Sir Walter Scott and place names in Australia and New Zealand

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Members and guests of the Edinburgh Sir Walter Scott Club, thank you for coming along tonight, and thanks to the Club for the opportunity to speak to you.

I need to start with an admission: I am very far from being an expert on the life or work of Sir Walter Scott. In fact, most of what I know about Scott I have learned in the course of preparing for this talk. I am grateful to the Club for giving me a reason to learn more about this fascinating and complex writer, and to visit his beautiful and intriguing house at Abbotsford. I hope my lack of expertise in relation to Scott can be compensated for, at least to some extent, by my knowledge of place names, and of the cultural contexts in Australia and New Zealand for the adoption of names that commemorate Scott.

My second admission is that it would have been almost impossible to research this talk without the wealth of information that is so readily available on the internet. I have tried to research as widely as possible, including from properly-referenced books and articles, but some of my information comes from unreferenced online sources. So it is just possible that some of this information is incorrect. If there are any errors of detail, however, I am confident that the larger picture I will present is accurate.

One further caveat. It is not always easy to be sure whether a particular place name was inspired by Sir Walter Scott or not. As we shall see, some names that appear to be Scott-related in fact have quite different origins. Knowing whether or not a particular name is Scott-inspired can be especially difficult when it comes to real places Scott wrote about, such as those from around his homes in Midlothian and the Borders. Were the Melroses and Roslyns in New Zealand and Australia, for example, named by admirers of Scott's writing, or by homesick Scots wishing to remember their native places – or were both motives at play? It is hard to know for sure, and it is partly for this reason that my account of Scott-related place names in this talk does not pretend to be definitive.

Scott's own work is full of place names (as your President, Stuart Kelly, has pointed out in his very interesting book, *Scott-land*). Indeed, the profusion of place names was such a feature of Scott's poems that Samuel Taylor Coleridge, writing to William Wordsworth in October 1810 after reading *The Lady of the Lake*, provided a 'Recipe' for 'the component parts of the Scottish Minstrelsy' which began: 'The first Business must be, a vast string of patronymics, and names of Mountains, Rivers, &c – the most commonplace imagery the Bard gars look almaist as well as new, by the introduction of Benvoirlich, Uam Var'. Scott clearly relished the sound of names, but also used them to give colour and authenticity to his work.

Given Scott's own love affair with names, it is perhaps not surprising that his admirers across the English-speaking world chose to honour him by bestowing on houses, streets and towns names taken from Scott's life and, more particularly, his work. Australia and New Zealand are my focus tonight, but the United States, Canada and South Africa are all full of Abbotsfords, Waverleys, Ivanhoes and more.

It is worth pausing here for a moment to note something unusual. Most of these places are named, not for Scott himself, but for the titles and characters of his novels and poems. This surely marks him out from most authors; Shakespeare may be the only other writer in English whose characters were considered so well known that their names could be given to places (there are towns called Romeo and Othello in the United States, and the New Zealand town of Stratford has 67 streets named after Shakespearian characters). There is surely something a little bit strange about naming a place for someone who never existed outside the pages of a book. If the same approach were to be taken with fictional names popularised by Edinburgh authors of today, we might end up with an address like this: Hogwarts House, No. 1 Ladies' Detective Agency Drive, Rebusville.

The spread of Scott-related names around the English-speaking world is a symptom of his international fame. As Ann Rigney writes in her book *The Afterlives of Walter Scott*, 'Scott became a hub in a global network of admirers where the movement of people (emigrants, colonials, tourists) and the movement of stories about British history (his novels, poems, biography) intersected.' Rigney goes on to argue that 'Scott provided colonial exiles with a memory of Britain and its imagined landscapes, along with a memory of the pleasures they had experienced when first encountering his romances and poems.' Scott's writing, then, could be a comforting reminder of home while also providing reassurance that the emigrants had brought with them a great literary tradition.

By the time of Scott's death in 1832, European settlement in Australia was not yet 50 years old, and New Zealand was yet to become part of the British Empire, its white population being limited to small numbers of sealers, whalers, traders and missionaries. Despite the fact that British settlement in the Australasian colonies had not advanced far in his lifetime, however, Scott undoubtedly became, in the course of the nineteenth century, as famous in those colonies as in Britain.

