In early 1895, the produce broker Alexander Sandford

quoted from the Adelaide Produce Market: 1¾d for clear extracted honey – 'moving a little better than before' – and 11d to 1/- for beeswax.<sup>32</sup> This was a low point in honey prices; and South Australia's Produce Department put considerable work into advertising and selling South Australian honey in Britain, probably from as early as 1895, 'but English objection to the [alleged eucalyptus] flavor [*sic*] and the shipper's inability to keep to a standard killed the business.'<sup>33</sup> But only for a period; and some suppliers had been willing to proclaim the 'national' flavour that ultimately gained acceptance. A honey bottle label (date unknown), picturing a skep, and glued onto the inside cover of a copy of Charles Dickens's *Bee Keepers' Guide Book* (published in 1887), proudly proclaimed it was for 'Guaranteed Pure Eucalypti Honey' direct from the producer.

Seasonal variableness and weather fluctuations affected honey production and therefore yields, as the totals from various sources below indicate.	
1891:	500 tons of honey gathered (one ton=2,240 pounds)
1899:	238 tons; decrease of hives to 12,182 and of honey yield to 238 tons of £7000 value
1900:	763 tons of £21,364 value (hive numbers doubled to 26,700); a good season
1901:	140 tons (14,853 hives); an adverse season
1902:	338 tons (18,371 hives); a favourable season
1903:	17,034 hives (441,057 pounds less than the previous year); a disastrous wet season with heavy rainfalls to November
1904:	a normal season, second-best honey yield for the decade
1905:	23,633 hives (535 tons)
1906:	24,866 hives (533 tons),
1907:	24,107 hives (487 tons)

When export of produce, mainly meat, butter, and wine, began in earnest in January 1895, 'Jamaica honey' sold at London for 22-23/- a hundredweight, some other honey (possibly from California) at 19-21/-, and although no Australian honey was offered, five

cases of yellow and grey beeswax were sold for £7.12.6, presumably per hundredweight (one hundredweight=50.8kg).<sup>34</sup> In 1895, a Hills beekeeper intended sending 1½ tons of honey and 250 pounds (113 kg) of beeswax to the London Produce Depot. He was advised to pack the honey in new tins or kegs, two tins of 56 pounds (25.5 kg) each to a case. The cost of tins with soldered tops was 10/- a dozen, and 14/- a dozen with patent tops.<sup>35</sup>



Figure 6. City Mill Buildings, Upper Thames Street, London. Soon after this photograph was sent to Adelaide, the third floor became the South Australian Wine and Produce Depot. The building had a wharf frontage to the Thames River (*Garden and Field*, vol. 20, no. 8, January 1895, p.313).

The first produce shipment was sent with high hopes to London on the SS *Woolloomooloo* in April 1895. In 1896 a hitch occurred with an English firm that had agreed to take quantities of 'nature's purest food' on a yearly increasing scale, and although hope for the honey trade was not lost, its future remained precarious. Over the 1896-1897 season eight cases of beeswax were shipped with the forty-eight cases of honey: the 30/- per hundredweight for honey and £6.17.6 per hundredweight for wax was

believed an inducement to further shipments<sup>36</sup> – one that apparently did not depend on producers accepting a severe under-pricing in order to effect sales.

Yet the growth of the overseas honey trade was slow in the first years of the new century. In February 1901 prime lines of honey sold at 2d per pound at the Adelaide Chilled Butter and Produce Company (pigeons sold for 5d each), but beeswax sold for one shilling per pound, which was more than 'prime cures' of ham at 8½d per pound.<sup>37</sup> In 1902, honey was not a regular export item among 'ox fores', butter, chilled mutton, wine, fruits and cheese, kangaroo tails, and lamb tongues sent to London from the Government Produce Export depot.

South Australian (indeed, Australian) honey competed with the traditional flavour preferences for honey which, in England, was more a luxury than a common-place or presumed necessity as in Australia. The agents tried to promote to beekeepers the benefit to the Australian overseas market of providing specific honey flavours and colours: English honeys from clover, for example, were very light in colour, from heather a rich brown, or honey was distinctively identifiable from the leguminous herb sainfoin and other sources, and unlike the strongly-flavoured (sometimes admixed) Australian honeys. Major A.E.M. Norton, South Australia's Commercial Agent from 1906, warned against mixing or blending South Australian honeys, advising that 'regional' differences should remain.

Australian honey's flavour was admirably suited in the English market for throat and cough lozenges made from eucalyptus oil and honey, and to about 1900, English confectioners were almost the sole buyer, the flavour of 'eucalypt' honey being attributed in popular English belief (perhaps self-servingly, and from the often unspoken anti-colonial prejudice), to adulterations. The London report of September 1900 noted the long-standing nature of this dislike of the eucalyptus flavour, and concluded that the small parcels sent and used by confectioners were insufficient to establish worthwhile shipping consignments.<sup>38</sup> Possibly at the latest to 1915, second and third grade Australian honeys were understandably used in Britain mainly by certain sweets manufacturers and wholesale chemists.

Before Alfred Norton was appointed as Commercial Agent, in early 1905 four tins of honey went to the Agent-General at London, who sent samples for assessment to twenty-two firms in London and the provinces, eleven of which returned reports. Descriptions of the honey included its unpalatable 'eucalyptus' flavour, and the derogatory 'peculiar', 'most extraordinary', and 'resembles tallow', although some late reports, for reasons unknown, were more favourable. This response, it was thought, worked against the possibility of maintaining all but a small market. During the overseas trip A.W. Sandford made from 1903 to 1905 he collected honey from various parts of the world which on his return was able to be inspected at the Department of Agriculture, providing comparative benchmarks for South Australian growers, and certainly demonstrating the varieties and qualities of flavours preferred in the 'homeland' market.

