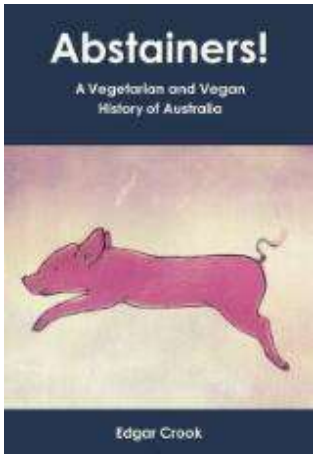
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Abstainers!

A Vegetarian and Vegan History of Australia

Edgar Crook

Canberra
2018

For Arabella F Crook

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Introduction

This book seeks to tell the story of the birth and growth of vegetarianism and veganism in Australia from the first vegetarian convict to the more recent past. It details the growth of the movement in the mid-19th century as British and Irish vegetarians emigrated en masse to Australia and its ongoing development through its religious, health and animal welfare supporters.

In defining the term 'vegetarian' I have used the word to describe people who ate no animal products derived from a slaughtered animal. Many of the people mentioned in this work were what we would now call vegan, but as this word did not exist until 1944 - and so could not have been used as a self-descriptor - it has generally been avoided.

In many cases it has been impossible to judge whether an individual was or was not continuously a vegetarian or vegan, as many people who identified themselves as such adopted or abandoned the diet as their situations and lifestyles demanded. I assume only that a person was vegetarian or vegan if either they identified themselves as one, or were identified as such by a reliable source contemporary to them. In Carol J. Adams' book, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*[1] she records an entry into her personal journal reflecting the difficulty she (and other) researchers into the history of vegetarianism have found: *'One has to approach your reading material with a hopeful approach, faith-filled attitude, hoping for one small mention.'*

Researching historical Australian vegetarians has also involved searching for this 'one small mention'. Biographers of eminent Australians, as of eminent foreigners, have shown a curious propensity to hide or ignore evidence of a different diet.

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1 The Sexual Politics of Meat: a Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory, Continuum, New York, 1990, p. 145.

Sometimes this was done to make the subject appear more 'normal' - to hide a supposed fad, which might impugn their dignity - or at other times because the biographer thought that their subject's diet would be of no interest to readers. For this reason, many of Australia's past vegetarians have been hidden from history. Conversely, vegetarianism has been highlighted in the biographies of other notable persons because they were perceived as living outside of normal society. As a result, vegetarianism can seem unduly emphasised among the radical or just plainly eccentric.

In general, there have been very few studies, academic articles or books on the history of Australian vegetarians or vegans. While some notable Australian vegetarians, such as Peter Singer, have received relatively considerable attention, the diet remains absent from all the major works of general Australian history as it does from international histories. The standard works of food history generally do not mention Australia at all, while Australian works of culinary history have all too often dismissed vegetarianism as merely a 'food fad' and therefore unworthy of serious attention. In Britain, Germany, France and the United States – the major western nations that had founded vegetarian Societies before Australia - vegetarians were leading advocates, not only of dietary change, but of many other aspects of social improvement as well. At the first meeting of the American Vegetarian Society in New York in 1850, alongside the health reformers and animal welfare supporters were the anti-slavery activists, Harriet Beecher Stowe and the Alcott family. In Germany and the United Kingdom, the list of members of the vegetarian Societies also contained numerous well-known social welfare crusaders. Australia was no exception. We find among the vegetarian advocates of the 19th century many leading figures in the religious, feminist, political and literary life of the nation.

The Establishment of Meat

VEGETARIAN ABORIGINALS.—The Brisbane correspondent of the *Sydney Morning Herald* writes:—"Very far west indeed on the line of the Tropic of Capricorn, and in country rendered for ever famous by the names of Burke and Wills, the pioneer settlers have discovered aboriginals which differ in many respects from the ordinary Australian black. The country, it may be premised, consists largely of vast stony plains, well grassed, and abounding in various kinds of herbage peculiar to it, and some of which are described as possessing the most fattening qualities. The blacks are numerous and friendly. More surprising still, they are willing to work hard for small pay. The surprise comes in as you may imagine, not at their willingness to take small remuneration, for until they know better this is natural enough, but at the statement that they are willing to work hard. Such is their primitive innocence that their existence was a purely vegetarian one before the colonizer and civilizer came to give them a new trouble in the matter of meat. They are said not to know the difference between rotten and sound flesh, and, if anything, to regard the latter as a fraud, and the former as a fine sensation demanding their gratitude. Having no bark with which to make gunyahs, these natives scoop holes in the sandhills about two feet deep, rear a frame of sticks say four feet high over it, thatch with long grass, and finally cover the whole business with sand. The residence of our Burke black is therefore not unlike a beehive or anthill. The people have no skin or other coverings, are very ugly (that goes without saying), and are harmless and docile." [2]

2 South Australian Register, 26 Oct., 1877, p. 5. http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article40474643

It is impossible to say whether there was a vegetarian among Australia's first inhabitants. As Indigenous Australians were predominantly hunter-gatherers it is considered highly unlikely. The only evidence of vegetarianism is from the above newspaper report dating from 1877 which was widely reprinted. The vast stony plain described in the article is presumably the area of northern South Australia and western Queensland that encompasses the Stony Desert in which a number of Indigenous peoples lived. As there are no other corroborating stories or research findings the article cannot be considered as evidence of a truly vegetarian people.

There are divergent views on the extent of meat and plant foods eaten within traditional diets. In a study of the Dieyerie (Diyari) people by Trooper Samuel Gason, for example, he wrote that "*Their food is principally vegetable, animals being very scarce, if exception is made of rats and their species, and snakes and other reptiles, of which, there is an unlimited number.*"[3]

Dependent on the location and the season, non-Indigenous researcher estimates of how much of the Indigenous diet was from plant sources vary from between 30 and 95%.[4] Whatever the percentage, it is certain that the traditional diet encompassed very many plant foods. It should also be considered that plant foods were always available to eat as they were procured and prepared daily by women, while the supply of animal foods was dependent on men both going hunting and being successful in that enterprise. So that while meat was always part of the diet, food security was almost always based on plant food sources.

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3 See Gason, Samuel, The Dieyerie tribe of Australian Aborigines, Adelaide, W. C. Cox, Government Printer, 1874, and, The Sydney Morning Herald, 1 Dec. 1873, p.3.

4 See White, N., 2001. In search of the traditional Australian aboriginal diet— then and now. In: Anderson, A., Lilley, I., O'Connor, S. (Eds.), Histories of Old Ages: Essays in Honour of Rhys Jones. Pandanus Books, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The Australian National University, Canberra, pp. 343–359. And, Meggitt, M.J. 1964 Aboriginal food-gatherers of tropical Australia. In International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (ed.), The Ecology of Man in the Tropical Environment, pp.30-37.

Typically, the diet of the first Australians varied according to the climate and region within which each people lived. But, in general, the diet would have consisted of some of the over 300 plant foods that were available of which bush vegetables, fruits, grasses, nuts and seeds - such as Lilly pilly, limes, wild cucumbers, mulga apples, quandongs, figs, bunya nuts and nardoo. Many of these foods would have been staples and would be used to make bush bread or seed cakes – which were both nutritious and kept well. These plant based foods were supplemented by the eating of small marsupials, fish, shellfish, reptiles and insects as well as larger animals such as kangaroos and wallabies.

Given the lack of evidence for Indigenous vegetarians, it is reasonable to assume that the first vegetarian in Australia would have been either a visitor from elsewhere in the Asia/Pacific region or a later migrant from Europe.

Well before European settlement seafaring visitors to Australia were killing animals for food, these people would have come from as far afield as China and Japan as well as from the nearer Pacific islands and from the close neighbours directly across the Timor Sea. Later, European navigators and explorers would have landed in order to re-supply their ships with whatever plants and animals were available. Lieutenant James Cook and his compatriots feasted on all manner of Australian fauna as they mapped the coastline. As well as being a superlative botanist, Sir Joseph Banks was also a naturalist of a different order. His journal of the voyage of the *Endeavour* shows that he delighted in his discoveries of new species of fish, birds and mammals. While his observations of Australian native fauna in their natural state added considerably to zoological knowledge, Banks and the other naturalists did much of their research by eating them - classifying them, not just by type, but also by taste. For those surviving on ships' rations of hard biscuits and salted meat, Australia's exotic species must have seemed to them to be rare delicacies indeed.

In 1788, when the First Fleet arrived at Sydney Cove, its nine ships carried enough provisions for the new convicts and settlers aboard to survive for two years. Among the tons of provisions were cattle, sheep, pigs, horses, rabbits, goats and a good number of chickens, geese, turkeys and ducks. Also on board were 8,000 fishhooks, 14 fishing nets, 6 harpoons, whale line and butchers' knives. Australia was never then destined to be a new Garden of Eden either for the transported convicts or for the captive domesticated animals.

The colonists seemingly never attempted to utilise the knowledge of the traditional owners to learn about Australian plants that could be introduced into their diet. They ignored or failed to recognise the available fruits and vegetables and sought only to recreate an antipodean version of Britain, and therefore a heavily meat-based diet became entrenched in the new colony.

The impetus for establishing the emphasis on meat in the Australian diet came from the British settlers - not from those used to eating it, but rather from the poor who had previously rarely had access to it. Since the middle ages, Britons had associated meat eating with wealth and status. Meat, especially beef, was considered the preserve of the wealthy. By the 18th Century, with land clearances and the enclosure of common land, often the only time the poor had access to meat was from poaching animals (deer, rabbits, fish), which were on the local landowner's land. Considering that poaching was responsible for a large number of criminal cases, it is the case that some convicts were actually transported to Australia purely out of their desire for meat. In the little land that was available to them the rural poor grew what they could, but their basic diet consisted primarily of bread, oats and potatoes. Between 1830 and 1850, over two million people from Great Britain and Ireland emigrated to North America and Australia. The majority of these made this voyage unwillingly because the poverty in their homeland was unbearable and later because of famine, which reached its peak during the 'hungry 40s'.

Tempting the hungry British to come to Australia was Caroline Chisholm (1808-1877), then popularly known as 'the emigrant's friend.'

In 1847, whilst on a return visit to England to promote Australian settlement, Chisholm published a pamphlet entitled *Comfort for the poor: Meat three times a day! Voluntary information from the People of New South Wales.* In this work and others she sought both to convince the British government to fund the transport of free settlers and also to convince prospective migrants of the supposed benefits of immigrating to a country where meat was plentiful. In her writings she used interviews with happy and comfortable settlers such as Jane M. who stated "*We use quite thirty pounds of meat a week; I'm blessed*!"[5] and a Mr. T.F. originally from Galway who proudly stated his diet was:

Breakfast: Bread, Meat, Tea
Dinner: Bread, Meat, Tea
Supper: Bread, Meat, Tea[6]

For many of the British readers - who had probably not had their fill of meat for years - the prospect of coming to Australia, a land where meat was both plentiful and cheap, was a dream come true. A vegetarian diet must have seemed then a poor substitute for a meat-based one, signifying both poverty and low social status. Only a few years later ironically, during a tour of Australia in 1871 the British author, Anthony Trollope, recorded a conversation with a Townsville workman, who said, "*If you knew what it was… to have to eat mutton three times a day, day after day, week after week, month after month, you would not come here and tell us that we ought to be contented with our condition*."[7]

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5 Chisholm, Caroline, Emigration and transportation relatively considered : in a letter dedicated, by permission, to Earl Grey. John Ollivier, London, 1847, p.39

6 Chisholm, Caroline, Emigration and transportation relatively considered : in a letter dedicated, by permission, to Earl Grey. John Ollivier, London, 1847, p.43

7 Trollope, Anthony, Australia, edited by P.D. Edwards and R.B. Joyce, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1967, p.193

Still, to most British immigrants the avid and conspicuous consumption of meat was a continuing sign of success in their new land. The new Australians continued to hold this view, eating meat at every opportunity - even after memories of the dietary deprivations of their native lands had faded. The essayist, Richard Twopenny, wrote in the early 1880s:

"Of course meat is the staple of Australian life. A working-man whose whole family did not eat meat three times a day would indeed be a phenomenon. High and low rich and poor, all eat meat to an incredible extent, even in the hottest weather."[8]

This was still the case in 1922 when the British writer, D. H. Lawrence, paid an extended visit to Australia where he wrote his novel, *Kangaroo*. In this semi-autobiographical book, his fictional wife declares soon after their arrival:

"The only thing that's really cheap," said Harriet, "is meat. That huge piece cost two shillings. There's nothing to do but to become savage and carnivorous - if you can."

So attached to meat had the average Australian become by 1931 that during the great depression an attempt to deprive them of it actually caused a major disturbance, now known as the 'Beef Riot'. Given the large numbers of unemployed at the time, as a cost saving measure, the South Australian government attempted to take beef off the unemployed's dole ration.

8 Twopenny, Richard, Town Life in Australia, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin, 1973, p63-64

So incensed were the unemployed and their supporters that on January 9, 1931 shouting 'we want meat' a crowd numbering in the thousands, comprised of communists, trade unionists and the unemployed, descended on the Adelaide treasury building wherein was the State Premier. The crowd, baying as it were for blood, met a defending force of police, and a violent riot ensued which left a number of severely injured police and demonstrators. The government had offered mutton - a cheaper meat - as a replacement for beef, but after the riot it had to reconsider and so beef remained on the ration.

A New Dawn

From the 1850s until Federation in 1901, Australia was a society in flux. Immigration saw the population of people and domesticated animals grow dramatically, while economic conditions fluctuated with gold rushes, wool prices, droughts and depressions. Politically, the decisions towards Federation, universal franchise, the rise of organised labour and trade unionism and the arguments over protectionism vs. free trade marked the period. At the same time, Australian colonisers were involved in a protracted war against the original inhabitants as well as interfering in such far off places as Sudan, South Africa and China. It was also a time of rapid technological expansion as transport, electricity and telegraphy revolutionised society. The progress in scientific and technological invention was met by a desire to change personal and social lives and led to a growth in the number of people prepared to try anything new from spiritualism to communism. Vegetarianism was one of these ideas being taken up and - often just as quickly - put down again.

The influence of the traditional British diet was strong in encouraging Australia's heavy reliance on meat, contrasting views began to make themselves heard. The ethical case for vegetarianism has never been silent in Britain or the United States, and Australia was to be no exception. For each succeeding generation there has been a radical thinker promoting the diet, whether from Christian pulpits or non-conformist groups. Of these, many saw vegetarianism as part of a general struggle for progress, aligned with feminism, teetotalism, and often naturism.

Others promoted vegetarianism simply for their own physical health or as supporters of alternative therapies such as naturopathy, homoeopathy and electro- and hydro-therapy. These medical treatments gradually became alternative to what we now call traditional medicine, however at this time they were both thriving. In Melbourne alone there were numerous Herbalists such as the émigré Madame Carole in the 1860s. A Melbourne Homoeopathic Dispensary was operating in 1870, which was soon followed by the 40 bed Melbourne Homoeopathic Hospital in the St Kilda Road. There was even a journal called *Australian Homeopathic Progress* published from 1870. Indeed, so popular were alternative health systems that there were probably more practitioners operating in the 1870s than there were in the 1970s - and it is quite possible that there were proportionally more vegetarians in the 1870s as well.

Not being a rigid set of beliefs in itself, but rather a compassionate diet, vegetarianism could fit naturally into many of the new social and religious ideas circulating at the time. Although the true extent of vegetarianism in Australian society from 1788 is unknown, after a hundred years of colonisation there were sufficient numbers to form a significant social group. Melbourne - then Australia's largest city - had a thriving cosmopolitan outlook with the presence of active vegetarians from at least the 1850s and it was there the first vegetarian society was founded in 1886.

Most of the supporters of the movement were from the intelligentsia, academia or from the small business-owning middle class. Three of the most prominent booksellers in Melbourne during the period from 1870 to 1890 - William Terry, Robert Bamford and David Andrade - were active vegetarians while E. W. Cole (the owner of the famous Coles Book Arcade) was also sympathetic to the diet. All their shops sold vegetarian literature. In an age when reading was a major pastime and print was the only media.

The ready availability of vegetarian literature to the most educated and informed of the population was the main factor responsible for the steady growth in popularity of the diet and, ultimately, the formation of its ethical and political centre.

Outward looking Australians did not suffer as much from the 'tyranny of distance' as we imagine. British shipping lines and then later telegraphy kept Australians continually in touch with the rest of the continent as well as with Britain, the rest of the Empire and the United States. As Arnold Hills commented in a speech on the establishment of the Vegetarian Federal Union in 1889, *'What is learnt in London today will be taught in Melbourne and New York tomorrow*'. The flow of immigrants also kept new ideas coming, as did the frequent travel that many Australians took to other lands. In fact there is hardly a single prominent Australian of the Victorian era who did not spend some time in either Europe or the Americas. Many - such as William Lane, A. G. Stephens and Miles Franklin - lived in both continents. Being a land of immigrants like the United States, Australia had a population that moved easily between English-speaking countries (especially during the gold rushes). Members of international organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) frequently travelled to Britain and the United States for study and lecture tours.

With Australians still qualifying as 'British' up until relatively recent times, travel to Britain was often a career necessity for many leading academics, professionals, churchmen and politicians - especially before Federation. Australia was never an outpost, kept in the dark about world developments, but a vital and relatively well-known part of a large Empire which received constant news and trade from all corners of the globe. Indeed, Australians were - and still are - renowned for their quick uptake of new inventions and ideas. Vegetarianism is, of course, not a new idea. It has existed as a philosophy since Pythagoras in ancient Greece (if not before) and Australian vegetarians were not kept unaware of their heritage as books and journals were readily available.

Australia was not only open to ideas; it was also very adept at disseminating them.

It had a lively press which allowed the population easy and affordable access to numerous newspapers and journals which, even if they did not actually approve of some ideas, at least made their readers aware of their existence. Letters to newspapers were widely used to open a discussion or extol any views. If your view was beyond the range of a letter, people were frequently offered space for an opinion piece. And, if no newspaper would take your copy then you had the relatively affordable option of printing your own pamphlet or small book. Australian newspapers also extensively carried news from Britain copied from English newspapers. In this way Australians would have heard of the activities of, for example, the founding of the British Vegetarian Society relatively shortly after it occurred[9]. Nearly every small or fringe organisation could also quite cheaply print a small newspaper for their own supporters, and often freely fill them with reprints of articles from other overseas journals.

The public lecture was one of the chief entertainments of the Victorian age and there was very little competition for audiences - especially on a Sunday when, apart from church, it was one of the few entertainments permitted. These talks were held in freemasons' lodges, temperance and town halls, in mechanics institutes and in schools of arts. There were also debating and discussion groups, such as Melbourne's influential Eclectic Association, which would invite a variety of speakers to address their audiences. Vegetarian speakers prepared to take up this opportunity to promote the diet were never in short supply.

9 English Intelligence, The Hobart Town Courier and Gazette (Tas.) 22 April, 1848, p. 3

These speakers could be people eager to promote their adopted diet – such as a Mr J. G. White from Morpeth, NSW who owned a successful lumber and furniture business but in his spare time advocated locally for the diet for over 60 years (1850-1910), or eminent foreign speakers such as the vegetarians Annie Besant, Dr Merritt Kellogg or Sidney and Beatrice Webb who all toured extensively throughout Australia. In this way, vegetarianism in Australia, during this period of change, grew from the increase in population and social progress.

Religious and Temperance Reformers

"Alcohol is a necessity," he said. "The craving for food is recognized as legitimate, even though the rabid vegetarian seeks to snatch the chop from his brother's mouth. Yet I am asked to satisfy my desire for a drink with water! Water! Empty jam-tins are all right for goats but a hungry dog wants meat. We are but dust, add water, and we are mud."

From the novel *Here's Luck* (1930) by Lenny Lower.

The world's first Vegetarian Society was founded in England in 1847. This was soon followed by The United States, which founded its first Society in 1850. These two countries still contain among the highest numbers of vegetarians in the western world. Central to the founding of both the British and United States' vegetarian societies were a group of like-minded individuals belonging to a Swedenborg-influenced church called the Bible Christians.

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish Christian mystic who believed that he could travel between the physical and spirit worlds and that he had been called by God to reveal this to humanity. He wrote thirty volumes of theological works which comprise that revelation. Swedenborg's writings were apparently always available to Australian settlers since copies of his books are believed to have been brought out on the First Fleet.

The Swedenborg New Church, which became the official church of the movement, was generally non-vegetarian. However many of the Swedenborgians who came to Australia to proselytise from the 1830s onwards were from this Church, and were vegetarian. The Clisby family of Adelaide were converted by these new arrivals to both vegetarianism and Swedenborg in 1847.

Among the many Swedenborg-influenced vegetarians who immigrated to Australia from England were the Pitman, Moody and Chidley families who formed their own vegetarian communities in Victoria from the 1850s. But unlike Britain and the United States, Australia did not have a substantial cohesive group of committed vegetarians from a single religion until the arrival of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1891.

While there have always been temperance advocates, the formal temperance movement did not really begin until the early 1830s. It began in Britain in response to an upsurge in alcoholism caused by the sweeping technical and social changes of the Industrial Revolution. The concentration of populations into cities and collapse of rural society was offset by the provision of cheap alcohol as a balm for the miserable and hungry. With alcohol easier and cheaper to obtain than clean water or milk, it became a plague on the poor and remained so until the outbreak of the First World War. Alcoholism had also been a major problem in colonial Australia almost from its inception. The first drunken orgy occurred when the female convict ship, *The Lady Juliana*, arrived in 1790. Many of Australia's early vegetarians were also those who took an active part in the temperance movement. While Australia did not for the most part have the dark satanic factories and mills that drove British workers to drink, it did have the heat of her climate to promote a steady thirst. Australians had as easy access to cheap alcohol as they did to cheap meat, and it is understandable why alcoholism became so prevalent. As a consequence, there were always social reformers on hand to preach against the 'demon drink'. Vegetarianism's being so closely aligned with the temperance movement probably did little to promote its acceptance in the general population. In fact it is more likely to have created only resistance as Australians have always had a natural suspicion of wowserism.

When non-convict British and German immigrants came to Australia in the 1830s and early 1840s, many of them brought with them temperance ideas. Temperance journals and newspapers - which had previously only been available from Britain - began to be published in Australia from 1840. In Tasmania, temperance was particularly strong, probably because of the large number of Quakers and members of other non-conformist religious groups arriving in the community.

As one correspondent to the Colonial Times (Hobart) wrote in 1833 that if there was '*adherence to rigid temperance. Then, Sir, the great public good that would ensue, would be unspeakable: while the licensed victuallers, brewers, and spirits merchants would be ruined, and sarve 'em right, as Mr. Bonwick would say, for their sordid and selfish spirits, -- the stockholders and butchers would have to turn their hands to other pursuits*.'[10]

The Independent Order of Rechabites was an organisation founded in Salford in England in 1835 that, thanks to the vegetarian church reformers William Cowherd and Joseph Brotherton, was the vegetarian centre of Britain. This order, which was similar to many other friendly societies of the time, provided mutual support in case of sickness or death. What set it apart from others is that its members were required to abstain from all intoxicating liquors and its first secretary (and author of its ritual and code) was the vegetarian, Joseph Thompson.

While the abstention from alcohol among Rechabites was enforced, vegetarianism was not, but the number of vegetarians in the order would probably have had some influence. The first branch of the order in Australia was founded in Sydney in April, 1842, with branches soon following in Tasmania. Although the Rechabites established themselves in South Australia and New South Wales, it was in Tasmania that the organisation really took hold and still exists today.

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10 Colonial Times (Hobart), Tuesday 5 July 1842, p. 3

In the early 1840s the first vegetarians began to appear from among the various temperance organisations. While abstaining from meat was not fully endorsed let alone enforced, meat eating was still seen as something that was not particularly noble, as the masthead of the *Van Diemen's Land Temperance Herald* (1845) which carried the Bible quotation implied:

"*It is good neither to eat meat, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or made weak*." - Rom. xiv.21

The term 'total abstainer', which was in widespread use amongst temperance groups, was often recognised as indicating that a person abstained from meat as well as alcohol.

When, in 1894, Margaret O'Kavanagh wrote to ask whether the Seventh Day Adventists were total abstainers, Ellen White replied:

"I am happy to assure you that as a denomination we are in the fullest sense total abstainers from the use of spirituous liquors, wine, beer, [fermented] cider, and also tobacco and all other narcotics... All are vegetarians, many abstaining wholly from the use of flesh food, while others use it in only the most moderate degree."[11]

All religions of the Abrahamic tradition - Christianity, Islam and Judaism - have seen meat as being in some way unclean and ungodly. All at some time have proscribed the eating of certain types of meat, have determined supposedly more humane ways of slaughtering animals or proclaimed periods when no meat can be eaten, while viewing abstinence as a way to physical purity and greater spirituality. Until the early part of the 20th century fasting and abstention from meat (but not fish) was an accepted part of Christian practice in Australia.

11 White, Ellen, Letter 99, Jan. 8, 1894, Manuscript Releases, Silver Spring, Md.: Ellen G. White Estate

Catholics were generally expected to refrain from eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays, at Advent and for six weeks during Lent, although various papal indulgences have gradually eroded these strictures. Many Catholics today continue to observe the 'fish on Friday' rule, while many individuals within the non-conformist, Methodist, Anglican and Quaker communities manage to abstain from meat for the entire week. Historically so prominent was vegetarianism within the Quaker faith that it established its own vegetarian and animal welfare organisations in the 1890s.

In the 19th Century there was a large revival of religiosity known most prominently in the United States as the 'great awakening'. This led to an explosive growth in the number of new religious groups. Many, such as the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the Salvation Army, were made up primarily of former Methodists and most espoused some form of vegetarianism at some time. This is not altogether surprising as John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist Church, was himself a vegetarian and consequently so were many of his original flock. The reasons why Christian vegetarians abstained from eating meat are many. William Bramwell Booth - the second general of the Salvation Army and eldest son of its founder, William Booth (also a some-time vegetarian) - wrote a pamphlet in which he stated the 19 reasons why he was a vegetarian, three of which are those given by most Christian vegetarians:

- a vegetarian diet is favourable to purity, to chastity, and to perfect control of the appetites and passions which are often a source of great temptation, especially to the young
- meat-eating is cruel
- according to the Bible God originally intended the food for humans to be vegetarian

In the last reason Booth refers to the following passage from the *Genesis 1:29*:

"And God said, Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat."

The Salvation Army in Australia however, was never actively associated with vegetarianism, even though Booth recommended the diet in his *Orders and Regulations for the Officers of the Salvation Army.* It is presumed that making the diet part of the movement in Australia would have deterred recruitment for the new organisation which, given Australia's dietary habits, was probably correct. The only notable exception to this policy was Ensign Grinling (editor of the journal the *War Cry*) who lectured on vegetarianism in the mid-1890s at the behest of the NSW Vegetarian Society.

The first Mormon missionaries arrived in Australia in 1851, although some members of their Church had come out previously from England. Mormons today are not vegetarian and are, in fact, now opposed to the diet. Early Mormons, however, were more guided by the revelations of their prophet Joseph Smith, who said that meat "*should not be used, only in times of winter, or of cold, or famine*."

And from the statements of Brigham Young who wrote in his *Journal of Discourses* in 1852:

"Let the people be holy, and filled with the Spirit of God, and every animal and creeping thing will be filled with peace; the soil of the earth will bring forth its strength, and the fruits thereof will be meat for man. The more purity that exists, the less is the strife; the more kind we are to our animals, the more will peace increase, and the savage nature of the brute creation vanish away."

How well those early Mormons in Australia adhered to this wise and compassionate advice we cannot know.

In 1904, Mary and Benjamin Purnell, the founders of the religious group the Israelite House of David, left their newly founded colony in Benton Harbor, Michigan and embarked on an evangelising tour of Australia. Their beliefs were the then relatively common view that Christ was imminently returning and that sinners would be swept from the Earth. To be sure of avoiding the worst of the chaos to come, they talked of an 'in gathering of the Children of Israel'. This led them to organise a gathering together of all the righteous into their self-sufficient commune that would be run according to scripture, and where the people would be vegetarian, celibate and additionally would not cut their hair.

When the Purnell's returned to Benton Harbor the following year they brought back with them from Melbourne more than 70 Australian converts. For those who stayed behind in Australia, an Australian branch of the House of David was founded by Mary McDermott and John Schneider in 1906. In 1910, a Miss Tomlinson arrived from the US and headed the organisation from then onwards. After a couple of moves, in 1919, they set up a community on 40 acres in North Ryde, Sydney. The commune continued on the same vegetarian lines until well into the 1940s and established a working vegetable farm that supported them and the commune population which hovered around 20 residents.[12]

Another American import to Australia was the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), a movement which had begun in the United States in 1874 and soon spread to the rest of the English-speaking world.

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12 Sydney Morning Herald, 25 April 1931, p 6

Telegraph (Brisbane), 14 July 1937, p 20

Land (Sydney), 12 July 1946, p 17

By the late 1880s there were thriving branches in most Australian states. Apart from promoting temperance, the Australian WCTU was also of seminal importance in getting women involved in politics by playing a leading part in the suffragist movement. Its involvement was not so much for women's advocacy *per se*, but as a means of enfranchising its members so that they could force temperance onto the political agenda. This they achieved, making some areas of Australia dry to alcohol.

The WCTU was also a decidedly vegetarian organisation. The American leadership, containing as it did Ella Kellogg, May Yates and Lillian Stevens, was almost entirely vegetarian. In Australia, vegetarians in the WCTU were also largely to the fore. Vegetarian activity went to the extent of running a vegetarian café in Melbourne and by having its members deliver dietary lectures across Australia and otherwise promote vegetarianism. The WCTU was so identified with vegetarianism that the *Bulletin* lampooned it with this poem:

For years and years the frenzied soul has raised himself upon a cask

To give the demon drink his dole of frantic stoush; but now we ask

That he will turn his righteous heat

Upon the wicked things we eat;

And take a turn at outing meat

...

Pigshead, not hogshead, spells despair;

The foe is cutlets, never hops.

Who takes the pledge henceforth will swear

He'll not taste, or handle chops.

And good teetotal people must combine with fevered zeal to bust

That dreadful Beef and Mutton Trust.[13]

This was printed after the *Bulletin* had reported the WCTU as stating in its Melbourne convention of 1912:

"It was being recognised more and more that flesh food was more impure than vegetarian food. The person who never ate meat had never been known to be a drunkard, and a drunkard had never been known to be a vegetarian."

This belief that meat promoted alcoholism was well-established in many temperance eyes by this time. The Salvation Army, at the behest of General Bramwell Booth and his wife Florence, had been 'curing' alcoholics - with some success - in its British hostels for several years by enforcing a vegetarian diet on them.

Robert Jones - President of the Australian Vegetarian Society in 1888 and a guest speaker at the International Temperance Conference held in Melbourne in the same year - described approvingly the findings of the well-known American vegetarian, Dr James Jackson, who ran a sanatorium in Dansville, N.Y., to the effect that:

"All his efforts to reform a drunkard were futile until he deprived him of the use of flesh food, and that, on the other handout of 100 confirmed drunkards, he succeeded in curing ninety-eight in his hygienic institution by simply withdrawing flesh and tobacco, prescribing baths and a diet of fruits and grains. On such a diet, he says, the desire for alcohol almost dies out of a man, and children brought up on that food rarely fall victims to strong drink, unless trained to its use, for their blood is pure, their nerves

13 Snell, Silas (Dyson, Edward), The Accursed Meat, in, The Bulletin, vol.33 no.1710, 21 November 1912 (p.12)

supplied with proper nutrient, their muscles full and cordy, and their bones strong."[14]

The lessons from these overseas establishments were later to be used in Australia. Firstly in Melbourne where the Seventh-day Adventists established a hostel in 1895 and later when a 'Tyson cure' was apparently used by a local Magistrate to cure hopeless drunks.[15] In Sydney, the Methodist Medical Retreat (founded in 1897) began to offer 'a purely vegetable cure' to its patients. Run by a Dr McClelland, formerly Medical Superintendent of Sydney Hospital, this retreat treated dipsomaniacs and drug addicts whether Methodist or not.[16]

The Methodist Church had many vegetarian supporters including the Rev. John Higgins who was one of the founders of the Australian Vegetarian Society, as well as its first president. A teetotal Wesleyan sect called the Bible Christians (which later amalgamated with the Methodist Church) also had vegetarian supporters in Australia, most notably the Hon. Dr Allan Campbell. Campbell was a Member of Parliament from South Australia who corresponded with the fledgling Vegetarian Society in the 1880s.

Apart from those cloistered within vegetarian monastic orders, the Catholic Church has never publicly advocated vegetarianism and, in some cases, has been totally opposed to it. In Australia, however, it can lay claim to one indefatigable champion of vegetarianism - Mrs Margaret O'Kavanagh (nee Watson, 1838-1912). O'Kavanagh was a migrant from County Tipperary in Ireland who arrived in Melbourne in 1857 aged 19.

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14 Jones, Robert, Vegetarianism, with special reference to its connection with Temperance in drinking : lecture (enlarged) delivered before the Melbourne Total Abstinence Society at the Temperance Hall, Russell-St., on the 10th April, 1888, 2nd ed. / ed. by Joseph Knight, Melbourne : Manchester : George Robertson ; The Vegetarian Society, 1889

15 Meares, Edward, Vegetable diet in health and disease, Melbourne, 1893, p.10

16 Colwell, J, The Illustrated History of Methodism : Australia, 1812 to 1855, New South Wales and Polynesia, 1856 to 1902, Sydney, William Brooks & Co., 1904, p.549

Margaret married a draper; Eugene Kavanagh and worked with him in their business in Hotham until his untimely death in 1879. In 1876 she had taken up vegetarianism as a penance but after a time on the diet said it was no penance but was in fact the "*healthiest, and consequently the happiest mode of existing here; and, further, all who aspire to a spiritual life will find it not only curb, but extinguish, all animal passions*."

After her husband's death, Margaret added an O to her surname and dreamed of establishing a religious community that would build upon her two overriding passions - the promotion of the Catholic Church and the spreading of vegetarianism in the new colony. For many years she sought Church support for this venture. In 1887, after many years of persuasion and a personal visit to the Vatican, and with the proceeds of the sale of the drapery business, Mrs O'Kavanagh was given permission to found her lay order by the Most Rev. Thomas Carr, Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne. The church monastery and retreat that she founded went by the alluring name of the Zion Erin Cottage and was in her home in Cape Street, Heidelberg. The order she founded to inhabit this establishment was called the Zion Erin Crusade of the Cross. The order, in which she was now a nun, admitted only 'pious men - single or widowed and pious women - virgins and widows under the age of 58' and also preferably of Irish stock. That vegetarianism was uppermost in her mind in this community can be seen in the three vows and rules that the members had to adhere to:

'Firstly, Total abstinence from all spirituous and fermented drink; from all flesh, fish, and fowl, or broth or gravy extracted from said flesh, fish, or fowl. Persons seeking to mitigate or alter this rule for themselves or others, must vacate their vocation and relation with said Monastery in favour of persons stronger in the practice of self-denial.

Secondly, Chastity.

Thirdly, Obedience.'[17]

The home rather than creating a thriving vegetarian community seemingly functioned more as a vegetarian hospice and thus attracted terminally ill Catholics, some no doubt for want of anywhere else to go. In the obituary pages of the Catholic newspaper *The Advocate* can be seen the evidence that many folk passed their last days there. In the major economic downturn of the early 1890s, she lost her savings and to keep her home began to take in foundling children. It is estimated she cared for up to 30 children over the years, bringing them up vegetarian we can only assume. Mrs O'Kavanagh wrote of spreading her order across Australia and, from there, as far and wide as Jerusalem and America. With no evidence of the monastery existing after her death it seems sadly that her order never progressed beyond her Melbourne home.

Vegetarian temperance views were also to be found in the Anglican Church. Alfred Barry - bishop of Sydney and primate of Australia from 1886 to 1889 - who had already caused upset to his low church congregation with the installation of a reredos, found himself the subject of heated attacks after he had raised the connection between alcohol and meat consumption. True to form, the *Bulletin* mocked him with the publication of an entire page of satirical cartoons as well as a poem entitled, 'Prime-Meat Barry's Patter Song: The Bishop's Prevarication; or "It's Owing to the Meat",' which *contains the lines:*

I find it is reported in a wicked Sydney sheet
that I told the English people the Australian
elite
were sensual and lawless and consumed their
whisky neat.
Now what I really said to them I'll with your
leave repeat:

17 Zion Erin Crusade of the Cross, The Vegetarian, London, July 25, 1891, p. 395

I said that you were wicked, but I laid the blame on meat
I told them that for beauty none could with your girls compete
They were elegant and neat, they were sweet, but indiscreet
But I said their indiscretion was brought on by eating meat
I told them that your working man his wife and children beat,
Twas not drink that made him do it - it was what he had to eat.[18]

This satirical dig was in response to a lecture on Australia given by Barry in London and which *The Sydney Morning Herald* (among other newspapers) reported in which he supposedly implied that Australians were excessively sensual and ill-mannered because of their high meat consumption. After a storm of protest he attempted to clarify this by stating:
"*The comparatively fuller diet constituted special temptation, against which we [Australians] had a hard struggle."*[19]

Only a relatively small number of Christians were vegetarian or vegetarian supporters. Indeed in the late Victorian era a number of Australian Christian missionaries were going out to other lands, in particular to Asia, actively promoting a meat diet as part of a Christian lifestyle. So much so that a Mr D Lacey of Hobart, Tasmania wrote to the vegetarian press asking that all Christians desist in supporting any missionary activity in countries such as India (where he had lived previously) which had a vegetarian majority.

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18 May, Phil, Prime-Meat Barry's Patter Song: The Bishop's Prevarication; or "It's Owing to the Meat" in, The Bulletin, vol.8 no.392 6 August 1887, p.6.

19 Sydney Morning Herald, 9 July 1887, pp.6 & 10 and 29 July 1887, p.3.

The locals also at times did not take kindly to the promotion of a meat diet. In August 1895, vegetarian members of a Buddhist sect at Whasanh (Hua Sang), China killed, amongst others, three female Australian Christian missionaries. According to the vegetarian press the Christians eating of flesh and proselytising a faith that included eating the body of Christ had instilled so much hate and mistrust, that the attack was somewhat justified.[20]

There would undoubtedly have been some vegetarians among Jewish Australians. The Jewish community has promoted aspects of animal welfare for thousands of years and many of the past champions of the vegetarian and animal welfare movements have come from the Jewish faith. It is estimated that Israel is second only to India in having the largest proportion of the population that is vegetarian. Jews were also the only religious group to have created their own organised Vegetarian Societies, a branch of which is still in operation in Australia. Peter Singer - probably the most important current voice in animal rights and moral philosophy in general - comes from this heritage.

Many of the early Australian Jewish vegetarians would probably have been among the most religious of people (chief rabbis, for example, have frequently been vegetarian).
The majority of Australian Jews however would have been meat eaters (albeit with kosher rules), and it is to be expected that many who weren't so when they arrived would soon have become so to conform to the *mores* of Australian society. The pressure on migrants to Australia - especially non-Christians - to conform to Australian norms was very strong up until quite recently.
There were exceptions, however, such as the Finley family who were "the only Jewish vegetarians in Perth."[21]

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20 Tsai-li and the missionary massacres, Vegetarian Review, London, no. 49 Sept. 1895. p.290-294

21 Fraser, Gina, personal email 18 July, 2003

This family, which lived in the suburb of North Perth, had become vegetarian in the early 1930s for ethical reasons. Hetty Finley, the family's eldest child, and her mother had attended a lecture entitled 'Christmas as Seen through the Eyes of a Turkey.' Hetty went on to be active in many animal welfare and vegetarian groups as did other members of her family. This was not part of any Jewish vegetarian movement as none existed until the formation of the International Jewish Vegetarian Society (which the Finleys joined in the mid-1960s). Their experience is similar to that of many 'normal' vegetarian families - they were not part of an organised vegetarian group which taught vegetarianism, they had made the ethical choice themselves, knew no other vegetarians and were probably unaware of the existence of any organised vegetarian society.

