Mrs Cowan's clock: the location of the Edith Cowan memorial

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MRS COWAN'S CLOCK

The Location of the Edith Cowan Memorial

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EDITH COWAN UNIVERSITY
CHURCHLANDS, WESTERN AUSTRALIA
Mrs Cowan’s Clock
The Location of the Edith Cowan Memorial

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When the septuagenarian Mrs Edith Dircksey Cowan (nee Brown) OBE, J P died on 9 June 1932 few denied, at least overtly, that she deserved an appropriate memorial. Edith Cowan is remembered today as the first woman to be elected to an Australian Parliament as the Member for West Perth in the Western Australian Legislative Assembly for three years from 12 March 1921 until defeated in the 1924 election. Indeed, as subsequently pointed out she was the first British born woman to be elected to a British Parliament, because her only pre-emptress Lady Nancy Astor, elected to the United Kingdom House of Commons in 1919, was born in Virginia, USA.

However, at the time Edith Cowan was equally, if not better, known for her long, persistent and fearless involvement in almost every movement, some of which she helped found, for the advancement of women, their interests and those of children. During the Great War 1914-18 she had been active in the Red Cross and other wartime charities and organizations, recognized by her appointment as an OBE in 1920. Despite her progressive and innovative views she operated often within the conservative framework of the Nationalist Party, the Anglican Church and the less radical sections of the feminist movement. She was the pioneer woman member of the Anglican Provincial Synod of Western Australia and of the Perth Hospital Board (1).
PRELIMINARY PROPOSALS

Representatives of a wide range of civic as well as women’s organizations gathered in the evening of 22 September 1932 (2) at a public meeting chaired by the Lord Mayor James Thomas Franklin MLC to discuss an Edith Cowan Memorial. Mr John Nicholson MLC moved (J Beadle seconded) that an Edith Cowan ward equipped to administer “twilight sleep” be built at the King Edward Memorial Hospital for Women. On the contrary Mrs E A Le Souef moved that in view of Edith Cowan’s State and nationwide activities her memorial should be permanent, preferably a monument in Kings Park, where other great Australian pioneers were honoured, rather than something of use to relatively few and commemorating only one of her many interests. Seconding this motion Col N Brazier added that it should be a memorial that will live for ever in a position which may be seen by overseas visitors, Kings Park - the honour board for the great people of Western Australia.

Various alternative suggestions for her memorial were a model baby health centre, an honour drive in Kings Park or pathway in the grounds of Parliament House. Mrs C P Rutherford moved the formation of a committee remarking that 25 pounds had already been received. Seconding this Mr John Curtin, whose career in Federal Parliament was interrupted at the time, said he hoped there would be no controversy over the form of the memorial. The Lord Mayor and Mrs F A Pratt (President of the National Council of Women of Western Australia) were elected jointly to the chair.

It was unanimously decided at a meeting chaired by Mrs Pratt on 30 September that a permanent and personal memorial to Edith Cowan should be erected in Kings Park. A meeting of the committee on 21 October reported progress, including despatch of circulars to 148 local
councils and road boards seeking support in the appeal for funds. Meanwhile, alternatives such as “a site in the heart of the city”, eg, in front of the Central Railway Station or at the foot of Barrack Street, instead of in Kings Park “where there were enough memorials already”, or a life size portrait in oils to be placed in the Art Gallery, appeared in the press.

The minutes of Kings Park Board (3) record a meeting on 20 October 1932 chaired by the President Sir William Lathlain with the following members, Messrs P Collier MLA, Justice J P Dwyer, S L Kessell, R O Law, J Nicholson MLC and W A Saw. The Lord Mayor, who was an ex-officio Board member, and Mr G T T Poole, the only survivor of the first Board in 1896, were not present at this meeting. The record reads “The Committee of the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund, wrote asking for approval to erect a Memorial in the Park, and suggested an archway at the entrance Gates. Resolved that the Committee be advised that this Board do not approve of the proposal”.

The executive committee of the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund met on 5 November and a letter from Kings Park Board was read objecting to the erection of other than national memorials in Kings Park. At a general meeting on 18 November Mrs Mary Farrelly, who less than three months earlier had criticized excisions from Kings Park for Mounts Bay Road etc, protested at the Board’s refusal to accommodate Edith Cowan’s monument, especially the argument that Kings Park was for national memorials only. She pointed out that Mrs Cowan was an Empire builder as the first woman born in the Empire to be elected to a Parliament in the Empire. At both these meetings in November 1932 views were expressed opposing a personal memorial and preferring something utilitarian in nature. The Lord Mayor referred to earlier confirmed resolutions deciding in favour of a permanent monument. Mr Nicholson said they should first raise funds, those who did not support a monument should nevertheless support a memorial.
A program of widening the roads on the northern and western boundaries of Kings Park was begun in the late 1920s and carried out in the early 1930s. This involved the creation of a circus at the main entrance to Kings Park after dismantling the fence, gates and lodge and re-erecting them further back in the park. The Kings Park Road Circus so formed had a road surface, exclusive of footpaths, about 53m in diameter, Kings Park Road, a roadway 38m wide, led into it from the west and Malcolm Street, a roadway 30m wide, from the east. An aerial photograph published in the West Australian on 3 March 1934 showed the whole expanse of circus and roads to be devoid of road markings let alone median strips or traffic islands.

As early as July 1927 the Perth City Council had published a plan of the proposed circus with a raised paved safety zone or traffic island and pedestrian refuge in its centre when completed. The Council minutes (4) for 5 December 1932 refer to correspondence with the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee requesting permission to erect the monument on the safety zone, if the latter was installed by the Council. This was agreed by the Council on 19 December provided the Committee submitted a design to the satisfaction of the Council. The cost of the safety zone was estimated not to exceed 139 pounds.

On 16 February 1933 a meeting of the general committee of the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund in the Perth Town Hall unanimously approved the design of a clock tower selected by the executive committee. The sketch published in the West Australian next day differs little from the monument as finally constructed and as it appears today. The clock tower was to be built of Donnybrook stone and bear a bust or plaque of Edith Cowan. For the latter the Lord Mayor, in the chair, preferred bronze to marble, because the risk of vandalism would be less. The site would be the safety zone which the Council had already decided to install in the centre of Kings Park Road Circus near Parliament.
House and Mrs Cowan's Malcolm Street home with a (then) good view of the city. The Council would pay for the safety zone leaving the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund to raise 460 pounds for the memorial clock tower.