Over 1906-1907, 271 tins (16,107 pounds) of South Australian honey were shipped to England. Over 1907-1908, fifty tons (2,000 tins or 101,534 pounds) were shipped and were well received. However, in 1908, the Manager of the Port Adelaide depot, Gerald Pope, told the Commissioner of Crown Lands that 'detrimental' reports published in Adelaide newspapers were received from London correspondents of the local press. Complaints were made about five cases out of seven tons of a trial shipment of honey. One of these tins had been examined and passed as first class at Port Adelaide, so 'even a proportion' must be good, Pope pleaded. Tins of honey described as showing 'a black and unsaleable article' included nine hundredweight out of a shipment of five and a half tons that in South Australia was called 'amber colored honey'. The quality of this was also considered first class, and Pope's Department had asked the Commercial Agent to report on its suitability.<sup>39</sup>

### ***The Franco-British Exhibition of Science, Arts, and Industries, 1908-1909***

The Commonwealth's involvement in the Franco-British Exhibition attempted, in part, to show that Australia was not, as accused, 'a country of samples and spasmodic shipments', but a reliable supplier of quality goods.<sup>40</sup> The SA Beekeepers' Association collected the honey displayed at the exhibition (figure 7). In the initial list of awards under 'Useful Insects and Products, Destructive Insects and Parasite Plants', the Grand Prize and exceptional congratulations from the jurors were awarded to the Association.<sup>41</sup> Under special permission from Messrs Whiteley, Sainsbury, and the Army and Navy Stores to

sell at the exhibition, the Commercial Agent sold some 1500 pound-jars of honey each week; and he introduced South Australian honey through this exhibition to Cardiff, Manchester, Bristol, and other centres. Norton had first exhibited and distributed pots of South Australian honey at the Westminster Food Show. From the time of the Franco-British Exhibition increased demand for greater than seven tons a month of South Australian honey was believed highly probable, and Norton cabled for monthly shipments of this amount.<sup>42</sup> Prospects for South Australian honey sales looked promising.



Figure 7. The South Australian honey trophy in the South Australian Court, Franco-British Exhibition, London, 1908, was topped by one of the many more or less elaborately moulded glass 'show jars' designed and supplied from the nineteenth century by British manufacturers (*Journal of Agriculture South Australia*, vol. 12, no. 10, May 1909, p.830. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

In 1908, the SA Beekeepers' Association, in acceding to the inclinations of those at 'Home', called for honey light in colour and in flavour 'free from the taint of scrub gum'.<sup>43</sup> The preference was for blue, red, and sugar gum honey, and for honey flavoured with 'scrub gum' and 'stringy bark' to be eschewed. Yet the growing acceptance of South Australian honey was largely due to attention to its preparation and show display, and its sampling during the Franco-British Exhibition and subsequent promotions, principally in England and Wales.

By mid 1908 the prejudice against the eucalyptus-flavour of South Australian honey had largely dissipated, but not altogether disappeared.<sup>44</sup> Personal connections were used. Dr Magarey of Adelaide, then at the Hospital for Sick Children at Bloomsbury, introduced the Trade Commissioner to the hospital's secretary in an endeavour to have South Australian honey used in London hospitals. A sample was left, no doubt graciously accepted,<sup>45</sup> but such small gestures may have contributed little to the slowly mounting acceptance of South Australian honey.

One incident seems proverbial. A honey sample given in late 1909 to a mail boat purser at Outer Harbor, where the State Tourist Bureau was promoting produce, was 'not much appreciated, as there is a peculiar flavour about it which does not appeal to most people, and which is altogether different to the honey we get in England.' So ... there lay the rub. It was received as an affront by Charles McCann, then acting manager of the Produce Export depot, that the Bureau's director suggested an enquiry so that 'this defect might be remedied'.<sup>46</sup> The honey in question was a portion of a consignment passed for export and which Major Norton (figure 8) had already disposed of extensively in England: the complaint, McCann advised the government department, 'only bears out the difficulty which [Norton] has experienced in wearing down the prejudice which has always existed against South Australian Honey in Great Britain.'<sup>47</sup>



Figure 8. Major Alfred Norton (1869-1922), DSO, in the year, 1906, in which he went to London as 'Produce Agent for the State' (*Observer*, 24 March 1906, p.28).<sup>48</sup> Norton had entered G. and R. Wills and Company's warehouse on his arrival in South Australia from England, afterwards working for D. and J. Fowler to 1906.<sup>49</sup>



South Australian honey at the Botanical Society Show, London, June 1907 ('Produce Export Notes', *Journal of Agriculture South Australia*, vol. 11, no. 1, 7 August 1907, p.36. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).



### Exhibiting South Australia's honey at trade exhibitions

It seems like a cry from the wilderness that in 1905 South Australia had tested the British market by shipping four tins only of honey for assessment. The first major shipment of South Australian honey to London went in 1907 to the Commercial Agent in the year following Norton's appointment: in the thirteen months from April 1907, nearly 100 tons of honey were sent to him.<sup>50</sup>

The Grocers' Exhibition in the Agricultural Hall, Islington, was considered the most important of the trade exhibitions (figure 9). South Australian produce was exhibited



Figure 9. A side of the South Australian exhibit, Grocers' Exhibition, Islington, London, that ran from 17 to 24 September 1910. The stands were in a prominent position, in a space 16 x 60 feet in the immense Agricultural Hall. The ziggurat of honey jars was considered a particularly fine trophy. Tinned meats were displayed on the opposite corner (*Journal of Agriculture*, vol. 14, December 1910, p.498. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

there in 1910, and forty tons of South Australian honey was cabled for in the months following. On one day alone, 300 excursion trains came to London and thousands of traders visited the Hall;<sup>51</sup> this was the kind of audience Norton (now titled Trade Commissioner) enthusiastically pursued through dealing with and supplying direct to retailers at a time when it was considered 'an absolute crime for a representative of any Government to go to a retailer.'<sup>52</sup>

Norton was earlier disappointed at the small quantities shipped of South Australian produce. This feeling equalled his view of how woefully 'behind the times we in South Australia are in regard to our grading [practised for justice for producers and protection for consumers], packing, and general "get up," particularly of bottled jams and fruits'. The 'magnificent' exhibits of the English and Continental manufacturers showed us up.<sup>53</sup> John Sainsbury of Sainsbury's Provision Stores erected the honey trophy at Islington, and his experienced business hand must have worked well. Unexpectedly Norton sold 4,000 pounds of honey at the Grocers' Exhibition, took numerous traders' enquiries from across the Kingdom, and anxiously awaited the SS *Somerset* with more supplies. Norton's obituary claimed that he 'practically created the English trade in South Australian honey.'<sup>54</sup>