Whether vegetarian or not, Jewish Australians appear to have used vegetarian recipes and frequented vegetarian establishments due to the sure knowledge that they would be providing kosher food.

Below is an example of a recipe from *The Hebrew Standard of Australasia*. [22]

VEGETARIAN 'ROAST DUCK'

One vegetable marrow, two large onions, sage 2 teaspoonfuls, breadcrumbs 1 breakfast cupful, margarine 3 oz., one egg, salt and pepper. Peel the marrow, cut in halves lengthwise, and remove the seeds. Parboil- the onions, and chop them finely. Soak the crumbs in a little hot milk, then mix them thoroughly with the onion; and sage; season well ' with salt and pepper, and bind with egg. Fill the1 marrow with the (mixture, put both halves together; place on a greased fireproof dish, put the butter in small pieces on top, and bake in a hot oven about three -quarters of an hour, or until -the marrow is soft.

Some vegetarian cafes and stores catered to this and stated within their advertisements that their food was Kosher. *The Pure Food Vegetarian Café* for example was a frequent advertiser in the *Hebrew Standard* newspaper.[23]

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22 The Hebrew Standard of Australasia (Sydney), 2 January 1925, p 15

23 The Hebrew Standard of Australasia (Sydney), 16 September 1904, p.13

There would undoubtedly have been early Hindu and Buddhist visitors to Australia, but there is no record of their vegetarianism. In 1900 there were around 4500 Hindus in Australia but the introduction of the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* would have practically put an end to immigration from most of the nations that adhere to Hinduism and Buddhism and so their numbers began to relatively decline. However, western exponents of these religions could and did manage to immigrate to Australia. In 1911, the 11 year old Marie Beuzeville Byles (1900-1979) came out to Australia from England with her socialist vegetarian parents Cyril and Ida. Byles, in June 1924, became the first woman solicitor in New South Wales after graduating in law from Sydney University. During a successful legal career, she also managed to be a mountaineer, traveller, feminist, conservationist, pacifist and author. In the 1940s she became a Buddhist and was a founding member of the Buddhist Society of New South Wales. A lifelong vegetarian, she stated near the end of her long life that she had never even tasted meat. Her earliest travel book, *By cargo boat & mountain: the unconventional experiences of a woman on tramp round the world* (1931) recounts how she got by on raw fruit, brown bread and the occasional salad.

In the late 1930s, Byles built and occupied a property she named 'Ahimsa' (the divinity of all living things and avoidance of all violence) which reflected her religious beliefs. Byles's studied and wrote on both Buddha and Gandhi and sought to raise feminist and ecological interpretations of their thoughts and teachings.

Frederick Whittle (1902-1995) a long term vegan, ventured to Burma in the 1950s to become a Buddhist monk. After his return to Australia Whittle later became the president of the Buddhist Society of Victoria as well as one of the three founders of the Vegan Society of Victoria in August 1973.

Another prominent Buddhist was Frank Lee Woodward (1871 - 1952).

Born the son of an Anglican clergyman in England, Woodward later became a Buddhist, a Theosophist and vegetarian after a personal spiritual crisis whilst a young man. After completion of his studies at Cambridge University he became a schoolmaster and then for 16 years the principal of a Theosophist school in Sri Lanka. Moving to Tasmania in 1919 Woodward gave up teaching to concentrate on his scholarly pursuits. Buying a cottage with a small apple orchard near Launceston, he set about translating Buddhist texts into English, eventually managing to translate a large number of works, his most famous being *Some Sayings of the Buddha* (1925).[24]

The two main proselytising Hindu groups, which brought vegetarianism in their wake to Australia, were the Ananda Marga and the Hare Krishna organisations. Ananda Marga is a sect which promotes yoga and meditation as well as emphasising social justice. Founded in India in 1955, it is based on the teachings of Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar. The group began making converts in Australia in the early 1970s and by the mid-1970s Ananda Marga centres (offering yoga instruction) were operating in most major cities. Apart from its spiritual activities, Ananda Marga also promoted vegetarianism and from their premises made vegetarian foodstuffs and information freely available.

The Hare Krishna (or International Society of Krishna Consciousness) is a Hindu organization founded in the United States in 1965 by Swami Prabhupada (1896–1977). Its followers live a somewhat monastic life, part of which requires adherence to vegetarianism. The movement came to Australia in the early 1970s setting up religious groups in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane.

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24 Croucher, Paul, Buddhism in Australia 1848-1988, Kensington, New South Wales University Press, 1989, pp.21-22

The Hare Krishna's became for a time primarily associated with conversions, chanting processions in major shopping thoroughfares and 'begging'. In the late 1970s with a backlash against organisations deemed by some as cults, the Hare Krishna's moved away from street activities and decided to further develop its vegetarian restaurants as centres to attract followers/inquirers and to make money for their works through selling their excellent food. For those who could not afford to eat in their restaurants they also started providing free vegetarian meals for the transient population of Sydney's King Cross. This free food program, known as Food for Life, continues to this day in Australia and is pursued in line with the teachings of Srila Prabhupada, who asked Krishna followers to not allow anyone within a ten mile radius of their temples to go hungry.

Alfred Deakin and the Melbourne Spiritualists

Probably the most unacknowledged vegetarian in Australia's history - yet, ironically, her most famous vegetarian - was three-time Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin.

Deakin adopted vegetarianism as a teenager in the 1870s both as part of his spirituality and also as a means to stop the suffering of fellow animals. His vegetarianism was ostensibly motivated primarily by his involvement in the Victorian Association of Progressive Spiritualists (VAPS), founded by William Henry Terry (1836-1913).

In 1872, Terry founded the Progressive Spiritualist Lyceum, where the young could learn about spiritualism, and at which Alfred Deakin would later serve in the role of conductor. Leading the Sunday services, Deakin would ask, "How do we prove our appreciation [of God]?" to which the congregation - including his future wife, Pattie Browne - would reply, "By protecting, tending and ministering to all helpless living things."

Deakin was very much involved in the spiritualist movement in Melbourne and was for a time a leading medium and a later president of the VAPS. Deakin's novel, *A New Pilgrim's Progress* (1877), was written when he was only 20 years old. Published pseudonymously, he claimed that it was written with the spiritual guidance of the long-dead John Bunyan (author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*), although he later admitted his own authorship. Contained within the work are many aspects of Deakin's philosophy (rather than Bunyan's) including reference to vegetarianism. In the novel the hero, Restless, becomes a vegetarian, taking up what he called a "pure diet" as part of his spiritual journey.

Whatever his views on animal welfare, Deakin seemingly publicly gave up vegetarianism around 1878-79. Deakin may have been influenced by Henry Browne (his wife Pattie's father) who denounced both vegetarianism and temperance as fads. A forceful and forthright man he was disinclined to support these reforms as he had made his great fortune as a distiller. Initially opposed to Deakin as a husband to his daughter, he later relented, perhaps due to this change.

More likely, Deakin may have dropped open vegetarianism and spiritualism in an effort to appear less of a 'crank' both to his electorate and to his political colleagues as it coincided with the beginning of his political career. The necessity of this move was made apparent by newspaper critics who denounced him and his novel of "outraging religion, morality and public decency" during his (albeit successful) campaign to become a member of the Victorian Legislative Assembly.[25]

Deakin, however, did not actually cease to believe in the spirit world and continued to study and write on the subject in private. He maintained a great interest in another vegetarian mystic, Swedenborg, and was impressed enough to become for a time a Theosophist after a private meeting with the eminent British vegetarian, Annie Besant, in 1894. In public, he attended the vegetarian-friendly Australian Church led by the Rev. Charles Strong (later a patron of the Food Reform League) and was also a close supporter of the Salvation Army as he was a great admirer of its vegetarian leader, William Booth.

25 Gabay, Al, Messages from Beyond : Spiritualism and Spiritualists in Melbourne's Golden Age 1870-1890, p. 132



Alfred Deakin at Point Lonsdale

Deakin also kept up what was then known as a 'Spartan diet' (which may have been a euphemism for 'vegetarian') and continued to use herbal remedies such as "*the juice of a boiled wildflower of a particularly nasty flavor*" that he also gave to his daughters.[26]

26 See, My Grandfather's Legacy, a speech given by Judith Harley, Melbourne Town Hall, Thursday, May 10, 2001. Broadcast and transcript by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation

In light of Deakin's attempt to appear 'normal' it is interesting to note that when the Food Reform League was founded in 1909 (by former members of the Vegetarian Society) with the firm intention of promoting vegetarianism, but without the apparently difficult title of 'vegetarian' within it, that Pattie Deakin was a founding member and patroness.

We know that Deakin also always remained moved by the plight of animals. This led him to actively support animal welfare causes and to be a leading patron of non-controversial animal welfare organisations such as the Victorian Society for the Protection of Animals. Indeed, the first piece of legislation that he drafted and had passed through the Victorian Parliament was *The Protection of Animals Bill* of 1881, which was ratified with the aid of Sir Henry Wrixon in the Legislative Council.

Deakin's early spiritualist mentor, William Henry Terry, was born in London in 1813 and arrived in Melbourne in 1853. Terry, who was immersed in spiritualism and free thought ideas, gave up the family drapery business to set up shop as a spiritualist bookseller. In his bookshop, he also conducted private séances, acting as a medium and psychic healer and sold herbal and homoeopathic remedies. In 1869, Terry founded the Victorian Association of Progressive Spiritualists to provide a forum in which he and like-minded people of 'advanced' outlook could meet and discuss spiritualism and other progressive ideas.

In September 1870, Terry launched *The Harbinger of Light, which* he advertised as *"a new monthly journal devoted to zoistic science, free thought, spiritualism and the harmonial philosophy."*

The Harbinger discussed many of Terry's concerns, attitudes and ideas - not the least of which were vegetarianism and animal welfare.

Terry published many of his own articles in support of vegetarianism and also reprinted those by sympathetic journalists from Australian newspapers, including Tom Touchstone (the pseudonym used by the poet and journalist, Thomas Bury) from the *Ballarat Courier*. He also reprinted articles he found in American temperance and spiritualist journals such as the *Banner of Light*, which confirmed the prudence of the diet.

Terry's vegetarianism was less concerned with his health and spirituality than with the health and well-being of other animals. The plight of animals in vivisection - as well as general cruelty - also received much sympathetic editorial coverage. *The Harbinger* ran numerous advertisements for vegetarian products such as the popular 'Egyptian lentils' supplied by Terry's Theosophist contacts in India. Of all Australian publications, *The Harbinger* was the most important in the promotion of vegetarianism. Apart from the later journal *Progress* (1889-1890), it was practically the only Australian publication of the time to sympathetically mention the Vegetarian Society and its activities.



William Henry Terry (1836 - 1913), by unknown photographer, courtesy of the National Library of Australia. nla.ms-ms1540-19-613-s45-a1.

Terry also published novels and other works on spiritualism. Not to be outdone by Deakin's accessing of the spirit of Bunyan, Terry upped the ante by invoking Shakespeare for his new dramatic version of *All's Well That Ends Well*.

Although Terry was a peace-loving man, his wife apparently was not and his beliefs were not shared by her.

After several instances of violence on her part they were legally separated, Terry gaining custody of their children. As if in confirmation of his beliefs, he sadly noted that, her violent episodes "*took place after she had had pork and porter*."[27]

27 Gabay, Al, Messages from Beyond : Spiritualism and Spiritualists in Melbourne's Golden Age 1870-1890, p.33

Interestingly Terry's marital misfortune was only one of a quite a few incidences wherein men were divorced by their wives on the grounds of their insistence on being vegetarian, much to the amusement of the newspapers[28]

Terry's promotion of spiritualism also brought out other vegetarians to Melbourne[29]. In November 1880 George Spriggs (1850-1912), who had caused a sensation in Britain with his ability to cause materialisations during his séances, came out to Melbourne with his companion, the journalist A. J. Smart. Spriggs and Smart were both members of the Circle of Light a spiritualist group formed in Cardiff, Wales which had strict regulations on clothing, bathing and vegetarianism. Spriggs and Smart became closely involved with many vegetarian society members such as Fanny E. Samuel and to the Browne family after Spriggs reportedly communed with two drowned brothers of Pattie Deakin (nee Browne). Spriggs became a popular 'Psychopathic healer' or spirit healer and herbalist in Melbourne and served as president of the Thermopylae Club in Melbourne – a club presumably named in sympathy with the (sometime vegetarian) Spartans and also later as Conductor of Terry's Spiritualist Lyceum.

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28 Some examples over the years appearing in the Maitland Mercury, 10 Mar. 1883, supp. P. 2; and, Sparklets, Canberra Times, 24 Sept. 1926, p. 8.

29 Western Mail (Cardiff, Wales), Thursday, September 9, 1880, p.4.

Theosophical Vegetarianism

While spiritualism was very popular for a time, it lacked a defining religious element and structure to maintain it as a movement. The Theosophical Society, which had begun in New York in 1875, filled this gap and began gaining adherents in Australia from the early 1880s. Terry himself disseminated Theosophical publications from his spiritualist bookshop as many of its tenets agreed with his own spiritual ideas.

Theosophy was a synthesis of ideas from Christianity, spiritualism and the eastern religions of Buddhism and Hinduism. With its mysticism, somewhat secretive structure and exotic leading figures such as the Russian émigré, Madame Helena Blavatsky, it was an exciting organisation for Australians to be a part. Initially it began to co-opt members from the professional classes of the spiritualist community (who were often well connected) to advance its cause. By the 1890s, because it promoted the movement's stated core belief in 'Universal brotherhood regardless of distinctions of caste, class, colour, creed or sex', Theosophy also began to attract feminist women as well as many from the radical and socialist fringe. Adherents included Annie Besant in Britain and John Dwyer – one of the leading figures of Sydney's anarchist group, the Active Service Brigade - who were looking for spiritual answers outside of the mainstream churches.

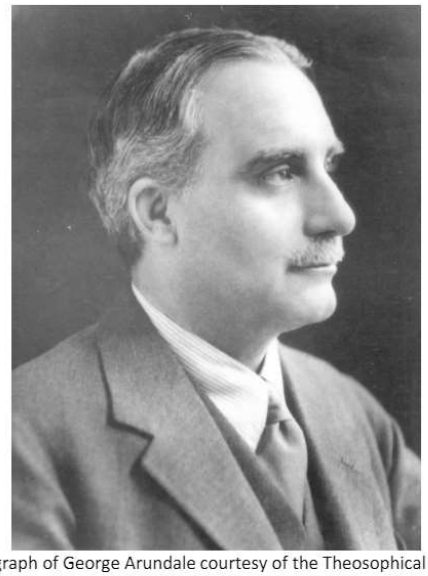
While vegetarians have different motives for not eating dead animals, the main reason why Theosophists are vegetarian is because they believe in the unity of all living things and choose not to eat what they feel are their related fellow animals. It can only be surmised why there have been so many vegetarians within the Theosophist movement when it was never a stipulation of membership.

Some adherents would probably have become vegetarian after joining and learning of its benefits, but many - and certainly the majority in the early years of the movement - were already vegetarian when they joined. An example of this is the Debney family of Melbourne. Frederick and Ada Debney were active vegetarians, who both served as committee members in the Vegetarian Society from the 1880s, and who later joined the Theosophists in 1895. It seems probable; therefore, that many other vegetarians also actively sought out a compassionate religious movement to attach themselves to. Whatever the case, the Theosophist movement has been over the years very important to the survival of vegetarianism in Australia.

The majority of vegetarians historically in Australia were vegetarians purely out of health concerns; the Theosophists however, were exceedingly active in all aspects of animal welfare. Formed by Annie Besant in 1908, the Theosophical Order of Service was an organisation within the Theosophist movement founded as 'a union of those who love for the service of all who suffer'. This activist branch of Theosophy encouraged its members to work in the community promoting various good causes, including animal welfare and vegetarianism. To this end, among Australia's few thousand Theosophists there were to be found the leading supporters, and in many cases founders, of anti-vivisection groups as well as leaders of vegetarian societies and animal welfare groups across Australia.

Leaders of the Theosophical Society, Annie Besant and Charles Leadbeater (the latter having moved to Australia in 1914), both wrote books promoting vegetarianism. Besant wrote, *Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy* (1895) and Leadbeater wrote, *Vegetarianism and the Occult* (1913), and both frequently raised the issue on their speaking platforms.

Another leader, George Arundale (1878-1945) arrived in Sydney in 1925 accompanied by his young Indian wife, Rukmini Devi. Arundale already had connections in Australia as his father, an Anglican Minister, had previously emigrated there. Arundale who was at the time the Secretary later became the World President of the Theosophical Society and was a most fervent vegetarian proselytiser.



Photograph of George Arundale courtesy of the Theosophical Society

In all Theosophist publications - including the Australian journals, *Theosophy in Australia* (1896-) and *Advance! Australia: a monthly magazine of Australian citizenship and ideals in religion, education, literature, science, art, music, social life, politics, et*c. (1926-1929) - the vegetarian diet received considerable coverage. *Advance! Australia*, which was founded and edited by Arundale, was particularly supportive of vegetarianism with about quarter of the publication devoted to animal welfare issues. It carried a great many articles on vegetarianism from around the world (there being a dearth of Australian activity to comment upon) as well as attacks on vivisection and hunting. It also featured a large number of vegetarian recipes by Mary K. Neff and May S. Rogers, as well as A. Bertha Crowther - a Theosophist who had become very much involved in spiritual issues after losing her husband Percy at Gallipoli. Sadly Percy Crowther was not the only vegetarian to die at Gallipoli, as Lt-Col George Frederick Braund, Commanding Officer of the 2nd Battalion and President of the Armidale Theosophist lodge was also killed in action there on the 4th of May 1915.

Through Arundales' other brainchild - the Theosophist founded radio station 2GB in Sydney - the diet was promoted over the airwaves from 1926 when a Mr J. K. Powell, an Irishman who emigrated to Australia in 1925, known to his listeners as the 'Cheerio Man', spoke daily on 'sane food reform' as well as on other reform movements. From 1926 to 1929 the Theosophy and vegetarian message was also broadcast on the Brisbane station 4QG. Interestingly, it was another vegetarian Emil Voigt, who in 1925 founded radio station 2KY, therefore it was certainly possible that radio provided a medium (in Sydney and Brisbane at least) where the diet could be favourably mentioned in Australia.

The Theosophist also founded a school, the Morven Garden School, in 1918, which provided students (including a young Peter Finch) with a healthy vegetarian diet, while their retreat, The Manor, in Mosman, provided distinguished foreign visitors (such as Sir Edwin and Lady Mary Lutyens) with a vegetarian home away from home.



'The Manor'

In 1925, Edgar W Pritchard (a botanist employed by the South Australian Government) sought to establish an Order of the Star in the East (OSE) vegetarian community in Adelaide. The following article from the Adelaide Mail (21 November 1925, page 1) provides a glimpse into the Theosophist lifestyle in Sydney and for that planned in Adelaide.

SEEKING UTOPIA IN ADELAIDE
Community to be Formed
ORDER OF STAR IN THE EAST

To live in a place with congenial companions, to be free from the eternal round of getting meals, washing dishes, and endeavoring to obtain domestics would be, to many people, Utopia. Yet an attempt to establish such a Utopia is being made in Adelaide by the Order of the Star in the East, and land for the establishment of an ideal community has been secured. Those who love nature— fresh air, and the solitude of trees and flowers— and who revolt at the thought of many of the mundane duties of a home, should find a kind of monastic serenity in the projected community, providing it be a success.

Attempts have been made from time to time to established Utopian settlements but, generally, they have been failures owing, to difference and inequalities of those composing them. Those-who are inaugurating the Star to the East community in Adelaide, however, hope their scheme will meet with better results, as they believe the concordance of ideals, unanimity of religious belief and healthy near-to nature existence well hold them together. In any case, the Adelaide division of the Order of the Star in the East is going to make the experiment, and its officials are busy pushing the scheme ahead. The Order has been watching a somewhat similar scheme to its own, operating in Sydney. There, its members have been particularly alive, and the greatest monument to their activities is the recent construction of a magnificent amphitheatre on the Sydney Harbor. This amphitheatre, according to the teaching of the Star in the East, will be used in connection with the second coming of Christ, which it believed will take place in a few years.

Several of the Star in the East families in Sydney live in community fashion, and a brief outline of their dwelling and mode of living will serve to illustrate how the community in Adelaide will be managed.

"The Manor' as it is called, is a huge residence, situated at Clifton Gardens, and overlooking the Harbor. Almost from every window a superb view of blue water, trees and passing ships is obtained. The house itself is elaborate and ornate, and suggests the handiwork of an eccentric architect. There is a story that the builder and owner expended all his wealth altering and adding to this place, as his fancy dictated. An example of his peculiarity is a room which is lined completely with beaten bronze. The outlook, combined with wide tiled corridors, spacious rooms with large windows and lofty ceilings, broad verandahs and porches constitutes an ideal residence for those who love fresh air and comfort.The cooking, cleaning, eating and bathing arrangements would delight any punctilious housekeeper.

Owing to the community system of management, only a small staff of domestics is kept, and thus one of the acutest problems of Australian housekeeping is solved. In the long and artistically furnished community dining room, each person waits upon himself. When he has finished one course, he walks into a small adjoining room where, on a kind of iron counter, heated by gas, his next course is awaiting him. An unique feature of mealtime is the service which accompanies eating. Most people consider mealtime as an opportunity to exchange conversation, or the latest gossip; but those at 'The Manor' do not speak except in whispers, as it is thought that the clatter of knives, spoons and forks makes more than sufficient noise. Quietness is expected of all the families, as one of the outstanding ideals of the place is peace and harmony. Though different families have their own private rooms, there is this community dining room, a community kitchen, community library and community garden. In the garden there are tennis courts, and a pool of£ goldfish. These also are community, and the garden is in the care of the young people who make it their duty to tend it. The capacity of the 'The Manor' is generally taxed to its utmost, and about fifty people usually reside there. Among them is the well-known Bishop Leadbeater, who is associated with the Star movements through the Theosophical Society. About fifty more Star members live in the immediate vicinity, and they frequent 'The Manor' for the purpose of attending meetings. In this atmosphere of monastic tranquility and individual freedom, people with largely the same ideas and interests spend their time in quiet pursuits. The locality is peaceful, yet is separated from Sydney at a distance of only 15 or 20 minutes steaming by ferry, and the city spires and buildings can be seen clearly across the water. It is largely on these lines that the Adelaide community will be modelled. For the past few years, the Adelaide Order has been steadily pursuing its ideals of a community, though until the present it was unable to take any large material step towards its establishment. One of the first movements' was to establish a playground in North Kensington Park where, the children of the neighborhood can go and build castles, swing and see saw to their hearts' content. The land is 100 feet by

125 feet, and has a small orchard adjoining it. A feature of the playground activities are the concerts given by the children themselves. The object of these is to encourage the dramatic instinct of the children and to cover expenses — such as water rates and electric lighting. The audience is generally the parents. A Star member is always in attendance. Adjoining the ground is the residence of the assistant State secretary, Mr. Edgar W. Pritchard. 'His house is the embodiment of Star ideals with regard to its near-to-nature principles; and its' interior arrangements, are uniquely designed. It is at Magill that the community proper will be established,' Mr. Pritchard said this week. 'Two acres of ground, comprising nine blocks have been procured,' and plans for its laying out have been drawn. In the centre, there will be a common meeting ground — a kind of Star sanctuary — surrounded by a pine hedge, and planted with a lawn and trees. Around this ground members will build their houses. Though each family will have its own house, there will be a community dining room, kitchen, library end meeting place. Co-operative buying will be practised, and a staff of Star domestics will be at the service of the community. Diet will be vegetarian. The property is almost fenced, and an arbor day will be held in autumn for planting the community trees. Already some of the members have been planting fruit trees.' Mr. Pritchard said that for those who care to spend the summer at the seaside, five blocks of land had been bought, at Hallett's Cove. Most of the Star members preferred to lead an outdoor life, and would avail themselves of the land to have summer schools and camps. The land was about 100 yards from the sea, and about a quarter of a mile from the rail way station. The position was comparatively sheltered.

In 1925 at the Blavatsky Lodge in Bligh Street, Sydney a vegetarian restaurant was opened and found much success, it being reported that “being one of the few vegetarian cafes in Sydney, it had a good clientele”. This restaurant later called the Adyar café was still operating some 30 years later.

With so many of the leading Theosophists living in Australia, it became the movement's central base of operations. Leadbeater had explained the reason for Australia's popularity in a series of lectures he gave in Sydney during August 1915, as he stated of his first impressions of the country:
"I saw at once that here were children and young people of a distinctly new type among you in Australia, and more especially in Queensland."

Leadbeater believed that Australians were a particularly highly evolved people (or 'sub-race' as he called them) and so would be - with the United States of America - at the forefront of the new Theosophical world order. As part of Australia's evolutionary progress he advised that its citizens should all become vegetarian, pointing out that he had been one for 45 years without any ill effects.

Other notable vegetarian visitors to Australia such as Marion Mahony Griffin and Walter Burley Griffin were also attracted to the Arundales and the Theosophist circles in Sydney. The Griffins had come to Australia in 1914 after they had won the competition to design the nation's capital, Canberra. Due to differences between government officials and the Griffins over the design of the city, Walter Griffin later lost control of the project. As Manning Clark in his *History of Australia* put it:

"The Australians were a nation of meat-eaters: Griffin was a vegetarian. The Australians consumed huge quantities of alcohol: Griffin concentrated on carrot juice and other improving fluids. The Australians were wedded to bourgeois individualism: Griffin wanted a city in which there were no barriers between individuals. The Australians were bourgeois conformists and victims of the tyranny of opinion: Griffin accepted the dictum of John Stuart Mill that the free development of individuality was essential to well-being. The men in black in Australia wanted `practical measures, rather

than dreams of chatterers and visionaries': the prosaic in architecture did not interest Walter Burley Griffin at all."

The Griffins left Canberra to construct a small housing complex at Castlecrag in Sydney in 1921, which would be designed more on their utopian vision of how people should live. Moving into a house on the estate in 1925 the Griffins began to form around them a group of bohemians, which soon turned Castlecrag into a thriving artistic and religious community. The Griffins were vegetarian and as Marion who was heavily involved in both Theosophy and later Anthroposophy (a belief system originated by the sometime vegetarian Rudolf Steiner); vegetarianism became the norm within this set. The Griffins eventually left Australia for India in 1935 but the buildings they created at Castlecrag still remain.

In the early 1930s Leadbeater died in Perth and the Arundales returned to India where Rukmini continued to promote vegetarianism, becoming the Indian representative of the International Vegetarian Union for many years. With their departure the promotion of vegetarianism lost some of its strength. However the Vegetarian Society that still exists today was sparked off by the Liberal Catholic Church and its Theosophist followers as it was at a lecture given by Sten von Krusenstierna in 1948 that a new Vegetarian Society was decided to be formed. Krusenstierna was a bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church and was also the former Vice-President of the Malayan Vegetarian Society based in Singapore.
That it was a bishop of the Liberal Catholic Church giving the lecture on vegetarianism was no surprise as the Church had extremely close links with Theosophy since Charles Leadbeater had become a bishop of the Church in Sydney in 1916. Local Theosophists would also have known Sten van Krusenstierna from his writings in their journal, *Theosophy in Australia.* Similarly the New Zealand Vegetarian Society which was founded in 1943 also had Theosophists at its birth.

The founding and long-serving President, Geoffrey Hodgson (1886-1983) was well known to those in Australian Theosophist circles from his lectures and visits at The Manor. He was to offer much assistance and advice over the next years to this new sister Society, and welcomed its appearance thus:

"My hearty congratulations to the founders and members of the newly-formed Australian Vegetarian Society, the importance of which to the progress of the Australian Nation can hardly be over-estimated. Unbelievable suffering of animals at the hand of man, and the consequent suffering of man himself, as well as the ill-health and disease caused by meat-eating, will now begin to be diminished in Australia"[30]

Although their activity and influence may have waned in recent years, the Theosophists long continued their support of the various branches of animal welfare, rights, Vegetarian and Vegan Societies. This concrete support has often been in the continued provision of meeting venues, as used for extended periods for example by the Vegetarian Society in Perth, Western Australia and the Vegan Society of Victoria up until the recent past.

30 Hodgson, Geoffrey, in The Australian Vegetarian, Vol. 1, no. 1, July-Sept. 1948, p. 1

The Advance of the Adventists



Photograph courtesy of the Seventh Day Adventist Church

The first single organised religious group of vegetarians appeared in Australia in 1891. This group was the Seventh-day Adventist Church, which had come to Australia from the United States. The Church was led by its founder and prophetess of the movement, Ellen G. White (1827-1915). With her son, Willie (William), and five other supporters Ellen White arrived in Melbourne on December 8, 1891, to bring their version of enlightenment to these shores.

The Adventists had become converts to health food and later to full vegetarianism after White began having visions on 'health reform', the first of which taking place on June 6, 1863.

Initially White was primarily interested in the diet as a means of curbing 'animal passion.'

Her first book, *An Appeal to Mothers* (1864), concerned itself mostly with the need to awaken mothers to the great 'sin' of masturbation

which she felt made girls weak in the back and loins, prone to cancer and inward decaying of the head. Boys were not immune, either - they could look forward to glassy eyes, trembling hands and certain death. To prevent this catastrophe she wrote:
"As Christian parents we are bound to train our children in reference to the laws of life. We should instruct them, by precept and example, that we do not live to eat, but that we eat to live. We should encourage in our children a love for nobleness of mind, and a pure, virtuous character. In order to strengthen in them the moral perceptions, the love of spiritual things, we must regulate the manner of our living, dispense with animal food, and use grains, vegetables, and fruits, as articles of food."

Critics have said that White - both in this early book and her later works on diet - had simply rehashed the dietary advice originally given by John Wesley and the Millerite, Larkin B. Coles, which she had gained from her own religious background. Other sources would have also included the most prominent American vegetarian, Sylvester Graham. Whatever her source of inspiration or information, White still did much to promote the diet, often against severe odds. Maintaining their diet in Australia - then still a most un-vegetarian land - proved difficult for Adventists. With meat consumption being so high there were few meat-free options available. As White stated in a letter soon after her arrival in Australia:
"I am suffering more now for want of some one who is experienced in the cooking lines, to prepare things I can eat. The cooking here in this country is in every way deficient... Were I to act over the preparation in coming to this place, I would say, give me an experienced cook, who has some inventive powers, to prepare simple dishes healthfully, and that will not disgust the appetite. I am in earnest in this matter."[31]

31 White, Ellen, Letter 19c, 1892, Manuscript Releases, Silver Spring, Md.: Ellen G. White Estate, vol. 7, p. 346.

While White tried to eat a healthy vegetarian diet and sought to promote it to her flock as the best choice, she and her family apparently did not completely abstain from all meat until January, 1894. This may possibly have been due to the difficulties she mentioned. She was inspired to make the move to full vegetarianism at an Adventist camp meeting at Brighton, Victoria, after meeting and talking with Mrs Press, of the Victorian branch of the WCTU - a vegetarian (and possibly fruitarian) who herself later became an Adventist.

White immediately drafted and signed a pledge to God in which she promised to completely "discard meat as an article of diet", stating, *"I will not eat flesh myself, or set it before any of my household."*

Not content with only eating healthy food themselves, White also undertook to help spread her choice to the Australian people at large. Mrs Press asked White to give lectures on vegetarianism at the WCTU vegetarian café in Melbourne but, feeling personally incapable, declined to do so, however she did sent two other Adventist ladies (Mrs Tuxford and Mrs Starr) in her stead. The Adventists also took to serving vegetarian food at stalls during fairs and shows. As Ellen White advised:

"*We should educate the people at our camp meetings and other large gatherings. While the principles of health reform should be presented, let the teaching be backed by example. Let no meat be found at our restaurants or dining tents, but let its place be supplied with fruits, grains, and vegetables. We must practice what we teach. When sitting at a table where meat is provided, we are not to make a raid upon those who use it, but we should let it alone ourselves, and when asked our reasons for doing this, we should in a kindly manner explain why we do not use it".32*

32 White, Ellen, Handle the Flesh Meat Question Wisely, Letter 102, 1896, Manuscript Releases, Silver Spring, Md.: Ellen G. White Estate

Apart from her writings, Ellen White did not herself often take an active public role in promoting vegetarianism, but there were other leading members who willingly did so. Dr Edgar Caro (1872-1959) was the Superintendent of Adventist propaganda and editor of the journal *Herald of Health* (1898-) previous to that he had been the editor of the *New Zealand Health Journal*. Caro was the son of the prominent New Zealand dentist, feminist and vegetarian campaigner Margaret Malcolm Caro. He was also one of the few Adventists to take an active role in the Vegetarian Society when he was elected President of the NSW Vegetarian Society in 1899 after it was reformed after a period of inactivity. Another prominent supporter was Dr Merritt Kellogg, who gave talks on the diet wherever he went, including at Vegetarian Society functions. Kellogg was also partly responsible for the founding of the Wahroonga Sanitarium, Sydney in December 1902. Still in existence today - and now known as the Sydney Adventist Hospital - it continues to serve healthy vegetarian food to its patients and to provide free vegetarian nutritional advice

The sanitarium in Sydney was run by the married American couple Lauretta and Daniel Kress who were both doctors trained at Kellogg's Sanitarium in Battle Creek. Daniel Kress while always a vegetarian, was for many years also a vegan - until he apparently got pernicious anaemia and began eating eggs. Before coming to Australia, the Kresses had previously also set up a sanitarium in London. Coming to Australia they first managed a small hospital in Cooranbong (the town in which the first Adventist factory was located) whilst waiting for the sanitarium to be built. The Cooranbong hospital was almost certainly the first hospital in Australia to serve purely vegetarian meals. The Kresses were very much of the belief that a good vegetarian diet was conducive to good health as well as a necessity in ridding patients of the desire to drink and smoke. Smoking in fact was one of Daniel Kress' great dislikes, and a vice that he wrote upon extensively. The Kresses left Australia in 1907, but left the hospital in good shape and a score of publications they had written promoting the diet.

Given the Adventists dietary impetus, the search was on for good vegetarian food to sustain the growing Church in Australia. The Adventists were nothing if not resourceful, and they had supporters already working in the field in the United States where they had originated. The most important of these were John Kellogg, famous for the health sanatorium he founded at Battle Creek, Michigan, and Dr Merritt Kellogg who lived in Australia for a number of years during the 1890s and 1900s. Both were brothers of Will Kellogg of Kellogg's Cornflakes fame. The Kellogg family was happy to send out food supplies to hungry Australian fellow vegetarians, but what was really needed for the growing Australian vegetarian population were suitable foods to be produced in Australia.

To this end, Edward C. Halsey was brought out from the United States to set up a factory which would produce some basic foods. Taking its name from the Kellogg's Sanatorium at Battle Creek, the Sanitarium Food Company was born in Melbourne in 1898. Halsey has the honour of being the first man to produce 'health foods' in Australia making his first batch of *Granola* cereal on January 27, 1898, followed the next day by *Caramel Cereal*. Sanitarium quickly went on to produce non-dairy milks, peanut butter, breakfast cereal, marmite and a range of meat analogues.

An example of the Adventist recommended diet from 1899

Sunday.—Breakfast — Rolled oats, granola, milk, bread, rolls, honey, stewed quince, caramel coffee. Dinner —Tomato soup, croutons, mashed peas, squash, corn, nut sauce, bread, Zwieback, bread and fruit pudding, lemon dressing.

Monday.—Breakfast—Oatmeal, granola, fruit toast, bread, rolls, buns, stewed apples, honey, milk, caramel coffee. Dinner—Pea soup, croutons, mashed beans, scalloped tomatoes, boiled rice, nut sauce, bread, Zwieback, quince pie.

Tuesday.—Breakfast—Oatmeal, granola, macaroni, nut butter, bread, rolls, gems, stewed quince, honey, caramel coffee, milk. Dinner—Bean soup, croutons, green peas, potatoes, squash, milk sauce, bread, Zwieback, bread pudding.

Wednesday.—Breakfast—Meal porridge, granola, milk, milk toast, nut butter, bread, rolls, gems, stewed peaches, jam, caramel coffee. Dinner —Tomato soup, croutons, split peas, fresh corn, squash, nut sauce, bread, Zwieback, lemon pudding.

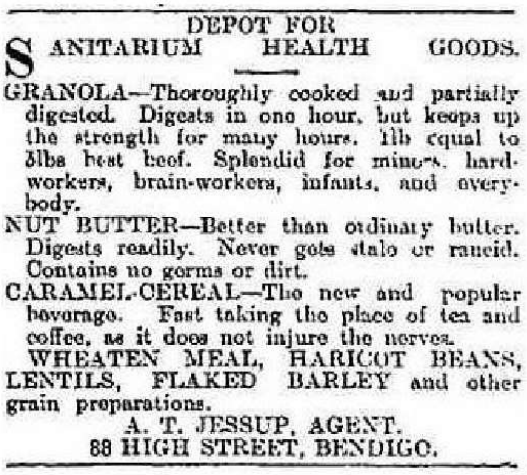
Thursday. — Breakfast — Breakfast meal porridge, grape toast, granola, nut butter, stewed peaches, honey, bread, rolls, milk. Dinner—Potato soup, croutons, baked beans, pumpkin, fresh corn, nut sauce, bread, Zwieback, apple pie.

Friday.—Breakfast — Rolled oats, granola, macaroni, baked with granola, bread, rolls, gems, stewed apricots, honey. Dinner—Bean soup, croutons, peas, puree, mashed potatoes, turnips, sauce, bread, Zwieback, sage pudding.

Saturday.—Breakfast—Oatmeal, granola, fruit toast, bread, biscuits, buns, peaches, honey, milk, caramel coffee. Dinner—Pea soup, croutons, savory beans, sliced tomatoes, nuttose, bread, Zwieback, peach pie. [33]

33 Launceston Examiner, 28 July 1899, p.3.

In 1900, Ellen White returned to the United States, leaving behind a school, hospital, a business and a factory and the many churches she had established. Although it was probably not her intention, she also by default became the single most important figure in Australian vegetarianism at least until Peter Singer came to prominence. She having left Australia with many new converts, both to her church and to vegetarianism, of whom many sought to continue to promote her health message throughout Australia.
Adventist vegetarian food production and distribution made the vegetarian diet far more accessible to Australians who might not have previously thought that the diet was possible.



DEPOT FOR
SANITARIUM HEALTH GOODS.

GRANOLA—Thoroughly cooked and partially digested. Digests in one hour, but keeps up the strength for many hours. 1lb equal to 3lbs best beef. Splendid for miners, hard-workers, brain-workers, infants, and everybody.

NUT BUTTER—Better than ordinary butter. Digests readily. Never gets stale or rancid. Contains no germs or dirt.

CARAMEL-CEREAL—The new and popular beverage. Fast taking the place of tea and coffee, as it does not injure the nerves.

WHEATEN MEAL, HARICOT BEANS, LENTILS, FLAKED BARLEY and other grain preparations.

A. T. JESSUP, AGENT.
88 HIGH STREET, BENDIGO. 34

The Sanitarium Health Food Company has been of enormous benefit to Australian vegetarians' lives for many years, not only in terms of food production, but also in the dissemination of nutritional information.

34 Bendigo Independent, 10 Sept. 1898, p.3.

To distribute their produce the Adventists opened their first shop in 1898 at 88 High Street, Bendigo. This was followed by one at 123 Queen Street, Brisbane, one in Melbourne and one at West Maitland in 1899. In 1903 there was one at 131 John Street Launceston, followed in 1904 with one at 80 Elizabeth Street, Hobart. In 1902 they opened their first restaurant in Pitt Street, Sydney, later moving to larger premises at 45 Hunter Street in 1903. Originally named the *Pure Food Vegetarian Café*, it changed its name to the *Sanitarium Health Food Café* in 1907 in order to consolidate the Sanitarium name. By the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 there were Sanitarium restaurants and shops in every Australian capital city. [35]



THE SANITARIUM HEALTH FOOD COMPANY'S DISPLAY OF VEGETARIAN FOOD PRODUCTS, MADE IN AUSTRALIA.