We should be cautious, however, about the extent to which his fame translated into widespread readership. For example, records of books borrowed from the South Australian Institute in 1861-62 can be searched online. *Waverley* was borrowed 200 times – a respectable figure. However, the next most popular Scott novel in the Institute's collection, *Ivanhoe*, was borrowed only 17 times, suggesting that relatively few readers kept going beyond *Waverley*, arguably Scott's most famous title. It is little wonder that Waverley also appears to be the most widely-used place name associated with Scott.

Another glimpse into the extent to which Scott was actually read comes from New Zealand literary scholar Lydia Wevers' analysis of the library on Brancepeth station, a large sheep farm in the south of New Zealand's North Island. Scott's novels and poems were very well

represented in the station library, but show few signs of use. By contrast, books by other Scottish writers, or writers about Scotland, showed considerable wear and tear, suggesting that they were popular with the shepherds and other workers on the station, many of whom were Scots.

Regardless of how many people actually read his work, Scott was undoubtedly seen as an important figure in Australia's and New Zealand's cultural inheritance from Britain. Yet the very fact that he was seen as a hero of British culture may, to some extent, have worked against his adoption as a cultural icon by Scots in Australia and New Zealand. Certainly, a writer in a newspaper called *The New Zealand Scot* could write in 1913 that 'Scott was an "Ideal Man," and I should like to see every young colonial Scot in New Zealand to have the same high standards of honour that he had.' Scott was, however, eclipsed by Robert Burns where public commemoration in New Zealand and Australia of Scottish literary figures is concerned.

There were Burns clubs and associations in both countries but, as far as I know, no societies perpetuating the memory of Sir Walter Scott (although it should be noted that Burns clubs had a wider agenda, and sometimes celebrated the life and work of Scott as well). Eight statues of Burns were erected in Australia between 1883 and 1935, while there are another four Burns statues in New Zealand. There is only one Australasian statue of Scott, by contrast, erected as late as 1962 in the Victorian town of Ballarat.

Erecting statues and forming clubs is a community activity, requiring cooperation and consensus, and this may explain why it was Burns rather than Scott who was commemorated in these ways. Perhaps Burns had greater appeal than Scott as a communal rallying point for expatriate Scots because he was seen both as embodying a distinctively Scottish tradition, in contrast to Scott's incorporation into a wider British heritage; and because Burns more easily transcended differences of class and political ideology, with conservatives, liberals and radicals alike finding elements they could approve of in his poems.

When it came to commemoration through place names, however, Scott reigned supreme and this, I suggest, is because it was largely individuals, not communities, who were responsible for naming. In the early days of white settlement in Australia and New Zealand, many places were named by individual explorers, surveyors and settlers. In the case of the names relating to Sir Walter Scott, as we shall see, a number started as the names of particular houses or properties, and only later did they become the names of towns or suburbs that grew up around these properties.

Bestowing familiar names from Britain on colonial landscapes was a way of domesticating these places, making them feel more like home despite the strangeness of flora, fauna, climate and terrain. It was also a way in which settlers claimed possession of the land, asserting their ownership against that of the indigenous Māori and Aboriginal inhabitants. For it is important to remember that the land was already extensively covered with indigenous names, some of which were retained or modified by the new settlers, while others were replaced. Scots were prominent among the settlers in both countries, so it is little wonder that

many of the names they gave to Australasian places came from Scotland. The historian of the Scots in Australia, Malcolm Prentis, has calculated that 17% of non-Aboriginal place names in Australia are of Scottish origin. It is debatable, however, whether names from the work of Sir Walter Scott should be counted in this tally, since a significant proportion of his work features stories and characters from England or other places outside Scotland.

There are few places in either Australia or New Zealand named after Sir Walter Scott himself. There are probably streets named after him; I think we can conclude, for example, that Scott Street in the suburb of Waverley in Dunedin, New Zealand, is likely to be named for Sir Walter. A hotel in Melbourne, Australia, was named the Sir Walter Scott, as were a number of masonic lodges, such as the Sir Walter Scott Lodge of Light in the goldmining town of Thames, New Zealand. Curiously, too, there were gold mines named for Scott in both New Zealand and Australia. There is a Sir Walter Scott Reef Mine in northern New South Wales, while in New Zealand the Sir Walter Scott mine at Karangahake was located south of Thames. In fact, at Karangahake there were also several gold mining claims named after Scott novels, including Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, Woodstock, Talisman, Monastery and Ravenswood, apparently inspired by a set of Scott's novels that were read by the men in the mining camp. One of these mines, Talisman, was recently reopened by the New Talisman Gold Mines company.