The Royal Institute of Architects of Western Australia (5) meeting on 27 February minuted that the site chosen for the Edith Cowan Memorial was the best site in Perth for a memorial of national significance and should be retained for that purpose, and that the design itself was ill conceived and lacking the dignity of a memorial. A letter of protest was to be sent to the Perth City Council and copied to the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund Committee. The letter from the Institute’s secretary Mr R Summerhayes expressing these opinions and that a design of more suitable character and pleasing proportions could be obtained by the employment, through competition or otherwise, of a practising architect, was also copied to Kings Park Board and to the Town Planning Institute and was published in the West Australian of 13 March 1933. The council of the Town Planning Institute supported the views of the Royal Institute of Architects, and Mr H J Prockter wrote to the West Australian (16 March) in the same vein and complained of the haphazard way the Perth City Council dealt with such matters.

Kings Park Board met on 16 March, but only Sir William Lathlain, Messrs R O Law and W·A Saw were present. They “expressed their disapproval of the proposal to use this site for other than a great national memorial”. A brief report to this effect appeared in the press next day, adding that the matter was deferred to another meeting when more members might be present.

Other correspondents had different views (24 March). Mrs C E V Shenton asked why should the professional institutes think Kings Park Road Circus was too good for the Edith Cowan Memorial, she was the first woman Member of Parliament, let the Institutes prepare a better
design and send a donation. Ethel Kenny asked why begrudge this site outside the gates of Kings Park sacred to all West Australians. Mary Farrelly wrote no site was too good for the first British born woman MP in the world, if men did not hold the purse strings the fund would total thousands of pounds, not just hundreds.

In general the Sunday Times did not devote much space to the subject, however, on 26 March it opined that while perpetuating the memory of Mrs Cowan was laudable, it did not agree with obstruction of Kings Park Road Circus. It went on to blame an unidentified limelight seeking clique for the controversy as would be revealed when cables between Perth and London were published.

The West Australian of 30 March carried an attack from a different direction, a copy of a letter from the Town Planning Commissioner Mr D L Davidson to the Perth City Council. After criticizing the Council for lack of consultation, he argued that the traffic island safety zone, and hence the monument on it, would be badly sited. It would create unnecessary hazards for motor traffic and dangers for pedestrians by tempting them to cross the centre of the wide circus instead of going round the circumference crossing each road separately, (although at that time there were no medians to make that a more practicable proposition). If the Council persisted with this proposal, the Commissioner would be compelled in the public interest to seek an injunction in the Supreme Court to restrain the Council from executing this construction.

Mr Davidson continued that Edith Cowan was a personal friend of his held in high regard. He recommended an alternative site, namely the corner of Bellevue Terrace (strictly Cliff Street) and the Kings Park Road Circus between the Kings Park fence and the street footpath, which was illustrated in an accompanying photograph. This was well
located near Parliament and her home, but avoided the dangers of the site proposed by the Council (it was also close to, or even partly in, Kings Park).

On the same day, letters appeared from Mr Prockter proposing “The Edith Cowan Save The Children Fund” to raise money for the Children’s Hospital, and from “Contributor” suggesting a recess from various other activities in order to raise money for the Memorial Fund.

The Daily News did not usually give much attention to this matter, but on 1 April carried a reply by the Lord Mayor to such remarks of the Town Planning Commissioner as that the proposed memorial would be “jeopardizing safety of the living to honour the dead”. Eros in Piccadilly Circus, London, and the Arc de Triomphe in Paris were cited as examples of effective traffic islands. There was a need for a safety zone in Kings Park Road Circus. Western Australia could not pay too great a tribute to the first British woman elected to a British Parliament.

On 4 April Cr Harold Boas and the City Engineer Mr H G Atwell presented a statement on behalf of the Council. The initial objective was to provide a raised central island refuge or safety zone in the Kings Park Road Circus. This achieved, the Council would be glad to accept the offer of the Edith Cowan Memorial Clock Tower for the site.

Kings Park Board met on 20 April. Sir William Lathlain and Messrs J P Dwyer, S L Kessell and W A Saw were present. It was minuted “that as the site selected was outside the Park area, no further action be taken” with respect to the letter of protest about the Edith Cowan Memorial from the Royal Institute of Architects.

The minutes of the Perth City Council for 27 March had noted receipt of letters from the Royal Institute of Architects and the Town Planning
Institute, and on the other hand from the Edith Cowan Memorial Fund Committee. The Council resolved to proceed as already decided. The minutes for 10 April and 29 May record receipt of a letter from the Town Planning Commissioner and a reply to him that the Council had decided to proceed with the safety zone and memorial. The minutes for 10 July refer to awaiting a reply from a Minister on this subject and the preparation by a committee of the Council of a report. The latter was adopted 17 - 6 by the Council on 24 July.

This report dealt largely with how much of the area of the Kings Park Road Circus (3340 sq yds) would be occupied by the 18 ft diameter safety zone (28.3 sq yds or 0.84%). This left 79 ft of roadway, exclusive of footpaths, on either side and that this, which was in accordance with the plan adopted in 1927 on widening the road, could not be considered obstructive. It was claimed that the Town Planning Commissioner had misrepresented the case (although the Council apparently did not answer his objections either). The Minister for Justice had written that an injunction would be sought if the Council attempted to proceed with the works. This was discussed with the Minister for Works, who agreed to refer it to Cabinet again, but the latter would not change the previous decision. On its committee's recommendation the Council advised the Minister that the Council intended to proceed with the works in four weeks.

On 3 August a letter in the West Australian from Isabel C May supported the need for a safety zone at Kings Park Road Circus from personal observations of pedestrians crossing to and from Kings Park on a Sunday afternoon. However, by then the contending parties, the City Council and the Government, had taken positions from which neither was prepared to retreat, because issues such as who had the authority to make decisions in these matters had become involved.
LITIGATION

The West Australian reported on 8 and 10 August how in June the Minister for Justice (Mr J C Willcock) acting for the Minister for Works (Mr A McCallum) had written to the Perth City Council warning that an injunction would be sought if the Council persisted with its proposal. On the Council advising that it intended to proceed, Crown Law was instructed to act. The Crown Solicitor (Mr W H Nairn) arranged for a writ to be issued against the Council.

Meanwhile the Edith Cowan Memorial executive committee approved a design by Mrs Margaret Johnson for a plaque of Mrs Cowan to be cast in bronze. The fund stood at 489 pounds 16s and 7d on 19 August.

On 20 September Mr A Clydesdale MLC, Chairman of the Lotteries Commission, wrote to the West Australian that the litigation might cause some to reconsider the nature of the memorial. The Lotteries Commission would donate 1,000 pounds if the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee would divert its funds from the monument to building much needed nurses' quarters at the King Edward Memorial Hospital.