Norton himself recalled that he was 'the first to successfully place South Australian honey and eggs on the English market ... [thereby opening] up an almost unlimited field for these products'. Yet the home markets were restricted and this spelled a discouraging future,<sup>55</sup> added to which South Australian honey competed on the British market with the popular honey of Jamaica, Chile, California, Italy, Germany, and France. In 1910 the *Irish Grocer* deemed South Australian honey worthy of the high praise and gold medals it had been awarded at various shows, finding some quite equal to the Californian – the epitome, apparently.<sup>56</sup> During the northern autumn and winter months, Norton unflinchingly extended his promotions by lecturing on South Australia for the Social and Educational League of London, to various districts' Councils of Grocers, and to the Institute of Certificated Grocers. Norton remained at London for three years before returning to South Australia to share his experience with producers.<sup>57</sup> He resigned from his London position and Produce Department work in late 1913.

### Scenic artistry

Major Norton's direct approach to retailers was innovative. The South Australian government was the first to adopt trade shows as a medium to advertise State produce – by 1913 a practice entered by Canada, and increasingly by other Dominions – <sup>58</sup> and evocative display methods aided Norton's promotions.

Painted steam ships and wharf activity; factice and other dummy modelling; swagged and garlanded triumphal archways and clustered columns; allusions to heraldic imagery; and massed trophies of goods – those semi-ornamental evidences of prowess – all served the tempting display in British exhibitions of produce from South Australia's golden fields (figure 10). Depictions of the State's expansive fruit-drying grounds, of massed boxed butter being slung into ships' holds, of pyramids of heaped wheat bags, and other riches, including 'An Apiary', were theatrical backdrops to produce sampling and written promotion (figures 11 and 12).



Figure 10. This entrance to a British produce trades' exhibition in Kent Hall amplifies the exhibitor's identity. About 1913 (GRS 8335/1, p.34, SRSA. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

## Pope at London

In late January 1909, Gerald Pope (figure 13) was farewelled by the SA Beekeepers' Association on his departure for London to act in Major Norton's place as Trade Commissioner over 1909-1910. The Association's president, Samuel Mitchell, presented Pope with a case of silver-mounted pipes.<sup>59</sup> To this time, the Department had shipped sixty-eight tons of South Australian honey to England, the beginning to an eventually far more healthy trade.

During the two years to June 1909, South Australia had shipped two million pounds of honey to Britain, and in the future 'any quantity' was believed acceptable.<sup>60</sup> In the year to the end of June 1909, South Australia shipped 1,509 cases of honey to London, six to South Africa, and twenty to India and 'the East'. The next year, five out of 502 cases were sent to Germany. The heavy South Australian winter rains of 1909-1910 wreaked mayhem in primary production. Only 768 tins of honey were shipped in the 1909-1910 season, whereas 3,075 had been shipped in the year 1908-1909. But in 1911, Norton's



At the Commonwealth pavilion at Bristol's Royal Agricultural Show in 1913, the banner over the entrance proclaimed that Australia 'Offers Golden Opportunities to Settlers.' Any representation of the honey industry was probably in the Dairying section, a category with which for decades it was allied by the Australian government and in agricultural show circles. An estimated 130,000 people visited the pavilion.<sup>61</sup>