If there are relatively few places named for Scott himself, how about places named for Scott's home, Abbotsford? Abbotsford would seem to be a name that is very unambiguously associated with Scott. Indeed, it was a name that Scott invented, based on the idea that the monks of Melrose Abbey forded the Tweed there. When it comes to Abbotsfords elsewhere in the world, however, we should be cautious about assuming they were named to commemorate Scott.

Abbotsford is the name of a suburb of the New Zealand city of Dunedin whose main claim to fame is the dramatic landslip that occurred there in 1979, the largest landslide ever in a built-up area in New Zealand. This event resulted in the destruction of 69 houses and over $10 million worth of damage, though thankfully no lives were lost. This Abbotsford was not, however, named for Scott's home, but rather for an early surveyor and settler in the area, Edward Immyns Abbot.

Another Abbotsford was established in the province of Hawke's Bay in the 1860s. This town too, however, was named for a man called Abbott – in this case, Frederick Abbott, who established a sheep station there near a ford over the Waipawa River. (A station in New Zealand and Australia is a large landholding used for grazing sheep or cattle, equivalent to an American ranch.) In the 1870s the town's name changed to match that of the river, and it is still known today as Waipawa. The name Abbotsford, however, was retained for a children's home located in the town. And despite the fact that the town was not named for Scott, the townsfolk clearly were aware of the name Abbotsford's connection with the writer – for in the centre of the town, what should we find but two streets named for Scott novels, Waverley and Kenilworth, intersecting in the shape of a St Andrew's cross!

There are some streets in New Zealand called Abbotsford, including one in Auckland that is said to be named for Scott's home. But having drawn a blank with towns or suburbs in New Zealand named after Scott's Abbotsford, let's turn to Australia.

As I've mentioned, European settlement of Australia was at an early stage during Scott's lifetime. Still, it was far enough advanced that Scott knew people who emigrated to or spent time in the colony of New South Wales. One was Sir Thomas Brisbane, Governor of New South Wales from 1821 to 1825, who himself gave his name to the capital city of the Australian state of Queensland. Another was a young man named George Harper who worked briefly for Scott as a gardener at Abbotsford before emigrating to Sydney, which he reached in 1821.

Scott provided Harper with introductions to Governor Lachlan Macquarie and to Macquarie's successor, Brisbane. In gratitude for Scott's help, Harper gave the property he was granted to the southwest of Sydney the name Abbotsford, writing to Scott to tell him so. But Harper's expression of thanks did not end there. In 1827 he returned to Britain for a visit, bringing with him a collection of 'natural curiosities', including 1675 bird skins, which he sold to private and museum collectors, and two live emus which he intended to present to Scott.

The emus (or 'Emusses', as Scott rather charmingly pluralised them) proved something of a headache. Scott agreed to accept them because, as he wrote to his business manager Robert Cadell, he knew no more 'what an Emuss was like than what a phoenix was like but supposed them some sort of large parrots & thought they would hang well enough in the hall amongst the armour.' In fact, however, as Scott lamented in his journal, 'your Emus it seems stands six feet high on his stocking soles and is little better than a kind of Kassowari or Ostrich…. No – I'll no Emuses!'

Scott asked Cadell to see whether Harper would agree to donate the emus to the royal menagerie at the Tower of London. Cadell met Harper, who assured him that 'his Emus are as inoffensive as Turkies – feed on the natural grapes, and follow him in the quietest manner'. The royal menagerie proved to have emus enough already, but Scott held firm, grumbling to Cadell that he wished 'my good friend Mr Harpers gratitude … had taken a more fortunate direction' and predicting that emus on the loose at Abbotsford might 'eat up my armory breakfast on a steel cap dine on a shirt of mail and conclude the evening with a Waterloo cuirass. Pray keep them at Staffs end if possible.' He next offered them to the Duke of Buccleuch, and they were duly sent to Dalkeith Palace, where we can only hope that these poor unwanted birds lived happily ever after.