36

35 For a detailed history of Sanitarium see Parr, R. & Litster, G., What hath God wrought! The Sanitarium Health Food Company Story, Berkeley Vale, N.S.W, Sanitarium Health Food Company, 1995.

36 Page 30 of the Queenslander Pictorial, supplement to The Queenslander, 21 August, 1915. Image courtesy of the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland

The aim of the shops and cafes was not only to introduce people to the Sanitarium range of products, but also to show them how to cook them. To this end regular cooking and healthy diet lessons were an integral part of the outlets' functions.
The stores and cafes did well in Australia for a long time, but in the 1960s with declining sales and other health food store competition, they began to close. The change in shopping habits that the era of supermarkets brought meant that many smaller specialty shops faced impossible competition.
In 1988, all the Sanitarium health food shops were closed and the Sanitarium range instead became available in all major supermarket chains.
The cereals had long been available in general stores and supermarkets, but now the meat alternatives (or analogues) were too. Although this meant closure of the Sanitarium stores it also meant, significantly, that finally in Australia, vegetarian food had become part of the mainstream diet and available to all without having to speciality shop. This fact alone demonstrates the success of the company's promotion of vegetarian food products and Australia's belated public acceptance of them.

While the Seventh-day Adventist church was happy to promote vegetarianism and became very successful in selling vegetarian products, its members generally took little part in the active public promotion of animal welfare. Adventists generally did not join like-minded vegetarians in secular organisations such as the Vegetarian Society - or in any other animal welfare group - as their diet choice was based on sustaining their own health rather than relieving fellow animals' suffering. The Adventists were often even shy of using the word vegetarian in case they were in some way aligned with the supposed crankish or un-Christian wider vegetarian movement. The term 'health food' was often used instead of the word 'vegetarian' in their publicity and promotions, 'vegetarian' was also absent from the titles of all of the numerous cookery and health publications published by the Church and the Sanitarium company until the late 1970s.

The Adventists coining of the term 'Health food' store or shop, became the generic description still used today for all vegetarian/supplement and health stores. It was only once they went fully into the café business that the term 'vegetarian' was more widely used.

A Political Diet

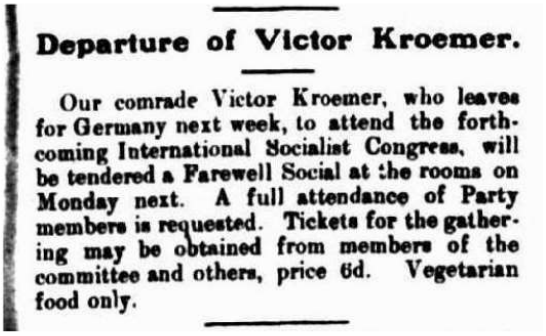
"The Australasians will be selfish, self-reliant, ready in resource, prone to wander, caring little for home ties. Mercenary marriage will be frequent, and the hotel system of America will be much favoured. The Australasians will be large meat-eaters, and meat-eaters require more stimulants than vegetarians. The present custom of drinking alcohol to excess - favoured alike by dietary scale and by carnivorous practices - will continue. All carnivora are rash, gloomy, given to violences. Vegetarians live at a lower level of health, but are calmer and happier. Red radicals are for the most part meat-eaters. A vegetarian - Shelley exceptio quae probat regulam - is a Conservative. Fish eaters are invariably moderate Whigs. The Australasians will be content with nothing short of a turbulent democracy."

From *Australian Tales* by Marcus Clarke (1846-1881) published posthumously in 1896
Marcus Clarke was partially right in that many or most 'red radicals' did not at any time favour the vegetarian diet, but neither generally did the 'right'. Both sides of the political spectrum - and therefore their related economic classes - had political and financial reasons for promoting the diet. The landowning and business classes were dependent on the sale of feed, livestock and meat, while the working class was employed in animal captivity, transport, slaughter and meat distribution.

The large numbers of Australian workers employed in all facets of the animal and meat trades were heavily unionised and this, no doubt, would have affected left-wing politicians' positions. For this reason the radical and left-wing press also generally did not support the diet. Papers such as *The Radical*, which were primarily aimed at a unionist readership, were unlikely to promote a diet that would aggravate powerful organisations such as the Meat Industry Employees Union, Australasian Meat Industry Employees Union, Slaughterhouse Employees Union or the Master Butchers Association. Similarly, publications such as *The Commonweal and Workers' Advocate*, which relied on meat, alcohol and tobacco advertising to survive, were also not likely to promote total abstinence.

There were however some notable exceptions. The vegetarian Henry Ernest Boote (1865-1949) was the editor of *The Australian Worker*, newspaper of the Australian Workers Union, from 1914 to 1943. A close personal friend to many Labor Party leaders, he was a hugely influential man within the party, but not sadly in the area of diet. Within his paper at least, there was little anti-vegetarian propaganda – though admittedly there was little promoting it either.

The South Australian born Victor Kroemer (1883-1930), was a vegetarian, spiritualist and a socialist. He worked as a printer and journalist. His sending off as the Australian delegate at the International Socialist Congress notes his dietary preferences (and their apparent acceptance by his comrades).



Departure of Victor Kroemer.

Our comrade Victor Kroemer, who leaves for Germany next week, to attend the forthcoming International Socialist Congress, will be tendered a Farewell Social at the rooms on Monday next. A full attendance of Party members is requested. Tickets for the gathering may be obtained from members of the committee and others, price 6d. Vegetarian food only.

37

Unlike the various forms of Liberal Party, which over the years had many vegetarian members of parliament amongst its ranks, the Australian Labor Party has never supported vegetarianism nor seemingly ever seemingly had any vegetarian within its parliamentary ranks. There were of course a number of vegetarian Labor supporters such as the Scottish born Joseph Skurrie (1858-1949) who was involved in the labour movement in Victoria, and Emil Voigt (1883-1973) who was involved in NSW union and Labor politics between the wars.
However, none of these men seemingly made any impact on Labor policy towards other animals.

There were a large number of German and other European Communists who were in their respective national vegetarian movements pre-WW2. But contrarily vegetarianism was also opposed to in principle as being symbolic of a bourgeois emotional mentality. Subsequent to the revolution, the Soviet authorities had made vegetarianism illegal in 1917 and then proceeded to ban vegetarian societies in whatever countries their influence held sway.

37 The Socialist (Melbourne) 15 June 1907 p 3

The Communist Party of Australia - always in the thrall of the most Stalinist faction - was similarly not in favour of the diet. The Communist author and self-styled naturalist, Jean Devanny, who wrote approvingly of the practice of mulesing, showed little compassion in her diet. At one point she suffered from food poisoning after eating prawns, which led the more animal-friendly fellow author, Miles Franklin, to riposte, *"Anybody who eats prawns deserves to be poisoned."*[38]

There were clearly many individual Socialist and Communist vegetarians, but also often they were utopian socialists or anarcho-syndicalists and, as such, were less bound by perceived class or party orthodoxies. In the latter part of the 19th century, there were many attempts to start utopian agricultural communes in Australia. Some of these may have been vegetarian - such as the Rev. George Brown's Community House. Others such as William Terry's short-lived commune, Aurelia (outside of Melbourne), were vegetarian, as would have been another in Tasmania which was looking for members in the vegetarian journal *The Vegetarian Messenger* in 1888.

A Communist community that was never intended to be vegetarian became one for long periods due to a lack of available animals to slaughter. The New Australia community and its later off-shoot Cosme were founded by the Queensland Communist, journalist and unionist William Lane, who took out 220 colonists with him from Sydney to Paraguay in 1893. They were intent on setting up a workers paradise in an area of cleared jungle.

"In the early days of Cosme, meat was considered a very necessary article of diet, and apparently with reason, for whenever it could not be had, the working energy decreased and the sick-rate increased. In those days, however, the other food-stuffs consisted of little but mandioca and beans.

38 Devanny, Jean, Point of Departure, St. Lucia, Qld., University of Queensland Press, 1986, p.224

As the vegetable diet became more varied, and maize became a staple with plenty of good home-made treacle and a fair supply of garden produce, together with an increasing yield of fruit, then the lack of meat began at once to be less felt, though the desire for it still kept strong. Within the last month or two, meat, both beef and pork, has, owing to a temporary shortage of vegetable supplies, been forced as it were on our tables. The result has been rather surprising, for it was generally found that the old relish for flesh had gone, and the stomach craved for the before-despised maize bread, sweet potatoes, &c.

Thus the perforced abstention from meat and the constant use of palatable cereals, roots, fruits, and vegetables, seem to have brought about a change in taste which points to the final adoption by many if not most Cosmans, of a diet which will be almost if not quite meatless."[39]

While the community was prepared to subsist on a vegetable diet, it was not prepared to make vegetarianism a part of their long-term lifestyle. With queries from vegetarians interested in joining the community growing, in 1903 an article entitled Cranks, gave a more explicit commentary on who was suitable for the community:

"Cosme is not a food reform colony. We believe in individual freedom in all such matters. Broad-minded and tolerant vegetarians can and do live amongst us - we have at present two vegetarian members. But extreme vegetarians, who would refuse on principle to feed fowls, and who would object to saw wood at a mill driven by a lard-lubricated engine, are altogether too strong for us. We admire their principles, but prefer doing

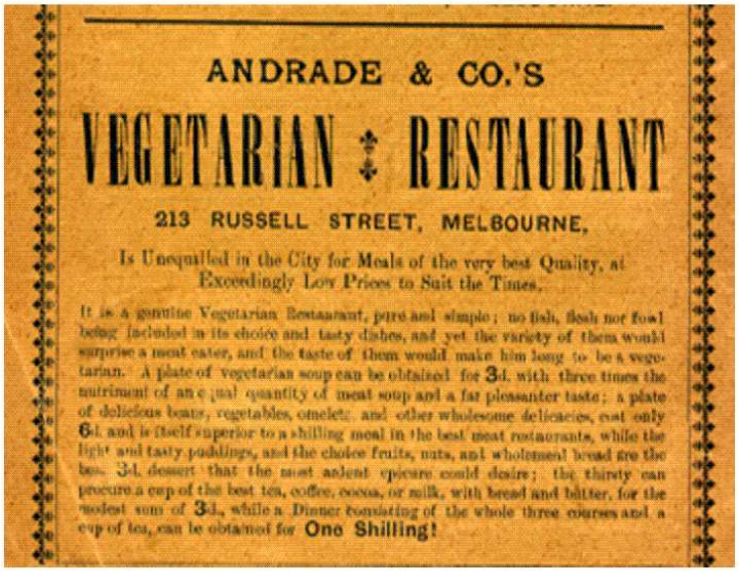
39 Cosme Monthly, Cosme Colony, Paraguay, February 1898, p.2

so at a distance. Their idea of co-operation is too one-sided for us to properly appreciate."[40]

Anarchism and vegetarianism have long been connected, as many leading anarchists have promoted the diet. The ranks of today's radical animal rights activists would be very empty without their anarchist members. In Australia, this relationship goes back to the first anarchists. The vegetarian anarchist, David Andrade (1859-1928), was one of the founders with his brother, Will, of the Melbourne Anarchist Club. Formed in 1886 it was the first Anarchist grouping in Australia. His vegetarianism was based on his belief in non-violence and equality. Andrade abhorred all authority and sought to overthrow (without violence) all structures in which there were rich and poor or strong and weak. Like many anarchists - especially today - he believed that this unequal power relationship was also a feature of humankind's relations with other animals, and so became an early supporter of the idea of animal, as well as human, rights.

Andrade published the journal, *Honesty* (which was sympathetic to vegetarianism), with John A. Andrews (1865-1903), the ascetic poet and radical who was a periodic vegetarian. In 1888 they both lived in the Cooperative Home commune in Albert Park, Melbourne. As far as can be ascertained, this was a vegetarian household. Andrade and Andrews soon however went their separate ways after Andrews began to advocate violent revolution.

40 Cosme Monthly, Cosme Colony, Paraguay, February 1903, p.3



ANDRADE & CO.'S

VEGETARIAN RESTAURANT

213 RUSSELL STREET, MELBOURNE,

Is Unequalled in the City for Meals of the very best Quality, at Exceedingly Low Prices to Suit the Times.

It is a genuine Vegetarian Restaurant, pure and simple; no fish, flesh nor fowl being included in its choice and tasty dishes, and yet the variety of them would surprise a meat eater, and the taste of them would make him long to be a vegetarian. A plate of vegetarian soup can be obtained for 3d. with three times the nutriment of an equal quantity of meat soup and a far pleasanter taste; a plate of delicious beans, vegetables, omelets, and other wholesome delicacies, cost only 6d. and is itself superior to a shilling meal in the best meat restaurants, while the light and tasty puddings, and the choice fruits, nuts, and wholemeal bread are the best 3d. dessert that the most ardent epicure could desire; the thirsty can procure a cup of the best tea, coffee, cocoa, or milk, with bread and butter, for the modest sum of 3d., while a Dinner consisting of the whole three courses and a cup of tea, can be obtained for **One Shilling!**

Andrade and his partner Emily ran a vegetarian restaurant in Liberty Hall at 213 Russell Street, Melbourne, from 1892 until 1894 (though the owner was the Vegetarian Society member, Frederick Debney). Also at Liberty Hall were a meeting hall and the offices of the Victorian Anti-Vaccination Society, of which Andrade was the secretary. However, Andrade's main business interest (shared with his brother) was the Anarchist bookshop called the 'Bookery', which sold mainly political, works but also, as their advertisement stated:

"The seeker after health and physical well-being will be rewarded with a useful assortment of works upon Vegetarianism, Anti-Vaccination, Hydropathy, and other advanced subjects of a like nature."

Within Andrade's bookshop - as well as in many other Melbourne radical bookshops - could be found the standard works on vegetarianism by British writers such as Shelley and Henry Salt and health advice by Americans such as the Kelloggs and Sylvester Graham. As part of his anarchist and vegetarian philosophy, Andrade was a strong believer in agrarian communes. In his utopian novel, *The Melbourne Riots: and how Harry Holdfast and his friends emancipated the workers* (1892), he tells of a successful attempt to solve the problem of the city's poor and hungry by relocating them into the country *en masse* where "fruit and vegetables may be planted to sustain you."

Although Andrade's novel failed to spark the anticipated rural exodus, this did not prevent him and his family from going, when his business went bankrupt in 1893. He used his experience as a shop owner to open up a country store and also worked a small plot of land for growing his own food in the small community settlement of South Sassafras (later renamed Kallista), Victoria. Unfortunately, his social experiment failed. The combination of family tragedies - including the loss of his business and home in a fire, and the later death of his children – led to Andrade spending his last years in Ballarat Mental Hospital.

The first known vegetarian elected member of an Australian parliament was John Bowie Wilson (1820-1883) who served in the NSW Legislative Assembly from 1859 to 1872. Born in Irvine, Scotland, Wilson immigrated to Australia in 1840, left again for the United States and resettled back in 1854. Unsuccessful as a gold miner he began to practice as a medical man. Describing himself as Dr Wilson, he was apparently unqualified aside from having previously assisted his brother (who was an actual doctor) for three years. He professionally practiced hydropathy - the treatment of illness through the use of water. He also advocated vegetarianism and temperance as health remedies.

As a radical he won the Goldfields South seat in the NSW Legislative Assembly in 1859 and was re-elected in 1860. He later represented the rural seat of Patrick Plains (now Singleton) and finally East Sydney as a Liberal. He also served as Secretary for Lands in 1864 and 1866-1868.
His diet and belief in Spiritualism did not appear to be any impediment to being elected. Unlike other suspected vegetarian politicians, he was never afraid to advocate the diet while in office or during elections, as is shown by a newspaper article in 1869:

"*Associated with a number of other crochetty people, he has for a long-time, been endeavouring to get in the thin end of the wedge in the shape of a Maine Liquor Law, which, is to put an end to the consumption of intoxicating drinks; and now he, is commencing a crusade against flesh-food, and wishes to deprive me of my meat besides stopping my grog.*
...
Fancy to yourself, a dinner with the Doctor - no meat, no wine, no grog, no tea - nothing but a feed of greens and cold water."[41]

After leaving politics Wilson, served on government committees, was active in business and remained a radical and free-thinker. In 1881 he was a founder and first president of the Liberal Association of New South Wales. The Association promoted a range of liberal beliefs including the emancipation of women - as such it was criticised as being an association for "*Atheists and Communists in disguise*".[42]
However, the Association took no position on animal rights or welfare, which is unsurprising as with most health advocates of vegetarianism they had no interest in the other ethical aspects of the diet.

41 Wagga Wagga Advertiser and Riverine Reporter, 14 April 1869, p 3.

42 The Riverine Grazier (Hay, NSW) 1 June, 1881, p. 2.

The second known vegetarian parliamentarian was Alfred Allen (1839-1917), who was also a Liberal Member of the NSW Legislative Assembly.

He occupied the seat of Paddington from 1887 to 1894. A vegetarian and teetotal Quaker, Allen was considered in 1894 by the Daily Telegraph to be "*The first total abstainer who ever occupied the position.*"[43]

A candle maker by trade, Allen was born in Belfast, Northern Ireland. Aside from being a temperance reformer he also supported a wide range of liberal causes such as the 8 hour day movement, and was founding benefactor of the Sydney Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen which catered for the homeless. Allen was prepared to contest the issue of diet in parliament and in one debate he raised the impact of meat and its propensity to cause disease. In response John Haynes the Member for Mudgee countered with a response to Allen, that also showed the extent of anti-Chinese feeling popular at that time:

"*The hon. member for Paddington, Mr. Allen, is not only a vegetarian, but also a great tea drinker. It is a well-known fact that most of the complaints from which the human family suffer is the result of drinking Chinese-handled tea, and if my hon. friend is in fear of cancer and leprosy I should advise him to change his drink from Chinese-handled tea to Australian wine*."[44]

Allen also appears to have been prepared to associate himself with the NSW Vegetarian Society which was running 1891-1896.

The third known vegetarian politician was George Frederick Braund (1866-1915), Liberal Reform Party Member of Parliament for Armidale, 1913-1915. Born in Devon, England, Braund arrived in Australia aged 15.

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43 The Daily Telegraph (Sydney) 26 June 1894, p.6.

44 NSW, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 19 April 1893

A driven and likeable man, he excelled in business, sport (he played Rugby for NSW), amateur dramatics and served as a magistrate and as a leading promoter of public schools.

He was also a convinced Theosophist and vegetarian. His vegetarianism may have been linked to his religious values, but are generally considered to be part of his health regimen. Braund was absolutely dedicated to maintaining good health through exercise and good diet and refraining from drinking or smoking. He easily won his parliamentary seat and was soon being praised for his oratorical skills in the chamber. Without his untimely death it was expected that he would have also become a very successful politician. Braund supported a range of liberal causes, but was also a staunch nationalist and served in the Australian Infantry Regiment from 1893 rising to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. He was the first parliamentarian to enlist in the First World War and served gallantly at Gallipoli, where he was unfortunately accidently shot dead by an Australian sentry. The official reason given for the shooting was that Braund coming across the sentry failed to identify himself when challenged and, thus not responding as required, was shot as a suspected enemy combatant. The reason given for the miscommunication was that Braund was partially deaf and thus it was a tragic accident. However, this official account has been challenged by Braund's family who claim that he was not deaf at all, and that this version of events was created only to spare punishment to the sentry. What is most probable is that the official account is true, but only as Braund had recently returned from three full days and nights of holding a hillside under continued fire and may have temporarily lost some of his hearing.

On the Conservative side of politics there have been a good number of vegetarians or at least people sympathetic to the diet, and a greater number who had no interest in the diet but were concerned about farm or companion animal welfare.

Most of this latter group were content to work through bodies such as the RSPCA – though some were actively engaged with Animal Liberation in its early days. However, although there was this individual will, the modern (post 1945) Liberal Party formed by Robert Menzies has long been tied to the rural Country and National Parties, who were seldom prepared to countenance any animal based legislation that would have a financial impact on farming or slaughtering profits.

The first political party to put animal welfare issues on their platform or manifesto was the Australian Democrats; a party formed in 1977 and de-registered in 2015. Led by Don Chipp a former Liberal Government Minister, the initial membership of the party was made up essentially of middle class disaffected Liberals, who were economically conservative but socially liberal and somewhat concerned about the environment. In later years the membership became more diverse, but its vegetarian members and supporters remained constant. Its sometime leader, Andrew Bartlett (Senator for Queensland 1997-2008), still remains the only Senator to have publicly advocated vegetarianism in federal Parliament – and this in his maiden speech:

"I am personally very committed to encouraging us all to give more consideration to the welfare and rights of animals. The lack of consideration humans give to each other in the world today is exceeded only by the lack of consideration we give to the other animals we share the planet with. My personal belief is that there are compelling environmental and ethical grounds for encouraging people to stop eating animals. Vegetarianism has a long ethical tradition in our society. There are also very sound theological arguments in the Christian biblical tradition against the eating of meat where practicable, as Senator Woodley would acknowledge. I have found many people acknowledge some of these arguments, but not enough to stop their meat consumption.

I guess the spirit is willing, but the flesh is just too tasty for many people. Whilst I understand the traditional, cultural and economic reasons why animals are imprisoned and killed for human consumption, I believe the time has come for us to look to move beyond that. There are too few voices for the welfare and rights of animals in our society, let alone in our parliaments. I hope I can provide a voice for them in this place."[45]

By the early 1980s, the conservation movement which had been steadily growing throughout the 1970s, with campaign and lobby organisations such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace predominating, became mainstream. The concern for the natural environment, whales, forests and rivers that characterised the movement brought about, to some extent, an understanding of the merits of animal preservation and conservation issues. When anti-nuclear activists and Franklin Dam conservationists led protests across the nation they also formed a Green Party to fight elections.
The Green Parties (the State branches were separate entities until the 1990s) along with the Democrats could now for the first time make animal issues become political issues. The two major parties (Labor and Liberal) therefore also had to respond, this they both did by the time of the 1983 federal election, by putting in some mention of animal welfare into their policies. This impetus – coupled with continued pressure from animal liberationists - led to some small gains for animals – mainly in the areas of animal experimentation.
In November 1994, Peter Singer stood for Parliament as the Green candidate in a by-election for the federal seat of Kooyong, the area of Melbourne that he had grown up in. This seat had been held by the Liberal Party since its inception, and Singer was prompted to stand by the lack of opposition to the Liberal candidate.

45 Senator Andrew Bartlett, 'First speech', Senate, 11 November 1997.

Although initially he did not take the election process completely seriously he still managed to poll 28% of the primary vote which was then a record for any Green candidate. Singer, though he had not won, was moved by the support he received and in consequence stood for election again in 1996 this time as the leading Green Senate candidate. Again, he was unsuccessful but he did manage to bring the Green Party into far greater prominence and put environmental and animal rights arguments forward where perhaps they would not have been before.
While the Greens and the Australian Democrats have both supported animal welfare causes, neither Party has been able, or more importantly has wanted, to take the step of publicly advocating vegetarianism – although some individual politicians have, most notably Ian Cohen and Richard Jones.

Ian Cohen first contested as a Greens candidate for the Senate in 1984 and again in 1993. After also contesting a seat in the state upper house in March 1995 he was elected to the New South Wales Legislative Council as its first Green member. In 2003, he was re-elected for a second 8-year term. He was involved, as a Member of the State Development Committee in Parliament, in enquiries into sustainable agriculture, and fisheries. He retired from parliament in 2011

Richard Jones was a member of the New South Wales Legislative Council from 13 March 1988 until 28 February 2003. Jones was elected twice to the parliament as a Democrats candidate. He left the party in 1996 whilst still a sitting member and became an Independent member, after endorsing Australian Labor Party candidates in the 1996 Federal election. He was the first convenor of Friends of the Earth Australia and assisted in the founding of Greenpeace in Australia. During his time in parliament, he actively promoted animal rights and environmental issues.

In 2010, the Animal Justice Party was founded in Australia and registered as a political party on 3 May 2011. Its chartered mission: To promote and protect the interests and capabilities of animals by providing a dedicated voice for them in Australia's political system.

The first elected Animal Justice Party candidate, and therefore also the first person elected to an Australian parliament standing on an animal rights ticket, was Mark Pearson. Who became a Member of the NSW Legislative Council on 28 March 2015. As he said in his inaugural speech to parliament on 6 May 2015:

"It is indeed a privilege and honour to be the first member of Parliament elected by the people of New South Wales on the platform of animal protection, animal wellbeing and animal welfare. This is the second country in the world that has elected a member of Parliament on this platform. The first country was Holland where, four years ago, Marianne Thieme of the Dutch Party for the Animals was elected to the Dutch Parliament. Since then, two others have joined her. New South Wales is the third jurisdiction in the world to have elected people to Parliament on the basis of animal protection and animal wellbeing. Last year the European Union elected two people, one from Germany and one from Holland, to the European Parliament on the platform of animal protection and wellbeing. I am extremely privileged and honoured that Australia, together with those other countries, is leading the world in electing somebody to the halls of Parliament to be a voice for the wellbeing of vulnerable and voiceless beings who cannot request help themselves."

Prior to being elected, Pearson was Executive Director of Animal Liberation Australia, being funded through the Christina Fitzsimons Trust.

Women

Birds in freedom, not cages; beasts, not of the zoo or working for wages - Rose Scott (1847-1925).

Vegetarianism in popular western opinion has long been considered a diet favoured by women more than men. The story of vegetarianism in Australia however does not show any evidence that it was more popular with women rather than men. Though it does show that throughout Australia's history there were women who were prepared to follow the diet, and to found and lead organisations to promote it.

The earliest known female vegetarian was the doctor and feminist Harriet Clisby (1830-1931) who arrived aged 7 in Australia in 1838. Her vegetarianism stemmed from her and her family's belief in spiritualism and their membership of the Swedenborg New Church.

Clisby, who was interested in modern developments in science and the arts and was dissatisfied with the choices open to women, published the first Australian magazine by and for women in the early 1860s. Upon deciding she would like to become a doctor, and finding it was not possible to do in Australia, she left for London. She initially trained as a nurse at Guys Hospital, London. Finding it also difficult as a woman in London, she eventually took up medical training in America, qualifying there in 1865. In America, she made contact with other vegetarians such as the Alcott family. It was with the author Louisa May Alcott that she founded in 1877 the Women's Educational and Industrial Union. Clisby lived to be a 100 years old and often cited her vegetarianism for her longevity. Though at age 99 she apparently took up meat and according to a report *'during the last three months she has taken ferociously to meat.'*[46]

46 The Register News-Pictorial (Adelaide) 18 October 1930, p20.

The leadership of the Victorian-based Australian Vegetarian Society of 1886 was initially predominately made up of men, albeit men who actively supported women's suffrage and rights. Although women at the outset seemingly did not choose to take up leadership positions (excepting for Fanny Samuels who was the first vice-President), female members were always active and prominent. By 1890 however, the Society had an equal number of men and women as office holders. These included Ellen Harvie, who became vice-president at the instigation of the membership who deliberately sought to maintain a woman in this role.[47] Harvie who ran the first vegetarian restaurant and catered for the Society's meetings, later also became the Society's secretary. Miss Fanny E. Samuel - described as a 'clever and active blind young lady' - was an active participant in many progressive movements from the time of her arrival in Australia in 1882 until her return to England in 1894. Born in America of Polish parents, she was raised in New York and London, but it was in Australia that she became an active spiritualist and vegetarian. Samuels was an accomplished singer and made her living as a singing teacher. She gave lectures for the Vegetarian Society on aspects of diet and using her musical skills provided the entertainments at their meetings.

Another woman Miss E A Jones was the Society's membership secretary in the 1890s while, from the early 1900s, the Honorary Secretary of the Society was Mrs Annie MacDonald (nee Lowe), a poet and successful propagandist for the cause.

Outside of the vegetarian organisations many women sought to create their own separate forums for change and action. Frances Levvy started the Women's Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and the first Australian branch of the British Christian organisation, The Band of Mercy, to achieve her goals rather than join with men in like pursuits. The Band of Mercy's purpose was to teach children to be kind and respectful of all animals. Children joined by making the declaration:

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47 Annual Report of the Vegetarian Society pf Australia, Vegetarian Messenger, 1890, p 264

We agree to do all in our power to protect animals from cruel usage, and to promote as far as we can their humane treatment.

The organisation's publication, *The Band of Mercy Advocate* - published by Levvy and Mrs J. C. Ellis from 1887 - was full of uplifting short stories, poems and moral lessons concerning animals. There was rarely a mention of men apart from descriptions of male brutality.
An Australian branch of the British organisation The World League for Protection of Animals was formed in 1935 by Miss E B Moore – the organisation was also variously known as the World League Against Vivisection and for the Protection of Animals and as 'The World Day for Animals League'. Assisting Miss Moore were a Miss Edge and in Victoria Mrs May Parrett. By the 1940s Miss Moore was also to be found as Secretary of the Australian Humane Education Society.

Another women's organisation - the WCTU - allowed women to promote vegetarianism to women as an acceptable and normal diet. Within organisations not directly concerned with animal welfare or dietary reform - such as the Australian suffragette or feminist movement - many of the leading figures would certainly have known, if not approved, of the diet, including Alice Henry, Miles Franklin, Rose Scott and Maybanke Anderson. No biographer, however, has recorded the diet of these prominent Australian women and their correspondence gives little indication. However, being involved in reform movements usually meant working and socialising with many vegetarians. Franklin, in particular, who was known to like some animals better than many people (and who lived for a time with a monkey), worked and lived with vegetarians both in the United States and in Britain. She also wrote approvingly of the dietary practices of overseas vegetarians such as Charlotte Despard, and in 1916 before setting out to work as a cook for a military hospital in Macedonia during WW1 learnt some basic catering skills by working at the vegetarian Minerva Café run by the Women's Freedom League in London.

The West Australian, Bessie Rischbieth - probably the most prominent feminist in Australia between the wars - founded and led many women's emancipationist organisations and charitable bodies and represented Australia on the board of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance. She was also deeply interested in Theosophy and other Eastern religions that led her to travel to India and, at one point, to stay at an *ashram* with Mohandas Gandhi. This experience may have been responsible for converting her to vegetarianism. Rischbieth was certainly vegetarian in later life, even though the limited references to her dietary habits only talk of her "Spartan diet". The word 'Spartan' was quite often used as a synonym for vegetarian because the ancient Spartans were known for their limited but healthy diet which many have thought to have been also vegetarian. However, when she had an 'at home' she chose to do it at the Vegetarian Tea Rooms in Perth.[48] Rischbieth's vegetarianism generally was not overt and neither was her promotion of the diet in the journal she founded and edited entitled, *The Dawn* (1918-1967). During the 1920s every issue of *The Dawn* contained vegetarian recipes, and only a couple of the recipes published featuring meals with meat. It preferred to promote nut loaves, salads and (Child Study branded) milk. The journal also very frequently suggested to its readers the benefits of grains, lentils and vegetables in their diet - especially for the young - although it always stopped short of openly advocating vegetarianism.

Sydney socialite, Rose Scott, was not only a leading campaigner for the rights of women and the protection of children; she was also famous for her love of birds and was an early campaigner for their legal protection and preservation. While it is not known if she was a vegetarian, she is reported to have said, "*We will one day think it is as horrible to eat animals as we now think it horrible to eat each other*."

48 The Daily News (Perth, WA), 11 February 1908, p.3

A suffragist who was clearly and publicly vegetarian was Henrietta Dugdale (also known as Harriet Dugdale, and later as Mrs Dugdale Johnson). Dugdale's vegetarianism was based on her wide compassion for all living things and is in many ways close to the modern concept of ethical vegetarianism. Unlike most vegetarians of her day, she was certainly not a vegetarian because of her religious affiliations - in fact she believed that religion was, 'despotism formed by man to humble women.'

Dugdale was the first president of the Victorian Women's Suffrage Society (1884) and was a strong advocate of feminism, rationalism and vegetarianism. She has been credited with making the first public feminist statement in 1869 by having a letter published in the *Argus* newspaper advocating female enfranchisement. Dugdale was also a member (together with W. H. Terry and Alfred Deakin) of the Eclectic Association founded to discuss advanced theories in a sensible and gender neutral forum.

Dugdale was in advance of most of her peers in many respects. She made her own clothes in the style of the leading American dress reformer, Amelia Bloomer. She also built her own furniture and grew her own food which, as a vegetarian, may well have been a necessity given the paucity of food choices available at the time. Her independent and robust lifestyle obviously had a lot to recommend it as she lived to a ripe old age, outliving two of her three husbands.



MRS. DUGDALE
(the Pioneer of Woman Suffrage in Victoria).

In her one novel, *A Few Hours in a Far-Off Age* (1883) - a utopian tale set in the far distant future of 2881 (the reverse of 1882 the year of writing) - her political concerns were given full voice. In her future society (much to her literary protagonist's joy) there are no animals used or abused for transport. In fact the society is a totally vegan one, where neither meat nor other animal by-products such as leather are used at all.

Though not a Christian, Dugdale was still a temperance supporter and, like them, believed that a meat diet contributed to moral laxness in other areas. She had a great hatred of violence shown towards any creature. Although thrice married, newspaper reports suggested that she was a lesbian because of her 'mannish' dress, short hair and close female friendships. Whatever her sexuality, the men of her future society were more advanced, thinner, graceful, articulate and decidedly more effeminate. Men would no longer be the meat-eating warriors of her day:

"In those sadly ignorant old times, men, and many other vindictive animals, devoured flesh. It is easy to understand how such a primeval diet would tend to the conservation of blood-thirsty instincts."[49]

Meat - particularly red meat - has long been identified in both traditional and Western societies as a 'masculine' food and advertising of it is often still aimed at the male market. Dugdale was not alone in her view of meat's role in maintaining primitive habits. Many feminist women first started making links between patriarchy and a meat diet in Europe and America in the Victorian era when - in their eyes - meat-eating became less associated with the virtues of virility, wealth and power and more linked to vices such as violence, cruelty, gluttony and drunkenness.

49 Dugdale, Henrietta, A Few Hours in a Far-Off Age, Melbourne, McCarron Bird, 1883, p.91

Were she alive today, Dugdale would probably be bitterly disappointed in the progress of vegetarianism in Australia as she would have expected it to have been the dominant diet. With support for the diet seemingly growing all around her during her lifetime, she predicted that a purely vegetarian society would soon emerge. In the late 1870s she wrote that Australians were "fast abandoning flesh diet for one of pulse, green and fruit."[50]
The novel, *A Women's Friendship* - written by Ada Cambridge during Dugdale's time - contained a character that is believed to have been modelled on her.[51] Relating to many of the issues on which she campaigned, the novel was first serialised in *The Age* newspaper in 1889 and tells the story of a friendship between two middle class ladies - Mrs Patty Kinnaird, who represents traditional Australia, and a Mrs Margaret Clive whose '*sympathies were wide, embracing every form of disreputable opinion.*'[52]

The story is set in Melbourne and takes place against the backdrop of the Centennial International Exhibition of 1888-1889. This huge exhibition - held to mark the centenary of Australia's settlement - was a major landmark for the city. It featured exhibitions of a great array of cultural and scientific items from the different states, as well as from most European countries and the Americas. Unfortunately, the newly-established Vegetarian Society, which requested a stall, was not permitted to take part in the festivities.
The novel uses the relationship between these two women - and a third male character that comes between them - to overtly debate the issues of the day, such as feminism and social equality.

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50 Dugdale, Henrietta, A Few Hours in a Far-Off Age, Melbourne, McCarron Bird, 1883, pp.97-98

51 Morrison believes that the description of Mrs Clive's dress has a likeness to Dugdale in Cambridge, Ada, A woman's friendship, edited by Elizabeth Morrison, Kensington, N.S.W. , New South Wales University Press, c1988, p.126

52 Cambridge, Ada, A woman's friendship, edited by Elizabeth Morrison, Kensington, N.S.W. , New South Wales University Press, c1988, p.6

Like Dugdale, Mrs Clive is an advocate of dress reform, feminism, universal suffrage and (naturally) vegetarianism.

"The appointments of the table, though simple, were dainty, like everything that appeared to Margaret, but there was no luxury in the matter of food. Plain living and high thinking was the maxim of that household. A concession was made to the course appetites of men in the shape of a broiled beefsteak and bottled ale, but mother and daughters kept to a lenten diet, disliking the former on principle, the latter from habit, what Margaret shudderingly termed 'flesh', as if to like it were a sort of cannibalism. Patty was still partial to a savoury dish - she had not reached the point of feeling that anything impure or gross was involved in eating a dead body purveyed by the butcher - and as an accomplished bush cook it was difficult to reconcile herself to Margaret's ideal bill of fare; nevertheless she made a substantial meal of bread and butter and strawberry jam, and greatly enjoyed the feast of reason that she simultaneously partook of."[53]

Cambridge's novels of colonial Victoria are reasonably accurate depictions of the era. The character of Mrs Clive also seems to be an accurate portrait of 'advanced' women of the time. She is an intelligent, middle class woman constrained by her social position and sex, though happily married to a generally supportive husband who is the editor of a newspaper. Clive is clearly the heroine of the book and, while the author may poke gentle fun at her aspirations, habits and reformed modern dress, she is still always depicted as holding these "disreputable opinions" with intelligence, integrity and courage.

53 Cambridge, Ada, A woman's friendship, edited by Elizabeth Morrison, Kensington, N.S.W. , New South Wales University Press, c1988, p.47

There were many writers, such as Henrietta Dugdale and HG Wells' (see *A Modern Utopia*, 1905) who saw vegetarianism gaining wider support in the future. One of them was the South Australian, Catherine Helen Spence (1825-1910). Apart from being a journalist and wide-ranging social reformer on behalf of children, the poor and the mentally ill, Spence also wrote a number of novels in which she raised her concerns. Her novel, *A Week in the Future*, was first serialised in Sydney's *Centennial Magazine* in 1889. In it, the protagonist is transported from 1888 to 1988 and foresees a future in which many of the problems facing society - and especially women - have been solved. Women would have property rights, could vote and hold high office, while female clothing would be less restrictive and health greatly improved. The growth of the vegetarian diet would also be evident, as she describes a meal eaten a century hence:

"The food was abundant and excellently cooked and served, but there was far less meat on the table than I was accustomed to see. Three of the families were absolutely vegetarians, but, independent of that, vegetable diet took a much greater place in the food of the people now that all classes lived alike… Soups made largely from pulses, a profusion of vegetables - some familiar to me, but others quite new, salads, light puddings and pastry, and a large quantity of fruit - raw and cooked, with white and brown bread à discretion made up the dinner, which I enjoyed very much."

This utopian future clearly was not borne out for animals or vegetarianism. Until the 1970s the situation for women and vegetarianism remained much the same - on the periphery. Unlike the Vegetarian Society of 1886, the 1948 version had no female founders. But however incomplete, women's rights have improved from a century ago and it is now women who have continued to grow the animal liberation movement through the influence and example of a range of remarkable Australian women, including Patty Mark, Christine Townend and Lyn White.

Naturism and vegetarianism

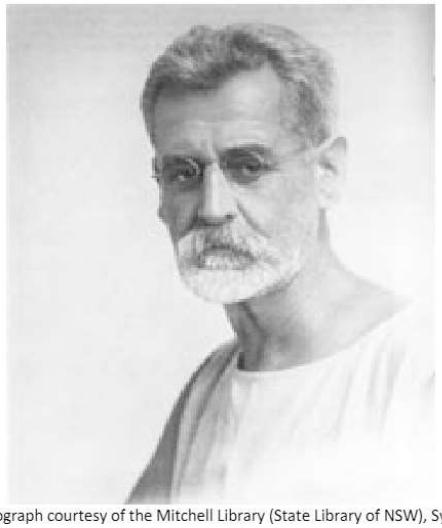
Not all notable vegetarians have been positive influences in promoting the diet. Some were just plain eccentrics, such as William Chidley (1860-1916). During the pre-WW1 period Chidley was undoubtedly Australia's most well-known vegetarian and was a familiar figure in Sydney's Domain where he could frequently be found proselytising his social theories to either amused or shocked audiences. To further spread his ideas, he wrote a book called *The Answer*, which went through a number of editions between 1911 and 1916. It expounded his opinions on the benefits of naturism, vegetarianism and sex reform. It was his sexual advice that got him into trouble. Essentially, he believed that man was going about the sex act in the wrong way, that the male erection was unhealthy and caused the brain to shrink. He believed in what he called 'natural coition' that would take place only in the spring, as it did with other animals, and where the dominant sexual player would be the female.