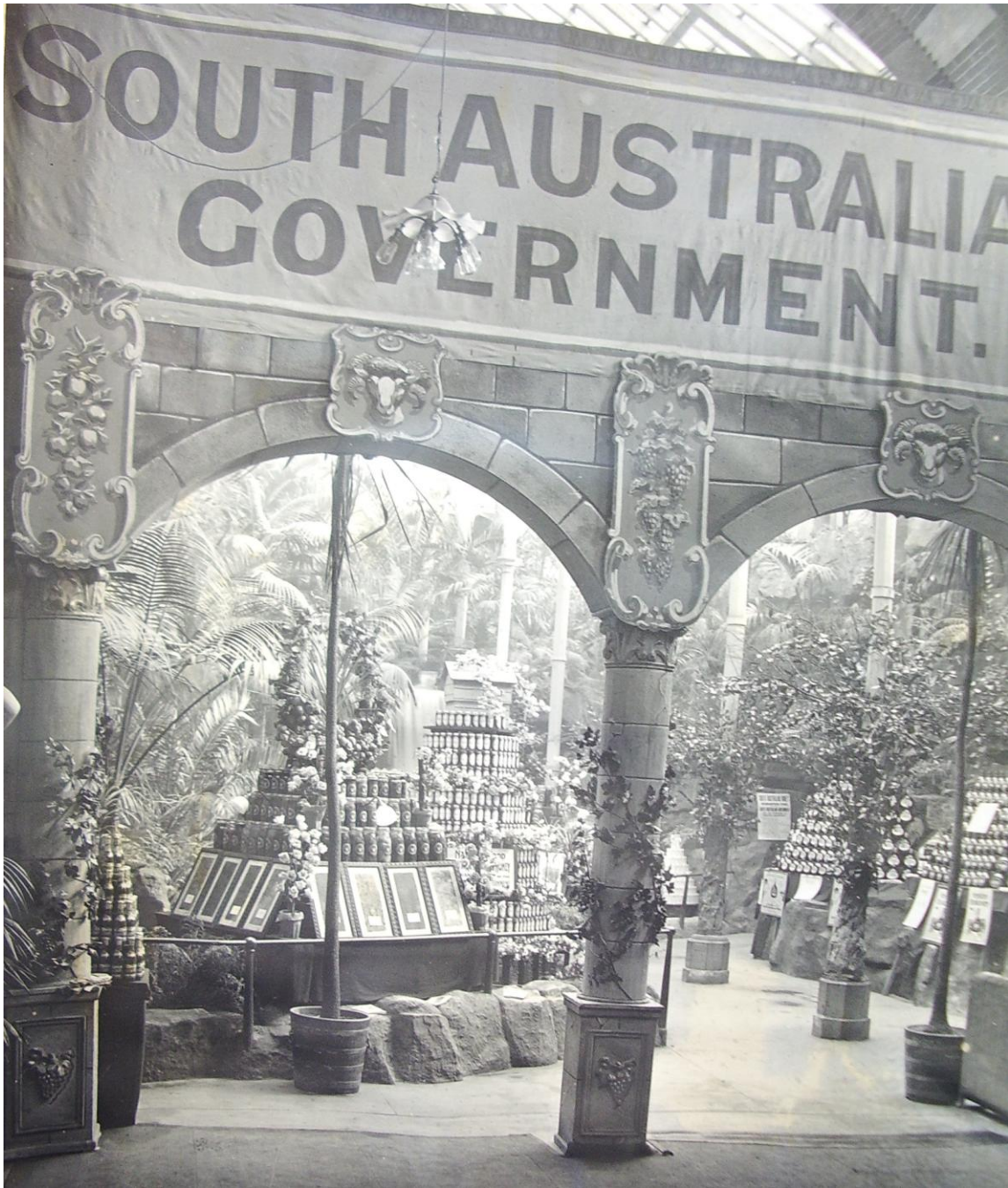


Figure 11. A model bee hive (centre of the picture) decorated with trailing flowers sits atop jars of honey at a grocers' exhibition, possibly at Brighton, England (GRS 8335/1, SRSA. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).





Figure 12. 'South Australia is the Bee Keepers Paradise and Produces the Very Finest Honey'. One of several produce murals at the Bristol Exhibition, April 1912, was of an apiary of Langstroth-principle hives, many of their roofs held down in the customary fashion by rocks (GRS 8335/1, SRSA. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).



Figure 13. Gerald A.W. Pope (1876-1947) in about 1914 ('War has changed aspect of meat trade', *The Mail*, 13 March 1915). Pope joined the Produce Export Department in 1895, and was general manager of the export depot from 1908.

advocacy and improved weather resulted in 2,057 cases being sent, most to London, but 571 to Germany, and four to India and the Far East. At Adelaide in the same year, in October, the Department of Agriculture announced its preparedness to arrange with agricultural and horticultural societies for a limited number of lectures and demonstrations with live bees to be given at agricultural shows.<sup>62</sup>

Pope energetically added to the opportunities that Norton had instigated: he arranged for wine and brandy remaining from a Brewers' Exhibition, with other produce, including honey, to be shown at Birmingham at the Fourth Midland Counties Grocers, Bakers, and Allied Trades Exhibition where, in eight days in February, 1,200 jars of honey, with a government guarantee of purity, as well as honey toffee, sold well; and Pope booked space at the Northern Counties Grocers' Exhibition at Manchester, the Chronicle Home Exhibition there the following month, The Grocers' Exhibition at London, and in the same year, 1910, considered displaying produce at the Pure Foods Exhibition, London. As acceptance grew, so it seems did the sophistication of display methods: at an exhibition in 1912, glass jars of South Australian honey arranged on skeleton stands were glowingly enhanced with concealed interior electric lighting.

South Australian honey was shown at the Sunderland Exhibition in March 1913; at the Grocers' Exhibition, Hamley, in October 1913; and at Leeds, 'pure' South Australian flour



only was used for a baking competition, and cake sweetening was with pure South Australian honey. Was it a diplomatic or fraternal war-time courtesy that the profit on South Australian honey sold at Leeds in 1914 was donated to the Grocers' Benevolent Fund?

In October 1913 Tuckwood's Stores at Sheffield, England, offered for sale South Australian tomato sauce, currants 'just landed', and honey ('pure flavor, delicious per 8d jar') as displayed at the Grocers' Exhibition in the City Exhibition Hall.<sup>63</sup> Simpkin and James also retailed South Australian products – fruit, burgundy, honey, among them – then being exhibited at the Boulevard Rink (figure 14) which, the *Leicester Mail* in 1914 reported, brought the many visitors 'into closer touch with one of England's most fertile



Figure 14. Products of South Australia displayed by Simpkin and James 1914 (GRS 8335/1, SRSA. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).



and prosperous colonies'.<sup>64</sup> Five main firms, including Sainsbury's Provision Stores, advanced the demand in England for South Australian honey.

Beekeepers were perhaps flush with their growing success and keen to encourage entry to their industry. By this time, payment to producers for goods sold in Britain came to them within three to four months of sale. To offset this disadvantage the government introduced an advance to producers of up to 75% of their goods' value when approved for export.<sup>65</sup>



Promotion was not muted nor were advertising tickets scarce in this bower – an exhibit photographed on 12 November 1913; location in Britain uncertain (GRS 8335/1, SRSA. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

Over 1912-1913, a modest sixteen cases of South Australian honey went to South America and thirty-one to New Zealand until, with one case shipped to Cyprus in 1914, none was exported over 1915-1916. Before the Great War, the fair average price for

exported honey was 30/- to 40/- per hundredweight (50.8kg). During the war honey was classed for shipping as 'general merchandise, privately owned' and given low priority for space, freight costs, and war risk insurance.<sup>66</sup> The Great War held sway over exporting, but equally pressing on production and export were the years of severe drought from 1914 to 1916.

With recovery, 4,403 cases were sent over 1917-1918. The estimated value of South Australia's returns on honey and wax in 1917 was £20,000 to £30,000 which, it was believed, could well be increased to £400,000 per year.<sup>67</sup> The Trade Commissioner, Charles McCann, wrote on 1 April 1915 that the Great War caused loss of valuable commercial connections which much effort and money over time had brought about; and he was unable to respond to War Office enquiries. The Office had asked for the very specific quantity of 75,360 pounds of honey, and although McCann had sent five tons, no more shipments were forthcoming.<sup>68</sup>

The supplies necessarily held back by beekeepers during the Great War seemingly exploded in 1918-1919 when 19,884 cases were sent to England and Canada. Honey is not mentioned in the Produce Export Department reports over 1920 to part of 1925, but over later 1925 and 1926, 400 tins were shipped (at £1 per tin), and by the 1932-1933 season seventy-three cases at 4d a pound to producers were exported.<sup>69</sup>



Produce was shipped under the Government Produce Export Department brand that also was stamped on exported tugs and lamb carcasses.