The next day the West Australian carried an editorial deploring that the Edith Cowan Memorial had become a subject of heated debate. It referred to Mr Clydesdale's letter and suggested a new start be made. However, elsewhere in the same issue, Mrs F A Pratt (joint chairman memorial fund committee) wrote that the memorial should be to Edith Cowan as a person, not to but one of her many works. It would be good if the Lotteries Commission built the nurses' quarters as well. Also in the same issue was printed a letter from the noted town planner Sir John Sulman in answer to the City of Perth Town Clerk Mr W E Bold. Sir John commended safety zones in general terms, but he had reservations about the proposed clock tower especially as he had not
seen the site.
The following day (22 September) the Town Planning Commissioner wrote that Sir John was at the top of his profession, but in writing to him the Council had misrepresented the case, moreover Sir John had cautioned that at a distance he was not aware of all the details.

The Fund stood at 494 pounds, 4s and 5d. On 23 September Mr J D Moloney wrote in support of Mr Clydesdale, Edith Cowan was a humanitarian not given to ostentation, a practical rather than a symbolic monument was appropriate.
SUPREME COURT HEARING

The case was heard in the Supreme Court of Western Australia during four days on 30 November, 1, 5 and 6 December 1933 before Mr Justice J P Dwyer (who was also a member of Kings Park Board) and reported in the press as the Safety Zone Dispute. The plaintiff, the Town Planning Commissioner for the Minister for Justice, was represented by the Crown Solicitor (Mr J L Walker K C) and the Crown Prosecutor (Mr C B Gibson) and the defendant, the Perth City Council, was represented by Messrs F W Leake and J Hale. The plaintiff claimed that the proposed erection of a raised (9 inches high) paved island safety zone (18 feet diameter) in the centre of the Kings Park Road Circus would be an obstruction on the roadway, an excessive, unreasonable and permanent restriction on the use of the road by the public and an unauthorized public nuisance, alternatively it would be an unreasonable, arbitrary and oppressive exercise of the defendant's statutory powers.

Firstly the control of traffic was under the Act a matter for the Commissioner of Police, who had not been consulted. The circus was on the summit of a hill. The proposed island safety zone would be on the natural line taken by most traffic ascending Malcolm Street and proceeding west along the south side of Kings Park Road. At certain times of the year and day motorists would be blinded by the sun and unable to see the obstruction, with which they might collide, or skid or overturn trying to avoid it. A trial with a model of the safety zone and monument on it nearly caused a serious accident due to vehicles passing on the right hand side of the obstruction. Out of more than 280 pedestrians crossing the circus only two went over the site of the proposed safety zone.

Chief Inspector D Hunter, head of the traffic branch, said there had
been no accident to vehicles or pedestrians at the Kings Park Road Circus, no direction lines had been painted on the road surface, because there was insufficient traffic and none had been requested by the Perth City Council. He described the difficulties of vehicles ascending Malcolm Street under full power, drivers would not be able to see the safety zone until on top of it, especially if overtaking buses, heavy wagons (including horse drawn) etc. He agreed the Police did not object or communicate with the Council when the plan published in July 1927 showed a safety zone in the centre of the circus.

Police officers and others gave evidence of motor traffic and pedestrian counts and behaviour at various times at this site. Traffic was counted from 8am to 1pm and 1pm to 5pm on Thursday, Saturday and Friday 3, 5 and 11 August 1933. The overall averages were 133.6 vehicles per hour to the city and 122.9 from the city, or 256.5 both directions combined. Pedestrians crossing to and from the main entrance to Kings Park averaged 9.2 and 7.0 per hour respectively or 16.2 both directions combined. Generally afternoon traffic was heavier than in the mornings and numbers were greatest on the Saturday and least on the Thursday, but there were some interactions in the individual figures. On the Saturday afternoon 12.5 pedestrians per hour crossed in each direction.

Mr D L Davidson, Town Planning Commissioner, reiterated much of the foregoing. He quoted the authoritative text Watson's "Street Traffic Flows" that a small island in a large circus was unsatisfactory, as evident from the trial at this site organized by the Council and a similar installation in William Street. Many examples quoted were irrelevant to this case, for example a Melbourne report referred to safety zones at tram stops. His suggestion of a more suitable alternative site for the Edith Cowan Memorial had been ignored.

Messrs H L Downe (Mayor of Subiaco and President of the Bus Owners
Association), F W Gilmour (Main Roads Engineer), E H Oliver (Alpine Taxi Owners Association), O Zehnder (Secretary Royal Automobile Club), J David and W M Kennedy (Metropolitan Omnibus Company) gave evidence on their own behalf or of their membership opposing the proposed safety zone in Kings Park Road Circus. They said it would be a dangerous obstruction, too many west bound vehicles passed on the north side during the trial, it would be an invitation to jay walkers, etc.

The Town Clerk of the City of Perth, Mr W E Bold, said the Circus was mooted in late 1926 and an island safety zone was in the original plans, but no objections were raised. This site had been considered as the location for the Lord Forrest Memorial and for the State War Memorial. However, it was rejected for each of these for which Kings Park was preferred as more suitable (where they were unveiled in 1927 and 1929 respectively). In 1927 a conduit for an electricity supply was laid to the centre of the Circus so that eventually a lamp standard could be erected on the island. The Circus was practically complete in 1930. The island proposal was revived in 1932 when the south channel of Kings Park Road was completed.

Messrs E Le B Henderson (architect and President of the Town Planning Institute), H Boas (architect and City Councillor), J P Learmonth, O L Vetter and J Winterbottom (Manager of Winterbottom Motors) were in favour of the safety zone because it would divide traffic into channels defining where each should go, setting up a gyratory or divergent traffic system, providing a safety zone for pedestrians and a position from which to light the Circus. Cr Boas said the clock tower would save motorists from glancing away to look at the Observatory Clock (the Observatory was on the north side of the Circus, the Government Botanist moved into this building in January 1934). Mr Vetter said the Circus was an almost skid free surface, the safety zone (without the
clock tower) would be visible to the driver of a car 243 feet away coming up Malcolm Street. Messrs H G Atwell (City Engineer) and E L Baker agreed the Circus was safe for traffic, but its safety for pedestrians would be improved if the safety zone and lighting were installed.