The authorities seized copies of Chidley's book and he was fined, imprisoned or confined to mental institutions on a number of occasions. He did have supporters, however. Henry Hyde Champion, owner of *The Champion* newspaper, helped publish his book and provided him with a lawyer. Meredith Atkinson, the British vegetarian, who was in Australia between 1914-1926 as a lecturer and promoter of the Workers Education Association movement, chaired a Chidley Defence Committee.

Seeing that Chidley was essentially a harmless crank, even some Sydney newspapers (including *The Bulletin*) ran campaigns for his freedom. Chidley's case eventually reached the NSW Parliament and subsequently led to his release, but Chidley could not stop himself for he was convinced that the ideas contained in his book could save the world. As he said in the introduction to his last work:

"I give Australians this mission in the world: - Shepherd my Book! Oh! Shepherd my Book! Remember, it is the One hope for Humanity. Let those read it who want to; its truth will become apparent in time. The human race must return to (1) natural coition, (2) to nudity, and (3) to a natural diet: fruit and nuts only; and each of these depend on the other two. Only thus can you obtain mutual Joy, Love, and Content."[54]

Chidley continued to preach and sell his book in public, wearing a short white toga made out of semi-transparent material. The light toga was designed to let his skin breathe and to prevent sexual arousal which he thought was assisted by restrictive clothing. Chidley was finally re-admitted to Callan Park lunatic asylum where he died of an apparent heart attack.



Photograph courtesy of the Mitchell Library (State Library of NSW), Sydney

54 Hornadge, Bill, Chidley's Answer to the Sex Problem, Dubbo, N.S.W., Review publications, 1983, p. 11

Although Chidley's theories seem strange - even by today's standards - he did have his followers. Some of them, including Harry Meatheringham, another Sydney character, adopted his diet and dress and continued to sell his book after his death. He, too, was fined multiple times. Chidley's anti-masculinist message also struck a chord with feminists of the day. Rose Scott, the feminist and society hostess, even arranged women only public meetings to hear his views.

While most exponents of vegetarianism adopted the diet through their own ethical or religious choices, Chidley was an exception because he was raised as one. His adoptive parents Maria and John Chidley had become vegetarians as followers of Swedenborg and spiritualism. They had emigrated from London around 1850, spent some time working in the goldfields and later moved to Melbourne where they ran a chain of toy shops. Maria Chidley, who had lost her only biological child, took to taking toys to children in orphanages, and then began adopting them - five in all. Before they had adopted too many children, they had lived for a time in a vegetarian, Swedenborg-inspired communal house until scandal erupted. In his memoirs, Chidley reported his father's confession to him that "*their relations became anything but 'spiritual', babies made their appearance - and there was scandal even worse than that*".

Living in the commune were, among others, Claude Moody, who had emigrated from England in 1852 aged 23, and his future wife, Melissa Pitman. Melissa was the daughter of the leading Australian Swedenborgian, Jacob Pitman, and niece of Sir Isaac Pitman. Chidley, as a child, spent much time with the Moodys on their property and often played with their son, Walter, while feasting on the fruits of their orchards.

After Chidley's death, John Shirlaw, a journalist of Scottish descent, and other 'Chidleans', started another vegetarian commune based on his teachings at Berry's Bay in Sydney.

Although Chidley was raised a vegetarian, as a rebellious youngster he lapsed in the diet for a time (much to his mother's distress), however he reported later: "*I suffered by the change*."[55]

Plagued as Chidley was by his own sexuality, he was not aided by the social mores of his time, nor by his disastrous long-term relationship with the failed actress, Ada Grantleigh. Grantleigh was epileptic, an alcoholic and was also sexually involved with other men. Chidley's own drinking problem would not have helped matters. From around 1884, to guard against his 'falls' (as he called his drinking and sexual episodes), he strived to live solely on a diet of fruit. He believed, as did so many temperance folk, that flesh-eating led to sensuality. His main dietary guide was a book by the German Gustav Schlickeysen entitled *Obst und Brot* (1875), which was translated into English by the American vegetarian Dr Martin Holroyd and published as *Fruit and Bread: a scientific diet* (1877).

Chidley found keeping to his restricted diet especially hard especially in regards to giving up smoking and drinking. In his autobiography, *The Confessions of William Chidley*, he recounts his battles to adhere to various diets. While Schlickeysen's diet was relatively wide-ranging, Chidley continually adopted more extreme diets but failed to keep to them. Throughout his life he seems to have had a particular penchant for choosing for himself the most difficult path.

A more 'successful' vegetarian and naturist with a very similar background to Chidley was the poet, librarian and academic, John Le Gay Brereton Jnr. Like Chidley, Brereton's parents had emigrated from England, were vegetarian Swedenborgians. Brereton Senior was a traditionally trained doctor who also practised homeopathy.

55 Chidley, William, The Confessions of William Chidley, edited by S. McInerney, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1977 p.22

Like most vegetarians of his time, he was actively opposed to vaccinations and promoted dress reform. He also opened the first Turkish baths in Australia, wrote often maudlin religious and vegetarian inspired verse and was a well-known figure in Sydney society. Literary figures such as Henry Kendall were frequent visitors to the Brereton's large house, *Osgathorpe*, in Gladesville. Fruit and vegetables were grown in the house's large grounds - which presumably contributed substantially to their diet - and there were also extensive areas of virgin bush. Brereton Junior called it 'an Eden' and this is where he learnt to love nature, which played such a strong role in his literary and personal life. Brereton Jnr was born in 1871. He was later a student at the University of Sydney where he later became an assistant, and yet later, librarian. In 1921 he was appointed the university's first Professor of English literature. A major figure in literary Australia of the time, having written and published a novel, several plays and a large number of poetical works, he was also a knowledgeable and respected critic as well as a friend and benefactor to many struggling writers. Brereton, who had what has been described as an almost 'sexual' love of Nature[56], would spend all his free time wandering in the Australian bush with a tucker bag full of oatmeal, rice and lentils. His most famous work, *Landlopers* (1902), tells of a walking trip that he took accompanied part of the way by the poet, Dowell O'Reilly. In it, he records not only his impressions of Nature but also mentions the paucity of vegetarian food available to travellers. He mentions shopkeepers who find his purchases funny and, at one point, stated miserably that, 'I touch no flesh of any kind, and had lived entirely upon damper and tea since our arrival at Wombeyan'.[57] Soon after, he reported that he had stolen a large marrow which gave him some much-needed variety. Many of Brereton's walks lasted days - often weeks - and when he was well

56 Harper, Melissa, Sensuality in sandshoes: representations of the bush in the walking and writing of John Le Gay Brereton and Percy Grainger, Australian Historical Studies, Vol. 31 no.115 Oct. 2000, pp.287-303.

57 Brereton, J.. Le Gay, Landlopers: the Tale of a Drifting Travel, and the quest of peace, Sydney, 1902, p.122

off the beaten track would invariably walk naked. Unlike Chidley, Brereton does not seem to have been stigmatised by his diet or behaviour. Among his closest companions was Henry Lawson who (according to Lawson's daughter) considered Brereton to be his best friend. In fact, Lawson so liked Brereton that he wrote and dedicated poems to him, whilst Brereton financially supported Lawson in his declining years. Brereton was, not afraid of taking ethical stances and was a vocal defender of Chidley when he was facing his many trials. He also remained in contact with Meatheringham over his continued promotion of naturism and vegetarianism. He was one of the few who openly defended vegetarianism[58], including writing a spirited response to one of the *Bulletin*'s more reactionary anti-vegetarian comments.

Someone who was almost the epitome of a true Australian larrikin - was Australia's greatest composer, Percy Grainger. According to his article published in the *American Vegetarian* entitled *How I Became a Meat-Shunner*, Grainger stated that he had adopted the diet in 1924 after hearing the arguments of George Bernard Shaw from a woman he had met. This was the culmination of a gradual change. He had started to visit vegetarian restaurants in Europe as early as the 1890s with his many European vegetarian friends, and had apparently long been considering the move. As he said:

"All my life, I have been sickened by everything connected with meat, fish, and poultry eating. As a child, I saw apparently nice, kind people wring the necks of fowls, and I thought it foul; and I wondered if I could ever exert any influence to help bring such unworthiness to an end."[59]

58 The Sydney Morning Herald, 20 May 1896, p. 5

59 Grainger, Percy, How I Became a Meat-Shunner, American Vegetarian, Vol. V no.4, Dec. 1946, p.4.

Another probable motivating factor in his change of diet was his fanatical fitness regime. Whenever possible, Grainger ran (long before jogging was fashionable) and also took a great delight in manual labour. During the construction in Melbourne of the museum in his honour (1935-1938) he could be found on the building site carrying bricks and generally labouring shirtless in the sun. Of course his famously active - and we must imagine, intensely physically demanding - sexual life would also attest to his fitness. He believed that his vegetarian diet, which generally consisted of nuts, rice, bread, fruit and ice cream (he disliked vegetables), allowed him to maintain this necessary fitness.



Percy Grainger, by Dupont, A. (Aime), 1915

In an age when everybody wore hats, Grainger stood out with his unruly wavy hair *sans* headgear. His clothes were also a talking point - especially the suit that his mother made for him out of towelling. Even when not wearing outlandish garb, he would still seem relatively unclad to most people in the United States where he spent the majority of his adult life. His lack of clothes got him into trouble at times and he was once arrested in a case of mistaken identity. When asked why he was wearing so few clothes in the middle of winter, he evidently replied to the enquiring policeman: "*I do not eat meat, I do not smoke, and I do not drink, and therefore, I do not feel the cold*."[60]

Kleber Claux (1893-1971) was a free thinking vegetarian and naturist originally from France, who lived in Australia from 1929 until his death. Prior to arriving in Australia, Kleber lived for 15 years at the Whiteway Colony (1898-), a Tolstoyan, anarchist and partially naturist communal project in the Cotswolds, England. At Whiteway, Kleber met his life partner Kathleen Mary Crick (generally known as Molly Claux) who had become a vegetarian and was already a follower of naturism as a member of the English Gymnosophical Society. On 13 December 1929, Frederick Griffiths, Max Gregory and Kleber and Molly Claux and their baby son Eugene arrived in Australia.[61] They had the intention of founding a naturist, vegetarian anarchist colony run on similar lines to Whiteway, but in a warmer climate where they could be year round naturists. The place they chose was land near Cooktown in North Queensland which they anticipated would also provide them with ample supply of year round fruit and vegetables. The group however stayed in North Queensland for only a year due to the difficulties in getting vegetarian food, the heat and the rain and the unexpected difficulty of farming the land.

Tensions were also apparent in the group, as the aesthetic eugenicist Molly wrote of her other companions:

60 Bird, John, Percy Grainger, Sydney, Currency , 1998, p.253

61 Cairns Post, 17 February 1930, p. 13

"Of course the great setbacks to the boosting of proving of vegetarianism are the crocks and weaklings who have finally come to it after a life of auto-intoxication and hereditary weakness.

....

Our colony has got a wrong start for the Hellenic ideal I had in mind. We ought to have had two beautiful young couples whereas Fred and Max are quite unsuitable from the aesthetic and even physical standpoint.

....

I suppose that is why I resent them. I simply must have beautiful people round me."[62]

With the impending birth of their second child, Moira, the Claux's moved down to Sydney in 1931, while the other members of the commune returned to England. In Sydney, Kleber became a barrowman selling fruit and vegetables in Liverpool Street taking also the opportunity to extoll the virtues of a vegetarian diet. He became a widely known Sydney character who come winter or summer would be seen working at his barrow wearing shorts and often little else. Molly, meanwhile raised their four children. The Claux's became very well-known bohemians on the Sydney scene particularly known for hosting nude parties. Kleber with his impressive physique also frequently modelled for artists and photographers and occasionally appeared in feature films.

The family continued to promote naturism and have been identified as the owners of the first naturist camp - though this is unlikely and difficult to verify as in the very early 1930s there sprung up a number of competing naturist establishments to cater to the growing movement. The Claux's certainly did own or frequent a number of naturist camps in Australia.

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62 From the diary of Molly Claux held at the National Library of Australia and excerpted in Society of Women Writers Victorian Branch, Women by themselves, a scrapbook of personal writings by women in Australia since white settlement, Cole Publications, 1988, pp 61-63

In 1945, both Kleber and Molly (using her real name Kathleen Crick) were involved in very public litigation over a property that they were intending on using for naturist purposes. Later in 1947 the family gained widespread notoriety when it was revealed by the press that Molly Claux their 16 year old daughter was appearing naked in short films and photographs available in Sydney arcades.[63] Molly went on to work as a model for a number of more renowned photographers and later to appear in feature films. She was also an accomplished dancer in the Bodenwieser Ballet, which is considered to be the first truly modern dance company in Australia.



Max Dupain, Moira in mirror , ca. 1951

63 Telegraph (Brisbane), 31 December 1947, p 3

The concept and practice of naturism and vegetarianism have both been around for a very long time. When they were previously considered within mainstream society, they were both seen as suspicious and in some ways dangerous creeds for cranks. When the two were publicly linked, it was most often to their mutual disadvantage. In an effort to forestall negative publicity both naturists and vegetarians have in the past sought to distance themselves from the other, to seem less crankish.

However, the two movements in reality have often intertwined. In Germany, which was the birthplace of the modern naturist movement, vegetarianism and naturism were initially part of the same Freikörperkultur (free body culture) movement. This movement begun in the later 19th century, was a revolt against modern urban life, and incorporated many of the heroic body ideals from Ancient Greece. At its worse it encompassed a eugenic and fascist ethos of cultivating the perfect body. At its best it emphasised a return to a more 'natural' state whereby the body and mind were both healthy and vital. Philosophy, music and poetry were to feed the mind, whilst for the body there was exercise and nudity.

The utopian and socially radical naturist movement defined themselves within the philosophy of 'Nacktkultur'. This naked culture movement, again born in Germany, was also centred on nakedness but was radically anti-capitalist as well as promoting of vegetarianism and in opposition to the use of alcohol and tobacco.

The complete exposure of the body to the sun was in those days, before skin cancer concerns, seen as one of the surest roots to good health.

Following the widespread success of the German example, the movement quickly spread across the rest of Europe. In Scandinavia the movement was particularly strong. In Britain where there were already many vegetarian naturists (such as GB Shaw), and the naturist journals, such as *Health and Vim* advocated vegetarianism to their readers.

In France and Spain the two movements (as well as Anarchism) were always very close and were guided by thinkers such as Jacques Élisée Reclus, Henri Zisly and Isaac Puente. Spain also was home to joint organisations such as the Amics Del Sol (Sun's Friends), Sol Y Vida (Sun and life) and latterly the Spanish Vegetarian Naturist Federation.

The public face of Australian naturism initially depicted the activity as solely a part of a health regime that included a good diet, exercise and skin exposure to the sun. The Australian Health Club (founded by A.J. Balfour) which was probably Sydney's first naturist club, changed its name in 1931 to The Australian Institute of Gymnosophy and Heliotherapy.[64] These imposing names were adopted seemingly in a hope to give the club an impression of refinement and science – while the press and the public of the time seemed certain it was just a new sex craze.

The naturist movement lost its impetus in the later 1930s in Europe after both Hitler and Stalin banned naturist movements, but it continued in the US and Australia and thrived in a number of small permanent communities and naturist camps.

In Australia, during the early 1930s naturist camps sprang up in bushland settings around most major cities. These were created in the bush as it was felt that cities were decadent and that the bush was natural and 'sacred'. Away from the cities, naked in nature, it was felt people could become healthy, strong and morally pure. A less esoteric reason for their bush situation would also be because the laws of indecent exposure and obscene behaviour would not be felt. Naturists in town and at the beach had previously been prosecuted, particularly by over vigilant Sydney police.[65]

64 The Sun (Sydney), 30 October 1931, p. 9

65 The Sun (Sydney), 20 December 1940, p. 5

But these prosecutions relied on supplying police witnesses who could be drawn on to be offended - but if you were isolated in the bush this was harder to prove and prosecute.[66]

To ensure the naturist clubs kept their founding ethos, they maintained strict standards of behaviour (no drinking, no touching) and their membership was aimed at families and couples rather than single males. The Sun Kist Club, established in 1934, according to a report from 1964, was still running according to the Nacktkultur credo of its founder Eric Noogee of "*no smoking, no drinking, no meat because he expects people to behave themselves whether clothed or unclothed*." [67] But the naturist aspects of the vegetarian movement were most fully formed in the creation of the Vegetarian Health Camp, operating in the bush at Narrabeen 16 miles from Sydney and run by William Edgar Roberts the founder of the Vegetarian Society of 1948. The camp served as a naturist camp more than a traditional health resort. Roberts advertised in his vegetarian and health journals and books that his camp offered 'sun and air bathing', terms which were then widely used to mean naturism. Though in his advertisements within the Sydney Morning Herald he only suggested that that the location was suitable for hiking, boating and swimming. But, as the text and photographic plates of Roberts' health books such as *The key to health : via exercise, diet, breathing, sun, air & water bathing, physiology* show, he was not at all adverse to nudity. Nude or semi-nude photographs of fit young vegetarians and vegans were a common feature of vegetarian publications of the time.

Frederick George Roberts, the fellow naturopath, and the largest manufacturer and seller of health foods, outside of Sanitarium during the 1940s and 1950s, also used many revealing and alluring photographs in his many publications to depict the physical benefits of the diet.

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66 See, Daley, Caroline. "From Bush to Beach: Nudism in Australasia," Journal of Historical Geography 31.1 (January 2005). pp. 149-167

67 The Canberra Times, 30 September 1964, p. 21

Outside of these vegetarian journals, the general naturist press occasionally promoted vegetarianism (though only from a human health perspective). *The Australian Sunbather* (1947-1953) often recommended fresh fruit and vegetables to its readers. Although it did not actually editorially advise full vegetarianism, it did offer it as a viable alternative, when discussing food choices. Within its pictorial matter it also featured members of the vegetarian Claux family on more than one occasion. Another journal which was more positive was *Solar* (1953-1975) published and mostly written by David Palmer. *Solar* initially did not fare very well as it was not directly associated with any of the nudist camps or organisations, and so was eventually taken over by someone who was, which meant a change in dietary advice for the worse. In his work of history, *Nudism in Australia*[68], Magnus Clarke stated that the first known naturist club that advocated any form of vegetarianism was the Hesperides club founded by a German couple in 1965 in Lane Cove, Sydney. In Greek mythology the Hesperides were four beautiful nymphs who lived in a garden and protected Zeus and Hera's golden apples. The use of Greek names were popular with many nudist camps, others being called Apollo and Olympia, the names being symbolic of the movements supposed Ancient Greek roots.

Both naturism and veganism have become relatively accepted differences from the norm and can be quite open in proclaiming a healthy mind in a healthy body. They have been brought together most clearly in animal liberation advertising and awareness raising campaigns. PETA's 'I'd rather go bare than wear fur?' campaigns from the 1990s used models and celebrities posing nude to call attention to the cruelty involved in the fur trade.

68 Clarke, Magnus, Nudism in Australia : a first study, Melbourne, Deakin University Press, 1982

They later extended the use of male and female nudity to a range of other campaigns – which have been highly successful at least in getting media attention. Their tactics have not been without critics within the movement however, who consider that PETA's use of the nude has been both offensive and discriminatory. However, PETA continued with nudity, and from 2012, they have organised an annual Running of the Nudes, whereby men and women run naked through the streets of Pamplona, Spain as an opposition event to the traditional Running of the Bulls. In this way at least the two movements seem destined to continue their sometimes uneasy alliance.

Dietary Reformers

Apart from religious and ethical supporters of vegetarianism, many from the medical field were also opposed to Australia's huge meat consumption. From 1875, there was an Australian Health Society, the members of which were all medical professionals. The aim of the Society was to promote preventative medicine through better sanitation, exercise and healthy eating. While the Society was not a vegetarian one, it did share lectures and other activities involving diet with the Vegetarian Society when it was active.

One of the areas of mutual agreement was that meat was a legitimate health concern. Up until the early 20th century, health inspectors examined animals and their flesh meant for export but not those meant for domestic consumption. Prior to the health checks we have now, Bovine Tuberculosis was endemic to Australian cattle and so the disease was frequently spread onto humans. Adulteration and bad storage combined with Australia's hot climate were other factors, which made consumption of animal flesh dangerous.

Dr Philip Muskett was a medical reformer who spoke with some authority as a former surgeon superintendent to the New South Wales government. Muskett was not a vegetarian, and was always at pains to make this plain so as not to appear part of any 'crank' movement. Nevertheless, he did constantly criticise the amount of meat being eaten in Australian homes. As he says in the introduction to his first major work on the subject:

"We in Australia habitually consume an injurious amount of meat to the exclusion of far more needed nourishment. The golden rule as far as the

Australian dietary is concerned is a minimum of meat, and a relatively maximum of the other classes of food."[69]

However, *The Bulletin*, no respecter of medical or other dissenting opinion, sought to deride him and his views:

"Dr. Muskett, of Sydney, declares roundly that an Australian annually eats as much meat as two Englishmen, three Canadians, four Germans, or ten Italians; hence he says, the general noticeable drop in average health in Australia. The alleged 'general noticeable drop' in average health is proved by the fact that the Australian birth-rate is one of the highest in the world, and the Australian death-rate is about the lowest in the world statistically recorded. The ill-health which makes the average Australian live considerably longer than the average Britisher, or Frenchman, or German, is a remarkable circumstance."[70]

Muskett's prescription for Australia's dietary health - as outlined in his book *The Art of Living in Australia* and his later work, the *Book of Diet* (1898) - advised a Mediterranean diet as more in keeping with our hot climate. He emphasised the benefits of salads and the drinking of wine instead of tea but, unfortunately for vegetarians (and fish), he also urged Australians to eat more seafood.
Muskett claimed that a major part of the problem with the Australian diet was that it lacked variety, being limited in fresh fruits and vegetables. To little avail he urged the NSW authorities to support the growing of vegetables where possible and for the introduction of various plant foods such as sweet corn. As he said:

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69 Muskett, Philip E., The art of living in Australia ; together with three hundred Australian cookery recipes and accessory kitchen information by Mrs. H. Wicken, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893, p.4 (http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/p00022.pdf)

70 The Bulletin, vol.18 21 August 1897, p.21.

"If the potato and cabbage were taken away, Australia would be almost bereft of vegetables."

In 1896, the Melbourne based ear and throat specialist, Dr Charles Iredell published a book on health, which also suggested that a lowering of the consumption of meat would be beneficial. He stated:

"*There does not seem to be any evidence that flesh food is necessary to the perfect development of man. Many nations live without it, and among them some whose prowess and physical development are second to none.*" [71]

Vegetarians trying to keep to their diets and remain healthy echoed his view of the paucity of choice and price of fruit and vegetables. William Chidley noted in the 1860s and 1870s that fruit and vegetables were often out of his parent's price range. When money was short his vegetarian family had to survive on potatoes, bread and syrup. In the 1890s Ellen White complained that fruit, vegetables, grains, and nuts were neither easy to obtain nor affordable in Australia. Even up to the middle of the 20th century, visitors to and residents of Australia were still complaining about the cost and lack of variety of vegetarian foods. In fact, it was not until the post Second World War influx of immigrants from southern Europe that a fully Mediterranean diet as recommended by Muskett was really achievable.

There have always been a proportionally large number of German vegetarians, but very few seem to have played a role in Australian vegetarian life. One notable exception was Dr Otto Abramowski (1852-1910), a medical doctor trained in Berlin who after spending eight years as a surgeon in the Prussian and German Army, including service in the Franco-Prussian War, immigrated to Australia in 1884.

71 Iredell, Charles L. M. A. H., Ten year's practice in Australia, Melbourne, Massina, 1896, p.40

Abramowski first settled in the railway town of Terowie, South Australia, until in 1888 he heard that the Chaffey Brothers were starting an irrigation colony in Mildura for the growing of fruit. He immediately bought a plot of land and headed out there. Abramowski quickly became a leading member of the then small community, as its doctor, advisor on town sanitation and the director of its first hospital. Finding that the citizens of Mildura were actually quite healthy by Australian standards, his medical skills were not too much in need, so he also ran his own dispensary catering for both allopathic and homeopathic patients, and wrote and studied in his field. He also found time to establish a small vegetable farm, specialising in growing artichokes as well as keeping bees.

Even before his arrival in Mildura, Abramowski had started sending articles giving medical and social advice to the local paper the *Mildura Cultivator*. This newspaper, which served the residents of the Irrigation Colony, clearly had a good number of fruit and vegetable growers among its readership who were keen to hear of a diet that promoted their crops. It was even willing to support veganism, as it discussed the possibility of having an exclusively vegetable diet and pronounced there would be not "the slightest difficulty in living healthily on such a diet".[72]

The paper also from 1890 had the vegetarian John Newton Wood, on its editorial staff who was always keen to add any vegetarian promotion or information to the publication.

From his many articles over the years, Abramowski eventually compiled a book entitled, *Eating for health: the evolution of a commonsense conception of disease and a natural system of its prevention and cure* (1907). Seeing the commercial possibilities of diet books, the Melbourne publisher, E. W. Cole, picked it up in 1908 and republished it twice with the catchier title, *Vitalism: the art of eating for health*.

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72 Mildura Cultivator, 3 October 1889, p 5

Abramowski reported in his columns his studies into why it was that humans and domesticated animals were so prone to diseases while animals living in a 'natural state' were not. He, himself, was overweight and in poor health and after experimenting on himself he systematically eliminated various foods that he thought harmful until he was essentially on a healthy vegetarian diet.
Abramowski became convinced that meat was the prime cause of illness, and so advised against its daily consumption. As can be seen from his description of beef tea variants, which were then the most popular remedy for a multitude of illnesses:

"The celebrated Bovril, the beef tea, the soup, bouillon, gravy, etc; poisonous materials all, although they are even at the present day considered nourishing, and often prescribed by the medical men; decoctions which in their chemical composition have a surprising similarity to the urine of the respective animals."[73]

Although he warned others off meat, he himself stopped short of total abstinence, saying, "I do without it altogether, although we usually have some on a Sunday as a special indulgence."
Abramowski is still known today mainly for his work in support of the raw food diet and Fruitarianism. His books on the subject, particularly *Fruitarian diet and physical rejuvenation* have been republished a number of times over the years both in Australia and overseas and is still available today. Abramowski believed the diet was particularly beneficial for invalids and reported that he used the diet during a typhoid outbreak in 1908 whilst he was senior physician at the Mildura district hospital. Putting some patients on a diet solely of fruit and leaving the others to the traditional Australian meat diet, he found the fruit eating group had a much greater recovery rate.

73 Abramowski, O.L.M., Vitalism: the Art of Eating for Health, Melbourne, E. W. Cole, 1908, p.77-78

After Abramowski's death at the young age of 59, there were many letters in vegetarian and other journals discussing his untimely demise with speculation as to whether a fruitarian diet was to blame. The letters finally prompted his wife to write to the *Herald of the Golden Age* (the letter also being reprinted elsewhere) stating that the prime cause of his death was his loss of will to live brought about by his financial woes after the failure of his sanatorium in Coronet Hill (Vic.) and his dietary experiments which apparently included "introducing poisons and disease germs of all kinds".

One of the more outlandish examples of vegetarian quackery was the endurance event organised by John McDonagh, a Sydney doctor. McDonagh arranged for a fit young Swedish vegetarian immigrant by the name of Jacques Ibbot to hold a public forty-day fast to prove the efficacy of the vegetarian diet. The fast was held from October 25 to December 4, 1890, at the Bondi Aquarium - then a popular amusement park above Tamarama Beach.

As Ibbot was displayed lying on a couch in the park he gained a certain amount of notoriety - so much so that on a bank holiday during his fast he had to be protected from the crowds of over-enthusiastic onlookers. Ibbot completed the fast successfully and triumphantly announced to the waiting reporters, "I attribute all my success to my long-continued diet upon fruit and vegetables and pure water."[74]

However, Dr McDonagh's motivation for the event seems to have been less to promote vegetarianism and more to promote a 'medicinal extract' called 'Kolah-Bah-Natton', derived from a type of African nut and which he claimed was rich in caffeine and theobromine.

Another, interesting promoter of the benefits of a vegetable-based diet was Dr Alan Carroll (1828-1911). Born in London with the name Samuel Matthias Curl, he arrived in Sydney in 1887 after a 25-year career as a doctor in New Zealand.

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74 The 40 Day Fast, Daily Telegraph, Sydney, 5 Dec. 1890, p.3

In Australia, he took the assumed name of Carroll, as he had left New Zealand in order to elope with a lady named Mary Douglas.

He said he had come to Australia from England ostensibly as an anthropologist to study the Australian Aborigines – however he stayed and instead became a leading figure in the fields of anthropology, nutrition and in his own specialisation - children's health. He was for a time also a prominent Theosophist, as well as being a man of more prosaic science. He was the founder of the Australasian Anthropological Society and edited its journal, *The Science of Man.*

Carroll is now most widely known for his paediatric work and as the founder in 1894 of the Child Study Association, a charitable body aiming to reduce the high child mortality rate, particularly among the poor. The Association gave out free health and dietary advice, among other assistance, to poor families from its clinic in Sydney and proved extremely popular. Carroll's theories on health - especially children's nutrition - were widely acknowledged and, amazingly for a vegetarian advocate, he even had support from *The Worker* and the *Bulletin.*[75]

Carroll's dietary advice to families contained many facets, but he mainly championed the benefits of fresh cow's milk and wholemeal bread. So popular was his promotion of these foods that bakers and dairymen throughout Sydney began to advertise that they produced products conforming to his advice. For many years advertisements for Child Study Bread and Child Study Milk could be seen both in Sydney and wider NSW. The Child Study Health Food Company was still in evidence in the pages of the *Australian Vegetarian* in the 1950s.

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75 The Worker in the 1920s even reprinted the main work of Carroll : Izet, Mrs D, Health h & longevity according to the theories of the late Dr. Alan Carroll, with an account of the work of the Child Study Association, Sydney, Epworth, 1915

Carroll believed that if a basically vegetarian - and therefore healthier diet than that commonly eaten by Australians - was given to babies and young children, it would improve their general health, assist the sick and lengthen their lives. He also held the now commonly acknowledged view that a diet high in sugar and fat and lacking the essential nutrients from fruit and vegetables, adversely affected children's mental development, character and behaviour.

In his written works Carroll stated that red meat should always be avoided, emphasising the Mosaic belief that the eating of meat that contained blood was wrong - injurious to adults and according to him a 'loathsome outrage' if fed to children. Although he himself was vegetarian, he did sometimes advise eating fish as a replacement for red meat.

Carroll was also a strong believer in eugenics, a belief which was to become very fashionable as the early 20th century progressed. He believed that Australians were declining as a race because of their bad diet and breeding. His theories on child welfare and diet were attempted later to be put into practice by Dr Richard Arthur, President of the NSW Eugenics Education Society and later Minister for Public Health in the Bavin Government (1927-1930).

Arthur was another British migrant who had settled in Sydney in 1891. He started a medical practice at Mosman, and was later medical officer or director of the Sydney, Royal North Shore and Royal Prince Alfred Hospitals. He was also from 1904 until 1932 a Liberal and later Independent member in the NSW state parliament. His main interest in medicine was the welfare of women and the young. He was a leading member of the puritan White Cross League and wrote extensively on the perceived dangers of masturbation, sex outside of marriage and the real danger then of venereal disease.

It has been reported that Arthur was a sometime vegetarian, but this is unlikely, at least in 1913, as during an Inquiry he said that vegetarianism was not to be recommended for the average person – though he also advised that too much meat was being eaten.

It is known that he supported William Chidley in his linkage of a meat diet with sex, and as a believer in sexual abstinence it is presumed he may have also abstained from meat to control his desires. In the 1920s he was certainly mixing with and supporting vegetarian businesses and organisation from within the Food Education Society (formely the Food Reform League).[76] Arthur was also a strong temperance advocate and a promoter of fruit and milk as the best foods. During his Ministership he brought about the Milk Act of 1931, which brought into being the Milk Board to ensure the quality of milk for consumers in NSW.

In 1942, the Minister for War, Francis Forde, opened the first vegetarian children's home, Hopewood House, in Bowral, NSW. It was founded - and primarily funded - by Leslie Owen Bailey (1890-1964) a philanthropist who had made his fortune from sales of lingerie and a chain of dress shops called *Chic Salon*.

Bailey first became aware of the benefits of natural foods from the book, *The Fast Way to Health*, by Dr Frank McCoy. He stated that he had been in varying stages of ill-health for most of his 42 years and received immediate benefits after going on a vegetarian diet and ceasing to use pharmaceutical medicines. He became a convinced and impassioned supporter of natural health. From his reading of McCoy - as well as from his later research on diet and its benefits to health (including the works of Carroll) - Bailey developed his own theories of natural health and diet. Bailey promoted vegetarianism by giving talks on natural health which, as an established businessman, he could do without fear of being labelled a crank.

He founded the Hopewood Children's home in Bowral where his vision was to create a set of 'perfect' Australians who would prove his dietary and medical theories, as well the supposed benefits of eugenic intervention in the betterment of the Australian race.

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76 See for example a report of a meeting at the Sanitarium Vegetarian Café in the The Sun (Sydney), 15 Oct. 1926, p. 10, and, The Sydney Morning Herald, 15 Oct. 1926, p. 12.

Through this scheme Bailey hoped to "demonstrate to the people of Australia the degree of improvement in health, physique, deportment intelligence, ability and character which comes from rational care, training and diet from birth."[77]

Hopewood initially housed 86, mostly illegitimate, infants (43 girls and 43 boys) whose mothers could not look after them and many of whose fathers were unknown or abroad fighting in the armed forces. For an institution to carry out a social experiment like this was unprecedented - and certainly would not have been allowed by more considered modern authorities - but the massive increase in numbers of illegitimate children caused by the wartime disruption of normal civilian life meant that many babies were without carers.

The Hopewood diet - for which the home became famous - consisted of fruits and vegetables, nuts, wholemeal bread and unpasteurised milk and no refined sugars. Much of the fruit and vegetables were grown in Hopewood's own extensive grounds using organic farming methods.

The children soon became known for being the healthiest in Australia. Researchers from around the world began to study them. Dentists marvelled at their complete absence of dental carries while doctors were equally astonished by their lack of colds and other common maladies that afflicted the general population.

In spite of the children's superior physical health, the NSW Child Welfare Department insisted - in the face of contrary evidence - that the children were not receiving a correct diet. In the Department's opinion the normal Australian diet of meat three times a day cooked in fat was what was required for growing children.

As the Department had legal responsibility for the children, Bailey was forced to introduce meat into the children's diet.

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77 The Sun (Sydney), 15 September 1950, p. 15

However, when meat was placed before them, most of the children apparently refused to eat it and those who did soon found themselves losing weight rather than gaining it and suffering from colds for the first time. Seeing that meat - as he had expected - was harming the children in his care, Bailey again dropped it from their diet, although by this stage he had the support of nutritionists from Sydney University who had proved that the children's diet was superior to that of the normal Australian meat-based diet of the time.[78]

In 1960, Bailey also founded *Hopewood Health Centre* in Wallacia (just outside of Sydney) and in 1962 a new Natural Health Society of Australia (different from the previous organisations with that name) to promote his ideas for the future. Both still operate today and retain links with the Australian vegetarian community

Like Carroll, Bailey's choice of a vegetarian diet was solely based on health grounds. Publicly at least, he never expressed any ethical reason for maintaining the diet. When promoting a natural health diet he had no qualms about promoting white meats as being 'healthy' and at times gave the children under his care cod liver oil.

Apart from Bailey and Carroll there were other moves to incorporate better and vegetarian food into children's diets in Australia. One successfully incorporated idea which had originated as a special meal for poor children in Norway was the 'Oslo lunch'. This lunch consisted of salad, wholemeal bread, cow's milk and fruit. It was introduced into Victorian state schools after a successful trial in 1940 and by the health reformer Dr Eleanor Stang into Western Australian schools when she was the state supervisor of infant health.

By the 1950s the lunch was available to children in schools across most states, however many schools unfortunately decided to add meat into the salad sandwich.

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78 See Candy, Raymond, The Hopewood Story : A Gift of Health, Pythagorean Press, 1987 as well as Trop, Jack Dunn, A Gift of Love : the Hopewood Story, Sydney, West Publishing Corporation, 1971. and Liddell, Rodney, Children of Destiny, Redbank, Qld., Liddell, 2000

In the 1930s, there was a huge increase in public interest in the vegetarian diet. This was not due however, to a sudden interest in animal welfare, but the result of a slow but steady growth in the 'body culture movement'. This movement, which worshipped above all the body beautiful, brought together health, fitness, naturism and eugenics into a unified lifestyle theory. Primarily begun in Germany (where it was known as the Freikorperkultur), the movement had been active in Australia since the turn of the century but only in the 1920s and 1930s did it come to widespread public prominence.

Not all of its supporters where vegetarian, though many were, and those who were not still advocated a healthier diet with less meat consumption.

There were a number of eugenicist organisations such as the Racial Hygiene Association and the Eugenics Society formed in Australia, which promoted healthy eating through their activities and publications.

These groups all believed that a better diet would create a better race of strong, active and also physically attractive Australians. There were also prominent individuals such as the Melbourne dentist George Philpots who in the 1920s gave lectures across Australia and wrote on diet and health and was particularly keen on promoting vegetarian food alternatives (acting for the most part as a promoter of the Sanitarium range of foods). He also started a branch of the British organisation, the Food Education Society (formely the Food Reform League), in Victoria. Not all believers in eugenics were, as many would imagine, fascists, the movement in fact caught up many from across the political spectrum, including a number of Labor supporters and Communists such as Jack Lindsay.

The growth in the number of healthy eating disciples, during the 1920s and 30s can be seen by the explosive growth in sales of health foods and the large number of popular books and magazines on health, fitness, diet and natural health philosophies.

Among Australia's alternative and natural therapists there were a number of vegetarian advocates. Among those directly involved in the Vegetarian Society were the previously mentioned William Edgar Roberts, and Madame Mira Louise (James) who was a naturopath active from the 1930s in Adelaide and Perth. She wrote and published over 20 books and pamphlets on vegetarianism, naturopathy and anti-vaccination between 1939 and 1969. She ran her own health centre and was also for a time President of the Australian Vegetarian Society.
In the 1940s, the Naturopath Dr Paul Maurice Koonin, a Russian émigré trained at the Kharkov University ran a clinic called Hygeia, where patients could stay and receive a healthy vegetarian raw food diet. With his wife, he also ran a practice in Macquarie St., Sydney, as well as publishing 11 works promoting a vegetarian diet, with such titles as *Soy beans : the wonder food* (1941) and *Food or drugs* (1940).

The most successful naturopath and vegetarian businessman was Frederick George Roberts (1892-1977) who became a highly successful naturopath, osteopath, dietitian, psychologist and iridiagnostician. Roberts, was introduced early to vegetarianism as he was brought up in a Seventh-day Adventist family in Tasmania. The Adventists in Tasmania were particularly strong and ran churches, schools and vegetarian cafes - and for many years there was a factory producing Sanitarium products.

Roberts seems to have left the Church as an adult, although retaining strong Christian views, but was eventually again reconciled with the Adventists in his final years.