### **The South Australian Beekeepers' Co-operative Union Limited**

This writer is uncertain of the SA Beekeepers' Association's fate during its years from 1884 to the turn of the century, but in 1906 it re-formed at a meeting in Jackman's Rooms in the City,<sup>70</sup> but appears to have become defunct by mid 1910, perhaps giving way to the South Australian Beekeepers' Co-operative Union that was formed in January 1910,

at the start of which year a store to receive Union honey was opened at the Government depot at Port Adelaide.



South Australian exhibit at the Manchester Grocers' and Allied Traders' Exhibition, 12-22 April 1915. The stand with honey jars (8d per jar) is on the middle left ('South Australian Produce in England', *Journal of Agriculture of South Australia*, vol. 18, July 1915, p.1093. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

Yet, by July resuscitation of the SA Beekeepers' Association was considered important, and a meeting at the School of Mines and Industries on Monday 11 July 1910 decided that this resurrection would be organised by a committee of John Norton, W. Drage, C.G. Gurr, R. McDonald, and with H.J. Finniss as secretary. The Minister of Agriculture, James P. Wilson (figure 15), presided, and promised support to the beekeepers.<sup>71</sup>

In Spring 1909, the beekeepers had requested that John Norton, a revenue collection officer of the Hydraulic Engineers Department, be relieved of his ordinary work in order to slant the honey industry in a commercial direction. Caleb Gurr, the Association's secretary, was busy inspecting apiaries when not conducting his Adelaide auctioneering

and valuation business, and a temporary 'organising secretary', as Norton was called, was needed at a time when overseas honey shipments were strengthening. Norton, himself a beekeeper and member of the Association, was ultimately seconded for six months.

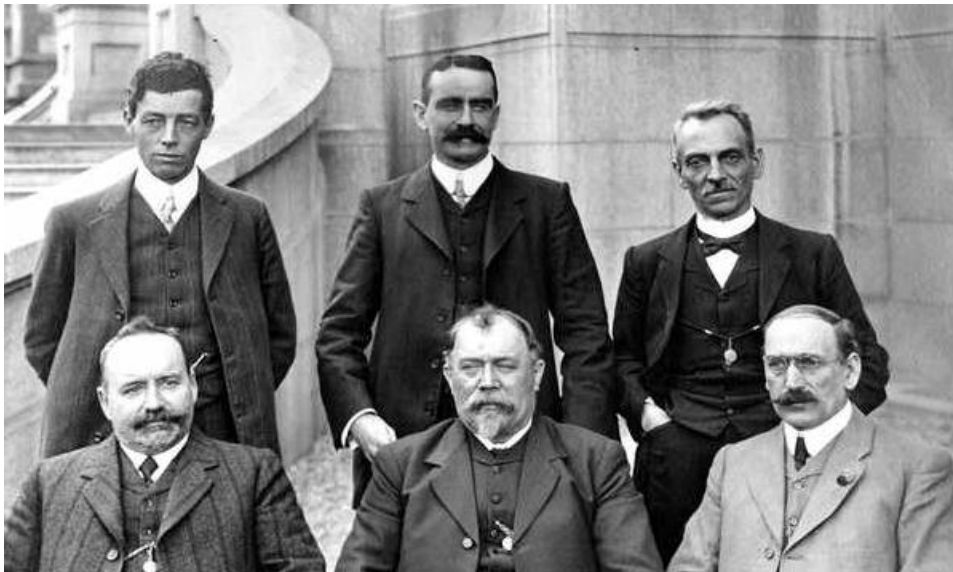


Figure 15. South Australia's first 'true' Labor ministry outside Parliament House, North Terrace in 1910. Back row from left: Crawford Vaughan (1874-1947), Treasurer and Commissioner of Crown Lands; W.J. Denny, Attorney-General and Minister Controlling the Northern Territory; F.S. Wallis, Chief Secretary. Front row from left: James P. Wilson, Minister of Agriculture and Industry (Honorary), from June 1910 to February 1912; the 54-year old John Verran, Premier and Commissioner of Public Works; and F.W. Coneybeer, Minister of Education (*Observer*, 11 June 1910, p.29).

Norton formed a strong co-operative union of the beekeepers from the principal honey-producing areas. Within a reasonable distance of Adelaide, the areas then considered the best for bee-keeping were Inman Valley, McLaren Vale, Eden Valley, Mount Pleasant, Second Valley, Williamstown and Angaston. Norton seems to have done most of his work in the north.<sup>72</sup> In late Spring-time 1910, he travelled to Highbury, Houghton, and beyond, through the Barossa and Eden Valleys and eastward to the Rockleigh district, borrowing beekeeper's horses to spell his own, exclaiming that he sometimes needed to cross paddocks of 1,000 acres. He reported that with the exception of the German-settled Kröndorf, Bethany, and Tanunda where, he declared, at times the strain of bee was poor and in some cases bees were kept in 'box hives', beekeepers were up-to-date.<sup>73</sup> Did

Norton mistake Berlepsch-Dzierzon hives for boxes? Was he met in these places with a Teutonic dourness that influenced his opinion about the quality of bee culture practised?

By the end of October in the first leg of his trip he had interviewed fifty-one beekeepers, and most whom he saw were interested to form a co-operative union and deliver their honey to the Produce Export Department.<sup>74</sup> For this purpose it was agreed that the beekeepers would supply direct to Port Adelaide, leasing a part of the building for storage at 30/- a week, and the government would advance 2d per pound to the grower on approval of honey for export (to be refunded when honey was removed).<sup>75</sup>

No doubt this seemingly assured supply was music to the ears of the London Commissioner. The one pound honey jars were labelled with the Union's brand; the two pound tins were labelled 'S.A. Honey. S.A. Beekeepers' Co-operative Union, Limited. Choice quality', and, with shades of the late twentieth-century's guard against tampering, with the additional claim, 'Guaranteed only when the cover label is intact.'<sup>76</sup> In November 1910 the Union sent 50 cases of honey, each containing two sixty-pound tins (27 kg) by the SS *Sonneberg* to Hamburg.<sup>77</sup> The Union exhibited soon after its formation on the Department of Agriculture's stand at the Adelaide Show in March 1911 (figure 16). Major Norton worked to increase interest in South Australian honey not only from Britain, but from Germany and Holland where it was consumed mainly in cookery.