At the end of the hearing Mr Justice Dwyer reserved his decision, which he handed down on 22 December. He refused to grant an injunction to restrain the Council from erecting a safety zone and memorial in the Circus. There was ample wheelway and so far no serious accident at the site. The erection would introduce a certain amount of obstruction, but not enough to justify refusal. The pedestrian traffic was not heavy and the Council might be criticized that the proposal was unnecessary. The court had not been concerned with the suitability of the memorial, if public opinion was against it, the remedy might lie in the hands of the electors and it could be taken down later. He declined to award costs against the plaintiff, because in view of a large section of public opinion being against the proposal the Minister's action had not been unjustified.
CONSTRUCTION AND UNVEILING OF THE MEMORIAL

The Council Minutes for 19 February 1934 refer to receipt of a letter from the Minister for Justice, but not its content. Whether arising directly from this letter or otherwise from the outcome of the Supreme Court case, Cr Boas moved, seconded by Cr A Raphael, that subject to the approval of the Finance Committee, the Council proceed immediately with the erection of the safety zone and memorial. This was amended to allow the Chairmen of the Works and Finance Committees to confer with the Edith Cowan Memorial Committee with power to accept a tender. Mr W S Ogilvy had indicated that he required an increase of 20% on his previous tender owing to rising costs, but this was still the lowest tender. It was recommended that his amended tender of 396 pounds 4 shillings be accepted if he was still prepared to carry out the work for this sum. This was carried 14 - 7.

On 27 February 1934 the Edith Cowan Memorial executive committee, with the Lord Mayor in the chair, unanimously decided to accept the tender of Mr Ogilvy to construct a safety zone and clock tower with granite base in the centre of Kings Park Road Circus for 433 pounds. The Lord Mayor explained that the increase in the tender, which was still the lowest, was due to an increase in the cost of materials since tenders were first called. A further 64 pounds was required for the bronze bust designed by Mrs Margaret Johnson and to be cast locally by W Drabble Ltd. The fund stood at 485 pounds 8s and 11d, the excess was guaranteed.

Works proceeded and eventually were completed. On the second anniversary of her death, 9 June 1934, the Edith Cowan Memorial was unveiled by the Lieutenant Governor Sir James Mitchell, who was introduced by the Lord Mayor Mr J T Franklin. The vote of thanks
was moved by Mrs Pratt, seconded by the Lady Mayoress Mrs Sinclair. Edith Cowan’s immediate family were present, her widower James, their four daughters Dircksey, Hilda, Ida and Helen, and their grandson Peter, son of their deceased son Norman, and Edith’s sister Mrs Burgess. Reports on the simple ceremony appeared in the Daily News that afternoon and in the West Australian on 11 June. The Perth City Council minutes for 11 June record a letter of thanks to the Council and the contractor from the eldest daughter Miss Dircksey Constance Cowan.

The Council minutes for the 26 June and 23 July indicate a dispute developing between the Council and the Police as to which authority was responsible for marking white traffic direction lines on the road surface about the traffic island. However, this was a minor matter compared with all that had gone before. Subsequently there have been a number of changes to Kings Park Road and the Circus. A median strip has been installed and the island enlarged so narrowing the carriageways, moreover the width of the circus has been reduced, which at one time incorporated a taxi rank and bus stop. The Kings Park Road Circus has been renamed the Edith Cowan Circus on some maps, although the Department of Land Administration has no record of either name being officially adopted. Traffic counts during the morning of Friday 9 June and afternoon of Monday 12 June 1989 (6) indicate an average of 1,970 motor vehicles per daytime hour using the Circus or nearly eight times (768%) those in August 1933. Pedestrians crossing Kings Park Road averaged 20 per hour or merely 22% more than in 1933. There were also 10 push bicycles per hour in 1989.
MOTIVATION

The motivation for opposition to and obstruction of the erection of a monument to Edith Cowan in certain locations might have been what would nowadays be called male chauvinism and or resentment of her outspoken criticism of the actions of some persons or bodies which she believed to be contrary to the public interest. Indeed episodes in the history of Kings Park Board support such an interpretation, however, in some cases this seems unlikely or at least only part of the explanation.
KINGS PARK BOARD AND WOMEN’S ORGANIZATIONS

Since the first Board was gazetted in 1896 only men were appointed to it until 1978, despite offers by the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union among others to suggest suitable women. No women were commemorated in Kings Park until after the Second World War, except for Queen Victoria whose statuary memorial included a bas relief of Queen Alexandra as well.

Matters concerning the Tennis Club were the source of misunderstandings or worse between the Board and several women’s organizations in the 1920s (7). The Mount Tennis Club was granted the use of one acre of land in 1899 and this had grown by about 40% in 1909 when the name was changed to the Kings Park Tennis Club. The original area had doubled to about 2 acres by 1921 and doubled again to nearly 4 acres in 1925, one of the reasons for which was to accommodate women players.

According to Mr Sinclair McGibbon, who held various offices in the Club, a mixed club of men and women was not a success. He advocated two adjacent but separate clubs for each gender. Earlier the Club members, all men, had voted 100 to 4 against lady members. A petition signed by 100 women living in the vicinity including Helen Cowan, Edith’s youngest daughter, pledged them to support a ladies’ tennis club.

The President of Kings Park Board, Mr Arthur Lovekin MLC, favoured a mixed club and the compromise adopted in 1925 was essentially a men’s club with ladies admitted as auxiliary members. Soon afterwards the President of the Club, Mr R O Law, asked for another 3 3/4 acres
to double its size again. In resisting pressure to set aside land in Kings Park for a hospital and other purposes the Board decided on 30 October 1926 that there should be no more excisions from the Park. However, many people evidently had doubts how rigorously the Board would apply this ruling, especially to existing tenants. Indeed in 1927 the Kings Park Road reserve was widened by excision of a 27ft strip from the Park. (Much later the Tennis Club came eventually to occupy about 6 acres as now or 7 acres if car parking is included).

Meanwhile correspondence continued between the Board and the Club about more land for the latter. However, the Board was embarrassed in June 1928 to receive an enquiry from the Secretary of the Premier’s Department asking if the Board intended to set aside more land for tennis. An article appeared in “Dawn”, the official organ of the Women’s Service Guild, putting the same question with evident disapproval if it were true. Mr Lovekin replied indignantly that the Board had no such intention. He suggested that perhaps there was mistaken confusion with Lot L 65 on Mounts Bay Road inaccessible from the rest of the park. People should get their facts right before going into print. (A few weeks later on 30 October 1928 Perth Lot L 65 and part of L 64 were removed from the control of the Board, although the Board apparently did not realize this until December 1932. This land was better known for about half a century as “Bernies” after the hamburger snack bar there).