Roberts' health beliefs were that sickness: "*was but the result of the violation of nature's immutable laws, and was caused by the sufferer being out of harmony, with nature. But the remedy came not in drugs, serums, or antidotes— it came from nature herself.*"[79]

79 Daily Telegraph (Launceston), 14 July 1927, p. 4.

Roberts started his first health practice around 1927 in Tasmania, but by the 1930s he was riding the natural health boom and founded the F.G. Roberts Health Academy and the F.G. Roberts Health Service to manage and promote his many new business interests.
It should be noted that while F.G. was the prime mover his wife Gladys (also a naturopath) and his sons Fred Jr. and Horace were heavily involved in ensuring the success of all the enterprises. At its height, the Roberts' had Health Academies that served both as health food shops and naturopathic clinics in Melbourne, Ballarat, Geelong, Sydney, Newcastle, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane, Toowoomba, Maryborough, Bundaberg, Mackay, Ipswich and Rockhampton.

F.G. Roberts also actively promoted a vegetarian diet but, as with many other dietary writers, he did not totally proscribe meat so as not to alienate his more die-hard meat-eating readers, saying, "*I would appeal to my readers to make flesh foods the least prominent article of their diet; and where they are used, to balance them with abundance of fresh vegetables*."

He published a number of books including *Health via nature : healing with food* and *The natural health cook book and compilation of special diets : containing approximately 300 meatless recipes*.
Many of his recipes entailed the use of soya-based products. To make the ingredients available to his readers in 1932 he opened a factory in St Kilda, Melbourne, which produced a wide range of health foods and supplements. In competition with Sanitarium he also produced various nut-based meat substitutes and in 1936 the first Australian soy products. In 1954, Soy Products Pty bought out this business, but the company is still today selling soy and gluten free products under the F.G. Roberts name and logo.

Image courtesy of Soy Products (Sales) Pty Ltd, Bayswater, Victoria

After selling his business Roberts continued with his health work, founding and directing the Chiropractic and Osteopathic College of Australasia until the 1970s.

Roberts' long running journal *Natures Path to Health* (1928-1952?) was also another means to advertise the vegetarian diet and Roberts' businesses. Featuring articles on diet, health and natural remedies it was also generously blessed with a large number of photographs of semi-clad women and muscular men supposedly to show the benefits of his healthy regime.

During the period between 1910 and 1948 when there was no active dedicated vegetarian society, Roberts decided to found his own organisation. Launched in July 1927 in Hobart he called it the Natural Health Society of Australia. A week later he launched another branch in Launceston. In May 1928 he launched a further branch in Melbourne, and later branches were formed across Australia - wherever Roberts had a business outlet or interest.

The aims and objects of the Society were:
(1) To free humanity from the destructive influences of alcoholism, meat eating, tobacco habit, of drug poisoning, vaccination, surgical mutilation, vivisection and other abuses practised in the name of science.
(2) To aim at returning to a natural way of living by the regulation of eating, drinking, breathing, dressing working, resting and thinking: and establishing sexual and social relations on a normal and natural basis.
(3) To teach that the primary cause of disease is the violation of Nature's laws and that Nature cure is a system of man building in harmony with the constructive principles in Nature on the physical and moral plane of being.
(4) To teach that Naturopathy presents man with the master key to all higher development on the mental, moral and spiritual plane of being, and self-control of the physical body.

(5) To teach that Naturopathy selects and combines everything that is good in dietetic treatment, hydrotherapy, massage, osteopathy, chiropractic, curative gymnastics, and in magnetic and mental therapeutics.

Although couched in his own terminology - Roberts' organisations aims and beliefs perfectly mirror all of the Lebensreforms devised 40 years before in Germany and Switzerland.

In 1931, with branches formed in New Zealand, the Society became the Natural Health Society of Australasia. In 1936, Roberts again changed the name to the F.G. Roberts Natural Health Organisation. Under this name the organisation continued running for over 20 years. All instances of the organisation were profoundly vegetarian, and included representatives from the Radiant Health Society and the Child Study and Adult Health Association. In the first five years of the Society it held frequent and well attended meetings, it hosted picnics, sports days, health camps, and held annual conferences across the country.

The organisation also published works by other authors, including a book by an S. U. Elliott entitled *Healthful eating : with special chapters on the feeding of children [and] constipation, its cause, effect and cure* (1932) which stressed the benefits of fruits and nuts and the harm done by meat. Elliott was a convinced vegetarian who stated:

"*Personally I have no desire whatever for flesh foods, realising that the years of suffering and ill health which I experienced, were largely caused by their use*."

When the Vegetarian Society re-founded in 1948, Roberts also lent his support, his Health Institutes in Perth and Melbourne both becoming headquarters for branches in their respective states.

MEATLESS DIET

Health Camp

THEY eat raw carrots, chew their cabbage uncooked, and munch nuts. But meat is taboo at the annual camp and conference of the Natural Health Society of Australia. It is being held this year at Hollywood, at the junction of the Georges and Prospect Rivers (N.S.W.). Under canvas, there are more than 150 men and women from as far afield as Adelaide and Rockhampton. Members rise at 6.30 a.m., take exercises until breakfast, then sit in conference until noon.

They rest until 2 p.m., then hike until the evening meal at 6 o'clock. At 7.30 there is community singing around the great campfire.

Health lectures follow and at 10.30 retiring bell rings all to bed.

The conference agenda is a comprehensive one. Lecturers include the Rev. Gordon Bennett, of Melbourne, and Dr. Ruby Davy. Subjects dealt with embrace all phases of physical welfare, with dietetics and exercise as the main themes.

Dinner at the Health Camp is of many courses and includes onions, cream of nuts, tomatoes, steamed beets with lemon and honey, lettuce and cream, green peas a la Francais, potato salad and parsley dressing, cauliflower, grated carrots, coconut and radish, cucumber, mixed salad, prunes, dates, raisins, nuts and wholemeal bread and cake.

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80 Weekly Times (Melbourne), 7 January 1933, p.22

One of Roberts' most notable protégés was Maurice Blackmore (1906-1977), who founded the giant Australian vitamin and supplement manufacturer Blackmores. Blackmore got his start with his employment at Roberts' Rockhampton health institute before moving on to Brisbane and founding his own business. Unlike Roberts however, Blackmore was not a vegetarian. He called himself a "half vegetarian" as even though he admitted, "vegetarians have a pretty strong argument"[81] he could not apparently bring himself to give up fish.

Another natural health publicist was Herbert Sutcliffe (1886-1971), a British migrant with an interest in psychology whose mentor on dietary and spiritual matters was the American, Phoebe Marie Holmes. (Holmes also believed that she had visited heaven which, she maintained, was located within our supposedly hollow sun!) Sutcliffe edited a very popular journal called *Radiant Health Messenger* (1930-1954), while Holmes' books (such as *Glorious Radiant Health*) were so successful that they were reprinted many times in Australia during the 1930s and 40s. The success of the radiant health theories allowed Sutcliffe to open a chain of Radiant Health Clubs, first in America and later in Australia and New Zealand (where he eventually settled).

Sutcliffe believed "*individual health and happiness could be achieved by changing diet, physical habits, attitudes and spiritual awareness, and by following the laws of nature*."

To achieve this state of happiness he promulgated a set of activities, which included a 'mental diet' - consisting of a set of affirmations such as '*Thank God I am alive. I harmonise myself with the foods that cleanse and heal the body. I fill my mind with life, love and power*' - combined with exercise routines and a vegetarian diet.[82]

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81 Blackmore, Maurice, Food remedies : living naturally with Blackmores, Balgowlah, Blackmores, 196?, p.12

82 Stace, Hilary, Sutcliffe, Herbert 1886 – 1971, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 31 July 2003 URL: http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/ and Stace, H. Radiant Living , 1999. URL: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz

The Honorary Director of Dietetics for the Radiant Health Clubs was the dietician and writer Lawrence Armstrong. He wrote extensively on diet and its effect on health for varied publications including the *Radiant Health Messenger* and *Turner's Magazine*, promoting what he called the rational or natural diet, which were the two main euphemisms he used for vegetarianism.

Armstrong originally from Sydney moved to Perth and established his own Armstrong Health Institute in St Georges Terrace. From here, he saw patients and ran his own health supplement business using his formulated supplements and those he imported from the United States. His most popular supplements were his range of Bio-Vita food concentrates, which he claimed, could "banish all nervous disorders and depression" as well as cure "nervous sex gland disorders". Between 1935 and 1945, he published a stream of pamphlets and small books on his theories of the dietary way to health. Some were simple vegetarian recipe books; others were on topics such as cancer, pregnancy and childbirth. In all of the works he strongly and primarily promoted a vegetarian diet as the sure means to fight any illness and frequently attacked meat eating as causing stress on the glands. Glands, it seems, were the crux of health to Armstrong so much so that he devoted a whole book to them (*Our mysterious glands*, 1937).

In a couple of his works he did offer some consolation to meat eaters however, saying that those who were healthy adults with 'strong glands' could eat some meat and fish, for children though he always said that meat and fish should never be given.[83]

Also writing a number of vegetarian recipe books during the 1930s and 1940s was Mary L. Nicholls, who ran the Australian section of Radiant Health Clubs from her base in Adelaide until well into the 1950s. Nicholls compiled and published amongst others *Radiant health recipes: the open road to health*, which went through many editions.

83 See any of the numerous titles published by Armstrong including: Life force recipes (1937), Our heritage of health (1935), In harmony with nature (1944)

A Sporting diet

In Europe and America between the 1880s and 1930s, vegetarian organisations, for promotional purposes, often arranged sporting competitions. These were generally just for vegetarians to enter, but also sometimes there were long-distance bicycle, walking or running races in which vegetarians could compete against meat eaters to demonstrate how their diet was healthier than a meat-based one. Vegetarian sporting achievement became so pronounced that in Europe a wide range of specifically vegetarian sporting organisations were formed. There were even separate trials for the aborted Berlin Olympics of 1916 specifically for vegetarians.

In Australia, where sport is one of the defining cultural pastimes and interests in Australia, this was not the case. There have been a number of athletic exponents of vegetarianism, but these were rarities in a very meat focused sport environment. The most popular professional sports of Cricket, Rugby League and AFL were intensely male domains in which drinking alcohol and eating meat were often culturally enforced. Among sport fans there was also historically a preference for an athlete to demonstrate strength rather than exhibit style or finesse in play. To gain the required physical build it was considered absolutely vital that young athletes ate large quantities of meat, eggs and dairy to get their protein. While grown athletes would also need lots of meat to be able to play and recover.

The belief that meat was beneficial to sporting performance was so pronounced that many athletes were instructed to eat a meat meal just prior to competition.[84] While it was known from the 1930s that it was carbohydrate that was needed rather than just meat, it took until the 1990s for many coaches and doctors to finally heed the advice of dieticians.

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84 Steel, J. E., A nutritional study of Australian Olympic athletes, Medical Journal of Australia, Vol.2 1970 pp.119-123.

Similarly, the predominately male audience for a sporting event was considered to only need the classic Australian meat pie - a pastry with a meat and gravy filling.

In this environment, the vegetarian athlete (and spectator) was considered a curiosity and a crank. Nevertheless, there were still a few prepared to adopt the diet for health purposes.

The Australian cricketer Warren Bardsley (1882-1954) was a teetotal vegetarian throughout his life and playing career. A record making left-handed batsman he represented Australia at international test level between 1909 and 1926. Bardsley's diet was part of his overall fitness regime, and seems to have been successful in allowing him to have a prolonged career, made notable by him becoming Australia's oldest ever test captain.[85]

His longevity was noted in the press thus: *"No man has ever been keener to play all the time. He seems to have wonderful endurance, and the peculiar faculty of keeping himself fresh, or stalling off staleness. Possibly vegetarians may ascribe this to his never eating meat."*[86]

A NSW compatriot and fellow first class batsman was the right hand bat Austin Diamond (1874-1966) who was also a representative cricketer and vegetarian.[87]

A prominent vegan is the former Australian cricket international Greg Chappell (1948-) who was captain of Australia 1975-1984. After his playing career finished, Chappell continued as a coach. In 2005 while he was coaching the Indian national side he was part of a PETA campaign with the tagline 'Don't settle for less than a century. Go vegan.'

Further promoting the diet, Chappell also wrote three books on maintaining health and fitness which promoted vegetarianism and veganism.

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85 Phillipson, Neill, Cricket cavalcade : great Australian cricketers past and present, Hawthorn East, Vic., Craftsman Press, 1977, p. 17

86 Referee (Sydney)), 29 June 1921, p. 14

87 Sydney Sportsman, 4 November 4, 1908, p. 7.

Among other Australian cricketers, Peter Siddle the fast/medium bowler became vegetarian in 2012 whilst still playing for Australia. While the fast bowler and coach Jason Gillespie became a vegan in 2013 after his playing career ended.

Val Flood, according to reports a vegetarian from birth[88], was a well-built all round athlete from Melbourne. Sometime known as "the Vegetarian" he was a gym owner and member of the Melbourne Athletic Club. After taking up boxing and winning one bout in Australia, in 1892 he took himself to the US where the prize money and opportunities were considered better. In California he beat Jim Clarke but was then in turn defeated by Peter Maher the champion of Ireland. As was reported afterwards in Australia of Flood: "*He is always well-behaved, and knows how to take care of himself, but as a boxer he is many rungs from the top of the ladder. He will have to take some roast beef with his vegetables (he is a vegetarian) before he can hope to contend successfully against boxers of Maher's stamp.*"[89]
Staying in the US, Flood went on to play and teach handball, football, golf and rugby in exclusive athletic clubs before being appointed to the position of general athletic trainer at Princeton University in 1906.

The migrant to Australia, Emil Voigt won a gold medal for Britain in the 5-mile run at the 1908 Olympics and credited vegetarianism for this feat. After migrating to Australia he continued running, and set national speed records in the process of winning a number of Australian races. Voigt was also a great believer in the benefits of massage, and wrote and lectured on the subject.

88 San Francisco Call, Volume 73, Number 171, 21 May 1893, p. 21

89 Referee (Sydney), 1893, 9 August 9, 1893, p. 6.

In Adelaide, two vegetarian race walkers Len Matthews and Jim Cole regularly won races in Australia prior to WW1. Cole was another import from England having been an established marathon racer there.

From 1908 until the 1930s Martin Dobrilla from Port Adelaide performed feats of strength and endurance in competitions and paid displays across Australia. He was a champion weight lifter but his prime speciality was in endurance club swinging. Swinging weighted clubs was a very popular sport at the turn of the century and was even an Olympic sport for a time. Dobrilla was a world champion in the sport and could swing clubs non-stop for days. He publicly credited his stamina to his vegetarian diet and to eating plenty of fruit.[90]

A later publicity minded vegetarian was a man called Paul Anderson, a bodybuilder and professional strongman who also ran his own gymnasium. During the 1940s and 1950s under the stage name 'The Young Mighty Apollo' he made a living performing feats of strength, such as pulling trucks with his teeth or having cars driven over him. Up until the 1970s he also had a column giving bodybuilding and exercise advice in the vegetarian journal *Health and Vision.*

In 1950s Tasmania, the champion wheelbarrow racer, Jimmy Andrews credited his vegetarianism and teetotalism for his achievements.[91]

The most famous past sporting legend however was Annette Kellermann (1886-1975). Born in Sydney of a German father and French mother, she was according to her biographers a lifelong vegetarian.[92] Kellermann took up swimming to strengthen up her legs, which had been weakened by polio.

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90 Flemington Spectator (Vic.), 11 November 1915, p.5

91 Examiner (Launceston, Tas). Oct. 31, 1953, p. 22.

92 Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. 9 1891-1939, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1983, pp.548-9 and Gibson, Emily, The original million dollar mermaid, Crows nest, N.S.W., Allen & Unwin, 2005.

Taking to the sport, Kellermann was soon earning good money from giving swimming demonstrations, diving into small bodies of water and long distance swimming. She created the balletic style of swimming for her displays, which is now generally known as synchronised swimming. Traveling to Europe her entrepreneur father made her famous by having her swim down the Thames, the Seine and the Danube (she had already swum down the Yarra). She later made attempts at swimming the English Channel and appeared for the first time on the stage in London. Moving to America, in 1907 she was arrested for wearing a one-piece swimming costume, which brought her more notoriety. After that she graduated to appearing on stage in London's West End and on Broadway. In Hollywood, she appeared in a number of films. One of her films, *Daughter of the Gods* (1916) causing a sensation as Kellermann appeared briefly in the nude, apparently the first time a woman had done this in a Hollywood movie. From 1910 given her sporting acclaim and her being declared 'the perfect woman' she used her status to promote various exercise and dietary regimes in a series of guides and booklets sold via mail order. From these beginnings, during a lull in her career in the early 1920s, she studied nutrition and opened her first health food store in California. After another spell in Europe and Australia she was back in California running another health food store when she was cast back into the public eye as in 1952 her life story was immortalised in the film *Million Dollar Mermaid* starring Esther Williams. Having successfully divided her time between the United States and Australia she moved back permanently in 1970 to the Gold Coast.

Kellermann is assumed to have had a vegetarian diet from childhood, but it seems that at least until the 1920s her diet included fish and fowl.

She said expressly on a number of occasions that she never ate red meat, a fact which was particularly exciting to the British newspapers when interviewed prior to her English Channel swim.

In her wide-ranging guide to health and beauty, *Physical beauty : how to keep it* (1918) on the one hand she promoted vegetarianism by pushing, throughout the chapters on food, a diet of fresh vegetables, fruits and nuts but then undid this good advice by the following:

"I do not recommend vegetarianism except to those who have a strong sentimental bias in its favour. Good health can be maintained on a flesh-free diet, but it requires much more care in its selection and preparation than a diet which includes foods of animal origin. While I do not endorse strict vegetarianism, I must insist that excessive meat-eating is a far greater divergence from the ideal diet. The system of restaurant and hotel cookery that makes meat dishes essential to every meal has no place in the home. Nuts are very valuable to take the place of meat, but you should use them at meal time as you would meat, and chew them thoroughly. Other foods that will take the place of meat are eggs, peas, beans and cheese."[93]

This book however did come out before she had studied nutrition and the theories of Dr Kellogg, who much influenced her later thoughts and led to her greater role in health food promotion.

93 Kellermann, Annette, Physical beauty : how to keep it, New York, Doran,1918, pp. 106-107.



Another vegetarian swimmer was Marjorie McQuade (1934-). Selected at only 13 years of age, she was the 'baby' of the Australian team at the 1948 Summer Olympics in London. [94]

94 See also: The Courier-Mail (Brisbane), 27 April 1948, p. 1.

The Australian Women's Weekly, 28 Feb 1948, p. 17

At the 1950 British Empire Games (the forerunner of the Commonwealth Games) in Auckland, New Zealand, McQuade won three gold medals. Individually, she won the women's 110-yard freestyle, and as a member of the Australian women's teams she won in the 4×110-yard freestyle relay and the 3×110-yard medley relay.

According to reports she was the lone vegetarian in a meat eating family, and had chosen the diet at a young age purely through her dislike of meat. However, in January 1951, McQuade was no longer allowed to be vegetarian having been told by her doctor and her coach to eat two meat meals a day or abandon her swimming career. As was excitedly reported in the press, she declared her first steak to be "terrible" and her first sausage to be "awful".[95] However, the press was unified in suggesting that the change in diet would lead to an improvement in her sporting performance - but this was not borne out in competition at the 1952 Olympic Games after which she retired.

The most well-known Australian exponent of vegetarianism was another swimming champion, Murray Rose. Dubbed by the media 'the seaweed streak' due to his supplementing his vegetarian diet with seaweed extract, Rose won 3 gold medals at the 400m, 1500m and 4x200m freestyle swimming events at the 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and took another gold at the 400m freestyle at the Rome Olympics of 1960. He also won 4 gold medals at the 1962 Commonwealth Games and would likely have won more medals had he been allowed to swim at the 1964 Olympics. In his successful competition career he was the first national champion to go some way to publicly prove the soundness of vegetarianism as a healthy diet. Rose's family, who had originally emigrated from Scotland, had become vegetarian while Murray was still a baby. Murray's father, Ian, had previously been in poor health and in 1939 was advised by a Sydney doctor as to the health benefits of a vegetarian diet.

95 Daily Advertiser (Wagga Wagga), 23 January 1951, p.1

He was told, *"If you'll agree to radically altering your dietary habits, we can be pretty sure of great improvement."* [96]

Ian Rose followed the doctor's advice and adopted a vegetarian diet. His health improved so dramatically that he decided to raise Murray as a vegetarian. Rose's mother was also in favour of the diet and became a committed animal liberationist, having being haunted throughout her life by the sight of her father – a butcher – killing a pig.[97]

Rose's diet which he used while in training, was not exceptional by today's standards, but was different enough in the 1950s to cause comment and press interest. The diet consisted of:

> Breakfast: Fresh fruit in season; nuts, sesame or skim milk
> Lunch: Raw vegetable salad; egg yolks, soya beans or cheese
> Dinner: Plenty of cooked vegetables. Pudding made with wholewheat or millet.[98]

Using Murray's success as a springboard, the Roses promoted vegetarianism through their son's achievements and the books they wrote on the subject. For a time during the 1950s, Ian Rose also edited the Vegetarian Society journal, *The Australian Vegetarian*.

Another Australian family who brought up their children as vegetarians produced a champion son. In November 1968, the McElwaine family were featured in a large spread in the *Australian Women's Weekly*[99]. The family were made notable for both their strict vegetarian diet and their athleticism, having recently won a 50km walking marathon in Maitland. The children of the family were also strong athletes and their parents had high hopes for their future.

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96 Rose, Ian F., Faith, Love and Seaweed, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1963, p. 28-29

97 Rose, Murray, Life is worth swimming, Sydney, Arbon, 2013, p.56

98 Famous vegetarians – Murray Rose, New Vegetarian, Vegetarian Society, Sydney, April 1992, p.30

99 Vegetarian family outpaced them all , The Australian Women's Weekly , 20 Nov. 1968, p. 12-13

One of the sons, Philip, did indeed go on to represent Australia in Boxing at the Montreal Summer Olympics of 1976 and go on to win a gold medal at the 1978 Edmonton Commonwealth Games. At what point the family gave up on vegetarianism is unknown, but sadly the elder three sons, including Philip, would later become members of an outlaw motorcycle gang and two of them would be jailed for their part in the Milperra massacre of 1984.

One vegetarian who caught the imagination of the public in 1983, was not a professional athlete but a determined amateur. Cliff Young, a 61 year old potato farmer from Victoria, entered and won the inaugural Westfield Sydney to Melbourne ultra-marathon - a run of 875 kilometres – which he completed in 5 days. Young became for a short time a minor celebrity, his amateur status and down to earth demeanour gaining him much attention from the press – and thus coverage of his diet. In variance to most sportspeople who adopt vegetarianism for health reasons, Young was motivated by his concern for animals, as he explained in an interview:

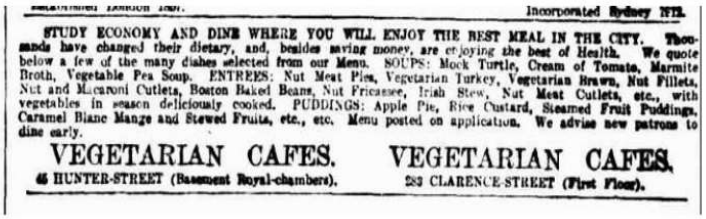
"We use to rear calves on a farm I once lived. I would feed the calves from a bucket, from the time they were born, and they thought I was their mother. They would follow me and trusted me. Then when Autumn came we would send them in to get slaughtered. I couldn't sleep too good those nights when I knew they would get slaughtered. I hated having the poor things killed. It was on my conscience so I thought to myself I would give up eating meat altogether and get away from animals as much as I can. So now I don't have to see them killed or get them killed."[100]

In 2006, the prominently vegetarian motor racing legend Peter Brock who was 9 times winner of the Bathurst 1000 met an untimely death in a rally in Western Australia.

100 Cliff Young interviewed by Tania Jamieson, New Vegetarian and Natural Health, Sydney, Winter 1997, p.40

By the 2010s, being an athlete and maintaining a vegan diet, was no longer considered a problem. Given the continued success of local and international athletes on the diet, the efficacy of it particularly for those who compete in sport is no longer seriously doubted. For sporting audiences however, there was still no respite from the meat pie.

Pure Food


Incorporated Sydney 1912.

STUDY ECONOMY AND DINE WHERE YOU WILL ENJOY THE BEST MEAL IN THE CITY. Thousands have changed their dietary, and, besides saving money, are enjoying the best of Health. We quote below a few of the many dishes selected from our Menu. SOUPS: Mock Turtle, Cream of Tomato, Marmite Broth, Vegetable Pea Soup. ENTREES: Nut Meat Pies, Vegetarian Turkey, Vegetarian Brawn, Nut Fillets, Nut and Macaroni Cutlets, Boston Baked Beans, Nut Fricassee, Irish Stew, Nut Meat Cutlets, etc., with vegetables in season deliciously cooked. PUDDINGS: Apple Pie, Rice Custard, Steamed Fruit Puddings, Caramel Blanc Mange and Stewed Fruits, etc., etc. Menu posted on application. We advise new patrons to dine early.

VEGETARIAN CAFES. VEGETARIAN CAFES.

45 HUNTER-STREET (Basement Royal-chambers). 283 CLARENCE-STREET (First Floor).

Vegetarian Societies seeking to promote vegetarianism often gave economic reasons for doing so. The Vegetarian Society of the United Kingdom made much mileage from the cheapness of the vegetarian diet during the Victorian period and for many years afterwards. This claim was never really possible in Australia as meat was nearly always both cheap and abundantly available while fruit, vegetables and meat alternatives were often difficult to come by and expensive.

The obituary of the trades unionist and socialist Peter Mackie, gives some idea of the difficulty:

"*He was a vegetarian whenever he could be. During a period of twenty years or so, the only times he enjoyed good health were on two occasions when he worked at a distant meat canning establishment, where meat was practically the only food procurable. Yet, when he returned to Melbourne, he relapsed into his principles - and possibly died from them.*"[101]

Due to difficulty in finding suitable foods, many early vegetarians grew as much food as they could on their own plots of land.

101 Tocsin (Melbourne), 11 May 1905, p 9

So that their diet mainly consisted of seasonal fruit and vegetables and large amounts of home-made bread, combined with whatever other staples were available to buy, such as nuts, oats, rice and lentils.

Interestingly, there are no reports or publications that mention any vegetarian immigrant learning from the knowledge of the Indigenous inhabitants so that they may discover or use any of the available bush flora.

With the establishment of the Sanitarium Health Food Company, vegetarian consumer food products became somewhat easier to obtain even though the cost would still have been relatively high.

The range included non-dairy nut milks, coffee alternatives, breakfast cereals, biscuits, spreads and sweets, as well as its more familiar nut-based meat substitutes. The opening of health food stores by Sanitarium - and later by others - also improved food choices, although these were never cheap by general food price standards. With the advent of better transport, canning and freezing, came the availability of fresh or preserved foods out of season. Similarly, with the emergence of supermarkets packaged and convenience foods became widely available. Until food-labelling laws came into operation in 1987, however, many vegetarians were not aware of what packaged products in supermarkets contained and so did not buy many of the items which otherwise would have been available to them.

The number of Western vegetarians has grown slowly over the years, with intermittent peaks and troughs depending on fashion. A key factor in this growth has been the general availability of appetising meat-free options.

While there have always been a certain number of people who have adopted the diet for ethical reasons - irrespective of the availability of foods - there have also been many who would have liked to become vegetarian but did not because of the perceived lack of alternative foods.

The growth in the number of vegetarians seems to correlate with the availability of alternative foods, their prominent placement on shop or supermarket shelves and the degree to which recipes are printed in cookbooks and journals.

Designated health food shops began appearing at the turn of the century initially primarily for the sale of Sanitarium products. In 1930 there were 10 operating in Sydney alone, and by 1939 this had grown to 30. As the market grew men such as Frederick Roberts and Henry Bloom who owned health food shops also began producing their own health products. For example, Bloom's Health Food Store was opened in Royal Arcade, Sydney in 1938, and in the 1940s he began producing his own range of cereals, supplements and seaweed products.

Bloom also wrote a couple of pamphlets promoting the vegetarian diet. Although Bloom died in 1946 his company is still operating today selling supplements from its premises in Sydney.

Catering for the increasing number of vegetarians in Australia - and to promote recipes utilising what were then the new Sanitarium products - there was a stream of vegetarian recipe books brought out by the Adventists through their own publishing company, Echo Publishing, and later, Signs Publishing.

The first such vegetarian recipe book published in Australia was a new edition of *A Friend in the Kitchen* : *or, what to cook and how to cook it* (1898) by Anna L. Colcord. A previous smaller version of the book had been published in the United States (from where the Colcords originated) in 1889.

The new Australian version, however, was quite different containing 400 recipes, several delightful illustrations as well as a series of cartoons extolling the vegetarian diet. While the recipes were mainly for basic meals, they did not show a lack of culinary imagination. The Adventist ideal was to “Make the living of the family what it should be - simple, economical, wholesome, nutritious, palatable, and varied.”

So successful was this excellent Australian version of the book that seventeen editions were published. It eventually went out of print only because the Colcords left the Adventist Church acrimoniously in 1914. Although an American, Anna Letitia Colcord was in Australia between 1893 and 1902 as she was married to Willard Colcord, the Secretary of the Adventist General Conference. He had come to Australia in his official capacity to work with Ellen White and her family. Willard Colcord appears to have been one of the few Adventists to promote vegetarianism for animal welfare reasons, later writing two books demonstrating his love of animals - *Animal Land* (1924) and *Wings and Paws* (1927).

From 1900 to the 1930s, various Australian editions of other American Adventist recipe books were published, including Jenny Bartlett's, *Healthful Cookery* and *Home and Health*, written by a 'competent committee' - both going through many editions.

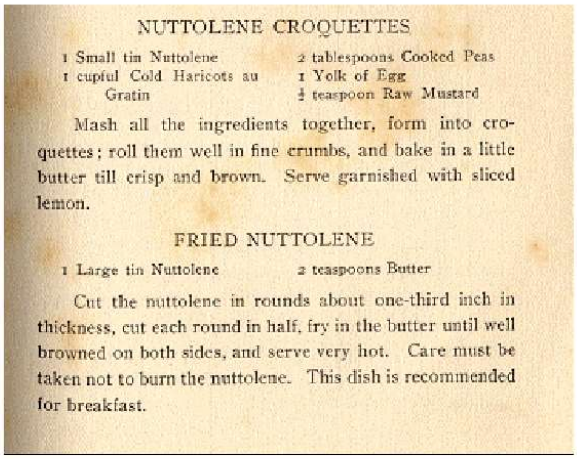
Laura Ulrich (formerly Laura Lee), an Australian, opened a Sanitarium depot (health food shop) in Maitland, NSW in 1899. With an American called Mrs Tuxford, Ulrich later also opened the first Adventist vegetarian café in Sydney. The recipes, which she served, were so popular that she had them published in a book entitled, *Good Food*: *how to prepare it* (1913) which contained, not just an abundance of recipes, but also pro-vegetarian articles, quotes from Ellen White and words on the religious connection to the diet:

"It is a sacred duty for those who cook to learn how to prepare healthful food. Many souls are lost as the result of poor cookery. It takes thought and care to make good bread; but there is more religion in a loaf of good bread than many think."

The Seventh Day Adventists also contributed to the promotion of the diet, and their products, by publishing journals such as *Life and Health* (1925-1936) and *Health* (1936-1968), which were not overtly religious and were aimed at a general health conscious audience.

The first fully Australian-produced vegetarian recipe book was produced sometime prior to 1902 and was written by a Mrs Hunt from Melbourne. Entitled *The Non-Flesh Diet*, it contained 60 recipes. Unfortunately no copy of this work is currently known to exist and the only evidence of it comes from vegetarian correspondence published in August 1902.

The earliest non-Adventist Australian recipe book that was fully commercially published, and for which copies still exist, was, *Dishes Without Meat*, by Alice Jevons. This book was first published in 1905 by Angus & Robinson.
Jevons was a young woman who had immigrated to Australia from England in 1901 and perceiving a need wrote the book to assist those who she thought "whilst desirous of excluding meat from their table, find a difficulty in replacing its nutritive properties with wholesome and appetising dishes."
As with the Adventist publications, most of the recipes were for simple, plain foods typical of the British/Australian diet of the time. Some of Jevons' recipes required meat replacement products such as *Nuttolene a*nd *Protose* as ingredients, indicating their rapid and successful acceptance by non-Adventist vegetarians.



NUTTOLENE CROQUETTES

1 Small tin Nuttolene
1 cupful Cold Haricots au Gratin
2 tablespoons Cooked Peas
1 Yolk of Egg
½ teaspoon Raw Mustard

Mash all the ingredients together, form into croquettes; roll them well in fine crumbs, and bake in a little butter till crisp and brown. Serve garnished with sliced lemon.

FRIED NUTTOLENE

1 Large tin Nuttolene
2 teaspoons Butter

Cut the nuttolene in rounds about one-third inch in thickness, cut each round in half, fry in the butter until well browned on both sides, and serve very hot. Care must be taken not to burn the nuttolene. This dish is recommended for breakfast.

It is interesting to note Jevons' use of *Nuttolene* (produced by the British Adventist food company Granose Foods) as an ingredient as the Australian produced Sanitarium version *Nutolene* was not manufactured in Australia until 1917. Jevons' use of this product is partly reflective of her British immigrant roots, but also shows that Australia was then still being supplied with tinned vegetarian foods from the Adventist food companies operating in Britain and the United States. Which would indicate that were enough vegetarian consumers to make this trade economically viable.
The book was re-issued in 1914, as there was a national drive to cut down Australian meat consumption in order to make more meat available for export to Europe - which due to the First World War was creating huge demand.

Florence and Edgar Pritchard, a South Australian Theosophist couple, who had both turned vegetarian at the age of thirty for religious reasons and to improve their health and longevity, produced a range of Australian recipe books. They wrote and self-published a succession of books from the 1940s whose titles defy the need for blurbs - *A Scientific Meatless Diet: being the principles and practice of lacto-vegetarianism based on the latest scientific discoveries with original recipes,* and, *Health Culture for Everyone: good health for all based on nature as interpreted by science; pure food, fresh air, exercise; preventing illness instead of smothering the symptoms; a healthy, happy, useful life*.
These two works - and a number by Edgar Pritchard alone - were written in a mostly unsuccessful effort to bind science, Socialism, religion (primarily Theosophy) and vegetarianism into a unified theory as a panacea for all the world's ills.
Vegetarian cookery classes were being held from the 1880s[102] and outside of specifically vegetarian publications, vegetarian recipes also started to appear in many popular and women's journals. Many of the recipes were advertised as for special meals for people with particular ailments and were not envisaged as part of a normal diet.

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102 See for example an advert within The Sydney Morning Herald (Sydney, NSW), 24 October 1888, p.2

It was not until around 1900 that vegetarian recipes designed as meals for general consumption appeared in popular magazines such as *Table Talk* and *Smith's Weekly.* By the 1920s, they were less of a novelty and began to appear quite frequently in women's magazines such as the *Australian Women's Weekly.* Buying cooked vegetarian food before the 1940s was not as difficult as one might expect. Dedicated vegetarian restaurants and cafés existed from the 1890s in most Australian capitals while many tea rooms and 'coffee palaces' supplied vegetarian foods as well.

Vegetarian restaurants were widely known for their cheapness and were mostly found in Melbourne and Sydney, with a smaller number in the other capitals.

Not all advertised themselves as vegetarian, some preferring to call themselves 'temperance hotels' or 'pubs'. Canny temperance advocates had realised that many of the traditional pub customers were actually looking for social interaction as much as for alcohol, and either took over the management of existing pubs or built new ones and ran them as coffee or milk bars. The food served in these establishments was almost invariably vegetarian.

The first verifiable fully vegetarian restaurant was called the *Thistle Company's Luncheon Rooms* and it was opened at 41 Little Collins Street, Melbourne in 1885/1886. The restaurant was later called, *Mrs Harvie's Vegetarian Dining Room* and featured a dining room on the first floor (which sold hot dinners) and a café on the ground floor specialising in Scotch oatmeal cakes and gingerbread. The proprietor of the restaurant was Mrs Ellen D'arcy Harvie (1844-1923) the second daughter of Thomas Lang, who was both the owner of the building and one of the Vegetarian Society founders.

Ellen Harvie was the mother of five children. Her husband William (a seedsman and florist like her father) from whom she was apparently separated died of a fit at his workplace in Adelaide in 1882. Presumably having to work, Ellen had previously run a confectioners and cake shop at 76 Powlett Street and also at 107½ Swanston Street. In all probability, these earlier establishments were also vegetarian, though it cannot be known for sure.

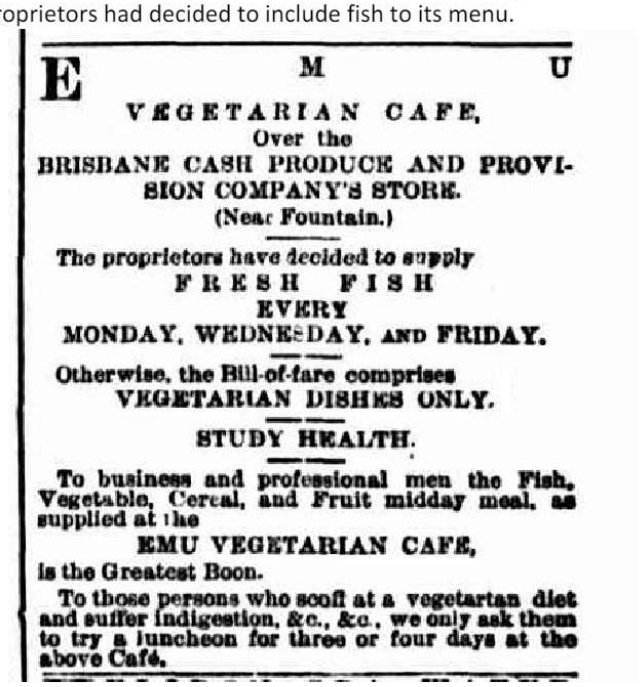
Around 1900 Ellen Harvie's restaurant relocated to 51 Elizabeth Street (as did the Vegetarian Society offices) and later to 105 Elizabeth Street and operated under the simpler name, *The Thistle*. It remained open on this spot well into the 1920s – albeit facing competition from the Vegetarian café around the corner on Collins Street. Her unmarried daughter Maud Harvie (1867-1945), who eventually took over the running in about 1917, assisted Ellen in the running of the restaurant. Maud, who was also a singer, seems to have been the most active in following her mother and grandfather's vegetarianism, for she not only continued running the café, but also supported throughout her life a number of animal welfare and wildlife protection organisations.



Photograph of Matilda Lang, Ellen Harvie, Robert William Harvie and Edythe Ellison Harvie taken by Robert Harvie and in the collection of Museum Victoria.

One of Ellen Harvie's sons, Robert William, also helped in the restaurant for a time, but he soon had work of his own. Trained as an engineer, in 1897, he with fellow engineer Ernest Jardine Thwaites became Australia's first filmmakers.

The second known restaurant was the *Vegetarian Café and Dining Rooms* which opened on Queen Street, Brisbane in March 1886. However, by June 1886 it had changed its name to the *Emu Vegetarian Café* and was no longer fully vegetarian as the proprietors had decided to include fish to its menu.



E M U

VEGETARIAN CAFE,
Over the
BRISBANE CASH PRODUCE AND PROVISION COMPANY'S STORE.
(Near Fountain.)

The proprietors have decided to supply
FRESH FISH
EVERY
MONDAY, WEDNESDAY, AND FRIDAY.

Otherwise, the Bill-of-fare comprises
VEGETARIAN DISHES ONLY.

STUDY HEALTH.

To business and professional men the Fish, Vegetable, Cereal, and Fruit midday meal, as supplied at the
EMU VEGETARIAN CAFE,
is the Greatest Boon.

To those persons who scoff at a vegetarian diet and suffer indigestion, &c., &c., we only ask them to try a luncheon for three or four days at the above Café.