## **Conclusion**

In 1917, a plea from a 'practical beekeeper' for South Australian beekeepers' co-operation in standardising hive shapes and frame sizes and agreeing to standard honey grading, packing and shipping, for a 'state-wide organisation of beekeepers, affiliated with a national organisation of Australian beekeepers', for compulsory registration of all beekeepers and therefore a register of all bees and a 'correct census . . . as to value of products' ended on a war-time nationalist call: help build up our country to 'what it is destined to be', the best in the world.<sup>78</sup> Was the wheel to be re-invented? What had occurred since John Norton's organisation of honey-producers in 1910? Did post-war reconstruction re-energise the plans of former days that had in some measure disintegrated?





Figure 16. Honey, bottled fruits, and tinned meats, Adelaide 1911 ('The Agriculture Department at March Show', *Journal of Agriculture of South Australia*, vol. 141, no. 10, May 1911, p.841. Reproduced with permission of Primary Industries and Resources SA).

South Australia's beekeeping industry expanded after the Great War, with large holdings like that at Pewsey Vale, near the Barossa Valley (figures 17 and 18) developing more widely across the State. Yet still there seems even now to be a need to reform industry organisation. The vision of the *South Australian Honeybee Industry Strategic Plan 2006-2010* is that by '2010 the South Australian Beekeeping Industry will be coordinated, market driven, commercially and environmentally sustainable', and its participants will supply 'quality products/services to an informed community.'<sup>79</sup> This echoes familiar sounds from years earlier; but since the days of South Australia's first modern beekeepers, changes in marketing (including 'organic' honey), in bee disease transmission, and in other management processes means the continued drive for industry responses and improvements has not diminished.



Figure 17. The Pewsey Vale Apiary hives with portable timber-frame and canvas-walled honey extracting and storage huts was photographed probably in July 1925 by the Crown Lands Department (Courtesy of History SA, Photographic Collection, GN11549).

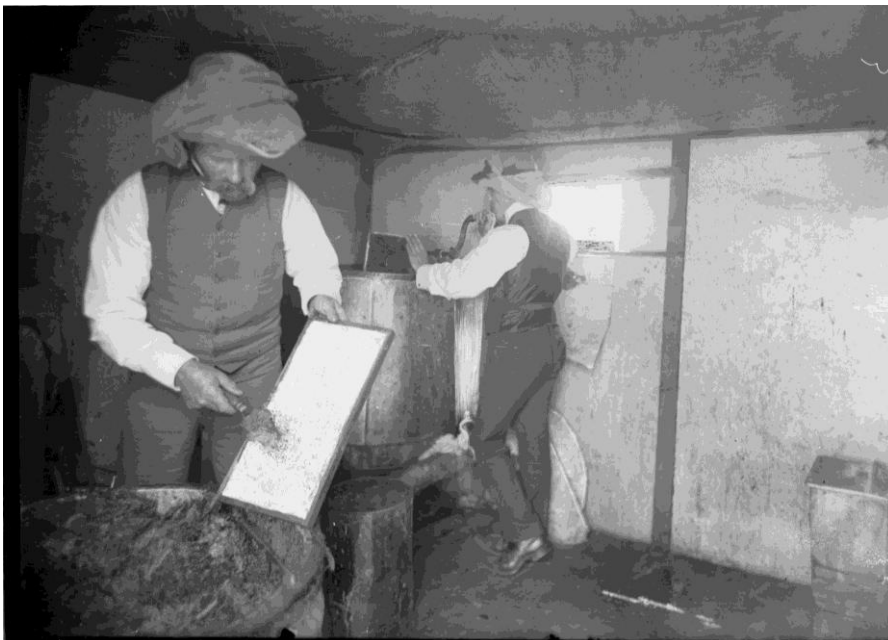
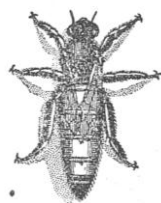


Figure 18. A stage in the harvesting of honey: uncapping honey comb and placing frames in a centrifugal extractor at Pewsey Vale Apiary, 1925 (Courtesy of History SA, Photographic Collection, GN11550).



A queen bee

## Acknowledgements

I thank the following for their kind permission to reproduce images and especially for sharing their knowledge: Robert Beer, Peter Davis, Ronald Fiebig, History SA, Kangaroo Island Beekeepers' Association, Peter Koch, Margaret Paternoster, Ron Praite, Judith Quigley, Primary Industries and Resources SA (Agriculture Food and Wine, Biosecurity and IDR), and the State Library of South Australia.

<sup>1</sup> From G.M. Doolittle, *Scientific Queen-rearing ...*, 1889, fig. 3, <<http://www.bushfarms.com/beesdoolittle.htm#QueenCups>>).

<sup>2</sup> *South Australian*, 8 September 1846, p.3c. Jacob Pitman was a builder, particularly of South Australian bridges, who had trained with Cubit and Company of London. He arrived in South Australia in May 1838 and settled for a while at 90 Rundle Street east. Jacob introduced his brother Isaac Pitman's 'Stenographic Sound Hand' (shorthand) to Adelaide and other Australian centres ('The Late Mr. Jacob Pitman', *Register*, 15 March 1890, p.6h; on his bridge-building, see *Register* 9 July 1850, p.3b).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Nutt, *Humanity to Honey Bees: or, practical directions for the management of honey-bees upon an improved and humane plan by which the lives of bees may be preserved, and abundance of honey of a superior quality may be obtained*, 2nd edn, London, printed by H. and J. Leach, 1834, pp.17, 29 (first published in 1832) (<http://books.google.com.au>, accessed 19 September 2010).