Despite his denials about more land for tennis, Mr Lovekin went on in his letter to Mrs Joyner, President of the Women’s Service Guild, to defend the Board’s action in letting the Club have 4 acres of “poor” bush and to suggest that the Club be commended, not censured, for providing healthy recreation as an alternative to young people frequenting clubs, pubs and dance salons. Unfortunately many saw the Kings Park Tennis and Bowling Clubs as catering exclusively for “silvertails”, whether of the younger or older generations.
In spite of Mr Lovekin's assurances the West Australian of 2 October 1928 reported that the Housewives' Association passed a resolution proposed by Mrs D Rutherford JP and seconded by Mrs Edith Cowan JP, OBE, "that the Housewives' Association strongly deprecates the encroachment on King's Park land, a class A reserve, for tennis courts, bowling greens, etc, protests against any further leases being granted by the King's Park Board for these purposes and will support other organizations in this matter". On 23 March 1900, Perth Park, as Kings Park was then known, had been gazetted as a Class A Reserve, meaning that its purpose could not be changed without the consent (an Act) of both houses of the Western Australian Parliament. The purpose of Kings Park is for a public park.

On 3 October the Town Planning Association of Western Australia, of which Edith Cowan was a member, passed a similar resolution to that of the Housewives' Association. Shortly before the Women's Service Guild had written to the Board complaining about the number of indigenous trees cleared for the Lord Forrest Memorial.

Although he had defended the Tennis Club along with the Board, relationships between Mr Lovekin and the Club's office bearers, in particular Mr McGibbon, deteriorated over various Club affairs and other issues in the following years. Mr Lovekin had already described the Club as "exclusive" in a letter to Mr McGibbon, borrowing the epithet from their feminist critics. Mr Lovekin resented any person or organization critical of the Board and his domineering presidency, based largely on the principle "He who pays the piper calls the tune". In many matters such as donations towards the cost of the Honour Avenues in Kings Park Mr Lovekin had been very generous (8). Mrs Edith Cowan would inevitably have been an object of his indignation, conscious or otherwise. These tensions do not seem to have dissipated by the time of his death on 10 December 1931 or hers six months
later. To what extent did the succeeding Board inherit these attitudes?

Mr W H Vincent was invited to join Kings Park Board in January 1929 although not gazetted a member until October 1930 and became President on 19 January 1932, but resigned on 30 August 1932. In those days the Mayor of Perth (elevated to Lord Mayor in 1929) was ex-officio a member of the Board. Mr William Francis Lathlain (knighted in 1921) was Mayor from 1917 to 1923, when he was defeated by Mr James Thomas Franklin in a “referendum” vote on purchasing land for new Council premises, and Lord Mayor from November 1930 to June 1932, when he resigned to reduce the burden of his several offices on his health. He had, however, already been appointed to the Board in his personal capacity on 25 February 1925 serving until his death on 30 October 1936. He became President on 29 September 1932. He was a Member of the Legislative Council from 22 May 1926 to 21 May 1932.

Mr J T Franklin was Mayor from 1923 to 1930 and Lord Mayor from 1932 (when Sir William resigned) to 1934, the latter being the important period concerning the erection of the Edith Cowan Memorial. Although he played a critical role in the latter as Lord Mayor, he attended only two meetings of the Board during 1932-34, both in January 1933 when the Memorial was apparently not discussed. Mr Franklin was a Member of the Legislative Council from 22 May 1928 to 21 May 1940.

As well as Sir William and Mr Franklin the following were members of the Board during both the earlier and latter incidents described here, respectively concerning the Tennis Club and the Memorial, Messrs George Thomas Temple Poole (appointed 1896), John Nicholson MLC (as Mayor 1914-15 and personally from 1920) and William Allnutt Saw (1927). The following were members throughout only the latter period being appointed as indicated, Messrs Philip Collier MLA (1930),
John Patrick Dwyer, Stephen Lackey Kessell and Robert Oswald Law (all in 1932). The last mentioned had been President of the Tennis Club during the earlier incidents.

Mr Franklin was clearly not prejudiced against Mrs Edith Cowan. Some of the others may have been. That is unlikely in the case of Mr Nicholson. He had chaired her first parliamentary election campaign meeting and been a pall bearer at her funeral. At the first meeting to discuss her memorial he compared her to John Forrest, the one the greatest West Australian man, the other the greatest West Australian woman. Mr Nicholson was one of the leading protagonists of utilitarian memorialization. The Board’s minutes record virtually only the decisions as if they were unanimous or at least a consensus. There is no indication whether or not Mr Nicholson or any other member spoke in favour of Edith Cowan’s Memorial or its proposed location in or near Kings Park, he was present at only the first of the three meetings which recorded discussion of the subject.

Mr Collier was probably also a utilitarian with respect to this memorial. He certainly was regarding the State War Memorial, concerning which he was reported to say he would not subscribe one penny for the erection of a non-utility monument and made reference to the many “unsightly piles of stone” throughout the country (9). Sir William Lathlain had been chairman of the committee to raise funds for the erection of the State War Memorial in Kings Park and had been appointed its first Chief Warden (10). These experiences may have influenced his attitude to the Edith Cowan Memorial as a review of the history of the State War Memorial shows.
THE STATE WAR MEMORIAL

It was calculated that, relative to their respective populations at the time, more men from Western Australia enlisted in the armed forces, went overseas on active service and lost their lives in the Great War (World War I) 1914-18 than from any other Australian State, and arguably from any comparable territory in the British Empire. Memorials to the fallen were erected in many Western Australian municipalities. As early as 13 June 1920 the Jewish War Memorial was unveiled in Kings Park to commemorate those of the Perth Hebrew Congregation who died in the conflict, one of the few - if not the only - such sectarian memorial in a public place in Australia. Nevertheless Western Australia was the last State in Australia to erect and dedicate a State War Memorial to its dead.

A meeting was called on 11 February 1925 to raise funds to erect a State War Memorial (2 & 9). An earlier attempt had failed, presumably because agreement could not be reached on the form the memorial should take. The first attempt had not been initiated by the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League of Australia, Western Australian Branch, now the Returned and Services League of Australia, W A Branch or RSL as then and now known. Apparently it had the support of the former Nationalist and Country Party coalition Mitchell government (1919-24). The eventually successful campaign was under the auspices of the RSL, but it became clear that support by the Collier Labour ministry (1924-30) would depend on the choice of a utilitarian memorial.