103

103 Advertisement from The Brisbane Courier (Qld.), 18 June 1886, p.1

Much of the surviving evidence of the other vegetarian restaurants comes from advertisements and reports appearing in journals. In 1892, the Andrades opened their restaurant while, at the turn of the century, the WCTU and the Adventists also opened cafés in Melbourne. R. A. Melsom and his mother opened the first vegetarian restaurant in Sydney in 1892 at 323 George Street. Later there was the *Ceres Vegetarian Café* at 65 Victoria Parade, Castlereagh, as well as an Adventist restaurant and shop, first in Pitt Street, and later in Hunter Street. The Theosophists later again also opened a vegetarian cafe. By 1900, Adelaide and, Hobart also had at least one vegetarian restaurant as did Perth from 1907. From the 1920s restaurants that were purely commercial and not aligned with any other movement also started to appear. Most of the restaurants (or more correctly cafes) appear to have been attached to health stores and sold only light snacks during the day. So that there does not appear to have been much in the way of fine dining available until the 1970s. In 1946 however, the *Australian Women's Weekly* reported that the prominent vegetarian chef Constance Cooper had left England for Australia with her husband Gordon, to open a vegetarian restaurant in Sydney.[104] Accompanying the Coopers were Kay and Barry Green, who had been involved in the founding of the Vegan Society in 1944. It is not known whether this enterprise eventuated, but as the Coopers and Greens were planning on making the trip by bicycle they may not have even arrived.

In the nation's capital, the first vegetarian restaurant, called *Sesame*, was opened in 1978 and was soon followed by another called the *Parakeet* which was open in some form until the late 1990s.

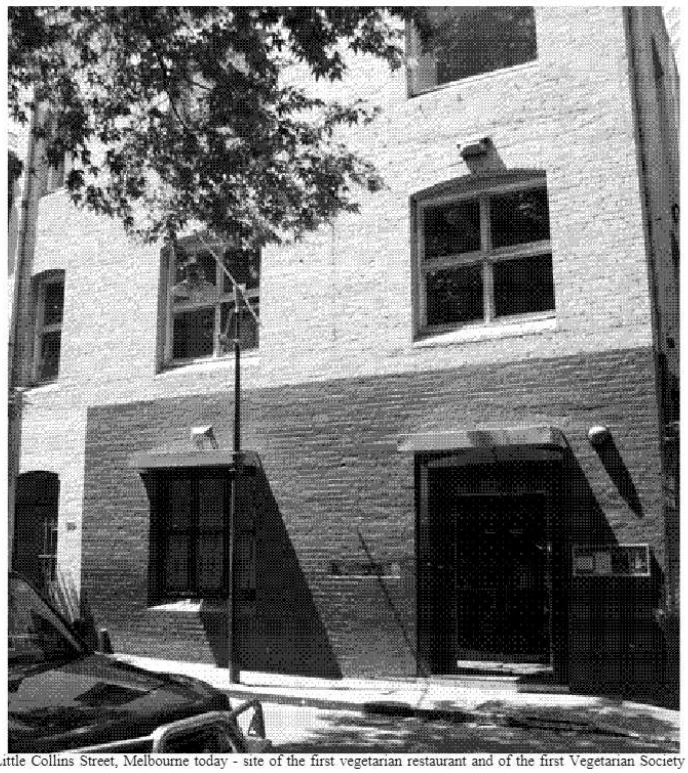
104 English cyclists start journey to Australia, Australian Women's Weekly, Sydney, June 15, 1946, p.18

In the late 1960s and the early 1970s - in line with a growth in interest in Eastern spirituality (including Buddhism and Hinduism and its proselytising vegetarian organisations such as Ananda Marga and Krishna Consciousness) – vegetarianism gained many new converts. This period also coincided with the ending of the so-called 'White Australia policy' when many more people from non-European countries, in particular those from South and South East Asia were able to come to Australia and thus contribute their vegetarian culture into Australian society. Consequently there was a rapid growth in provision and then demand for Asian vegetarian food. Today, the great majority of vegetarian and vegan restaurants in Australia are now either Indian or Sri Lankan (Hindu) or Vietnamese or Cambodian (Buddhist).

Most prominent among the vegetarian restaurateurs has been Karma Dasa, an Australian convert to the Hare Krishna movement. Dasa learnt his skills in Hare Krishna restaurants, of which there are many in Australia, perfecting them whilst long-time head chef at Gopals restaurant in Melbourne. Dasa has also been the host of a popular television vegetarian cooking show during the 1990s and written many best- selling cookery books.

From the late 1990s, Australia saw a growth in support and activity for the Supreme Master Ching Hai organisation. In 1998, an advertising campaign exhorting Australians to 'Be Green, Go Veg, Save the Planet' gave Australians their first television message supporting veganism. The organisation also began opening vegan restaurants under the name Loving Hut Australia. As of 2014 there were 8 restaurants in operation around Australia.

The first Vegetarian Society



41 Little Collins Street, Melbourne today - site of the first vegetarian restaurant and of the first Vegetarian Society meeting.

On the 4th of February 1886 an informal meeting of Melbourne vegetarians and vegetarian supporters took place with the intention of discussing food reform. It was according to press reports a well-attended meeting hosted by the Rev. John Higgins and Thomas Lang. Higgins stated at the meeting that he believed there were presently in Melbourne 100 vegetarians and gave an overview of the birth of the vegetarian movement in England. Thomas Lang noting the success of this meeting stated that those assembled should move to form a Vegetarian Association. This they did at a follow-on meeting on Tuesday 23rd February 1886, thus forming the first Australian Vegetarian Society. All the meetings were held at 41 Little Collins Street, which became the offices of the Society and wherein also was the *Thistle Company's Luncheon Rooms*.
At this second meeting a constitution and allocation of leadership positions was made as reported in the Herald:

"A general meeting of the Vegetarian Society of Australia was held at the Thistle Company's Hall on Tuesday evening. There was a good attendance, and a number of names were enrolled. The constitution of the society was read, discussed, altered, improved, and finally adopted. The following office-bearers were elected: Rev. J. Higgins, president; Miss Fanny E. Samuel and Mr. Robert Jones, vice-presidents; Mr. Thomas Lang; treasurer and secretary; Messrs. John Forbes, James Haydon, F. Hynes, George Jackson, and William Mainwaring, members of committee."[105]

On June 16, 1886 the first public meeting to announce the formation of the new Society to the wider public was also held at the *Thistle Company's Luncheon Rooms* and was catered and hosted by Ellen Harvie and presided over by the Rev. Higgins.

105 Vegetarianism : the question of food reform, Herald, Melbourne, February 24, 1886, p.2

About 50 men and women were present for the historic occasion, according to a sympathetic report that appeared in *The Age* the following day. According to an equally flattering - but different - report by William Terry it ended with a hearty vegetarian feast:

"After the address a very excellent Vegetarian repast was served, consisting of vegetable broth, peas patties, omelette and potatoes, and sandwiches. The dishes were highly approved of, not only by the Vegetarians but by several carnivorous bipeds who were present, and who were surprised at the tastiness and satisfying nature of the various dishes."[106]

The newly-formed Society published their constitution and manifesto of which sadly none of the 2000 copies produced survive. It was however; as luck would have it, reprinted in the *Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger* (Manchester), of October 1886.

'This Society having been established in the Australian colonies, the members think that one of their first duties is to give information as to the objects of the Society, and advance reasons for its existence.

The object of the Society is to induce habits of abstinence from the flesh of animals (fish, flesh, and fowl) as food.

The members claim to be acting from unselfish and philanthropic motives. They have experienced the advantages of a simple and nutritious diet, and they are desirous to communicate their knowledge, and the results of their experience, to their fellow-men.

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106 Harbinger of Light, Melbourne, William Terry, July 1886, p. 3244

During the past century the progress of science had been great and beyond any former period of the world's history, and the researches of scientific men have been extended industriously into every branch of knowledge.

The science of chemistry, in particular, has been cultivated with most assiduous care. Exact analyses have been made of the bodily organs which constitute a human being, and most exact analyses have been made of the various foods which he is in the custom of using.

The science of physiology has also been prosecuted with much success, and the great majority of the processes which are continuously being carried on in the human system have been pretty well explained.

It has been found that food serves two leading and important purposes in the human economy: First it supplies material for keeping up the muscular, bony, cartilaginous, nervous, and other portions of the framework of man's body; and, next, it furnishes a supply of fuel to be consumed in the lungs, which keep up the heat of the body.

Chemical analysis proves that VEGETABLE SUBSTANCES contain all the elements necessary for keeping the human body in perfect health and strength, and for furnishing the supply of heat to the system.

Not only so, but it is proved that in the same weight of food there is much more of the nutritive and heat-forming elements in vegetable than there is in animal food.

There are extensive tables (not furnished) of the various kinds of food, but we can insert here only a few of the leading articles in juxtaposition for comparison.

	Water	*Nitrogenous Matter Muscle forming substances*	*Hydro-Carbonate Matter Oily substance Heat producers*	*Saline Matter Salts*	*Carbo-hydrates (starch and sugar) Heat producers*
Lean Beef	*72.0*	*19.3*	*3.6*	*5.1*	----
White Haricots	*9.9*	*25.5*	*2.8*	*3.2*	*55.7*
Fat Beef	*51.0*	*14.8*	*29.8*	*4.4*	----
Oatmeal	*15.0*	*12.6*	*5.6*	*3.0*	*63.8*
Lean Mutton	*72.0*	*18.3*	*4.9*	*4.8*	----
Dry Rice	----	*7.55*	*0.8*	*0.9*	*89.65*
Fat Mutton	*53.0*	*12.4*	*31.1*	*3.5*	----
Dry Wheat	----	*22.75*	*2.61*	*3.02*	*67.112*

At a glance it is obvious that a very large percentage of animal food consists of water; and, in proportion to the water, these vegetable substances contain much more nitrogenous or muscle forming matter

than the animal substances do; and the carbo-hydrates, which keep up the animal heat, abound in the vegetable kingdom.

Taking these facts into consideration, it will be seen, when we come to calculate the cost of animal food as compared with vegetable, how much more expensive the former is than the latter. Even in Australia, where flesh-meat is much more abundant and cheaper than in Great Britain, the difference is remarkable, and how much more remarkable is it in countries where flesh-meat is double the price, and vegetable substances one-half the price, of what they are in Australia; for instance - 100lbs of steak, at 8d., cost £3 6s. 8d., and contain 28lbs. useful substances, being 2s. 4 1/2d. per lb. 100lbs haricots, at 4d., cost £1 13s. 4d., and contain 91lbs useful substances, being 4 1/2d. per lb.

Plums, apples, and other delicious fruits are incomparably more wholesome than animal food.

It is natural for the human race universally, from their earliest infancy, to pluck and eat fruit with relish; but it is not natural for them to slay animals and eat their flesh.

The teeth do not indicate that man is by nature an eater of animal food: his teeth, his stomach, his intestines indicate that it is natural for him to feed on fruits, grains, and roots.

Vegetarians assert that the consumption of animal food promotes disease and unhappiness amongst mankind; whilst Vegetarian diet conduces to health, happiness, and longevity.

Vegetarians are not liable to the attacks of diseases; and when they do become ill; their recovery is much more probable and more rapid.

Vegetarians do not claim to be exempt from sickness; because sickness often depends on the violation of other laws than those which concern their food - such, for instance, as the breathing of impure air, or the subjection of the system to extreme heat or cold. And they also are aware that mistakes may even be made in using vegetable food; but their belief is that sickness should not in any case arise from the judicious use of the foods which they advocate.

Animal food does directly engender many painful, loathsome, and fatal disorders - such as hydatids, trichinosis, tapeworms, carbuncles, &c.

Many diseases such as consumption, cancer, gout, epilepsy, have frequently their origin in the use of animal food; while these same diseases are cured by the adoption of a Vegetarian diet.

Dipsomania, or drunkenness - that is the craving for strong drink - is stimulated by the use of animal food, and is entirely removed by the adoption of the Vegetarian diet. This has been satisfactorily proved by Dr. Jackson in his establishment for the treatment of inebriates at Dansville, New York.

The use of food recommended by Vegetarians is specially conducive to physical beauty, to clearness of complexion, to clean and healthy skin, and to cheerful and agreeable expression of countenance: and much simple food tends to the restoration of the physical beauty which has deteriorated in consequence of the indulgence in animal food throughout many generations.

The indulgence in animal food tends to brutalise the human race; whilst a Vegetarian diet tends to the development of the moral and intellectual faculties of man.

The effect of animal food on the dispositions of living beings is seen conspicuously in the carnivora; whilst the effect of vegetable food is seen conspicuously in the elephant, the horse, the ox, the sheep, and such animals.

It is obvious that man has dominion over all animals. This does not imply that he is entitled to exercise cruelty towards them, deprive them of their lives, and devour their flesh.

Animal food makes men ferocious and quarrelsome, and tends to keep up the love of war.

The advancement of the human race in moral and intellectual development depends on their wisdom in adopting a Vegetarian diet. The human race will not attain its highest development on a diet of which animal food forms an important part.

In a new country like Australia, where land is abundant and not fully occupied, the question of economising land is not yet of pressing importance, but in densely populated countries like Great Britain the question of cultivating the land for the production of vegetable food, is of paramount importance, and will soon demand universal attention.

A given acreage of wheat will feed at least ten times as many men as the same acreage employed in growing mutton.

In order to have a sufficient quantity of animal food to meet the demand, the inspector of the London Metropolitan Meat Market states that he has

had to pass many animals that were diseased; and he declares that were he strictly to condemn all that are unsound there would not be sufficient animal food for the people. Similar statements have been made by the inspector of markets in Melbourne.

The cruelties to which animals are often subjected in bringing them to market and to the slaughter-yards is unjustifiable; and if these cruelties could be realised by the thoughtful members of the community, they would rise up, and with one voice demand that a stop should be put to such unnecessary proceedings.

The use of animal food leads to the unnecessary and wanton cruelties of hunting and killing animals in certain field sports, the cruelties and the sport being all on the one side - that is on the side supposed to be gifted with godlike reason and humanity.

The use of animal food keeps up amongst us a class of men who have, of necessity, to follow a cruel trade; and it is a wrong thing to have such a class, just as it is a wrong thing to have a class of slaves, and could only be justified by there being an absolute necessity for using slaughtered meat as food. Vegetarians sympathise very much with those whom circumstances compel to follow the calling of slaughtermen, and their anxious desire is to educate society so that this class shall be emancipated from their present objectionable occupation.

The feeding of the poor is one of the most important matters connected with Vegetarianism, particularly in densely-peopled countries. Vegetarians assert that their diet is much cheaper than animal food diet, and at the same time more nutritious, more enjoyable, and more conducive to health and contentment.

The economy of the working-man's household is vitally affected by his selection of a complete Vegetarian diet, or a diet containing animal food. An erroneous opinion prevails that animal food is the superior food, whereas the opposite is the case; and whenever working-men become satisfied of the truth of our views, and adopt our simple, agreeable, and rational diet, they will advance in prosperity, enjoy substantial comforts, and increase in physical strength.

The term "Vegetarian" is not a satisfactory term to denote the principles or habits of those who abstain from fish, flesh, or fowl as food. There are a few - a very few - who do confine themselves rigidly to vegetable food, produced directly from the soil; but the great majority of so-called Vegetarians indulge in the use of eggs, milk, butter and cheese. It is not necessary to deprive animals of their lives in order to obtain these articles of food. On the contrary, many animals are, in consequence of the use of these substances, called into existence, and live happy lives in the society of mankind. Vegetarians object to the custom that prevails in appropriating all the benefits from these inoffensive animals, and then at last depriving them of their lives and eating up their flesh. It seems to be Vegetarians who have had occasion to reflect on these matters a very shocking, unjustifiable, and arbitrary proceeding on the part of the human race, and in good time coming future generations will look back with astonishment and horror at the customs of their ancestors.

Many people who are not convinced of the propriety of abstaining from flesh entirely are yet thoroughly convinced that the use of such food three times a day, and in large quantities, is very injurious to those who indulge in such excesses. It is desireable that there should be united effort to

induce flesh-eaters to be moderate in their use of flesh; and the Vegetarian Society of Australia will welcome to its meetings "subscribers" who advocate moderation in flesh-eating, and will be glad of their co-operation.

There are many who think favourably of the object of the Society, but who cannot, or at all events think they cannot, adopt the correct habits at all times. Those are admitted as "associates", the other members fondly hoping that in course of time their difficulties, real or imaginary, will be overcome, and that they will ultimately adopt in its entirety the natural system of maintaining life in comfort and happiness.'

The founding members of the Vegetarian Society were an active and well-connected group of individuals. Both the leadership and general membership were mainly made up of religious and teetotal men and women. There appear to have always been a good number of women members, but they do not appear to have taken up a comparable number of leadership positions at the Society's inception. Given that the membership included many of the most 'advanced' thinkers of Melbourne society - and who generally advocated female emancipation - it is unlikely that women would have been denied positions if they had sought them.

The first president of the Society was the Rev. John Higgins (1819-1895) a Wesleyan Methodist minister who had arrived in Melbourne from Ireland in 1875. Higgins was a tireless campaigner for vegetarianism and total abstinence from alcohol, actively promoting the diet from the moment he arrived. He was for many years chaplain to Melbourne Gaol, local hospitals and benevolent asylums. His letters advocating vegetarianism often appeared in the letters pages of local newspapers such as *The Age* and he was also a regular contributor to journals such as *The Spectator and Methodist Chronicle*.

So well respected was Higgins within the wider vegetarian community that not only was he President of the Australian Society but in 1889 he was also elected Vice-President of the British Vegetarian Society in Manchester.

The first Secretary of the Society was Thomas Lang (1816-1896), another long-time vegetarian. Lang immigrated to Australia from Scotland in 1854. Having been trained as a nurseryman in Scotland, Lang through hard work quickly established himself as the pre-eminent Australian importer and producer of plants through his business: Thomas Lang and Companies, nurserymen, seedsmen, and florists. Based near Ballarat, Lang's company is estimated to have imported a million plants to Australia. Given the sore need at that time for better access to a wider range of fruit and vegetables, Lang's contribution would have been invaluable to the welfare of vegetarians. Of fruit trees alone Lang introduced '150 varieties of apple, 150 pears, 60 plums, 50 cherries, 115 gooseberries and 50 grapes, as well as new sorts of apricots, peaches, figs, Spanish chestnuts and walnuts.'[107]

Lang, by 1874, was a successful businessman and was motivated to move from Ballarat to Melbourne. In Melbourne he could run his businesses which now included property, and a gold mine as well as his extensive horticultural interests whilst also being active in his many other social and intellectual pursuits.

Lang had long had an interest in spelling reform, which he had gained from his friend the leading British vegetarian and inventor of shorthand, Sir Isaac Pitman, with whom he corresponded. Also drawn to Spiritualism, Lang joined William Terry's Victorian Association of Progressive Spiritualists and in 1878 became a conductor of the Melbourne Progressive Lyceum.[108]

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107 Fox, Paul, Clearings : six colonial gardeners and their landscapes, Carlton, Vic., Melbourne University Publishing, 2004, p.37

108 Death notice in the Harbinger of Light, Melbourne, Sept. 1896, p. 5689.

His wife, Matilda Lang (nee Glichrist, 1820-1914), who was by all accounts a strong and intelligent woman, equally supported Lang's vegetarianism. When doubt was cast on the nutritional adequacy of the diet, she was publicly proclaimed that '*she had raised all their children as vegetarians and that her son was broad, strong and 6'2" while another daughter (one of five) had passed all her teaching examinations*.' Matilda opened her own school in Ballarat in 1856 and it may be supposed that it was the first school in Australia to promote the diet. Apart from running a school and raising six children she also found time to invent an early version of a washing machine which was patented as an 'Improvement in washing scouring, or cleaning clothes, wool, or fibrous manufactured goods[109] and sold both in Australia and overseas.[110]

Robert Jones, the Society's second President, was founding principal in 1876 of a small non-denominational boys school, Carlton Grammar, in Royal Park, Melbourne (in later years he also founded a girl's school). He was also a minor journalist, publisher and writer of educational textbooks. Melbourne born, Jones described his childhood diet as consisting of "*the usual colonial diet, eating flesh every day, often twice, sometimes three times a day*."

From those beginnings he eventually became a vegan, having become a vegetarian only a couple of years before the formation of the Society. Like Lang and Higgins, he was an active propagandist for the cause and a deeply religious man. Being also a member of total abstention societies, he was able to bring an awareness of vegetarianism and its benefits to those organisations. His speeches on the subject were printed by the British Vegetarian Society as well as in Australia. His vegetarianism being heavily inspired by his love for animals, he stated that humans should:

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109 Launceston Examiner, 26 December 1871, p.3

110 See Hutton, Barney, Thomas Lang, nurseryman, Australian Garden Journal, April 1985 and June 1985.

"Cease their consumption of that grossest of all foods, dead flesh, to obtain which, nameless cruelties and barbarities, to our eternal disgrace, are inflicted on the defenceless dumb - barbarities which will not bear naming, much less looking at, so hideous are they. The sufferings of gentle, domestic animals by land and sea, in railway-trucks and cattle-steamers, from thirst, hunger, cold, heat, overcrowding, fatigue, blows, terror, and sickness, not to mention their death-agonies, and the other unspeakable horrors of the slaughterhouses, are such as no pen can describe; they are horrors, comparable only to the worst brutalities of the infamous slave trade."[111]

The suffering of animals in the meat trade was viewed by many early animal rights advocates as being akin to that of slaves in the slave trade (which had only relatively recently ended in the United States).

The arguments that had been used by abolitionists of slavery were applied in support of animals, while many leading figures - such as Britain's William Wilberforce - who had been active for the freedom of human beings, transferred some of their energies to the cause of animals.

The Vegetarian Society initially met regularly on the last Wednesday of each month. The meetings where primarily to promote - to an often sceptical public - the vegetarian diet and generally consisted of testimonies by vegetarians as to their health and longevity which they attributed to the diet.

One such testimony was that of a Mr G. S. Bowden, given at the second annual general meeting in February, 1888.

111 Jones, Robert, Vegetarianism, with special reference to its connection with temperance in drinking : lecture (enlarged) delivered before the Melbourne Total Abstinence Society at the Temperance Hall, Russell-St., on the 10th April, 1888, 2nd ed. / ed. by Joseph Knight, Melbourne : Manchester : George Robertson ; The Vegetarian Society, 1889, p.18

He stated that he had worked at sheep shearing for three months on a diet simply of cabbage and potatoes and was not inconvenienced in any way, remaining hale and strong. He also reported a similarly healthy friend who had worked at a sawmill on a diet of only rice, peas and porridge. While these poor diets would not be recommended today, they do indicate the difficulties in getting suitable food that many vegetarians faced, particularly outside of the cities.

Many meetings also featured speakers and open discussions chaired by luminaries such as the Rev. Charles Strong of the Australian Church. For entertainment there were song recitals by Fanny E. Samuel and Maud Harvie, daughter of the meeting rooms' host, while a number of Robert Jones' school pupils - including the young Louis Esson - performed theatrical pieces at Society functions. Esson later became one of Australia's pre-eminent early playwrights.

Unfortunately, apart from a figure of 47 members recorded in the Societies first annual report (1887), we do not know fully the names or numbers of the Society's members as no other record of the membership list or other administrative documents exist.

In September 1889, a Vegetarian Society branch was founded in Ballarat with an Indian-born gentleman by the name of Aurelius Muller as its Secretary. It was also in Ballarat that William Bramwell Withers (1823-1913) from Winchester in England settled in 1855 (having first arrived in Australia in 1852). Withers is counted as one of the progenitors of the vegetarian movement as he wrote a letter to the progressive journal the *Truth Tester* which appeared in the May 1847 edition, calling for the formation of a vegetarian organisation to promote the diet. His letter was read by many who were in sympathy with his ideas, and so a meeting of all interested parties was called in July of that year by William Oldman of the vegetarian community at Ham Common and at this event the world's first Society was born.

Withers remained in contact with the leading British vegetarian advocate Lewis Gompertz and later published a pamphlet on their discourses entitled *Philosophical Necessities* (of which unfortunately no copy now seems to exist).

Soon after his arrival in Australia, Withers was lecturing in favour of the diet telling an audience at the Melbourne Temperance and Debating Society that he had been a vegetarian for the past nine years.[112]

Withers promoted many reform movements whilst in Ballarat and as a journalist and leader writer and sometime owner of the newspapers *The Ballarat Courier* and *Ballarat Star* made both papers supportive of the diet. In 1889, Withers even went so far as to use the paper to advise the royal family to adopt the diet as it would, he suggested, cure Queen Victoria's rheumatism and her son Prince Edward's varicose veins and obesity.[113]

In Mildura, which was developing apace as a result of being one of Australia's Irrigation Colonies, there were also a number of active Vegetarian Society members. Using the Murray River as a water source, the Colony in Mildura was started by two entrepreneurial Canadian-born brothers by the name of George and Ben Chaffey, who had gained experience running similar ventures in California. They were supported politically in their enterprise by Alfred Deakin and economically by his State Government as part of a drive to bring in more settlers and to open up more land suitable for agriculture. The assistance given by the Chaffey's water pumping stations, irrigation systems and agricultural training for 'new chums' starting up their first farms, made the area particularly attractive to new and aspiring farmers, so that many migrants (especially from London) flocked to the region. The crops produced here were apples, pears, citrus, grapes and olives, as they are still today.

112 The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.) 5 February 1855, p. 5 and 9 February 1855, p. 5

113 Ballarat Courier, Oct. 12, 1889

Another plus for many migrants was that the Colony was also supposedly completely free of alcohol, the Colony not allowing any public houses to open on its land.
John Newton Wood was so entranced by the reports of the purer life possible in Australia that he gave up his comfortable life in London and his editorship of *The Vegetarian*, to take up the plough in South Australia with his wife Emma and son Macdonald. This region was initially a most attractive destination for many British migrants as it had already built its reputation based on not having the stain that convict settlement gave to New South Wales and Victoria. In Adelaide however, he soon heard of the new Irrigation Colony and immediately made plans to settle there. So happily ensconced in Mildura was Wood to become that he began writing a series of articles for his old paper depicting life in Australia - and especially in the Colony - as being an earthly paradise. As he reported in the March 1891 edition of *The Vegetarian*:

"In the working out of the grand scheme of this great food reform and temperance colony, we shall have virtually neither more nor less than 'Vegetarianism in Practice', and its development will make all the conditions of the new and natural and perfect life - not hard and almost impossible of attainment, as in your great towns and cities, where the extremes of civilisation and barbarism unite to perpetuate vice and misery of the foulest description, and place innumerable stumbling-blocks in the way of the man who would lead a pure and natural life ... Mildura will be a home for vegetarianism!"[114]

114 Newton Wood, J., Under the Southern Cross, Paper II, The Vegetarian, London, Sept. 12, 1891, p.475

Wood found the companionship of many fellow vegetarians in Mildura, so many in fact, that he thought that they should establish their own society with its own publication and affiliate with the Vegetarian Federal Union. Wood does not appear to have started his own journal however, but then he does not appear to have had to as both local papers, the *Mildura Cultivator* and the *Mildura Irrigationist* were quite happy to publish his and others vegetarian promotional material.

Notwithstanding the support of the local press, Wood's dream that the area was "*destined to form perhaps the mightiest stronghold of Vegetarianism the world has yet seen*"[115] never eventuated. Problems with debt and the water supply ended the Chaffey's control of the great scheme, while the rescission of the alcohol ban in 1895 made the Colony become like any other area of regional Australia with its concomitant social problems. With alcohol now being allowed in the area however, Emma Wood found a new avenue for the promotion of temperance and vegetarianism as the president of the Mildura WCTU. The Woods, like many others, eventually left the Colony and they resettled in Adelaide in 1899.

After editing the *Weekly Herald*, Wood took over the editorship of the newspaper *Morning*, in 1901 (later renamed *Morning Star* in 1902).

This was a progressive newspaper that promoted the social and political views of its eccentric Theosophist owner Paris Nesbit. The paper therefore was another avenue in which Wood was able to promote spiritualism and vegetarianism.

Vegetarianism was always present in some form in South Australia. In 1875, an article entitled 'Vegetarianism' appeared in the *Farmers Weekly Messenger* that stated *'we have occasionally met with vegetarians even in South Australia, and have strong and sound arguments from them in favour of their practice*'.

115 Newton Wood, J., Under the Southern Cross, The Vegetarian, London, March 21, 1891, p.179

This thoroughly supportive article written by an uncredited author (though it was most likely to have been authored by the journalist, publisher and later politician Ebenezer Ward) further goes on say "*For our own part, we would often prefer a "dinner of herbs" than a "stalled ox" whose flesh must be eaten as tough as old boots, the only alternative being to have it half putrid. We should be glad to see the subject taken up by some of our local purveyors, as we believe it would be quite possible to serve a vegetarian dinner as tasty and palatable as many that we get of animal food. We presume a vegetable diet would not interfere with the moderate enjoyment of our fluidities, as they are exclusively prepared from vegetable sources, whether we use wine, beer, or spirits*."
The later passage in favour of alcohol also suggests Ward's authorship, as he was a noted supporter of the local wine industry.[116]

In 1891 the Australian Vegetarian Society sought and was granted affiliation with the Vegetarian Federal Union (extant 1889-1911), the precursor of the current International Vegetarian Union, at its meeting in Portsmouth, England.
In March, 1895, Robert Jones told the annual general meeting that "*the good being done by the Society could not be measured by the number of members who joined it but by the progress of opinion on the subject*." From this statement, it may be inferred, that the Society's membership was not growing as much as he would have liked. In 1896, Ellen White reported that the members were 'comparatively few', yet the Society seems to have been flourishing again in 1900 as it even had a children's group called the 'Wattle Blossoms' - the Antipodean version of the British Society's children's group, the 'Daisy Society'.
In 1900, Robert Jones, John Dun and Ellen Harvie were still leading the organisation and were joined by new members, Alfred Henry MacDonald and his wife Annie MacDonald, who held the respective positions of Vice President and Honorary Secretary.

116Vegetarianism, Farmers Weekly Messenger, 16th April 1875, p. 11

Around 1901, Alfred Macdonald who owned a printing company in Collingwood, printed a 30 page booklet entitled, *Rational Food* for the Vegetarian Society of Victoria (the same society but with an apparent change of name, probably instituted to differentiate itself from the NSW Society). The book expounded the spiritual and medical arguments of the day for vegetarianism from mainly foreign dietary advocates. It was written to convert meat-eating readers concerned for their own well-being to vegetarianism.

In 1902, John Dun was to be found lecturing on vegetarianism, as the Vice President of the Australian Vegetarian Society whilst holidaying in Aberdeen Scotland.[117]

Apart from its regional Victorian members, the Australian Vegetarian Society from 1886 also supported a number of corresponding members in other states and especially in Adelaide. One of these was a Mr W. Holden, who took it upon himself to lecture to South Australians about the "ghastly rows of corpses in the butchers shops".

In 1898, a South Australian Vegetarian Society was founded with 12 members and associates, and rose to 30 members within a few months. Its founder was Arthur Fawcett from East Adelaide who acted as the first Honorary Secretary, and as President there was Nathaniel Alexander Knox (1837-1908), who was a Theosophist, lawyer and leading establishment figure.

Fawcett - a life-long vegetarian - was involved in promoting the diet and disseminating vegetarian literature throughout Australia, and was on good terms with British vegetarians, through his correspondence and travels.

Vegetarianism in South Australia had some support from all the major Adelaide newspapers including *The Register, The Observer* and *The Advertiser. The Register* in particular often carried reports of Vegetarian Society activities between 1897 and 1903.

117 Aberdeen Journal (Aberdeen, Scotland), Friday, August 8, 1902, Issue 14835, p.4.

It also allowed its letters pages to have a lively pro and anti vegetarian discussion between August and September 1902, when a lady writing as 'A Vegetarian Housewife' begun a series of long letters extolling the virtues of the diet.
As far as can be ascertained The Society held its last public meeting in December 1903, when a Mr E R Lucy, a local postmaster, gave a talk on the benefits of the diet.

The NSW Vegetarian Society was founded on July 20, 1891 at a meeting in the Pitt Street Temperance hall, Sydney. Its stated functions were:
To provide facilities for the meeting together of Vegetarians and inquirers interested in Food Reform.

To promote as far as opportunities offer, the knowledge and practice of improved principles in diet -

(a) by an interchange of thought and information on the subject.

(b) by cultivating the acquaintance of fellow thinkers on Food Reform, and endeavouring to encourage any public efforts in this direction.

(c) by assisting inquirers to a knowledge of the literature advocating Vegetarian principles and circulating such useful printed matter as may be practicable.

The driving force behind the NSW Society was James W. Lawton who took on the role of Honorary Secretary and carried it into the next century. Among the other leading figures was the Chairman, William Dugald Campbell, a Fellow of the Geological Society and a Government Surveyor in Sydney during the 1880s and - from around 1900 - for the Geological Survey of Western Australia. Also on the committee was Francis Henry Satchell of Waverley. Born in England, to a vegetarian supportive father (Henry Satchell), Francis lived first in New Zealand where he and his father established in 1882 the Canterbury Dietetic Reform Association – which was New Zealand's first vegetarian organisation. [118] Satchell later moved to Sydney, where he worked until 1920 as a clerk in the NSW Government.

James Lawton lost no time in notifying the United Kingdom journal, *The Vegetarian*, of the existence of this new Society:

"... in the hopes that if any of your readers should come to the Colony, or if they know of others here who practise Vegetarianism they will inform me, for I should be pleased to hear from such with the view of their becoming members of our newly formed New South Wales Vegetarian Society."

The Society's only known published work was the journal, *The Vegetarian: the Organ and Property of the New South Wales Vegetarian Society* of which only the first issue (dated 10 March, 1896) is known to be in existence. In this issue it states that the Society is planning to produce a list of members and a history of the Society but, if this ever eventuated, it is now unfortunately lost.

Irrespective of the paucity of its printed record, the NSW Society was quite successful and later established regional branches. As with the Victorian branch, there were frequent and well-attended meetings which were generally held in members' houses or at temperance halls.

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118 Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger (Manchester, England), August 1882, p181

One meeting was presided over by Francis Edward McLean, Member of Parliament for Marrickville, and featured a lecture by Dr Merritt Kellogg on 'Food elements and their relation to health and longevity.'
By the later 1890s the Society was no longer functioning as the report given to the Vegetarian Federal Union in 1897 stated:

'*Mr. Lawton, Hon. Secretary, writes :- I regret having to inform you that, in. consequence of lack of financial support, the New South Wales Vegetarian Society has ceased active work, and so I could not lay your circular of October 5th before committee. I am hoping that in the near future some enthusiastic Vegetarian will accept the Secretaryship, and infuse new life into the work which I have found very difficult to do for sometime past for various reasons. I write this with sad heart, but desire to add that should you know of any Vegetarian friends coming to Sydney, I shall be pleased to give them welcome, and any information possible.*'

In 1893 a Queensland Vegetarian Society was operating, which may have been because Queensland had a proportionally large number of active Theosophists. However, it does not appear to have been very large as the NSW President F.H. Satchell reported in 1894 that it existed only 'in name'. The only substantive record of activity comes from reports in both the *Brisbane Courier Mail* and *Telegraph*[119], (as well as in the *Vegetarian Messenger*) of a lecture by a Mr Percy Proctor entitled 'Those Cranky Vegetarians' which was given on the 6th December 1893 at the Brisbane YMCA. Originally from Dunedin in New Zealand, Proctor was a chemist, Theosophist and resident of Brisbane from 1891 until his death aged 79 in 1940.
In Townsville and Rockhampton, another Theosophist, Chiaffredo Fraire (1852-1931), an Italian immigrant promoted the diet from the early 1900s through his articles under the name 'vigour' in the *Rockhampton Bulletin*.

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119 Telegraph (Brisbane), Dec. 8, 1893, p.6 and Brisbane Courier Mail, Dec. 11, 1893, p.4. The meeting was also reported on by the Vegetarian Messenger with the wrong date of 12th Dec. given.

Tasmania does not appear to have ever started a Vegetarian Society, though this was not seemingly due to a lack of potential recruits, but possibly due to a lack of will. As early as 1888 a Mr D Lacey, a retired member of the Indian civil service (originally from Leicester, England) was inviting vegetarians via *The Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger* to come and join him in Hobart to found a vegetarian colony to be called Arcadia. In the four page long letter he sent which was published under the title 'Tasmania as a vegetarian colony', he advised that the government was about to make land available to settlers on Flinders Island[i]. Lacey wrote that this land should be taken up by English and German vegetarians; he gave his address as a contact and advice as to the cost of the land, the travel out there and the prospects for sale of agricultural produce. In 1890, Lacey was still in Hobart arguing the vegetarian cause, but not winning.[120][121]

Unfortunately, his dream of a home for vegetarianism on the island did not quite transpire, in 1895 he was giving vegetarian lectures in Sydney and was later to be found living with the Seventh-day Adventist community in Cooranbong, NSW.

In early 1889 Robert Jones made a visit to Tasmania and reported that a '*number of the citizens of Hobart had adopted vegetarian principles and practice*.' He did try to bring some together to form a Society, but seemingly to no avail.

In 1910, William Bugby, a Tasmanian vegetarian schoolteacher had two long articles published in the *Daily Post* (Hobart) newspaper which were headed 'A Vegetarian's Experiences' and which promoted vegetarianism and the use of soya beans.

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120 Launceston Examiner , 15 September 1888, p. 2

121 The Mercury (Hobart, Tas.), 12 June 1890, p.2

Both of these articles were later reprinted by the *Vegetarian Messenger*. Within them he stated that he had been an active vegetarian for the past twenty years.

Tasmania from its earliest days was a home to total abstainers and later many Seventh-day Adventists, while vegetarian food was broadly available, but there was apparently not the will to forge a movement in the State.

As most vegetarians in Australia during the Victorian period had originally come from Britain, and often still considered themselves British, they were happy to continue to subscribe and correspond with the existing British vegetarian journals such as *The Vegetarian* (London), *Herald of the Golden Age* (Ilfracombe) and the *Vegetarian Messenger* (Manchester) rather than produce and maintain their own journals. These British publications printed regular reports by former members as to how they were faring in Australia, as well as official reports from the Australian Societies. In the *Vegetarian Messenger* there was a regular column which ran from the early 1900s entitled, 'Foreign and Colonial', in which news from overseas (predominately Germany) would be found and in which Australia was mentioned relatively frequently. Because of these strong connections to the motherland, much Australian vegetarian history is now only available in the British Library and the Vegetarian Society of the United Kingdom archives in Manchester, England. Aside from news published in British vegetarian journals, there was one short-lived Australian journal that did cover vegetarianism extensively - primarily because two leading members of the Australian Vegetarian Society, Robert Jones and John Dun published it. The publication was entitled, *Progress: for the promotion of all reforms* and its banner said it stood for, 'Political Equality, Social Freedom and Self Restraint'.

It covered all the currently fashionable reforms, including women's rights and suffrage, taxation reform (according to the American Henry George's theories), and the then new music notation form called Tonic Sol-fa (which was supported by two vegetarian teachers William Bugby and Samuel McBurney). In consideration of its publisher's opinions - a large amount of the publication was also devoted to vegetarian propaganda. Only ten issues published between 1889 and 1890 still exist but they contain a wealth of vegetarian recipes, copious amounts of dietary advice extolling in particular the virtues of a diet of fruit and nuts (as both publishers were in fact vegan), accounts of Vegetarian Society functions (mainly chaired, or featuring speeches, by the publishers) and reports from British and American vegetarian publications.
The Vegetarian saw the publication as a sister paper and greeted its appearance thus:

"The third number of our little Melbourne contemporary, Progress, is just to hand and merits our warmest congratulations. Its pages are instinct with the broad and fraternal spirit that inspires the recently established Vegetarian Federal Union, into whose embrace we look confidently to welcome the Australian Societies; and in the fact that the new paper stands pledged, not only to the first principles of Vegetarianism so-called, but to those great and progressive movements which are in vital union with it, we recognise the development of a powerful advocacy in the near future which shall join hands with us in lifting Vegetarianism out of the narrow ruts into which it had got well-nigh fixed, on to the broad road of progressive reform."