<sup>4</sup> 'Early Beekeeping', *Observer*, 29 March 1913, p.13. Marsh first put his bees on the extensive land close to the city of the former Monreith Farm (section 274). The Public Colonial Lunatic Asylum that existed there from 1846 to 1852 was a timber and slate-shingle-roofed part of the old homestead (it is illustrated on p.7 of Bob Goldney, *Glenside Hospital: an historical perspective including its role in the management of depression*, [Discipline of Psychiatry, University of Adelaide], n.d. (<http://www.samhs.org.au/Virtual%20Museum/hospital-andother-orgs/Glenside-history/glenside%20hist-index.htm>)).

<sup>5</sup> SA Parl. Debates (*SAPD*), 22 November 1887, col. 1541.

<sup>6</sup> Legislative Council, 22 November 1887, *SAPD*, cols 1543-1544. J.H. Weidenhöfer's former residence on the corner of Kent Terrace and Kent Road, Kent Town is now Chloe's Restaurant.

<sup>7</sup> 'Agricultural Bureau', *Garden and Field*, vol. 14, no. 161, October 1888, p.53c. The *Australian Bee Journal* (first issued in December 1885 by the Victorian Apiarists' Association), commented in 1888 on South Australia's Foul Brood Act and the need for similar legislation in Victoria.

<sup>8</sup> Legislative Council, 22 November, *SAPD*, col. 1546, 1887.

<sup>9</sup> *An Act to prevent the spread of Foul Brood among Bees, no.410, 1887*.

<sup>10</sup> 'House of Assembly', *Advertiser*, 24 June 1891, p.6.

<sup>11</sup> An Act of 1877 for San Bernardino County, California was probably the first American legislation intended to control bee diseases; the first bee disease law of 'state wide application' was that passed by Michigan in 1881, providing for the destruction by fire or internment of Foul Brood-affected colonies and which made it unlawful to keep any colony so affected. California passed the first state law for the appointment of bee inspectors in 1883. The first law in Canada for the suppression of bee diseases (mainly



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Foul Brood) was passed by the Province of Ontario in 1891 (George P. Georghiou, 'History of Beekeeping. Pt. IV', *Gleanings in Bee Culture*, April 1955, pp.216–217).

<sup>12</sup> 'The Beehive', *Observer*, 18 October 1890, p.12b.

<sup>13</sup> Quinn's report on his study visit to New Zealand during March and April 1907 is in GRG 10/1/521, 1907, SRSA.

<sup>14</sup> GRG 35/1/553, 1908, SRSA.

<sup>15</sup> George Quinn, 'Foul Brood Among Bees Act', in Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the Year ended June 30th, 1910, *Parl. Proc.*, vol. 2, 1911, p.45.

<sup>16</sup> 'South Australian Beekeepers', *Advertiser*, 29 July 1909, p.6.

<sup>17</sup> 'Beekeepers' Association', *Register*, 7 March 1908, p.6e.

<sup>18</sup> *Advertiser*, 6 February 1909, p.13.

<sup>19</sup> 'South Australian Beekeepers', *Advertiser*, 29 July 1909, p.6; Gurr to Commissioner of Crown Lands, GRG 35/1/ 553, 1908, SRSA.

<sup>20</sup> W.L. Davey, secretary, Victorian Apiarists' Association, to Minister of Agriculture, 24 April 1907, GRG 10/1/470, 1907, SRSA. John James Drage of East Adelaide was a builder in the late 1880s; in 1893 he was listed as a bellows manufacturer of First Avenue, East Adelaide.

<sup>21</sup> Letter from Gurr to the Commissioner of Crown Lands, GRG 35/1/553, 1908, p.2, SRSA.

<sup>22</sup> GRG 35/1/553, 1908, SRSA.

<sup>23</sup> 'Inspector under Foul Brood in Bees Act', *SA Journal of Agriculture*, vol. 14, August 1910, p.3.

Whitelaw's local mentor might have been R.E.G Mac (or Mac) Donald of Port Lincoln.

<sup>24</sup> 'Beekeeping in England', *Advertiser*, 17 July 1909, p.12.

<sup>25</sup> 'Swarms', *Observer*, 3 December 1870, p.8b.

<sup>26</sup> Darrell N. Kraehenbuehl, 'Tepper, Johann Gottlieb Otto (1841-1923)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Supplementary Volume, Melbourne UP, 2005, p. 379 (online version).

<sup>27</sup> J.G.O. Tepper, 'The Beehive', *Garden and Field*, vol. 8, March 1883, p.146.

<sup>28</sup> *West Australian*, 21 October 1895, p.5.

<sup>29</sup> 'Our Rural Industries', *Advertiser*, 27 October 1894, p.6.

<sup>30</sup> 'Dairy Produce Market Report', *Garden and Field*, vol. 18, no. 12, May 1893, p.341b.

<sup>31</sup> Apis Ligustica, 'The Beehive', *Journal of Agriculture and Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, August 1897, p.10.

<sup>32</sup> 'Adelaide Produce Market', *Register*, 6 February 1895, p.4f. A.W. Sandford was chairman of the Central Agricultural Bureau from October 1890 to August 1902. The numerous peace-time industrial and craft uses of beeswax included electrical wire insulation, the making of dental plate impressions, and electrottype reproductive moulds, maintaining good prices for the bees' secretion.

<sup>33</sup> G.A.W. Pope, comp., 'The History of the Government Produce Department and the Perishable Produce Industries of South Australia. 1893-1927', typescript, GRG 20/99, pp.29, 40, SRSA.

<sup>34</sup> 'Honey, beeswax, and eucalyptus oil', *Melbourne Argus*, 5 March 1895, p.4.

<sup>35</sup> 'The Export of Honey', *Advertiser*, 13 March 1895, p.4.

<sup>36</sup> Report of the Minister of Agriculture, 1896-1897.

<sup>37</sup> 'Adelaide Dairy Produce Market', *Advertiser*, 27 February 1901, p.9.

<sup>38</sup> 'Produce Notes', *Register*, 31 October 1900, p.6.

<sup>39</sup> GRG 35/1/139, 1908, SRSA.

<sup>40</sup> *Journal of Agriculture of South Australia*, May 1909, p.829.

<sup>41</sup> *Advertiser*, 17 November 1908, p.8.

<sup>42</sup> 'The Honey Industry', *Advertiser*, 20 December 1907, p.6.