The meeting of 11 February 1925 was held in the Soldiers' Institute Perth and was chaired by Rabbi D I Freedman, a former army chaplain and past RSL State President. The vice-chairman of the Perth Hospital Board, Cr L R Butt, led the utilitarian case that the Great War dead be
commemorated by building extensions to Perth Hospital. He added that the obelisks erected all over Australia served no useful purpose. Dr A J H Saw MLC, an army surgeon during the war, said additions to the hospital would be "giving a present to oneself", but a monument would be altruistic. Mrs Edith Cowan also favoured a monument. Sir Talbot Hobbs, who had risen to the rank of Lieutenant General, advocated a plain obelisk rather than a building which would eventually be demolished. The Mayor of Perth, Mr J T Franklin, said a monument versus hospital extensions was for consideration by the committee which should be formed. He said the Perth City Council would help, but their funds belonged to the ratepayers. An amendment in favour of the hospital project was defeated, and a committee was elected to raise funds to erect a State War Memorial in the form of a monument.

Sir William Lathlain was elected chairman of the committee. The RSL State Secretary Mr D M Benson became secretary of the committee also. The members were Rabbi Freedman, Sir Talbot Hobbs, who donated money and his services as honorary architect, Mrs. Edith Cowan, Mrs C H E Manning, Miss Abel, Dr A J H Saw MLC, Rev C L Riley, Col H B Collett, Messrs J Cornell MLC, S E Elliott, E S Watt, A S Wright and Mayor J T Franklin. However, the Mayor never attended another meeting of the committee. Although he and four other Perth City Councillors (Cr Harold Boas among them) made personal donations to the fund, the Council (only Cr H Boas and Cr H E Wells dissenting from the majority) refused to authorize any official contribution, as later reported in a Supplement to The Listening Post (9). This was to cause much bitterness, especially as many other municipalities subscribed although they had already erected local memorials of their own. Cr Boas, the son of a rabbi, had the distinction of being the only staff member of the YMCA appointed to serve Jewish Australian troops on active service.
The preliminary estimate was 30,000 pounds. The initial response was fair, nearly 1,000 pounds was donated by June 1925. The utilitarians again lobbied Premier Collier, who was pleased to receive them, in support of the hospital project. The RSL echoed Sir William’s earlier comment that the care of the sick poor was a government responsibility and should not ride on the backs of fallen servicemen, a view which finally prevailed. The utilitarian economic argument, that scarce resources like money should be reserved for practical purposes, was more persuasive after the State War Memorial was completed in 1929, when for the next four years the Great Depression was at its worst. Meanwhile the rate of donations fell, less than 3,000 pounds had been given by March 1926.

The President of Kings Park Board, Mr Arthur Lovekin MLC, saw the various tombs of unknown soldiers while travelling in Europe. He suggested that an unknown Australian soldier be re-interred beneath the “monument to be” in Kings Park. This proposal was discussed in The Listening Post during the latter half of 1926. The RSL admitted that the State War Memorial Fund was still inadequately subscribed, but did not consider this to be a suitable way to stimulate donations. The dead should be allowed to rest undisturbed. It was observed that Mr Lovekin was not a very good supporter in practice of “Preference for Returned Soldiers”. He did, however, sponsor work for unemployed ex-servicemen on the Honour Avenue in Kings Park (8). The idea of reburial of an unknown soldier in Kings Park was dropped.

On 27 September 1926 in the absence overseas of the President, Mr Lovekin, the meeting of Kings Park Board was chaired by Mr G T T Poole, a distinguished architect interested in town planning, who “reported that the State War Memorial Committee had selected a site (in Kings Park) for the erection of a memorial overlooking the river and the city near the first kiosk (i.e. the location as now). He had
approved of the site together with Sir William Lathlain”. He would request the committee to “make a formal application for the site and permission to erect the monument”. The other members of the Board present were Messrs H D Holmes and J Nicholson MLC (3).

Two months later Mr Lovekin was back in the chair at the Board meeting on 29 November when Sir William and Mr Holmes were the other members present. The application from the State War Memorial Committee was received and permission granted to erect the memorial on the site chosen. However, Mr Lovekin expressed his “opinion that the proposed monument was not suitable and suggested that he was prepared to add 1,500 to 2,000 pounds (worth about $72,000 - $96,000 seventy years later) to the fund providing the Committee would erect an archway at the entrance to the park, completing the circus, removing the Lodge back to permit this being done”. This offer was not taken up.

The minutes make no further mention of the State War Memorial until Board meetings on 2 and 20 September 1927. These were chaired by Mr Lovekin with Sir William and Messrs Nicholson and Poole present at both meetings with in addition Messrs Holmes and Saw at the latter. At the first Mr Lovekin laid on the table plans and specifications of the State War Memorial and also a long memorandum he had prepared criticizing certain aspects. Although permission had been granted to erect the memorial, the plans had not yet been approved by the Board. It was agreed to refer them to Sir Talbot Hobbs, Mr Poole and the Government Engineer. Mr Lovekin argued moreover that final approval be withheld until the Committee had raised adequate funds to complete the works. Sir William pressed for permission to be granted promptly to allow work to proceed, as he believed the public would subscribe when they saw work in progress. These arguments were repeated by Mr Lovekin and Sir William respectively at the meeting on 20 September, when the report was
received that the plans were structurally sound, and also the Fremantle Harbour Trust stated that a light on the memorial would not interfere with shipping. Sir William moved, Mr Nicholson seconding, that the contractor be given permission to proceed with the memorial according to the plans and specifications submitted. This was carried with only Mr Lovekin dissenting. The subject is not mentioned again in Kings Park Board Minutes until 21 November 1929, when permission was granted for the unveiling ceremony three days later.

On 25 April 1928 the Anglican Archbishop of Perth and Chaplain General of the Australian Forces, the Most Rev C O L Riley, who had served in France as an army chaplain, made an impassioned appeal for funds to complete the State War Memorial when addressing the ANZAC Day parade. The revised estimate to construct the basic cenotaph was 11,000 pounds of which 4,000 had been collected. Later more would be required to instal tablets engraved with the names of the dead and other works. Archbishop Riley said some businesses had profited from the war and they should subscribe with ten years’ interest.

A letter from Messrs T G A Molloy, W N Hedges and W H Vincent on 28 April proposed that those who could, should donate in units of 25 pounds until the Archbishop’s appeal was fulfilled, they set an example of one, one and four units respectively. Three thousand pounds was donated within the next two months. Enough to complete the basic monument was received by the time the RSL annual general meeting was held in October. On 24 November 1929 the State War Memorial was unveiled by the Governor Col Sir William Campion before a crowd of eight to ten thousand. Archbishop Riley did not live to see it. The dedication was performed by Rabbi Freedman.