The Vegetarian was probably pleased to have an ally to help take vegetarianism further into the wider reformist movement being, itself, an emanation from the split within the British Vegetarian Society of 1888. In that year, the London Vegetarian Society (under the leadership of Arnold Hills) broke with the United Kingdom Vegetarian Society. The London Vegetarian Society (of which *The Vegetarian* was its mouthpiece) was formed ostensibly because the London members wanted to pursue a more active, reformist and internationalist agenda which involved promoting organisations such as the Vegetarian Federal Union (of which Arnold Hills was also the President).

A later Australian report of the Australian Vegetarian Society from 1905 appeared when Annie MacDonald, then Honorary Secretary of the Society, was interviewed about the diet by *The New Idea: a women's home journal for Australasia*. In the supportive article, MacDonald stated that the Society then consisted of 120 members.

On 11 May 1909 a meeting of the Society was called to decide whether to change the name of the Society to the Food Reform League. Alfred MacDonald still the Society's Secretary, opposed the motion stating "*People object to being reformed because they think that they are formed well enough as it is.*"

The meeting decided on not changing its name and thus those who were in support of the change decided to break away from the Vegetarian Society and form their own organisation.[122]

The last known meeting of the Society occurred on 21 June 1910, when a Mr Wilson Fritch, of Boston, America gave a lecture on raw food vegetarianism.[123] No further published evidence of any Vegetarian society in Australia has yet been found until its reformation in 1948.

However, the Morgans Melbourne Street Directory continued to list the Vegetarian Society of Australia in its list of Associations and Societies until 1921, with Mr E. Fred Ryall listed as Secretary.

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122 The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.), 12 May 1909, p.8

123 The Age (Melbourne), 22 June 1910, p. 6

The very same Mr Ryall who had led the breakaway Food Reform League some years previously. Mr Ryall (1874-1944) a vegetarian from 1893, was not your average liberal dietary propagandist being a seemingly conservative businessman who for 20 years managed the Mutual Stores which was Melbourne's first department store. He was later President of the Victorian Employers Federation, a director of the YMCA and founding member of Rotary in Melbourne. Although they lost the vote, in May 1909, many members of the Vegetarian Society including the former President J. H. Bottrell and former Secretary E. Fred Ryall thought that a name change would benefit the diet and consequently the breakaway Food Reform League was founded by them two months later in August 1909.



Photograph courtesy of the Coburg Historical Society

Mr Botrell was a teacher in Melbourne for 40 years the last 20 of which he served as headteacher of Moreland State School (no. 2537) in Coburg. His vegetarianism (similar to E. Fred Ryall's) was solely based on his strong temperance views and the belief that eating meat led inexorably to alcohol consumption.

At the founding meeting the objects of the League were announced as:

1. To enlighten public opinion on matters of diet

2. To point out the dangers of our present system of food supply, and its bearings on such problems as the adulteration of food and milk, infant mortality, consumption, and physical deterioration

3. To mate known the intimate connection of diet with – (a) moral and physical well-being: (b) social reform: (c) economy-national and domestic.

4. To urge the necessity of reconsidering the dietary of public institutions.

5. To recommend more humane, hygenic and scientific methods both in the selection and preparation of food[124]

The name change seemingly allowed those who would not want to normally be associated with the word 'vegetarian' to join. The two principal founding patrons of the organisation were Pattie Deakin, wife of Alfred Deakin and the Premier of Victoria John Murray. That the League could attract such luminaries was surely a testament to the success of the name change. Despite the change, vegetarianism was still absolutely the aim, but it was not initially required as in the Vegetarian Society. As the founding League Secretary Mr Ryall stated:

124 The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.) 10 August 1909, p. 4

"We don't ask people to change at once, but to gradually wean themselves into a modification of a meat diet at first, gradually developing into total abstention."[125]

The reason for the perceived need for a name change from Vegetarian Society to Food Reform League was probably a recognition that vegetarianism was not growing as planned and that its advocates were so easily derided. The reform league idea came from the British National Food Reform Association, started by Eustace Miles. Miles was an aristocratic English athlete. A Real Tennis and Squash champion, he won a Silver medal at the 1908 Olympic Games. In 1902, he published a book entitled *The Failures of Vegetarianism*. Within the book, he both derided vegetarians and yet also conversely advocated a vegetarian diet. Miles' problem was mainly with the word 'vegetarian' itself. He thought it implied to the public that vegetarians only ate vegetables, that it was faddish, and that the typical vegetarian was not seen as a paragon of health and vitality. Essentially Miles wanted to grow the diet by promoting a diet of 'simple' or 'pure' foods and a vigorous manliness. The foods recommended by Miles were: milk and milk products, grains, nuts, vegetables and salads. He heavily advertised in Australia, Protene (1905-1906) and later the Plasmon biscuit (1909-1911) – both of which were made out of dried milk.

The broader term 'food reform' had also been around a long time and there was a Bread and Food Reform League founded in 1880 in England by May Yates that promoted vegetarianism. Theosophists (like Miles) had also traditionally used the term instead of vegetarianism. How broad the links to Theosophy was in the new League is unclear, but the Theosophist, advertising agent and radio personality J. K. Powell was to be found leading the League (now renamed the Food Education and Reform League) in Australia during the late 1920s.

125 The Sunday Times, Sydney, 22 August 1909, p. 21

The Vegetarian Society Reborn

In Sydney on the 8th April 1948 at a local meeting of the World League for the Protection of Animals a speech was given by Liberal Catholic Bishop Sten von Krusenstierna entitled, *The Humane Aspect of Vegetarianism.* After the talk those in attendance decided to form what was in their view the first Australian Vegetarian Society. The members of this reincarnated Society were apparently ignorant of their Australian antecedents, as it was not until 1949 that an unnamed female member from Victoria rectified this error by writing in to the *Australian Vegetarian* stating that a Mrs Harvey (sic) had 50 years earlier founded an earlier Vegetarian Society in Melbourne.

The new Society held its first meeting on the 20th May 1948 to formulate its aims, constitution and to conduct an election of office holders.

The aims of the Society decided upon were:

To spread the principles and advantages of vegetarianism and the ideal of a humanitarian mode of life

To advocate, extend and organise Vegetarianism in Australia and to form branches and groups in any part of the country

To encourage co-operation between vegetarians throughout the world

To organise public meetings, lectures and discussions; to establish libraries, and to publish and distribute literature and a periodical magazine

To facilitate the supply of vegetarian food.

The office holders elected were; President - William Edgar Roberts, a naturopath and the principal of the Sydney School of Naturopathy and the W.E. Roberts Health Institute all based at his premises at 17A Pitt Street, Sydney, which was also where the first meetings of the Society were held. The Secretary was Tasman Homan (1897-1979), a eucalyptus oil distiller from Glebe.

The other positions were; Vice Presidents - D. K. Otton, a dietician and - John Boyd Steel (Deputy President of the World League for the Protection of Animals).

John Boyd Steel (1868 - 1950) had a long career in the Australian paper industry. Always very active in politics, he stood (unsuccessfully) as a candidate in numerous elections. In 1909, Steel was a member of the Labor party but left to found the Young Australia National Party - whose central aim was Australian unification (as opposed to Federation) The party was later dissolved when Billy Hughes's Nationalist Party adopted unification as a policy. Steel was a man with a wide range of interests from founding a surf lifesaving club to establishing the nationalistic organisation called the Sons of Australia.

At the time of the founding of the Society, Steel had been a teetotal vegetarian for over 40 years.

Sten von Krusenstierna, became Honorary Secretary and editor of their incipient publication, *The Australian Vegetarian*. The new Society therefore at its outset had leaders who represented the three major strands of vegetarianism; the religious, the health conscious and the animal concerned.

This spread of vegetarian interests unfortunately did not last, with the Society becoming almost entirely made up of naturopaths and other alternative health practitioners within a two year period.

The new Society quickly developed branches in a number of states:

The Brisbane branch was founded on the 7th March 1949 with 14 members. The Vice-President was the naturopath Frederick Roberts, who lent one of his premises for the branch meetings.

The Perth branch was founded on the 21st December 1949 with 20 members.

The Adelaide branch was founded on the 6th June 1950 with 32 members; the President was the naturopath Madame Mira Louise.
A branch was also started in 1950 in Melbourne. There were a number of vegetarians in Melbourne, and a contact group had been formed, but the branch was not started until revelations in a local newspaper about cruelty in the meat industry caused one to be founded, so that a group could respond to this gift of publicity. Mary E Foley, formed the new branch with an initial membership of three, but after 3 months of keeping the arguments for vegetarianism in the media she recorded that this figure had grown to 50. Foley was very successful in raising public awareness and developed a good relationship with the media, she also served as an editor of the *Australian Vegetarian* and from 1948 to 1972 of the vegetarian journal *Health and Vision*.
Newcastle formed a group in 1949, rather than a branch, and does not appear to have conducted meetings as such.
Quite soon after the state branches were established, it became clear that all of them were in some way involved in naturopathy. All of the branches met in the offices of naturopaths, and most of the elected officers were naturopaths or other alternative health practitioners. Given this, the promotion of the diet thence forward was almost always diluted in favour of the promotion of some other health remedy. In this way the Society became inexorably linked to the promotion of all and every alternative medical belief. The journals of the Society, including the *Vegetarian Monthly*, similarly gave themselves totally over to health issues. This was particularly apparent under the editorship of Mira Louise from 1959 onwards.
In 1962 a vegetarian writing to resign from the Vegetarian Society put the case thus:
"I have been a vegetarian from birth - that is more than 50 years - and I always regret to see such a simple thing as a vegetarian diet made into a food fad, which makes us appear as 'cranks' to anyone else. After all, millions of Indians have lived that way for generations without any fuss. On top of the food-faddism I note that our Society now also associates itself entirely with some form of naturopathy which borders on quackery. I

consider it most irresponsible (and rather childish) to advocate 'cures' for such dangerous diseases as poliomyelitis and cancer, and many loosely described ills, which if not properly diagnosed by a qualified medical practitioner might easily be wrongly treated. I think the name of the magazine is at present a misnomer. With the exception of your recipes, which I appreciate, there is nothing of vegetarianism in the magazine. I cannot perceive WHAT fluoridation of water has to do with the abstinence of meat! The Society would do a better service to its members if it would obtain information on which packaged and tinned foods manufactured in Australia are guaranteed free from dead animal matter, or press for a legislation which makes it compulsory for manufacturers to state exact contents as is law in many countries. Which medicines are 'pure' and which are derived from animal matter or the suffering of animals, etc. After all I am more concerned about the suffering of animals than in the fact whether I will live longer (or not) by abstaining from flesh food."[126]

The schism between vegans and vegetarians that took place in 1944 in the United Kingdom, with the founding by Donald and Dorothy Watson of the first Vegan Society did not seemingly affect Australia, as there was no active Society at that time to split.
Even the word vegan, did not register in the Australian media, until an article from 1946.
"*The logical extension of vegetarianism is veganism, a society for which was established two years ago. Vegans exclude from their diet not only flesh but also eggs, butter, and honey and, where possible, wear substitutes for wool and leather, so as to limit as far as possible mankind's "exploitation" of the lower animals.*"[127]

126 Letter from unnamed member in Vegetarian Monthly, Vegetarian Society of Australia, Sydney, Vol.2 no. 4, Aug. 1962, p.7

127 The Mercury (Hobart), October 7 1946, p. 3.

This division was possible because of the lack of definition of the word - vegetarian. While there were always vegans among vegetarians, most people considered themselves vegetarian if they abstained from eating meat, but not from animal products such as milk, eggs and honey.

In the 1970s, an alternative to the Vegetarian Societies began to emerge in the form of vegan and Animal Liberation organisations, wherein animal- rights were the pre-eminent issue. The first Australian vegan organisation - The Vegan Society of Victoria - was founded on the 3rd August 1973 with three members. By 1977 with the growth in interest, caused in part by the work of Peter Singer, the Vegan Society had grown to become a national organisation.

After their founding the five original Vegetarian Society branches in Australia had over the years widely fluctuating memberships and all had periods of inactivity, some of which lasted for many years. From the 1980s they began to widened their membership base and in many cases linked directly with Vegan Societies, as they had grown to have essentially the same animal centred aims – though also it must be said, the Vegan Societies had now also come to share the wider alternative health concerns.

There do not appear to have ever been branches in Tasmania or the Northern Territory, and a Vegetarian Society branch did not appear in the nation's capital Canberra (Australian Capital Territory) until 1990 – which may have been because prior to then those interested were happy to be included in the New South Wales branch which worked as the national coordinating body under the name Australian Vegetarian Society.

The ACT Vegetarian Society was founded by Kimberley Roberts and Col Stridjer who initially shared offices with an Animal Liberation group based in the Australian National University (ANU). In 2014 the ACT Vegetarian and Vegan Society was renamed and reconstituted as the ACT Vegan Society. The move reflecting the national move away from vegetarianism as a sustainable ethical position.

The first vegetarians to have visited Canberra - Australia's capital city - were probably Marion Mahony and Walter Burley Griffin in 1913, who had won the international competition to design the new city. The first confirmation of vegetarians living in the city was not until 1955, when an advertisement appeared in The Canberra Times newspaper from a 'vegetarian gentleman' seeking a room with full board. If he had waited a few years the gentleman could have stayed with the next vegetarian advertiser for 'ACCOM, with vegetarian family available' which was available only 9 years later on 31 December 1964. By the 1970s however, there were large numbers of vegetarians, especially among the students at the ANU.

Undoubtedly the largest gathering of vegetarians in Canberra occurred over 5 days in mid-December 1976 when the Cotter Reserve hosted the first Down to Earth Confest. The event was instigated by Dr Jim Cairns, who was then a backbench MP, but had until Gough Whitlam's dismissal been Deputy Prime Minister. Cairns rallied alternative groups, including vegetarian and vegan organisations, from around Australia to the event and sought the help of the members of Alternative Canberra, a commune in Pialligo, to organise the event. The event drew between 10-15,000 people many of which were vegetarian and all of which would have been exposed to vegetarianism during the event.

Attending this alternative festival were vegetarians from various religious groupings; Hare Krishna, Ananda Marga, the Scottish Findhorn Community and from the Vegan Society.

Animal Rights and Welfare

"Surely it cannot be denied that to inflict any kind of needless pain, for money or for personal gratification, is an act unworthy of a reasonable being. Everyone knows that many persons are compelled to use, and some to destroy, animals for food, but there need be no real cruelty. All unnecessary suffering can and ought to be avoided, whether animals be used for our pleasure or are designed for our food. There is something mean and cowardly in giving distress to a dumb creature that has little or no power of resistance. Such cruelty deserves no sympathy, but the strongest condemnation... the exercise of kindness towards brute creatures will help us to curb all unkindly feelings towards our fellow men. Cruelty to animals betrays an unmanly disposition, a little mind and a cold heart; but kindness, even to the lowest insects, is one of the characteristics of a manly spirit, of a great mind, and of a warm Christian heart."[128]

Rev. C. Stuart Perry, Anglican vicar of St Judes Church, Carlton, Melbourne (1868-87).

128 Perry, C. Stuart, Man's duty towards the lower animals : an address delivered in aid of the Victorian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in St. Jude's Church, Carlton on Sunday, May 10, 1874

The first Australian anti-animal cruelty legislation was enacted in Van Dieman's Land by Sir John Franklin in 1837. The law, *An Act For the Better Prevention of Cruelty To Animals* (8 Will IV, No 3) was based on the British law of 1822[129]. In 1850, New South Wales enacted *An Act for the more effectual prevention of Cruelty to Animals,* which was the same as the British law of 1849. These laws sought to bring Australian into line with British law so as to reduce 'unnecessary pain or suffering' on domestic and farmed animals and also to criminalise animal fights and baiting (such as bear baiting and cock fighting). But similarly to Australia's current laws they did nothing to prevent the worst excesses of the meat industry.

The beginnings of the animal welfare movement in Australia went hand in hand with dietary reform. While vegetarianism and animal rights were never greatly publicly supported or accepted policies in the period, animal welfare was, and there were a number of organisations formed by vegetarians or which had vegetarians as active members. Like the Vegetarian Society (and most other reform movements), the first animal rights/welfare activities took place in Melbourne. The earliest known organisation to lobby on behalf of animals was the Humane Society that was formed around 1854 (not to be confused with the Royal Humane Society of 1874).

Animals in colonial Victoria were far more in evidence than now. Horses were the main means of transport and filled Melbourne's streets. The ill-treatment of horses - in particular those used commercially in cabs and in general haulage - caused constant distress to the compassionate citizens of Melbourne.

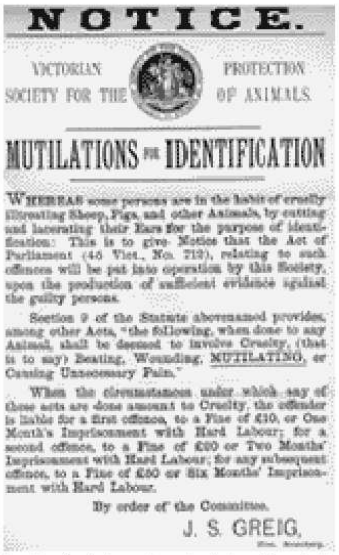
"What can be more melancholy than the sight of the long row of horses in the night cabs? Most of them broken down with age, or crippled by injuries and ill-usage, often marked with scars or bruises, lamed and

129 White, Steven, Regulation of Animal Welfare in Australia and the Emergent Commonwealth: Entrenching the Traditional Approach of the States and Territories or Laying the Ground for Reform?, Federal Law Review, Volume 35 Issue 3 (2007)

screwed, brought out under cover of the dark, and worked by men who hire the use of them at so much an hour."[130]

Horses were not the only animals to be openly abused. Animals driven into town for slaughter (often in very poor condition) or held for auction or sale in crowded pens - or even actually being slaughtered - were a common sight. Abattoirs were often within cities and most butchers slaughtered animals at the back of their suburban commercial premises, even though regulations in Melbourne from the 1860s forbade it. In Sydney, abattoirs were all over the city until centralised on the Homebush site in 1916. Until then it was not uncommon for pedestrians walking in a city to come across blood running freely down the pavement from a nearby back-street abattoir.

130 Perry, C. Stuart, Man's duty towards the lower animals : an address delivered in aid of the Victorian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in St. Jude's Church, Carlton on Sunday, May 10, 1874



NOTICE.

VICTORIAN SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF ANIMALS.

MUTILATIONS FOR IDENTIFICATION

WHEREAS some persons are in the habit of cruelly Ill-treating Sheep, Pigs, and other Animals, by cutting and lacerating their Ears for the purpose of identification: This is to give Notice that the Act of Parliament (46 Vict., No. 712), relating to such offences will be put into operation by this Society, upon the production of sufficient evidence against the guilty persons.

Section 9 of the Statute abovenamed provides, among other Acts, "the following, when done to any Animal, shall be deemed to involve Cruelty, (that is to say) Beating, Wounding, MUTILATING, or Causing Unnecessary Pain."

When the circumstances under which any of these acts are done amount to Cruelty, the offender is liable for a first offence, to a Fine of £10, or One Month's Imprisonment with Hard Labour; for a second offence, to a Fine of £20 or Two Months' Imprisonment with Hard Labour; for any subsequent offence, to a Fine of £50 or Six Months' Imprisonment with Hard Labour.

By order of the Committee.

J. S. GREIG,

One of the bills printed by the Society and posted at police stations throughout Victoria. Image courtesy of the RSPCA Victoria.

In an effort to enforce a legal solution to the cruelty, a group of like-minded members of the Society for Public Morality called a public meeting in December 1870, with the intention of forming a new organisation with animal welfare as its core aim. Thus, in 1871, The Victorian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (VSPCA) was born. The organisation was renamed the Victorian Society for the Protection of Animals in 1881 under the influence of Alfred Deakin.[131] Later in 1956 it again changed its name to the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals in line with its national and international counterparts.

131 The Argus (Melbourne), 16 November 1881, p. 5.

Florence Hayward (1858-1939), the South Australian vegetarian and animal rights activist who wrote poetry and children's stories under the pseudonym 'Firenze', responded in an essay marking the VSPCA's inception:

"A Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals! I read the announcement with astonishment. There is then such a Society in our midst? Is there any work for them to do amongst us? They call for Essays, which they wish to publish! What, can there be a difference of opinion on the subject? Need there be a Society to prevent it? Need anyone write against it? Think a little. Think of the over-driven, over-burdened beasts you see in the streets every day. Remember the accounts which the newspapers occasionally give of the cattle driven to the city for market, left unfed, unsheltered, unwatered in our sweltering summer heats for days together. Do not forget that stage driver who made a horse with a broken leg go fifteen miles over a bush road, dragged on by the other horses while he lashed and cursed the helpless beast. Recall, too the particulars of that drinking bout in the kitchen of a country inn, when a party of men and WOMEN roasted a cat alive for fun, while they sat drinking away the hours of a rainy holiday.

These things are of recent occurrence, and they happened in or near Melbourne. Do not ask, then, if there is work to be done - if there is need of the united efforts of a Society to make these things impossible amongst us, since not for mercy's why, then, for terror's sake - terror at the swift, sure, vigorous execution of the law, which now it is no man's business to enforce."[132]

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132 Firenze (Florence Hayward), The Present Duty : an essay, Collingwood, Vic., Griffith & Spaven, 1873

The VSPA succeeded in gaining widespread support including that of the leader of the Victorian Parliament, the Hon. Sir Henry Wrixon (President from 1901-1913), and Prime Minister, Alfred Deakin, (Vice President from 1901-1913, President from 1913-1918). Other influential figures on the management committee were several prominent businessmen and Rabbi Abrahams, representing the Jewish population of Melbourne, as well as Thomas Adamson, Consul for the United States.

Their support led eventually to the first Australian derived animal welfare legislation in the *Protection of Animals Act 1881* – although it still bears broad similarity to British law of the time. The definition of cruelty was held to be:

(a) Over-riding or over-driving or over-working ; or (b) Over-loading or driving when overloaded ; or (c) Riding or driving or employing or transporting any animal that is unfit for any such use ; or (d) Ill-treating or injuring or tormenting or torturing ; or (e) Doing in circumstances that amount to cruelty any of the following acts (that is to say), beating wounding mutilating killing or causing unnecessary pain ; (f) Causing or procuring to be done any of the acts aforesaid or permitting any such act to be done to any animal of which the offender has the custody or control.

The law also contained the first legal conditions pertaining to animal experimentation or vivisection, requiring that:

(i) The operation shall be performed in accordance with the regulations of the Governor in Council as aforesaid ; and (ii) The animal subject to the operation shall during the whole time thereof be so under the influence of some anaesthetic as to be insensible to pain; and (iii) Where the animal has in the course of the operation been so injured that its recovery would involve serious suffering, it shall be destroyed while still insensible.

Campaigns against vivisection were never an unpopular cause among the general public, let alone from vegetarian and animal welfare advocates. The VSPA opposed it, as did Melbourne Spiritualists and the Theosophists. The Theosophists in particular actively supported - or indeed started - anti-vivisection organisations and were also keen members of the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection (BUAV) founded in 1896 of which, by the 1920s, there were six active branches working in different Australian states, most of which are still active today in some form.

The Melbourne publisher and bookshop owner, E. W. Cole, printed anti-vivisection pamphlets and kept a supply of related material available at his bookshop. The Fabian socialist reformer (and some-time vegetarian), Henry Hyde Champion, often raised the issue in his newspaper, *The Champion*. During the 1890s, he frequently brought the practice of animal experimentation to the public's attention in his editorials.

In 1896 and 1897, he reported details of experimentation on live animals. One of the experiments witnessed by a number of eminent scientists involved making Tiger snakes bite live dogs to see the effect of their poison. In Champion's view, the doctors "killed a dog by revolting and cruel means while several leading medical men looked on."[133] By highlighting experiments such as this he tried to bring about the prosecution of the people responsible under Victoria's animal welfare laws. Unfortunately, he met with little success.

RSPCA branches were also formed in other Australian states between the 1870s and 1890s. In Queensland interestingly, the branch there for 70 odd years dropped the word 'Animals' from its title, as it also sought to prevent cruelty to children. It was thus the first organisation to actively seek to protect children in Australia, and mirrored the activities in Britain. For there, those responsible for creating the RSPCA also founded the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (SPCC). This disproves the old adage, that those who care for animals are blind to human suffering.

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133 Dogs and Frogs : on the altar of vivisection, The Champion, February 29, 1896, p.69

Numerous other animal welfare organisations sprang up throughout Australia in the early 20th century. There was a Wildlife Preservation Society founded in 1909, which sought to preserve Australian native flora and fauna. Its founder was David Stead who was probably the single most important individual in developing the Australian fishing industry, and who perhaps believed fish were neither wildlife nor native. There was an Animals' Protection Society formed to alleviate the suffering of animals in the meat industry and the Australian branch of the World League for Protection of Animals (formerly The World Day for Animals League). There were also separate groups for individual species, such as the Gould League for Birds and Cat Protection Leagues, as well as societies created purely to promote more humane slaughter. By the early 1980s there were over 70 animal rights and welfare organisations in operation,[134] the leading 22 of which speaking with one voice under the auspices of the Australian Federation of Animal Societies, which was formed in 1980. The RSPCA, which by this time was an established force throughout Australia, with its many inspectors, members and volunteers did not join this organisation. The reason for this, in part, at least, was due to the fact that over the years a number of people actively involved in animal industries had joined and, in some States, lead the organisation. It can only be assumed that they had joined in order to prevent it from becoming a strong voice against the exploitation and cruelty on farms and to keep it focused on companion animal issues within the cities – wherein they had no vested commercial interest. Nevertheless, the RSPCA and its many volunteers and members still managed to do some good work. The greatest hindrance to the RSPCA in its work has been that it is restricted in its abilities to prosecute those responsible for animal cruelty. Although the RSPCA employs Inspectors to investigate and prosecute animal abusers it can only do this within the current legislative framework. Australia's laws allow entrenched animal cruelty against 'production animals' and any and all harm against them is permissible if it is considered 'in

134 Animal Liberation, 1981 directory of Australian animal welfare-rights organizations, Sydney, 1981

accordance with accepted farming practice'. Thus RSPCA Inspectors cannot prosecute those who commit any cruelty such as confining, tail docking, castration, branding, dehorning, debeaking, etc.

So that if a farmer once beats their dog, they could be prosecuted, but if they imprison and torture hundreds of pigs in tiny stalls for all of their miserable short lives, they are innocent of any crime. Until public opinion forces governments to change laws, the RSPCA, beyond their role of public education of consumers, is essentially powerless to act.

In recent years the organisation has taken on board some of the demands of animal rights organisations and has mobilised against the worst excesses of factory farming, battery cages, intensive piggeries and the trade in live animals to the Middle East. The adoption by the RSPCA of the principles of five freedoms, first introduced in the UK in 1965, has gone some way to give a framework for the ethical treatment of 'production animals'.

1. Freedom from Hunger and Thirst
   By ready access to fresh water and a diet to maintain full health and vigour
2. Freedom from Discomfort
   By providing an appropriate environment including shelter and a comfortable resting area.
3. Freedom from Pain, Injury or Disease
   By prevention by rapid diagnosis and treatment.
4. Freedom to Express Normal Behaviour
   By providing sufficient space, proper facilities and company of the animal's own kind.
5. Freedom from Fear and Distress
   By ensuring conditions and treatment which avoid mental suffering.

Since the publication of Peter Singer's seminal work *Animal Liberation* (1975), there has been an extraordinary growth in the philosophical and moral support for animal rights and consequently veganism and vegetarianism. The founder of the first Australian Animal Liberation group, Christine Townend was directly inspired by the work – as the name of the group indicates. On the 7th December 1976, Townend and five other people attended the first meeting at the Total Environment Centre in Sydney with six other people present. Notwithstanding this small start branches soon followed in Melbourne in 1978, Brisbane in 1979 and Canberra in 1980.

While the later Animal Liberationist non-violent direct action stance, as developed by Patty Mark and others in the early 1990s, took its inspiration from civil rights, women's and gay liberation struggles, its theoretical basis can also be traced back to Singer's arguments.

In 1980, the Australian Federation of Animal Societies (now called Animals Australia) was founded by Peter Singer and Christine Townend to unite the now many animal welfare and liberation groups in Australia so as to provide a strong single voice on behalf of animals.

All previous animal welfare organisations, such as the RSPCA, have sought reform, rather than abolition, of the meat industry. In many respects they succeeded in their early years and brought about improvements in the transportation (at least within Australia) and slaughter of animals. Yet as animals lives became grimmer, as intensive and factory farming practices became widespread from the 1950s onwards, they signally failed to adapt to and challenge this new threat. Animal organisations that do not have as a first principle that animals are not food are by their own contradictions destined to fail. As Christine Townend stated:

"one did not defend the rights of babies, and then partake of a meal of fine roasted orphan" [135]

Indeed it is still the case that we can see across Australia the incongruous sight of an RSPCA fundraising sausage sizzle stall.

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135 Townend, Christine, A voice for the animals, Kangaroo Press, Kenthust NSW, 1981, p.5

Animal welfare organisations in the past have failed to address or stop what goes against the very essence of animal rights philosophy - the forced breeding, captivation, torture and deprivation of life which are inherent in meat production. It has only been the animal rights, vegetarian and vegan Societies which have rightly maintained that there can be no real end to animal suffering while billions of fellow creatures are slaughtered for food.

Vegetarian Writers

Australia's first known vegetarian, John Grant (1776-?), was also happily Australia's first recognised poet. Grant arrived in Sydney aboard the ship *Coromandel* as a transported convict in May 1804. Previous to this he had been a merchant in the City of London, until he shot a lawyer who had worked against him on a court case. Convicted of attempted murder he was subsequently sentenced to death, but with the help of his sister who had royal and influential friends, he managed to get his sentence commuted to transportation to Australia.

Grant had been educated at Christ's Hospital school with men such as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Charles Lamb; as such he had strong social or even aristocratic pretensions and was accustomed to the finer things in life. Inevitably, he had great difficulty in adapting to his new convict life. Grant found it difficult to accept that, as a convict his social status was now the same as that of any common criminal. Initially, he refused to work for other men – calling it slavery and even found it difficult to see to his own needs such as cooking and cleaning - and became associated with other men of means who had also been transported (including Sir Henry Browne Hayes, an Irish baronet transported for the abduction and forced marriage of an unwilling Quaker girl).

Grant had some money, personal possessions (including a harpsichord) and a barrel of rum when he arrived and so managed to make himself almost self-sufficient. Although he had some privileges over the poorer convicts who had come with nothing, he did not use his fortunate financial position to endear himself to the authorities.

His continual complaints about the convict system, his perceived ill-treatment and the punishments meted out to his fellow transportees, made him an enemy of the colonial authorities and of Governor King. So irritating to the authorities was Grant that he was subsequently sentenced to five years' hard labour. On Oct. 13th 1805 he began to resist the authorities in a symbolic way that was deemed not likely to bring further punishment upon him, consequently he stopped shaving (as had Hayes earlier). He also vowed "to abstain from fish, flesh and fowl till slavery be abolished by a change of system." He thus exclaimed in a poem:

Dear Liberty! haste hither Dwell

My Beard reminds me of their chains:

My Lips - all Flesh, Fish, Fowl repel,

While Tyranny 'midst Britons reigns.

Dear Liberty! haste, hither Dwell! [136]

For protesting in this way, Grant was assumed by many in the colony to have gone insane. In spite of the difficulties, he persevered with the diet until 2nd July, 1809 when he was granted a conditional pardon- which is astounding considering the lack of available of vegetarian foodstuffs, the ridicule he received and the punishments he took. Grant's diet was often very meagre during his vegetarian protest, consisting almost entirely of bread, vegetables and eggs. During his food protest as punishment he was transferred between Sydney and Norfolk Island as well as to the uninhabited Phillip Island.
Whilst on Phillip Island he sometimes had almost no food and - when he did - it consisted of little more than a diet of 'Indian meal (maize) and water'.

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136 Grant, John, b. 1776. Papers 1769-1810 [manuscript]. National Library of Australia. MS 737.

Grant referred in his letters home to his mother and sister to the frequent temptation to break his vow and eat meat. Even though his diet was for neither health nor ethical reasons (other than protest), he apparently held firm, although he did mention that sometimes he was forced by lack of food to take fish broth. However, he did say later that there was some benefit in the diet for him in that "it has enabled me to live free from debt, and improper connexions with the other sex." In keeping with the country's perceived anti-authoritarian streak, it is probably fitting that a vegetarian diet was used by an early Australian solely as a personal revolt against convict life. Grant, then, was a forerunner for the diet which would later attract radicals from other areas, be they political, social, ethical or religious.

After Grant, vegetarianism essentially disappears from Australian literature until the large scale migrations brought about by the gold rushes. Vegetarians made up some of those seeking their fortunes, although they soon found that Australia was a harder prospect than they anticipated. A pseudonymous poem by a C. ABBAGE who was then at the Forest Creek diggings North West of Melbourne advising others of the plight of vegetarians appeared in the Melbourne satirical journal *The Arm Chair* in 1853.

The Wail of a Wegetarian

Oh! don't unto the diggins come,
You that object to meat,
You can't get taters nor green peas,
Nor any fruit to eat.
But stop; I'm going on too fast,—
To tell the truth I'm bound;
Yon can get taters, if you pay
Two shillings for a pound.

Yon cannot live on damper, friend,
And wash it down with tea:
I'm getting weakly daily here,
For fruit I never see.
I'm wrong again: in twelve months, twice
Some oranges I've seen,
And apples, like their purchasers,
Most gloriously green.

O ye that frugal live at home,
Who can, with one small penny,
Two oranges, twelve apples, buy,—
If here yon purchase any,
(And this mind's only now and then,
Though, you. be e'er so willing,)
An orange will cost eighteen-pence,
An apple just one shilling.

Oh! would I were in London streets,
Some juicy orange munching,
Or, what would he the same to me,
A ribston-pippin scrunching :
I'd never, never think again
Of gold, and emigration
Unto a land where one must choose
Chops, steaks, or else—starvation.
So don't unto the diggins come

You who object to meat;

You'll hardly dig up gold enough

To pay for what yon eat. [137]

The next known vegetarian themed poem published in Australia was written by another pseudonymous author, 'Jerry', and appeared in the *West Australian Times* on 26 October 1874.

The Banquet of Blood: a vegetarian lay

A cockroach crawled o'er a baker's shelf,
Waving his horns, and looking for pelf:
The baker upon his bread board below,
Was kneading and rolling about the dough.

The board received such terrible thumps,
As the baker's rolling pin struck the lumps,
The shelf was shaken, the cockroach fell -
Ah where? The baker he could not tell!

Into the oven, deep in the dough,
Stern fate would have the cockroach go,
Dead and buried, his fate unknown
Perished the cockroach all alone.

A napkin lay where a feast was spread,
In its midst a bit of dainty bread.
A lovely lady, with hands most fair,
Unravell'd the napkin lying there.

Soups, fish, and birds, of many a kind,
A pig with skewers, its joints to bind:
A rabbit with parsley stuck on its nose,
And snipes and wallabies all laid in rows.

137 C. ABBAGE, The Arm Chair, Melbourne, No. 14, Dec. 3, 1853, p. 6

Huge limbs of pork, beef, mutton, and veal,
Were sliced by the flourish of sharp edged steel:
The well-charged plates were borne round
By valets in coats with gilt lace bound

Many a beggar might live on the steams,
That danced in the hall on the waxlight beams,
But he must have a most delicate smell,
Who by its strange odour the dish could tell.

A terrible shriek stirs the steam and air,
That circle around the lady fair:
The guests all about the table rise,
Gaze towards her with dread surprise.

'Pray sit, my lords,' at length quoth she,
'And kindly I pray, don't question me'
And glad were they, when the fright was o'er,
To turn to the sumptuous feast once more.

In vain did the lady try to eat
Delicate morsels of richest meat;
A dreadful sight met her constant view -
She had bitten the cockroach through!

Then to her, in the steam, from a bright tureen,
Was the ghost of the luckless cockroach seen;
While confusion in her ears did ring'
The sprite of the cockroach did seem to sing:

'Lady! Why gave you that terrible shriek!
Why rolled your eyes, and paled your cheek?
Why dread to bite a poor worm like me,
But eat sheep and swine most greedily?'

'Oh, delicate lady, oh! sensitive fair,
See the table strewn with carcasses there,
Mangled and torn, all flesh from bone;
Oh, leave such horrible feasts alone!

'The waving corn, and the fruitful tree,
Bear gracious nourishment for thee;
Live, fair one, as a lady should,
And being beautiful, be good!

'Though lions, tigers, vultures prey.
Be thou more merciful than they;
Thy health will last, thy life be long!'
And thus the cockroach ceased his song.

In 1886 John Le Gay Brereton senior published his poetry collection *Beyond, and other poems*. Criticised at the time as barely concealed vegetarian propaganda[138] contains the following passages:

They have wallowed in the gore
Of beasts, and eaten foul remains.
Death's leavings clog their oozy veins.
Yea, they have eaten unto death,
And the foulness of their breath
All pure spirits sickeneth.
One mad lust becomes the mother
Of another and another.
...
Flesh and bone to gnaw and rend
Never was the Maker's end.
Well suit such viands man's decay ;
Small use for him ethereal food
Whom Nature's choicest gifts elude ;
But children of a better day
Shall find new strength in simpler fare,
In herbs and sun-absorbing fruits,
And in the common light and air :
And flesh and carrion leave to brutes.[139]

138 The Daily Telegraph (Sydney) 16 October 1886, p. 9

139 Brereton, J. le Gay, Beyond: and other poems, (Sydney: Turner & Henderson, 1886

It has been often thought that creative people are attuned to 'higher things' which is manifested in practices such as vegetarianism. Annie MacDonald certainly believed this and declared in print that 'the diet tends to preserve in the individual a delicacy of feeling and a liveliness of the imagination seldom enjoyed by meat-eaters.' [140]

Mortimer Menpes the Australian artist and later London socialite however disagreed with this view, for when he tried vegetarianism he apparently found 'I lost all enthusiasm, and I could speak neither truth nor lies. I was in fact absolutely colourless.'[141] Menpes even came to believe that a vegetarian would make a bad sitter and thus a worse portrait exclaiming 'the success of my paintings will depend upon whether my sitters are meat-eaters or vegetarians.' History's legacy of foreign vegetarian artists, writers and poets - as well as those still living – goes some way to support both theories. In Australia there were a number of acclaimed artistic vegetarians such as the composer Percy Grainger and the musician and artist Gustave Adrian Barnes (1877-1921) as well as the sculptors Margaret Baskerville (1861-1930) and Charles Douglas Richardson (1853-1932).

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140 Annie MacDonald interviewed in The New Idea, 6th September 1905, p. 245

141 The Vegetarian, London, London vegetarian Society, Oct. 22 1898, p. 679-680

However, none of the early vegetarian authors were ever in the first rank of Australian writers. Florence Hayward was a great supporter of animals, but her animal poetry did not in turn gain much support. She did have a brief period of popularity writing maudlin verse during and immediately after the First World War – but today her work is forgotten.

Annie MacDonald had a volume of poetry published (with illustrations by fellow Vegetarian Society members Baskerville and Richardson) in 1911. Both of the John Le Gay Brereton's literary output is largely forgotten whilst Alfred Deakin and Henrietta Dugdale, though very successful in other areas of life, were not writers per se and each only published one novel.

The Scottish author and artist Hume Nisbet, who spent a number of years in Australia as a young man, wrote over 40 novels. Many of his novels were set in Australia. His novel *The Black Drop* (1891) was reviewed thus:

'is about a noble, strong-browed man, with golden brown hair, tender-hearted and of refined sentiments, who … is exiled to Sydney, and becomes an honoured member of society, with a daughter Ruth. There is a good deal of esoteric vegetarianism and psychical experiments and people who take to drinking ; and in some mad, wild way the story works to an end, if there is a story and if there is an end.'[142]

142 The Argus (Melbourne, Vic.), Current literature. June 27 1891, p. 4.

In 1914, a short novel written by Helen Hudson entitled, *The Red Road : a story of a Roan bullock on the wrongs suffered by animals at the hands of man*, was published by the Animal's Protection Society. The story, as told by a young bullock, tells of the fear and horror inherent in animals' lives that have only the 'red road' to the slaughterhouse to look forward to. While not great literature, it is a moving plea for improvement in the keeping and transportation of animals. Given the development of modern factory farming and the international live animal trade, the message of her book would still resonate today.