Returning to Australia in 1829, Harper took up residence at his own Abbotsford, where he proposed to lay out a township, but this plan was never realised, and Abbotsford lives on in the area only as a road name. However, more lasting communities called Abbotsford were to be found elsewhere in Australia.

The Melbourne suburb of Abbotsford, just east of the city centre, gets its name from an early estate in the area, which was apparently named after Scott's home. A number of industries were established in the suburb, particularly brewing: the Carlton and United Brewing

company, producers of the well-known Fosters Lager, is based there. The area's most famous landmark is also a relic of its industrial history: the Skipping Girl sign is a reproduction of an earlier sign advertising a locally-made product, Skipping Girl vinegar.

There is also an Abbotsford in the inner west of Sydney. It is named for Abbotsford House, built in 1878 by a local Scottish-born doctor and politician, who called his house after Scott's. Marmion, Montrose and Rokeby Roads in the suburb are also named for works by Scott. Around 1918, Abbotsford House was acquired by the Nestlé company, and a chocolate factory was established in its grounds. Another claim to fame for the suburb of Abbotsford is that it is the place where one of Australia's best-known writers, Henry Lawson, died in 1922.

I won't pretend that there is any close connection between Lawson and Scott. By his own account, the novels Lawson admired were those of Charles Dickens, and in some ways Lawson and Scott could not be more different. Lawson flirted with socialism and republicanism, in contrast to Scott's Toryism; and his life was a struggle, dragged down by drink and depression, in contrast to Scott's comparatively comfortable and contented existence. Yet both men were, in their own ways, patriots. In a short story called 'His Country – After All' – in which (bear with me here) an Australian who has gone to live in America travels to New Zealand and rediscovers his love of Australia when he smells the scent of Australian eucalyptus trees – Lawson has a character attempt to quote Scott's famous lines on patriotism, albeit for somewhat comic effect:

> 'Well, you're the first man I ever heard talk as you've been doing about his own country,' said the bagman… '"Lives there a man with a soul so dead, who never said – to – to himself" … I forget the damn thing.'

If Lawson's life and work had little in common with Scott's, however, Lawson was linked with Scott in death through place names. For not only did Lawson die in Abbotsford; he was also buried in Waverley.

If you ever visit Sydney, I would strongly recommend walking the lovely coastal path from Bondi to Clovelly. Along the way, you will come to Waverley Cemetery, which must surely have one of the most beautiful locations of any cemetery in the world, overlooking the Pacific Ocean. As it happens, Henry Lawson is buried there next to the place where another Australian poet, Henry Kendall, was once buried. Henry Lawson's mother, Louisa, herself a well-known writer and feminist, had been instrumental in having Kendall reburied in another location within the cemetery, where a handsome memorial to him was erected. Unlike Henry Lawson, Henry Kendall (an Australian-born poet of the generation previous to Lawson's) is known to have been an admirer of Sir Walter Scott. He wrote one poem in praise of Scott, and in another he referred to 'The ringing songs of Walter Scott/ That shook the whole wide world'. Before leaving Waverley Cemetery, it's worth visiting, too, its elaborate memorial to the Irish rebellion of 1798 and to one of its leaders, Michael Dwyer, who is buried there. While Scott would not have approved of Dwyer's cause, he might have appreciated the monument's symbolism, a riot of wolfhounds, round towers, antique weaponry and more from the same stock of romantic and antiquarian traditions that Scott himself drew on.

Waverley, the suburb for which the cemetery is named, got its name from Waverley House, built in 1827 for Barnett Levey, a merchant, founder of Australia's first permanent theatre, and the first non-convict Jewish settler in Australia. Levey named the house for Scott's novel, and near where the house used to be are streets named for other Scott novels, Kenilworth and Woodstock.

Of all the names associated with Scott, Waverley is surely the best known and the most widely used as a place name. Waverley was the name of Scott's first novel, the name he used for his pseudonym ('the author of *Waverley*'), and the name that became attached to a series of his novels. Although Waverley was already the name of an abbey in Surrey, Scott wrote that he chose to call his hero Waverley because it was an 'uncontaminated name', with no associations other than those that readers 'shall hereafter be pleased to affix to it'. Despite the cautionary tale of New Zealand's Abbotsfords, therefore, I think it is safe to assume that places called Waverley were, more likely than not, named for Scott's novel.