The speeches acknowledged the roles of Mr E S Watt (RSL State Executive) and of Sir William Lathlain, who was away in Europe and sent a message. Among those present were Premier Collier representing
the State Government, which agreed to pay for embellishment and upkeep of the surroundings, and Lord Mayor Franklin representing the Perth City Council, which sent a wreath. Kings Park Board had decided that no action was required on the RSL’s enquiry if the Board wished to place a wreath and apparently the Board was not represented officially at the ceremony.

The RSL accepted responsibility for future care of the memorial itself and recognized the need for floodlighting. Later Sir Thomas Coombe offered to pay for upkeep, including lighting, for the rest of his life. Funds had yet to be raised to inscribe with the names of the fallen and install marble tablets in the crypt, which was carried out later. Kings Park Board minutes of 16 April 1930 record that the Board considered Government funds for upkeep of the surroundings should be paid to the Board, not to the RSL.

On 4 September 1932 a plan by the Town Planning Commissioner Mr D L Davidson was published to provide a concourse where participants in ceremonies could assemble in front of the State War Memorial on its west side. This involved rerouting Fraser Avenue from its original position, which had come to be immediately in front of the steps of the Memorial, to approximately its present location. It also required the levelling of the Butts, a mound of sand terminating the Rifle Range constructed in the 1860s. This was criticized as the destruction of a heritage feature (see Board minutes 15 December 1932). When this plan was approved by Kings Park Board and put into effect, the barrels of the old Rifled Muzzle Loading naval guns were buried. These actions reinforced the significance that the State War Memorial had attained.

His involvement in the long campaign to achieve a permanent monument to Western Australia’s 7,000 war dead in Kings Park may have imprinted on Sir William Lathlain that Kings Park be reserved in
future for memorials of similar national importance. He and other members of the Board, for instance Mr W A Saw a brother of Dr A J H Saw, may have felt that commemorations in Kings Park of lesser events or persons would in some way diminish the tribute paid to the enormous sacrifice of the State’s manhood. However, even if that were so, it is less easy to explain why such sanctity should be extended to the Kings Park Road Circus also, or that Edith Cowan’s claims to qualify for recognition were denied.
RIVALRIES

Comparing the events leading to the erection of the State War Memorial and of that to Mrs Edith Cowan there were similarities, for instance utilitarian versus altruistic memorialization and attempts at chequebook advocacy to influence the nature or location of the memorials. There were also differences which arose largely from opposing personalities, who in some cases seem to have reversed their roles. The Perth City Council and Mayor J T Franklin (elevated to Lord Mayor during the centennial year 1929) gave no official assistance to the State War Memorial, whereas they championed the cause of the Edith Cowan Memorial to the Supreme Court, although admittedly that case had become inextricably intertwined with establishing the extent of the City Council’s authority.

In some ways in both cases Sir William Lathlain and Mr Franklin were opposed to each other, although taking different attitudes regarding the particular memorials. No ill will was said to have resulted from Mr Franklin’s defeat of Sir William in the 1923 “referendum” mayoral contest on purchase of land for new Council premises. They did not challenge each other for the mayoralty again. They were elected Members of the Legislative Council for separate constituencies, Sir William was a Liberal and Mr Franklin a Nationalist, both supporting the conservative coalition. There may have been some tension between them due to the “Peter Pan” incident (11).

Sir William was the first President of the Rotary Club of Perth and he was followed by Mr Sinclair McGibbon, who in 1927 initiated a project to have a replica of Sir George Frampton’s Peter Pan statue cast, brought out to Perth and erected in Kings Park. A dispute arose between Mr McGibbon, who continued to represent the Rotarians, and Mr Lovekin, President of Kings Park Board, as to the precise location of the sculpture within Kings Park. As related earlier in this account relationships between Mr Lovekin and Mr McGibbon had already
deteriorated over the Tennis Club.

Mr McGibbon favoured a site near Bellevue Terrace where he lived. Mr Lovekin had selected a position near where the Main Lodge was to be relocated after widening Kings Park Road Circus. The area would be landscaped to resemble the setting of the original in Kensington Gardens, London, and the Lodge rebuilt with a gable window like that in Sir James Barrie’s play. Mr Lovekin had already donated 100 pounds to the Rotarians’ fund and was prepared to pay 2,000 pounds or more of his own money for landscaping, etc, if it was according to his plan, but nothing if not, indeed he threatened to sue for the return of his 100 pounds, but eventually let it go.

Briefly, this attempt to use wallet power failed. A meeting on 28 February 1929 was called to effect a reconciliation, the following members of Kings Park Board were present: Messrs A Lovekin, J Nicholson, G T T Poole, W A Saw and W H Vincent. The Rotary Club was represented by Messrs R O Law (not then yet a member of Kings Park Board) and R McDonald. Although everyone except Mr Lovekin seems to have genuinely wished to reach a workable compromise, or at least to start negotiations afresh from scratch, the debate became increasingly bitter, if that were possible. The deadlock was not resolved. Mr Lovekin insisted that as a government agency the Board must act responsibly in the public interest and, ironically, could not succumb to blackmail by the Rotary Club that Peter Pan would be taken elsewhere if the Board did not fall in with the Club’s wishes.

The Mayor, Mr J T Franklin, an ex-officio member of the Board, was not at this meeting, but in June 1929 the City of Perth provided a temporary home for Peter Pan in Queens Gardens, East Perth, which was made permanent on 19 October 1933, when Mr Franklin was Lord
Mayor. It is not clear what was the attitude of Sir William. At the Board meeting on 15 February he and Mr W H Vincent were asked to confer with the Rotary Club in an attempt to persuade them to accept the Board’s choice of site. Any outcome of that was overtaken by events a fortnight later. Whatever his personal opinion Sir William had conflicting loyalties to the Rotary Club, Kings Park Board and the City of Perth. He may have been disappointed when Peter Pan found his home in Queens Gardens rather than Kings Park, a conclusion to the affair mediated by Mr Franklin.

The plans for road widening, enlargement of Kings Park Road Circus, the consequently necessary transfer of land and the relocation of Kings Park Lodge, were approved by Kings Park Board and the Perth City Council in 1927. However, action proceeded very slowly while Mr Franklin was Mayor, who or the Council was perceived to be obstructive by the Board or at least by Mr Lovekin, who wished all to be completed by the Centenary in 1929. Perhaps coincidentally, more progress was made while Sir William was Lord Mayor 1930-32.