In 1916, Rosa Campbell-Praed, the expatriate novelist and spiritualist, published a novel called *Sister Sorrow*, which contained a sympathetic portrait of a vegetarian mystic. A book published in 1920 and dedicated to "all who earnestly hope for the amelioration of the suffering of the sub-human kingdom" was one of the few works of fiction written by a Balmain, NSW bank manager and financial journalist by the name of Samuel Nisbet Hogg (1878-1943). Entitled *Romance and Reality*, it tells the sad tale of Fleurette, a young vegetarian lady of sensitive disposition, whose life is made miserable by living in a society that has no consideration for the plight of animals. Throughout the novel the heroine discusses and exposes various forms of cruelty to animals. It ends with the plea:

"Live and let live; do more, live and help live. Do to beings below you as you would be done to by beings above you; pity the tortoise, the hare, the wild bird, and the ox. Poor, undeveloped, untaught creatures. Into their dim and lowly lives stray a little enough of sunshine, though the fell hand of man be never against them. They are our fellow mortals; they come out of the same mysterious womb of the past, are passing through the same

dreams, and are destined to the same melancholy ends as we ourselves. Let us be kind and merciful."[143]

Another minor vegetarian writer was Fred Elton. Elton was a 'comedian, whistler, and instrumentalist' originally from New Zealand who settled in Launceston, Tasmania. He ran his family comedy revue show and wrote short plays and songs. Elton was also a pioneer film exhibitor and went on to own or run a number of theatres in Australia before falling ill in Toowoomba. He spent a while in hospital and recuperating in the town and that is where he wrote his little book of stories, verse and observations called *Colonials as Cannibals* (1913) which describes the Australian character and propensity to eat meat.

As these writers demonstrate, there is no historical canon of Australian vegetarian literature. As a result there was very little to challenge the frequent stereotypical attacks on vegetarianism from non-vegetarian writers and journalists.

More recently there have been a greater number of vegetarian writers, though, most have not incorporated their dietary views into their literature. Alternatively, the vegan poets Carmel Hull, John Kinsella and Alice Shore have been outstanding in using their art to highlight our strained relationships with animals and the environment.

The most internationally prominent vegetarian literary figure and Nobel Prize winner, J. M. Coetzee, made his home in Australia in 2002, becoming a citizen in 2006. Within his most recent novels he has placed vegetarianism and animal rights as a defining character element. In his novel *Elizabeth Costello* (2003) the main protagonist an Australian vegetarian author, describes movingly the experience that many vegetarians have had when viewing the actions of their meat-eating fellow humans:

"I seem to move around perfectly easily among people, to have perfectly normal relations with them. Is it possible, I ask myself, that all of them are

143 Hogg, S.N., Romance and reality, Kingston Press, Sydney, 1920

participants in a crime of stupefying proportions? Am I fantasizing it all? I must be mad! Yet every day I see the evidences. The very people I suspect produce the evidence, exhibit it, offer it to me. Corpses. Fragments of corpses that they have bought for money "[144]

The other important vegetarian writer, and one that Australia has produced rather than adopted, has not worked in fiction at all. But, he has undoubtedly had more influence on world thought than any other Australian. Peter Singer, through his many books and essays and academic positions held in Australia, Britain and latterly the United States has brought ethics and philosophy into everyday discourse and action.

Singer studied philosophy at the University of Melbourne, gaining his BA in 1967 and his MA in 1969. Singer's interest in animal welfare did not begin in Australia. It was not until he had left Australia and was studying philosophy at Oxford University in England that he came into contact with the vegetarians and fellow philosophers Stanley and Roslind Godlovitch as well as Richard Ryder and other members of the Oxford Group - a group of academics at Oxford University concerned with animal rights and welfare. Under their influence Singer formed his ethical case for animals which fitted into his utilitarian philosophical views.

His thinking on the subject eventuated in his becoming vegetarian and in the publication of his second book Animal Liberation (1975). Singer's advocacy for animals was not reliant on health, religious teaching or a 'feeling for animals' but based purely on ethical grounds (as first posited by the theory of utilitarianism by Jeremy Bentham), as Singer stated:

"I am a utilitarian. I am also a vegetarian. I am a vegetarian because I am a utilitarian."[145]

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144 Coetzee, J. M., Elizabeth Costello, Viking Penguin, New York, London, 2003, p.114.

145 Singer, Peter, Philosophy and Public Affairs, Vol. 9, No. 4 (Summer, 1980), pp. 325-337

Singer's utilitarian ethical perspective was essentially that of causing the least harm whilst pursuing the greatest good, Singer declared that the interests of all beings which are capable of pain and suffering are worthy of equal consideration, which led to the obvious corollary that using animals for food is unjustifiable because it is unnecessary and thus creates unnecessary suffering. Singer's advocacy of vegetarianism is not then an emotional decision, but merely practical ethics. Indeed Singer unlike most animal supporters has expressed no great love of other species, but he recognises that other animal species have legitimate interests that have to be taken into account by humans in their interactions.

Singer's arguments were not in any sense really new to British animal welfare and rights supporters, who had available a rich history of academic, philosophic and religious literature, but to American and Australian audiences less aware of their own vegetarian history Singer's ideas were almost revolutionary.

Singer's book has had an enormous impact on the Australian and worldwide animal rights movement, but he did not actually espouse 'animal rights' as such but rather the theory of 'speciesism' a term coined by Richard Ryder in 1970 and which roughly equates to discrimination against beings based only on their belonging to a different species.

In the 1970s when sexism and racism were being successfully challenged, Singer's book was the first to fully put forward the arguments for this new ism, an ism which the media had previously ignored or made caricature of. So influential to the speciesist argument has Singer's book become that Ryder later acknowledged it as the 'bible' of anti-speciesism.[146]

146 Ryder, Richard, Animal Revolution : changing attitudes towards speciesism, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1989, p. 247

Most of the previous books on the subject of animals had either been of academic interest only or preaching to the already converted, Singer's book therefore broke new ground. There had never previously been any other animal-centred book, which sold in such large numbers, was reviewed in the mainstream press and was available in general bookshops. Thus, Singer actually created a new audience and a market where previously there had been none. It is no stretch to say that Singer was essentially responsible for the rebirth and continuation of the animal rights and vegetarian movement in Australia from the mid-1970s to the present day.

Opposing Artistic and Literary Perceptions

Until relatively recently, almost all references to vegetarianism in Australian literature and journalism were uniformly opposed to the diet.

The artist and writer, Norman Lindsay, with his anti-clerical, anti-wowser and masculinist social theories and art (sometimes known as 'vitalism') was antithetical to vegetarianism. Lindsay supported the *Bulletin*'s view of vegetarianism and wrote a piece for its literary sister publication, *The Lone Hand,* entitled *Unclose season for vegetarians* which humorously suggested that vegetarians should be hunted and was accompanied by a cartoon of butchers attacking vegetarians.[147]

147 Lindsay, Norman, Unclose Season for Vegetarians, in The Lone Hand, 2 August 1909, pp. 392-393.


BOILING BEEF JUICE
SUPPLIED HERE

Many, however, could not, or would not, subscribe to this masculinist ethos. One such dissenter was Lindsay's own eldest son, Jack (1900-1990). Jack was the author of well over a hundred works of history and fiction, as well as numerous poems. While initially a great supporter of his father's views, he revised his opinions after leaving Australia for England in 1926. The difficulty this caused in his relationship with his father lasted for the rest of his life, and he never saw either his father or Australia again. In England, Jack Lindsay became a committed Marxist and a vegetarian for the last sixty or so years of his long life. He would later write of the motivation for his change of diet:

"Only by discarding a diet based on rotting corpses could men become sane. The fantasy of needing a blood-diet, a corpse-diet, was inseparable from the distorted relation to the parents I had been trying to clarify in myself and which one way or another existed in everyone. The corpse-eater was still in fantasy feeding on the parents."[148]

The above passage shows how closely entwined were Jack Lindsay's vegetarianism and the rejection of his father and his views, but this alone would surely not have kept him a vegetarian for as long as he was. Rather it must have been his ongoing interest in justice and hatred of cruelty that was the prime motivator.

In Mary Grant Bruce's novel, *Mates at Billabong* (1911) - the second in her Billabong series of books - the popular view of vegetarianism is clearly demonstrated by Norah's (the heroine) city-bred cousin, Cecil, who comes to stay on her family's property. Cecil's lack of manliness is manifest when he first greets her male relations, his lacklustre handshake unsympathetically described thus:

"*He let his fingers lie in each man's hand languidly - and would probably have been injured had he seen Murty wipe his hand carefully on the side of his trousers after he had passed on. "The men had no love for the city boy.""*

148 Lindsay, Jack, Fanfrolico and After, London, Bodley Head, 1962, pp217-218

Cecil's effeteness is again demonstrated - with an added reference to vegetarianism - in the choice of book he gives Norah as a Christmas gift. Vegetarianism is here posited as being the diet of a foreign and unworldly poet rather than a 'normal' Australian working man.

"It was poetry, and Norah's soul did not incline naturally to poetry, unless it were one of Gordon's stirring rhymes, or something equally Australian in character. This was quite different, but it had been Cecil's Christmas gift, and it had seemed to Norah that politeness required her to study it.

"'It's the rummiest stuff!' said the Bush damsel, hopelessly. She turned to the cover, a dainty thing of pale blue and gold. 'William Morris? Didn't we have a stockman once called Bill Morris? But I'm pretty certain he never wrote this. The name's the same, though!' thought Norah, uncertainly. She turned back, and read anew, painstakingly:

No meat did ever pass my lips
Those days. Alas! the sunlight slips
From off the gilded parclose dips,
And night comes on apace.
"Then I'm positive it wasn't our Bill Morris, 'cause I never saw a stockman who was a vegetarian. But what's a parclose? I'll have to ask Cecil; but then he'll think me such a duffer not to know, and he'll be so awfully patronizing. But what on earth does it all mean?'

"She closed the book in despair, let her eyelids droop, and nodded a little, while the book in its blue and gold cover slipped from her knee to the grass. It was much easier to go to sleep than to read William Morris."[149]

149 Bruce, Mary Grant, Mates at Billabong, Melbourne, Ward,Lock, 1911

The above is a classic example of the perception of vegetarianism as an effete urban trait. That it was also depicted as a foreign trait is not surprising as practically all known vegetarians in Australia originated from Britain - but then so had 90 percent of the general Australian population at that time.
The real foreigners to most Australians, however, were the Japanese and Chinese. This is most amply borne out by the following passage from a story published by the *Bulletin* in 1900 which is not only an attack on the vegetarian diet, but also reveals the anti-Asian fear which was so prevalent at that time.

"Last Sunday I was at Coogee, the gilded horror rolled up precisely at three - a shapely girl of eighteen, lissome of body, alert, and cursed with a fair face and skin. At the first glance she appeared alone, but from the tail of her eye she was watching the crawlsome Thing in her wake - an undersized Chow, very undersized, almost lacking arm-power to carry his own nasty infant. Angelina envinced no shame at the obvious relationship; she had kept ahead because the blood of meat ran in her veins, and she could not help out-distancing this slant-eyed product of a cabbage- her husband."[150]

This passage was written at a time when Chinese and other Asian immigrants were routinely attacked in parts of the Australian press. Sometimes out of fear of armed or cultural invasion but mostly by Labor and trade union supporters afraid of cheaply paid Asian labourers undercutting European originated Australian workers' pay.

150 Dorrington, Alfred, Quilp, Castro's last sacrament and other stories, Sydney, The Bulletin, 1900, pp. 335-347

Vegetarians, on the other hand, blessed the arrival of Chinese immigrants because they brought with them the knowledge and ability to create successful market gardens, which could produce fresh vegetables of a range, quality and price not previously available to city dwellers in Australia. As the *Illustrated Sydney News* in a three page attack on Chinese immigration pointed out.



THE VEGETARIAN'S FRIEND.

151

151 Illustrated Sydney News, 26 April 1888, p.5.

The Theosophists, with their religiously based antipathy to racism and love of all things perceived as Eastern, were particularly vocal in their defence of Chinese immigrants. The Chinese market gardeners proved so successful at producing fresh produce that it is estimated that between 30 and 40 percent of all Chinese in Australia were employed in this single industry in 1900.

Because the Chinese became noted for their cabbages, they also became pejoratively known for their supposed 'cabbage diet', a term which was already in use as a synonym for vegetarianism by the *Bulletin* and other earlier Australian journals. The Chinese diet of rice and vegetables was considered inferior, as were the Chinese people themselves. However, the vast majority of Chinese immigrants were unlikely to have been vegetarian but simply incorporated more vegetable and grain foods in their diet than did the typical Australian of the day.

With the rise of Japan as a military force after 1900 the fear of invasion by the Chinese was slowly replaced by that of the Japanese. With the threat considered an actual possibility after the Japanese defeated Russia in 1905 and began creating its overseas empire. In the early 1930s, some Australian commentators conversely were quick to dismiss the Japanese as weak due to their diet which was considered as lacking enough meat. One ridiculous theory published in the Brisbane *Courier Mail* even posited that the Japanese air force was no military threat as its pilots all suffered from vertigo due their vegetarianism.[152]

152 Pilots attacked by vertigo, Courier mail, Brisbane, 26 March 1934, p. 15

Articles on vegetarianism appeared in most publications of an advanced or progressive bent, but generally these only reached a very small and already converted audience. *The Age* newspaper was generally sympathetic to both vegetarians and animal welfare organisations and the radical Sydney paper, *The Champion* (1895-97), treated vegetarianism favourably, publishing articles promoting 'pure foods' (i.e. non-flesh diets). However, most popular Australian journals wrote little on the subject except to satirise vegetarians as harmless cranks. Typical of these were the *Australian Journal* (1865-1962) and *The Australian Town and Country Journal* (1870-1919) which published stories with titles such as (respectively) *Satisfying Religious Scruples* (1892) and *The Fads of David Dadd* (1905). In both stories, a man takes up vegetarianism only to become enfeebled and miserable before coming to his senses and returning to eating meat again.

Unfortunately, it was the most prominent and influential Australian journal, *The Bulletin*, that took an especial interest in vegetarianism publishing numerous satirical poems and short stories on the subject, as well as much editorial invective. All of it negative to the diet.

For example, the *Bulletin* on hearing of the foundation of the NSW Vegetarian Society had this to say:

A vegetarian Society has sprouted in Sydney, to the great joy, no doubt, of the Chinese gardeners. Vegetarians generally are quasi-hygienics-cum-religiosos, though I suspect most of the women who swear to conform to the cabbage menu are actuated by a tender yearning after a boiled-pork pallor and alabaster hands rather than a rude and glowing health. From a birds-eye view of the subject a grass diet is not more hygienic than meat three times per day, judging by visible results.

The typical vegetarian is a damp, flabby, pasty faced personage who neither smokes nor drinks wine, and fanatically adheres to a whole lot of laws. Because he hasn't the digestive vigour necessary to assimilate a chop, he holds that chop up to public contempt; and because he hasn't enough physical "go" left in him to stick his chest out and walk off the consequences of a pound of beefsteak, he considers beefsteak as another name for the graveyard.[153]

One of the many short stories to appear within the *Bulletin* concerning vegetarians was *Vegetarian Vera* by Frank Henty. It tells of tea taken by two young people on a first date - she is a vegetarian, he is not. The vegetarian restaurant that she takes him to is ridiculed for having 'no tea' so that the man is forced to have 'Nut broth' instead which is served with 'Hunky husks' and 'Gluten sticks'. The unfortunate meal - and relationship - ends with him losing his false teeth in the gluten stick! The inevitable moral being:
"*It is one thing to pursue a beautiful maiden for herself alone, and quite another to land oneself in a life wherein love and green-stuffs are inextricably linked.*"[154]

This story typifies the *Bulletin*'s view of vegetarianism. It is shown as a womanly conceit, with women forcing an unnatural diet on their men folk (to their manifest detriment) as well as bringing strange, tasteless and inedible types of food to the table which threaten the traditional Australian manly fare of meat - and more meat.
A poem from the *Bulletin* of 1913 called *Cheap livers and death dodgers*, relates a conversation recounted by a man to his mates in a pub. The man tells them about what occurred between himself and a male vegetarian advocate. It ends with this supposedly humorous dénouement:
I thought of it

and with a beefsteak raw

153 The Bulletin, vol. 11 no. 604, 12 Sept. 1891, p. 8

154 Henty, Frank, Vegetarian Vera, in The Bulletin, vol. 30 no. 1511, 28 Jan. 1909, p. 40

I gave him one tremendous hit

beneath his cheeselike jaw.[155]

Here the *Bulletin* displays male vegetarians as being physically weak and unmanly. The vegetarian advocate in the poem is painted as effeminate in demeanour and attitude and weak in body - so much so that he is easily defeated in violent conflict. The poem is typical of the many stories and poems published by the *Bulletin* promulgating the notion that vegetarians and vegetarianism were feminine, faddish and unhealthy, and the domain of the crank. The *Bulletin* was also notoriously opposed to so-called respectability, especially in the guise of religion and the temperance movement. Its invective was also aimed at wowsers in particular, or to what it also termed, 'gimletism' or to 'Mrs Grundys' in their various guises. It viewed such respectability as:

"a cheap, dull, seedy mediocre affair like a middle sized whited sepulchre, and that it settles down like a stupendous hunk of mud on the public chest to stifle its soul."[156]

Linking vegetarians with the religious and temperate was accurate as many Australian vegetarians had become that way as part of their faith or as converts to the temperance movement.

155 Kodak (Ernest O'Ferrall), Cheap Livers and Death Dodgers, in The Bulletin, vol. 34 no. 1738, 5 June 1913, p. 5.

156 The Bulletin, vol.17 no. 848, May 16 1896.

With support of vegetarianism coming from so many diverse individuals and organisations one wonders why the *Bulletin* continued to attack the diet and its exponents so trenchantly. Looking at its wider concerns, it seems that there may be three main reasons. Firstly, the *Bulletin* was a satirical journal and, as such, needed foils for its jokes. Vegetarians were an easy target for satire as were other similar marginalised groups such as spiritualists, natural health advocates and (non-white) immigrants. However, more establishment figures such as clerics and politicians were also often the butt of the *Bulletin's* jokes, cartoons and comic poetry. A second reason was probably economic in that Australia was a country then dependent on its sales of wool and as the saying when literally 'living off the sheep's back' and it was also increasingly developing its cattle meat exports. Many of the *Bulletin's* readers were involved or employed in the animal industries to whom the promotion of vegetarianism would seem like economic suicide. Which would explain why, even when not actively attacking vegetarianism, the *Bulletin* still published many articles, as well as well over 100 poems and short stories exhorting meat consumption and promoting the meat industry. This is evident even as late as 1945 in poems such as the following:

"Come, then. Let us have mutton while we're able. Better to be a Cow than a vegetable".[157]

157 Nathan, T. W, Dietetics, in, The Bulletin, vol. 66 no. 3412, 4 July 1945, p. 26

The main reason, however, that the *Bulletin* attacked vegetarianism so vehemently was because it did not fit in with the myth that it was trying to create for Australia. The *Bulletin* saw itself as a prime player in the promotion of a new white nationalism in a new country. From its inception it promoted republicanism and separation from Britain. As part of weaning off British and European influences and identity it sought a new national Australian culture and ethos. With its large readership and social and political influence the *Bulletin* was, in many ways, responsible for planting the idea of the supremacy of the bush in the nation's psyche, fostering writers such as A. B. 'Banjo' Patterson and becoming known as the 'Bushman's bible.' It promoted the bush lifestyle as being authentically Australian, as opposed to city life that it saw as being divorced from raw nature, leading to dilettantism and weakness. This view is shown in the lines from Patterson's poem *Clancy of the Overflow:*

And in place of lowing cattle I can hear the fiendish rattle

Of the tramways and the buses making hurry down the street;

And the language uninviting of the gutter children fighting

Comes fitfully and faintly through the ceaseless tramp of feet.

And the hurrying people daunt me, and their pallid faces haunt me

As they shoulder one another in their rush and nervous haste,

With their eager eyes and greedy, and their stunted forms and weedy;

For townsfolk have no time to grow, they have no time for to waste.[158]

158 Patterson, A.B., Clancy of the Overflow, in, The Bulletin, vol. 10, no.514, 21 Dec. 1889, p.17

This distaste for city life resonated with many of the *Bulletin's* readers even though the poem and the paper were mainly read in the populous cities. Irrespective of the occupation or locale of the reader, the shearer, the swagman, the bullock driver and the larrikin were the characters that Australians identified with when they read the *Bulletin's* short stories and poems. Both the *Bulletin* and the authors it published saw in the bush and its ethos a new type of independent and rugged people that was purely Australian, and divorced from any effeminate and intellectual influence. It was this distinctive Australia it wanted to promote.

The fact that Australia was economically and culturally based on animal exploitation was not questioned. The country versus city divide was fostered then as it is today by animal industry advocates who claim that city folk do not understand about animals and are therefore unrealistically 'overly sensitive' to their suffering.

In November 1894, the *Bulletin* published its manifesto which stated that it wanted an Australia free of all ties to European nations, the monarchy and to the established church.

It wanted the real Australian to be able to freely swear, gamble, drink and eat meat without any moralising interference. Australia should be full of rationalist, red-blooded republican, masculine larrikins. By contrast, vegetarians were seen as being weak city-dwellers wholly given over to European vices and fads, or wowsers bowing constantly to temporal and spiritual authority – or worse foreigners. In short, anyone who was most defiantly un-Australian.

A. G. Stephens, who edited and wrote the *Bulletin's* 'Red Page' of literary criticism (1896-1906) and was a strong promoter of the bush ideal, even wrote that vegetarians could not write as well as meat eaters!

"... literature rests upon a beefsteak basis, and no poetry ever came out of a pump. For energetic intellectual achievement you must have a brain swollen with rich blood, and you can't make rich blood out of pap and cabbages. The upholders of the Cabbage theory of existence invariably argue to Duration, and point out how nice it is to be a noodle and live to ninety. But the need of literature is Intensity - we want thrilling lines, not

dull volumes. Or they argue to Size, and point out what fine large animals are the elephant, and the horse, and the cow - who live on grain and grass and clothes-line. They are large - and so tame! Unluckily for the Cabbage-men, we want wildness, not tameness in literature- the lion's roar, the tiger's spring, not the bleat and waddle of the sheep."[159]

Although not a vegetarian himself, Henry Lawson satirised the promotion of the masculine bush stereotype in his poem, Australian Bards and Bush Reviewer.

While you use your best endeavour to immortalise in verse

The gambling and the drink which are your country's greatest curse,

While you glorify the bully and take the spieler's part -

You're a clever southern writer, scarce inferior to Bret Harte

*****

But if you should find the Bushmen - spite of all the poets say -

Are just common brother-sinners, and you're quite as good as they -

You're a drunkard, and a liar, and a cynic, and a sneak,

You're grammar's simply awful and your intellect is weak.[160]

159 The Bulletin, Vol. 17, no. 896, Oct. 10 1896, Red Page

160 Lawson, Henry, Australian Bards and Bush Reviewers, from, In the Days When the World Was Wide, Sydney, Angus & Robertson, 1900, p.228-229

Interestingly, while it was busily defending the meat industry by labelling vegetarians as dangerous cranks, the *Bulletin* was also full of advertisements for what we would now consider crankish medicines such as 'cure all' herbal remedies and a large of health promoting vegetable supplements. One advertisement, which ran for a while during the 1880s, was for a product called 'Flesh Food'. These miracle pills (containing unidentified substances) were designed to aid the growth of larger breasts so that the women who took them could find a mate among the masculine readers of the *Bulletin*.

It is impossible to fully assess or quantify what effect the *Bulletin* - and other publications, which adopted an anti-vegetarian stance - had on restricting the growth of Australian vegetarianism. Even though vegetarianism has often been ridiculed at some time or another in most Western nations, it has nonetheless continued to grow. In Australia, however, *per capita* meat intake still remains among the highest in the world while the national self-image still looks to the bush - and the animal industries it supports - as true exemplars of Australian culture.

Conclusion

One of the reasons for the growth in vegetarianism, and why it took off in Melbourne and the rest of Victoria in the late 1880s, can be traced back to the Gold Rushes of the 1850s. The same people who were prepared to travel across the world seeking fortunes in foreign lands, where also the adventurous type who were prepared to try new diets, religions and lifestyles. This tendency has been noted in the make-up of San Francisco society which was also partially built by Gold Rushers, and remains a radical and libertarian city. Even those who came to Melbourne after the Gold Rushes had diminished, where still presumably those looking for the space to create a new life outside of the settled social strictures of Europe. Melbourne certainly at least until 1900 was a city adept at catering to alternative lifestyles.

The first wave of vegetarianism in Australia during the 1880s and 1890s and the second between the 1920s and 1950s can be seen as the result of a wider conflict taking place throughout the developed world in response to the sweeping changes of modernism. Many prominent Australian vegetarians were in revolt against the urbanised, mechanised, atheistic society that was being created across the world. As modernists celebrated the rise of the machine age they sought to celebrate every natural function in a glorification of the corporeal. Modern medicine was rejected as many vegetarians sought instead the use of traditional herbal remedies and homoeopathy. Some campaigned vociferously against new treatments such as vaccination, a medical procedure that some are still opposed to today. In religion they promoted a return to a fundamental and temperate spiritualism, whether Christian or Eastern, that rejected materialism and the growth in secularism.

The perceived loss of spirituality and in materialism, individuality and vice was seen as a direct result of urban living. It was this view that spurred men like David Andrade, Mr Lacey, the Clauxs, the Roberts' and William Terry to seek to form agrarian communes or bush health camps, or like John Newton Wood to move to temperance planned colonies. In these communities, they believed that people could live in greater sympathy with nature.
Vegetarianism and raw food diets were supported as part of this general worldview because they were simpler and purer and perhaps because they challenged the animal industries that had turned fellow creatures into commodities.

Much of this brief history of Australian vegetarianism has relied on available historical and published records and has only attempted to show a basic history of the complex subject of the diet in Australia. Many of the vegetarians mentioned came to prominence through their works or through their connection with other organisations or religions. Many, such as Chidley, had individual philosophies concerning vegetarianism. Yet others, such as Ellen White, had religious motivations of which vegetarianism played just a part. These were atypical vegetarians. The vast majority of Australian vegetarians carried on their lives without publicity, the only difference between them and their neighbours being their diet. We cannot know for sure how many there were, all we can say is that the ongoing sales of vegetarian recipe books, the growth in vegetarian food products and health food stores testify that they existed in every period of Australia's past.
As is the case now, only a small fraction of the hundreds of thousands of Australian vegans and vegetarians are active members of animal welfare or vegetarian organisations. With so many different root causes for people taking up the diet it is not surprising that a cohesive movement has been difficult to sustain. In the past, that vegetarianism was rarely promoted for the single purpose of saving animals lives - rather than for a myriad of other reasons - may have been responsible for diluting the message and the consequent loss of potential converts.

Claims by health advocates that eating meat brought about dread diseases such as tuberculosis and cancers (though this was often the case), or the temperance and religious view that it caused spiritual atrophy and social delinquency, never really seemed to coalesce with the public's perception.

But not all historical vegetarians or vegans were motivated by nature cures, temperance or religion. Many were intemperate, urbanised and rationalist - very much the precursors of the majority of modern day advocates.

These were the vegetarians and vegans who worked for the welfare and liberation of animals. Many of them doing so at great personal cost – a cost not only to their personal and professional lives but to their health and wellbeing.

As Christine Townend has stated '*The sadness of learning the truth about animal suffering and human cruelty is sometimes overwhelming*.'[161]

But as this history has hopefully shown there were people who were always prepared to witness the horror of the animal industries and to speak out at public meetings, write letters of protest and combine to found organisations – and often to be derided for doing so. In a country where the economy was being built on cruelty, and the culture built on mutton and the meat pie, vegetarians in their brave opposition were at best wowsers and at worst traitors.

In the years after 1948 when the current Vegetarian Society was founded, vegetarianism and veganism has nevertheless slowly made some headway in Australia with many more notable Australians giving the diets some exposure.

The Society and its state branches up until the 1970s had several periods of prolonged inactivity, and there was even a period when the only Vegetarian Society journal was produced by a few dedicated activists in South Australia.

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161 Christine Townend, The beginnings of Animal Liberation, 2011, Online: http://nla.gov.au/nla.arc-65447-20111207-0005-animal-lib.org.au/news-events/latest-news/297-the-beginnings-of-animal-liberation.pdf

On the international stage as well Australia was not active within the International Vegetarian Union until 1963, but since then there have been delegates at most Congresses.

The past failure of vegetarian societies to grow and spread may have been more a result of the beliefs and actions of the Societies' members and leadership than of an unthinking meat-loving society since many were also involved in other anti-social 'crankish' pursuits. The Theosophists for example, greatly supported vegetarianism, but they were part of a somewhat esoteric religious organisation. A typical response to vegetarians comes from a Sydney author writing in 1905, who stated:

"Vegetarians make me feel unhappy. Besides that they have nearly always got some other craze. They are Trinitarians, or Milleniarists, or Atheists, or Baptists, or Dentists, or something peculiar".[162]

The health food and natural medicine exponents, although promoting a vegetarian diet, often did not use the word vegetarian in their publications for fear of being detrimentally associated with the movement. Conversely, however the health food community, raw foodists, anti-vaccinationists, naturopaths, and nature curists who did promote the diet, may also have unwittingly limited the growth of the vegetarian movement.

One of the major factors keeping the numbers of vegetarians low in Australia was its immigration policies. All of the first self governing colonial governments within Australia sought to restrict immigration so as to maintain a predominantly white European population.

But being members of the British Empire required the free flow of peoples from all the other colonised countries – which led to the possibility of Asian and African immigration to Australia.

162 Gossip (Robert McMillan), No breakfast, or, The secret of life, Sydney, William Brooks & Co., 1905, p.13

This threat of Empire migration caused the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia whose first implemented law was the *Immigration Restriction Act 1901* which further restricted the already very small flow of non-whites to Australia. It is interesting to consider how the traditional Australian meat based diet could have been replaced earlier had Australia welcomed people from other lands and in particular from countries such as India which had a significant vegetarian heritage.

While there were many factors, which may have prevented vegetarianism taking hold, it should not be ignored that there was also a great deal of misinformation, propaganda and adverse advertising directed against the diet. The cattle barons, stockmen, pastoralists, graziers, animal transporters, abattoir owners and their workers and in turn their unions, as well as the neighbourhood butchers all had a vested interest in slaughter and so were prepared to use their political and economic clout to affect government policy and also to fund pro-meat publicity campaigns. The political make-up of Australia which gives undue prominence to relatively small constituencies of people in rural areas (and thus minority political parties such as the Country and National Parties) also has long protected the uneconomic, unprincipled and environmentally devastating animal industries. All British colonial administrations, and later Australian federal and state governments, have since Australia's colonisation directly or indirectly subsidised and promoted the meat and dairy industries using vast sums of taxpayer's money, a policy which continues unabated to this day.

The meat industry since the late 1960s has broadly understood the threat that a change in diet could encompass, having learnt the lesson of the downturn in the wool industry caused by the introduction of synthetic fibres. Thus it was not about to let vegetarianism progress without a fight. Under pressure from the meat industry parliamentarians in rural seats sought ways to fight back.

In the early 1970s, as part of the major social changes taking place in society, vegetarianism was perceived as a renewed threat, especially as multinational food and chemical companies were showing what turned out to be a short lived interest in the production of synthetic meats. The Liberal Member for Herbert, Robert Bonnett was so concerned he raised this as an issue in Parliament:

"*The Australian meat industry is widely known and respectfully accepted throughout the other trading nations of the world, and it is one of the largest export income earners that we have in Australia. Apart from this, and more importantly, it maintains hundreds of thousands of our people in constant employment. Therefore I have no wish to see an imitation product quietly creep into our meat markets and force us to accept a lower distribution of our meats on the domestic and world markets. "*

… I do not think it would be difficult to educate the public to the advantages of eating meat, especially if they were informed that the meat proteins were of the highest quality, that meat contains all the minerals needed by the body and that it is particularly rich in iron and phosphorus. It is a natural food and improves the value to the body of other foods. Because it is a natural food people would prefer to eat meat that is free from preservatives or chemicals. Because of the world famine in protein substances manufacturers of the synthetic article could use this known fact to increase their production and make a determined onslaught on markets in the countries that depend on imported products to maintain the protein requirement of their people.

The manufacturers of this imitation product have no seasonal problems to concern them such as we experience with our general meat industry. This could lead to their being able to produce a continuous and cheaper product which would be acceptable to the people and it is something which must be countered." [163]

163 Cth. Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives. 26 April 1972

Speaking also in support of the meat industry the Opposition Labor Member for Riverina Al Grassby, added:

"*The urgency of action in Australia on imitation meat is indicated by the fact that, on present forecasts, by 1980 one million Australians, 20 million North Americans, 20 million Japanese and 5 million Britishers will be eating ersatz meat products. At present promotions of imitation meat are being launched even in the country areas of New South Wales. Only 2 days ago I received a protest from the city of Albury pointing out that the virtues of imitation, ersatz or plastic meat - whatever term one likes to use - were to be extolled at a public demonstration. By its lack of action the Government has suggested that this matter is not urgent and important.*

...

I drew attention to this matter and 1 pointed out that the Australian meat pie was under attack, that the canned meat product on our market was already under attack and that the attack on the fresh meat market was just beginning. In Australia today there is already on sale synthetic meat in the form of sausages, hamburgers, meat loaf and poultry, mostly in the canned form. "

In response to the spectre of rampant vegetarianism, Australian industry and government have over many years channelled billions of dollars into sustaining and promoting meat and dairy consumption by consumers - both in Australia and overseas in Asia (especially in China, South Korea and Japan).

This support has included introducing tariffs, funding infrastructure and transportation, direct grants, tax incentives and concessions, loans and guarantees as well as research and advertising.

It also led to the creation and funding over the years an array of bodies to do this work.

Including, to name just a few, the Australian Meat Board, Australian Meat Council, Dairy Australia, Meat and Livestock Commission, Meat & Livestock Australia, the Australian Meat Industry Council, the Meat Research Corporation, various Meat Advisory Boards, Meat Industry Authorities, Beef Associations, the Australian Lamb, Sheepmeat, and Cattle Councils, the Red Meat Advisory Council, the Australian Livestock Exporters' Council, the Meat Research Committee, Australian Pork, LiveCorp, Rural Research & Development Corporations, and the various Cooperative Research Centres for Beef, Pork, Cattle, etc.

Whilst other government bodies such as the Australian Bureau of Agricultural and Resource Economics and Sciences and the CSIRO have become so compromised by their involvement in the animal industries that they are seen by many non-meat eaters as little more than scientific touts for the meat and dairy industry. This view was given particular emphasis by the production of the CSIRO wellbeing diet books (2005, 2010, 2013, 2015), which contrary to most advanced thought, promoted the frequent eating of meat for health. Whilst this book was both laughable and abhorrent to vegans, it was still unfortunately a best-seller in Australia.

In 1942, the Commonwealth Government's Advisory Council on Nutrition advised that Australians have a meatless day once a week, but this advice was a singularly rare exception – and was concerned more with rationing than with health. In more recent years there have been public awareness campaigns to attempt to increase the intake of fruits and vegetables by the general population (such as advising consuming 5 vegetable and 2 fruit serves a day). These attempts have, on the whole, not been terribly effective, particularly when balanced against the saturation television advertising produced by the various meat lobbies.

The Australians continue to have a poor diet and Australian dieticians, public health officials and the medical community rather than educating the public about the benefits of a healthy vegan diet have tacitly accepted and supported Australians to become world leaders in dairy and meat eating obesity.

Governments and their animal welfare officials have also long looked aside as the most glaring animal abuses have been perpetrated. Australia may have been an early adopter of animal welfare laws for the protection of companion animals and working animals such as horses, cats and dogs, but this legislation has done very little for those animals raised for meat or dairy production, and so the tortuous lives and deaths of these animals continues unabated. Native animals, such as kangaroos, are also subject to needless culling and feral animals, those animals imported to Australia which have now become unwanted or too successful, are almost completely unprotected.

Hope for the future

For those who adopt the diet on health grounds, a better understanding of nutrition and the now scientifically verified health risks involved in eating meat (notwithstanding the added hormones, steroids and antibiotics), means that the number of vegetarians and vegans seem set to continue to rise.

Given this growth in interest in a healthy diet and consequently vegetarianism and veganism, all Australian capital cities now have a good number of health food or speciality vegan stores, and there are others more spread across the nation. Australian supermarkets chains also all now stock a wide range of vegetarian and vegan foods. The government agency, Food Standards Australia New Zealand - responsible for food labelling – for years despite requests consistently refused to permit vegetarian/vegan dietary advice food labelling. However after the German supermarket chain Aldi started the process other supermarkets began to follow suit. It is therefore unlikely that there is a single town in Australia without an option to buy food alternatives to animal parts.

The growth of information resources available through the Internet has seen a rapid expansion of vegan and vegetarian communications. It has also allowed for the rapid internationalisation of campaigning – particularly in the case of successful mass organisations such as the US-based PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) which in the 2000s brought a new dynamism and strength to animal rights and welfare issues as well as veganism. Mulesing – the practice of cutting sections of sheep's behinds without anaesthetic to prevent fly strike - has been an issue with Australian animal groups for many years, yet it took PETA only a short time to galvanise support and international boycotts to force farm groups to find (or pretend to find) alternatives.

In the past young people had few role models who were vegetarian or vegan, and those few available were often not exactly on trend. Today there are numerous musicians, actors and media personalities that are relatable and worth emulating. The diet within a relatively short time, has gone from being perceived as a crankish fad, to being an accepted and 'normal' practice. The number of vegetarians and vegans continues to rise. In the 1995 National Nutrition Survey, about 4% of all respondents described themselves as vegetarian or vegan (but with only 2% reporting as consuming no animal products).[164]

A survey conducted in 2016 suggested that number of Australian adults whose diet is all or almost all vegetarian has risen to almost 2.1 million or 11.2% of the population.[165] What is hidden in this figure of continued growth in the number of people who eat less or no meat is that vegetarianism itself is also declining while it is the broader philosophy of veganism that is experiencing booming growth.

164 Australian Bureau of Statistics. National Nutrition Survey: Foods eaten, Australia 1995. Canberra: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1999.

165 Roy Morgan Research, Finding No. 6923, August 15 2016.

The rise of veganism is the story of the 21st century. From its small 'radical' status from the 1940s to the 1990s it has in the 2000s become a mainstream philosophy and vegan lifestyles and food options have become broadly known and available. Being vegan is no longer about abstaining from 'normal' foods, but about partaking in the vast range of vegan foods.

However, given the threat of Anthropogenic Climate Change the extent of adoption of veganism is still too slow and meat eating continues at unsustainable rates (and is even growing in some parts of the world). It is known and incontrovertible that to reduce the human impact on the environment, the easiest and most efficient way is for people to cease eating other animals. The meat industry is an incredibly wasteful system that devastates land, pollutes the rivers, seas and the air and consumes vast quantities of plant food, water and energy. Reducing greenhouse gas emissions from energy use and transportation will not be enough to curb climate change – to effect real change veganism is required.
With all the present awareness of the benefits of a cruelty free diet and the examples of the many Australian vegans and vegetarians who have promoted it over the last 200 years. Most Australians have still been content to sit eating a seemingly never-ending meat pie. Now, when all animal life on Earth is being threatened by extinction, rather than relying on individuals to make an ethical and life sustaining choice it is surely time for compulsion to bring to an end the eating of other animals.