In Australia, as well as Sydney's Waverley, Melbourne has the neighbouring suburbs of Glen Waverley and Mount Waverley, and a nearby shopping centre called Waverley Gardens. Glen Waverley has cluster of Scott-related street names, including Rob Roy, Peveril, Durward, Saladin and Ivanhoe. Both Glen Waverley and Mount Waverley derive their names from a township established in the area in the 1850s, which is believed to have been named by its developer for Scott's novels. There are a number of other Waverleys in Australia, from homesteads to streams and hills. It is surely no accident that the suburb of Waverley in Launceston, Tasmania, home to Australia's oldest woollen mill, adjoins the suburb of Ravenswood, presumably named for Edgar Ravenswood from *The Bride of Lammermoor*. There are also, incidentally, Ravenswoods in other states of Australia.

Staying with Waverley for the moment, and turning back to New Zealand, there are suburbs called Waverley in the cities of Dunedin and Invercargill in the South Island, and a small town called Waverly in the province of Taranaki in the North Island. As we've seen, the town of Abbotsford in the Hawke's Bay changed to the Māori name Waipawa, but Waverley went the other way. It was originally known by a Māori name, Wairoa, and was established as a military settlement in 1866, during the wars over land in Taranaki between Māori and colonial troops. It was only three miles from the town, then known as Wairoa, that the colonial forces suffered a significant defeat at the Battle of Moturoa.

In 1876, after the wars were over, the town changed its name to Waverley, a name probably inspired by Scott's novels. The ostensible reason for changing the name was to avoid confusion with other towns called Wairoa (it is a common name, meaning simply 'broad water'). However, I wonder whether the townsfolk may also have been seeking to assert the town's British identity following the insecurity of the wars. It is notable that Taranaki is also home to another town whose name has literary associations, Stratford; indeed, it was around the same time that Wairoa was changing its name to Waverley that Stratford and another English-named Taranaki town, Inglewood, were being established.

Perhaps surprisingly, given its strong Scottish heritage, New Zealand does not appear to have any other towns or suburbs with names clearly linked to Scott. There are, however, streets in various New Zealand towns and cities with names such as Waverley and Ivanhoe. There is even, in New Zealand's capital city Wellington, a street said to have been named by an admirer of Scott's for one of his more obscure works, *Harold the Dauntless*, although somehow Harrold Street acquired an extra 'r'.

To find other names from Scott given to suburbs or towns, we must return across the Tasman Sea to Australia. *Ivanhoe* was one of Scott's best-known works, and we can find a small town called Ivanhoe in western New South Wales as well as a suburban Ivanhoe in Melbourne. Melbourne's Ivanhoe is home to a late-Victorian mansion called Ravenswood and, perhaps inevitably, has streets named Waverley, Abbotsford and Kenilworth.

Speaking of Kenilworth, the small town of Kenilworth in Queensland's Sunshine Coast region was named for the nearby homestead and cattle station, apparently so-named because the wife of the original station owner was reading Scott's *Kenilworth* when the station was established in the 1850s.

The town of Deloraine in Tasmania is perhaps best known as the site of an enormous annual craft fair. It was named around 1832 after Sir William Deloraine from Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* by the surveyor Thomas Scott. According to the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Thomas Scott was a kinsman of Sir Walter Scott, although it is unclear how close their kinship really was.

In the central coast of New South Wales is a township called Mannering Park. I have been unable to confirm that it was named for Scott's *Guy Mannering*; however, a subdivision in the area was called Abbotsford, and present-day street names linked to Scott in Mannering Park include Kenilworth, Marmion, Montrose, Peveril, Ravenswood, Scott and Waverley.

A bit further north from Mannering Park is the village of Lochinvar. The 2000-acre Lochinvar estate was granted to Leslie Duguid, a Scots settler who would become one of the founders and managing director of the Commercial Banking Company of Sydney. Duguid named the estate, and the house he built on it, Lochinvar after the young hero who is 'come out of the west' in Scott's poem *Marmion*.