<sup>43</sup> 'Bee-keepers' Association', *Advertiser*, 7 March 1908, p.12.

<sup>44</sup> 'South Australian Honey', *Advertiser*, 1 July 1908, p.10.

<sup>45</sup> 'Produce Export Notes', *Journal of Agriculture South Australia*, vol. 11, no. 1, 7 August 1907, p.36.

<sup>46</sup> GRG 35/1/1800, 1909, SRSA. Charles McCann (1880-1951) was a cadet with the Produce Export Department; he deputised at London, becoming Trade Commissioner there over 1914-1919 (Eric Richards, Joan Hancock, 'McCann, Sir Charles Francis Gerald (1880-1951)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, 2006, pp. 213-214 (online edition) (<http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100205b.htm>)).

<sup>47</sup> GRG 35/1/1800, 1909, SRSA.

<sup>48</sup> An obituary is 'The Late Major A.E.M. Norton, D.S.O.' *Register*, 10 June 1922, p.9b. Norton was employed for fourteen years by D. and J. Fowler, which firm he joined in September 1891 as a traveller; he later held a senior salesroom position, and in 1899 was in charge of indent and the firm's dried fruit business; in 1900 Norton was given leave to go to the South African War with the 4th Imperial Bushmen's

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Contingent for one year, and on his return became head of the business's produce department ('Government Export Department', *Advertiser*, 17 March 1906, p.9).

<sup>49</sup> An obituary, 'Death of Major Norton', *Register*, 10 June 1922, p.96, gives information about Norton's South African War experiences and his vocation after leaving his London government post.

<sup>50</sup> 'The Honey Industry', *Advertiser*, 20 May 1908, p.6.

<sup>51</sup> 'Grocer's [sic] Exhibition, London', *Daily Herald*, 11 November 1910.

<sup>52</sup> 'Beekeepers' Conference', *Advertiser*, 16 July 1909, p.11.

<sup>53</sup> 'The Grocers' Exhibition', *Observer*, 19 November 1910, p.44.

<sup>54</sup> 'Death of Major Norton', *Register*, 10 June 1922, p.9.

<sup>55</sup> A.E.M. Norton, *South Australian Produce. Its Collection, Packing, Shipment, and Disposal of in European Markets. Lectures by the Trades Commissioner (A.E.M. Norton, D.S.O., FRGS)*, Adelaide, R.E.E. Rogers, Acting Government Printer, 1909, p.6.

<sup>56</sup> 'South Australian Produce in England', *Register*, 2 November 1910.

<sup>57</sup> In addition to lecturing and demonstrating across South Australia, often through the local Agricultural Bureaus, Norton compiled his talks in *South Australian Produce* ... The gist of Norton's talk at the SA Beekeepers' Association conference is in 'Beekeepers' Conference', *Advertiser*, 16 July 1909, p.11. On his way to return to England, in November 1909, Norton visited centres in the Philippines, China, Indonesia, and Japan regarding opening or extending trade relations with South Australia.

<sup>58</sup> 'The Land and the Producer', *Advertiser*, 25 August 1913, p.19.

<sup>59</sup> Pope was a long-serving public servant. See 'Retirement of Mr. G.A.W. Pope', *Advertiser*, 18 January 1941, p.14f, and 'Death of Mr. G.A.W. Pope', *Advertiser*, 16 June 1947, p.3g.

<sup>60</sup> 'The Produce Export Trade', *Advertiser*, 10 July 1909, p.7. There was not a large beekeeper contingent exhibiting at Adelaide's 1909 Autumn Agricultural and Horticultural Show: eight entries for honey comb in section boxes, sixteen for extracted honey, five for beeswax, and three entries for complete beehives; J.J. Drage showed an observation hive ('The Autumn Show', *Advertiser*, 4 March 1909, p.12).

<sup>61</sup> 'Commonwealth of Australia Pavilion at Bristol', *Observer*, 16 August 1913, p.29.

<sup>62</sup> 'Points for Producers', *SA Journal of Agriculture*, vol. 15, October 1911, p.201.

<sup>63</sup> GRS 8335, p.22, SRSA.

<sup>64</sup> 'Fertile South Australia', *Advertiser*, 10 June 1914, p.7.

<sup>65</sup> 'Functions of the Trade Commissioner', GRG 10/1/20, 1911, SRSA.

<sup>66</sup> 'General News. England's Honey Supply', *Advertiser*, 14 January 1919, p.4.

<sup>67</sup> *The Farm*, 1 May 1917, p.6d.

<sup>68</sup> *Register*, 15 May 1915.

<sup>69</sup> Figures from various reports of Department of Agriculture and Minister of Agriculture.

<sup>70</sup> 'A Beekeepers' Association', *Advertiser*, 13 September 1906, p.10.

<sup>71</sup> 'Reviving the Beekeepers' Association', *Advertiser*, 12 July 1910, p.8. The School of Mines and Industries was established in 1889; in 1960 its name changed to the South Australian Institute of Technology; it later became part of the University of South Australia.

<sup>72</sup> *Advertiser*, 11 July 1914, p.16.

<sup>73</sup> GRG 35/1/1740, 1909, SRSA.

<sup>74</sup> GRG 35/1/1740, 1909, SRSA.

<sup>75</sup> GRG 35/1/1919, 1909, SRSA.

<sup>76</sup> 'The Honey Industry', *Advertiser*, 9 April 1910, p.8d.

<sup>77</sup> National Archives of Australia: D596/7, AP5/1.

<sup>78</sup> 'Bee-Keeping in South Australia', *Farm Stock and Station Journal*, vol. 12, no. 10, 1 May 1917, p.6.

<sup>79</sup> The Hon. Rory McEwen, MP, foreword to the *South Australian Honeybee Industry Strategic Plan 2006-2010*, [March 2006],

[http://www.safoodcentre.com.au/\\_media/pdf/sundry\\_sites/food\\_sa/about/sector\\_plans/honeybeespfinal.pdf](http://www.safoodcentre.com.au/_media/pdf/sundry_sites/food_sa/about/sector_plans/honeybeespfinal.pdf).