Collaboration, or its lack, and financial wrangles during the depression about these and other public works, for instance along Mounts Bay Road, added to the tensions between the two authorities and the government, which may have influenced the personalities involved.
Whatever may be conjectured about rivalry between Sir William and Mr Franklin, professional jealousy played its part in the saga of the Edith Cowan Memorial. When the design and proposed location were first announced the Royal Institute of Architects of Western Australia promptly voiced its objections, stating among other arguments that a practising architect should be employed. This was followed by a similar attack from the Town Planning Institute, whose membership was meant to be limited to professionals in the field. However, less of this nature was heard from these quarters when it emerged that the memorial was designed by Cr Harold Boas, a distinguished member of both institutes as well as of the Town Planning Association, an organization which anyone interested could join. Indeed eventually the President of the Town Planning Institute gave evidence at the Supreme Court hearing in favour of the traffic island on which the memorial would stand, although it was not clear whether that was in a personal or an institutional capacity.

The Town Planning Commissioner, Mr D L Davidson, did not relent in either his opposition to the location of the memorial, insisting that the government seek an injunction to prevent the Perth City Council from constructing a traffic island in Kings Park Road Circus, or in his criticisms of Cr Harold Boas. In February 1929 Mr Davidson had been selected to succeed Sir John Sulman as lecturer in town planning at the University of Sydney, but he did not take up the position (12). In July that year he was appointed Commissioner of Town Planning in Western Australia and soon after his arrival clashed with the Perth City Council. He particularly resented Cr Boas, who was Chairman of the Metropolitan Town Planning Commission (1928-30), Foundation President of the Town Planning Institute (1930-31), and also an office-bearer in the Town Planning Association since its formation in 1916.
The Association and the Institute each ground to a halt in 1933 and 1936 largely as a result of personality clashes with Mr Davidson, who seems to have regarded everyone else, including Cr Boas, as ignorant, untrained amateurs.

Throughout the whole period in which the incidents described here took place, Mr Lionel Tobias Boas (14), an elder brother of Cr Harold Boas, was secretary of Kings Park Board (1918-37). He was also secretary of Karrakatta Cemetery Board, a Subiaco City Councillor (including Mayor 1917-20), and President of the Young Australia League, of which he was co-founder with Mr J J Simons in 1905, for even longer periods.

It is likely that he discussed some of these matters with his brother, but there is no record of his personal views as distinct from statements issued on behalf of his employers. If there were such a record, it might be easier to assign reasons for the attitudes and actions of the players in these civic dramas.
CONCLUSION

Nowadays the State War Memorial stands overlooking the City of Perth. Its concourse was enlarged in the 1950s and further tablets added to commemorate the dead of the Second World War and subsequent conflicts. A plaque installed in 1974 comments on the resemblance of the site to Ari Burnu, Anzac Cove, Gallipoli. Few, if any, visitors would suspect that the choice of this type of memorial and its location were ever questioned, or how long its realization took.

Forrest Place opposite the Central Railway Station was considered as a setting similar to Martin Place Sydney, where the State War Memorial of New South Wales had been erected (15). The forecourt of the Central Railway Station was suggested as a location for an Edith Cowan Memorial. However, in both cases Kings Park, or as near to it as possible, was ultimately the preferred choice.

Nevertheless Peter Pan fits comfortably enough in Queens Gardens without any indication that this was not the original intention.

Surrounded by road traffic, it is not easy to read the brief inscription on the Edith Cowan Memorial and some passers-by may not realize who is commemorated or why. The placement of appropriate interpretative material nearby would remedy this. It would probably serve no useful purpose to include the details recounted here of the struggle to achieve a permanent monument to Edith Cowan in this prominent position, but the public should be reminded how richly she deserved it. Moreover reference can now be made to more recent recognition of Edith Cowan’s contributions, her portrait on Australian postage stamps and banknotes, and the first Australian university to be named for a woman, Edith Cowan University.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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REFERENCES

(The last chapter gives a shorter account of the events leading to the erection of her memorial than that given here). An entry for Cowan, Edith Dircksey is in the Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 8, pp. 123-4.

(2) The West Australian Newspaper September 23, 1932. Reports appeared in the “West” shortly after the public meetings, court hearings, etc, cited in this account, these and correspondence were referred to in the issues for:

1925  February 11 and 12
1928  April 26, 28, 30 and October 2 and 3
1929  November 25, 28 and 30
1932  June 10, 13, 14, 21, September 2, 4, 23, 30, October 6, 10, 11, 22, November 5 and 22
1933  February 17, March 13, 14, 16, 17, 24, 29, 30, April 4, August 3, 8, 10, 19, September 20, 21, 22, 23, November 30, December 1, 2, 6, 8 and 23
1934  January 6, February 28, March 3 and June 11

See also the Daily News for:
1933  March 16, April 4 and December 1, 5, 7 and 22
1934  June 9

And the Sunday Times for:
1932  June 12 and October 23
1933  March 26 and December 3 and 24
(3) The minutes of Kings Park Board are held by the Board. Throughout this account the current usage: “Kings Park” is followed without the definite article or using the possessive apostrophe as in “The King's Park Board”, except where quoting verbatim.

(4) The minutes of the Perth City Council are held in the Government Archives, Battye Library, Library and Information Services of Western Australia. 20 April 1931 - 5 December 1932 ACC 2826/25. 19 December 1932 - 20 August 1934 ACC 2826/26.

(5) The Royal Institute of Architects of Western Australia has been superseded by the Royal Australian Institute of Architects, Western Australian Chapter. The minutes are in the Institute's archives.

(6) Main Roads Department of Western Australia. Data provided by courtesy of the Commissioner of Main Roads on 20 August 1996.

(7) Correspondence Kings Park Board concerning Kings Park Tennis Club, 1 January 1899 - 31 December 1933, Western Australian State Government Archives, Battye Library, Library and Information Services of Western Australia. Cons. 5458 Vol. 41.


(9) The State War Memorial and its Critics. The Listening Post, p7, August 21, 1925 Other relevant articles appeared in the issues
of The Listening Post (official organ of the R.S.L., W.A.) for:

1925  February 20, April 17, May 22, June 19 and August 21
1926  March 19, April 16, July 23, August 20 and December 17
1928  May 25, June 22 and the Supplement to that of October 26
1929  November 22 and December 20


(11) Documents in addition to the Kings Park Board minutes relating to the “Peter Pan” incident are held by the Board, copies are also lodged in the Battye Library.

(12) Davidson, David Lomas: Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 13, pp. 577-8

(13) Boas, Harold: Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 13, pp. 207-8

(14) Boas, Lionel Tobias included under the entry for his father Boas, Abraham Tobias: Australian Dictionary of Biography Volume 7, pp. 331-2

(15) Stone, Ron (1996) Personal Communication