The Hunter Valley region where the Lochinvar estate was located was itself something of a Wild West in the 1820s and 30s. One of the convicts assigned to work on Duguid's estate was a man named Jack Donohue, later a famous bushranger or armed robber. Donohue may have been inspired to take up this career when bushrangers raided Lochinvar in the year in which he arrived there, 1825. The raiders were probably a gang of escaped convicts known as Jacob's Irish Brigade, and Duguid's overseer gave an account of the raid that would probably be at home in a Scott novel. After helping themselves to various items, the bushrangers made Duguid's men (presumably fellow convicts) cook for and eat with them, regretting that 'there was no Spirits to give them a good treat'.

Bushrangers raided again in 1834, but by 1840 things had calmed down, and Duguid had the estate subdivided, forming what became the village of Lochinvar. Lochinvar House now provides bed and breakfast accommodation, promising visitors that they can 'Relive the splendour enjoyed by Australia's colonial gentry' and luxuriate in 'the largest bath you have ever seen'.

These stories are (I hope!) all very interesting, but they do not tell us *why* people gave places in Australia and New Zealand names associated with Sir Walter Scott. I have already suggested some reasons: Scott's worldwide fame, his status as a symbol of British culture, the desire of immigrants for reminders of home. It is notable that many, though not all, of those giving Scott-related names to places were Scottish. I think there is another reason, however: for at least some colonists, Scott's stories could provide a template through which to imagine the experience of settlement in romantic but ultimately reassuring terms.

In his book *Writing the Colonial Adventure*, Australian academic Robert Dixon describes how the Waverley novels allow the hero to pursue dreams of adventure, but ultimately end with the reassertion of social stability rooted in possession of property. White settlers in New Zealand and Australia could experience directly or, if they lived further from the frontier, vicariously through newspaper accounts, the dangers of conflict with indigenous peoples, raids by bushrangers, and natural disasters such as bushfires, floods or earthquakes. If they were of a romantic bent, they could imagine themselves as embarked on their own heroic adventure, while always aware that the ultimate aim of colonisation was the pacification of the wild country and its equally wild indigenous inhabitants, and the creation of secure property rights for settlers under a British-derived legal system.

Robert Dixon's discussion of the Waverley novels is a prelude to his consideration of the writing of Thomas Browne or, to give him his nom de plume, Rolf Boldrewood. Browne, a prolific Australian novelist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose most famous book is the bushranging tale *Robbery Under Arms*, was openly influenced by Scott and took the name Boldrewood from Scott's *Marmion*.

Before he became a writer, Browne ran a succession of cattle and sheep stations, starting in 1844 with a station in the southwest of what is now the state of Victoria. He called the property Squattlesea Mere, a name that, as a self-described 'devout worshipper of Walter Scott', he borrowed from Scott's novel *Woodstock*. He later recalled Squattlesea Mere in terms that self-consciously drew on the tropes of adventure stories:

> There were wild beasts (kangaroos and dingoes), Indians (blacks, whose fires in 'The Rocks' we could see), a pathless waste, and absolute freedom and independence. These last were the most precious possessions of all. … I felt as if this splendid Robinson Crusoe kind of life was too good to be true. Who was I that I should have had this grand inheritance of happiness immeasurable made over to me?

But the land had not, in fact, been 'made over' to Browne, but rather taken from its Aboriginal inhabitants, and he goes on in his memoir to spend several chapters recounting what he calls the 'Eumerella War' with local Aboriginal people. The settlers won the war

and, as Browne puts it: 'Our border ruffians being settled for good and all, we pioneers were enabled to devote ourselves to our legitimate business – the breeding and fattening of cattle.'

Another settler who gave his property a name with Walter Scott associations was Robert Christison of Lammermoor station in Queensland. Born at Foulden, Berwickshire, son of a Church of Scotland minister, Christison emigrated to Australia with his brother in 1852, at the age of only 15. Christison's life story was told by his daughter Mary Bennett in the book *Christison of Lammermoor*, published in 1927. Bennett recounts the following story from Christison's childhood:

> One day, long remembered, Bob was sent with a message to a neighbouring minister. The kindhearted man asked him if he had read *Ivanhoe*, and lent him the book. Bob devoured it almost at a reading, while day and its concerns faded unheeded, and new worlds opened to his vision. He was another knight without inheritance, and the earth a Holy Land for service and adventure.

This is the only mention of Scott in *Christison of Lammermoor* (and in fact, Scott is not mentioned, only his novel *Ivanhoe*). But Bennett emphasises the importance of this incident by calling it 'long remembered' and by placing it just before Christison's departure for Australia is recounted. Christison, we are given to believe, was inspired by his reading of Scott to seek a life of adventure in a new country.

When Christison reaches the land that is to become Lammermoor station, the book provides an ecstatic description of his first view of 'the high land of trees and watercourses':

> All at once he seemed to see the Lammermoor Hills standing above the Merse, as the table-land stood above the rolling downs. He had thought of many romantic names for the homestead that he would build. Now he set them all aside for Lammermoor.

There is no mention here of Sir Walter Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor*, only of Christison's childhood memories of the Lammermoor Hills, but a man who read Scott as a child and had been thinking of 'romantic names' for his property can hardly have been unaware of the name's literary associations. It is interesting that, as with Thomas Browne (who refers to christening his property Squattlesea Mere 'in my mind instantly' because the name was 'so exceedingly appropriate'), Christison's naming of the station is depicted as a spur-of-the-moment decision, and yet one that is so right that it is almost predestined.

It bears repeating that this land was already named, long before the arrival of white settlers. Christison's station was located on the land of Yirandali Aboriginal people (also known as the Darrebulla), and a map in Bennett's book shows some of the wealth of indigenous names that continued to blanket the landscape, even as Christison added new ones – Lammermoor, Merse, Foulden – from the landscape of his childhood. There has been some historical debate about Christison's relationship with the Yirandali. Unlike other owners of sheep and cattle stations in Queensland, Christison encouraged the Yirandali to continue living on their ancestral land, and it was only after he sold Lammermoor in 1910 that many of the Aboriginal people were moved off to government reserves far from their home. Christison's

daughter Mary Bennett later became a prominent advocate for Aboriginal rights, and her biography of her father is not only a work of filial piety but also a polemic about mistreatment of Aboriginal people, using her father as a model for how things should have been. Yet Christison's treatment of the Yirandali was not always so benign as Bennett makes out, and he profited from the use of their labour on the station at minimal cost.

Perhaps we can say that Christison was, in the context of his time, relatively enlightened in his views of Aboriginal people, compared with other settlers. He certainly made the effort to learn some of the language and, importantly, the place names of the Yirandali. In her book, Bennett has Christison recall, before he leaves Lammermoor for the last time, 'the aboriginal names of the noble chain of waterholes that form the head of Tower Hill Creek': 'Koo*roor*inya, like the roar of its waters in flood'; 'Pil*mun*ny, … a favourite cattle camp, where once the Dalleburra had used to hold their bora ceremonies'; and so on.

Writing about the disastrous expedition of the explorers Burke and Wills in the 1860s, the historian David Denholm has commented that 'We shall have to blame William Wordsworth, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott and other Romantics for giving Colonial Australians the means to shape their dreams with such splendid foolishness.' In a sense, place names associated with Sir Walter Scott bear witness to the dreams (whether foolish or otherwise) that settler Australians and New Zealanders brought with them or inherited from Britain, dreams of adventure but also of property and stability.

Yet these dreams were shadowed by anxieties, even nightmares: by fears of degeneration of the British 'racial stock' in the colonies, of threats from without from Chinese or other non-white peoples and from within from class conflict. And underlying all, though rarely spoken of, an anxiety about their right to possess land that had so recently belonged to Aboriginal and Māori peoples. Perhaps names such as Abbotsford, Waverley, Ivanhoe, Kenilworth, Ravenswood, Deloraine, Lochinvar, Lammermoor – names redolent of leather-bound volumes, centuries-old tradition and middle-class respectability – provided a reassuring reminder that they were part of a great and powerful empire; an empire that ruled not only the waves, but also the Waverleys.

Further reading

As I have indicated, much of my research was conducted online, but I found the following books and articles helpful.

Robert Dixon, *Writing the Colonial Adventure: Race, Gender and Nation in Anglo-Australian Popular Fiction, 1875-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Stuart Kelly, *Scott-land: The Man Who Invented a Nation* (Edinburgh, Polygon, 2010)

Joyce Miles, 'Oh Young Lochinvar is Come Out of the West…', *Placenames Australia*, September 2008, pp. 1, 3

Malcolm Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2008)

A.W. Reed, *The Story of New Zealand Place Names* (Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1952)

Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012)

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