

A TALE OF TWO WOMEN

Sir Samuel WAY with Susannah GOODING and Catherine GORDON

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Here we tell contrasting stories of two women in the life of Sir Samuel WAY.

Samuel James Way migrated from England to South Australia when he was 17 years old. This was in 1853, in the early years of the colony. Within two decades he had become the preeminent citizen. He was the Chief Justice and Supreme Court judge for forty years and Lieutenant-Governor for a total of seven years. He was a Queens Councillor, member of parliament, vice-chancellor and chancellor of the university and president of the children's hospital, public library, museum and art gallery. He was a leader in the Methodist church and the Freemasons. He was a Privy Counsellor. He was knighted and was conferred five honorary doctorates. Without doubt, for half a century, he was at the pinnacle of most aspects of civic life - law, academia, vice-regal, politics, health, religion and culture. He was the public face of justice, reason, virtue and refinement. Right up to the time of his death as an 80 year old, he was still active in all these high offices.

The first love of his life was Susannah Gooding and later, Kitty Gordon.

Susannah Mary Gooding was Samuel's mistress for two decades. She had a disreputable background. Her grandparents and mother were convicts, her father was gaoled for manslaughtering her mother. When she met Samuel, she was an unmarried mother with two young children from different fathers. When they met around xxxxx, she was a xxx year old servant in a small country town in Tasmania whereas Samuel was a xxxx year old rising lawyer on holidays. He was well-to-do enough to take a holiday so far from home. They never married, nor ever lived together, and their relationship was not publicly acknowledged. However they had five children and Samuel continued to visit the family often and supported them for two decades with housing and education expenses, and helped Susannah set up a millinery business. After Susannah's death, he maintained some contact with the surviving children. Three of the children died early but two of their sons, Alfred White and Edward White, became prominent in Melbourne as respected physicians, and were noted for their war service and philanthropy. Alfred was knighted like his father.

Catherine 'Kitty' Gillon Gordon came from Scotland with her parents in 1855 as an infant. Before migrating her father had been a railway worker and he became a moderately successful farmer in the Strathalbyn district. Kitty was adopted by her aunty, Catherine Gollan. At 18 years of age she married a local doctor, Billy Blue, who became the mayor of Strathalbyn. After 24 years of marriage, Billy died and Kitty soon married Samuel – this was a decade after Susannah had died. As Lady Way, Kitty became prominent in Adelaide society and was appreciated by the general public for her many services to the community. She was with Sir Samuel for 16 years until her death. Crowds lined the streets for what was virtually a state funeral.

Samuel and Kitty had no children but she had four children from her first marriage - two died early and one had a difficult life, however her daughter, Shylie Rymill became prominent, firstly in sport and then in Adelaide society and was honoured as State Commissioner of Girl Guides.

In these notes we have a glimpse of the sort of people they were and how they experienced life. We try to understand why Samuel treated his partners so differently. The secrecy and shame with Susannah, the mother of his five children – at the same time his career was blossoming spectacularly in the final decades of the colony. And how this contrasted with his pride in having Lady Way by his side at the pinnacle of the social life in Adelaide in the first decades of the new nation.

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Samuel's early years

Samuel was born in Portsmouth in Hampshire on 11th April 1836. His parents were Rev James WAY and Jane, nee WILLIS.

His father was a Bible Christian minister in Tenderden, President of the Bible Christian Conference and then Missionary Secretary. He established the Sheabber College in North Devon. Later, in Australia, he established the first Bible Christian Society and was the senior Bible Christian minister in South Australia, serving the Kooringa Circuit for many years. He was appointed General Superintendent of the Australian Church in 1856.

There were 6 children in the family. Four of the children and the parents migrated to Australia in 1850 and another child was born in Australia. As the oldest son, Samuel stayed back to continue his schooling at Sheabber College. He had started school at a private school run by a Unitarian minister in Chatham. Over-all, he had about 5 years of schooling. Despite his modest education, and without any other formal training he eventually was able to become the highest law officer and chancellor of the university – and five doctorates from some of the best universities.

Samuel's public life

Samuel came out to Australia 2 years after his family – he was almost 17 years old. When he arrived in South Australia, just 16 years after the founding the colony, the population was growing rapidly and there were about 80,000 immigrants in addition to the indigenous population. It must have been a time of great adventure, problems and possibilities.

He obtained employment as a junior clerk in a solicitor's office and soon joined another solicitor's office and became articled to Alfred Atkinson. Within eight years of arriving in the colony, at the age of 25 years, Samuel became a barrister, solicitor, attorney and proctor. At the time of his admission to the bar there were only about 30 legal practitioners in South Australia. From then on, his rise in the legal profession was meteoric. He became Principal (leading partner, owner) of his law firm which soon became the top law firm in Adelaide. He was appointed Queens Council in 1871, ten years after he had become a barrister.

His career as a lawyer, including some of his more noteworthy judgements, are outlined in the Australian Dictionary of Biography and detailed by Hannan. This family history draws attention to aspects of Samuel's career and public life only insofar as it impinged on his family life. For a full account of his civic life it would be best to peruse several books (ref: Hannan, Emerson xxxxxx) but in summary:-

- Return to England in 1869-70
- Appointed to the Committee of the Adelaide Homeopathic Dispensary in 1871 (ref: Centre of Australian Homeopathic History)
- Member of the Education Board in 1874
- Member of the Council of University of Adelaide 1874
- Elected to the House of Assembly of South Australia 1875 - member for Sturt
- Attorney General 1875
- Appointed Chief Justice 1876
- Helped establish Adelaide Children's Hospital and was President from 1876 to 1915
- Vice-chancellor of Adelaide University 1876
- Chancellor of Adelaide University since 1883
- Freemason: For many years he was Grand Master and Pro Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Freemasons of SA. In London in 1897 he was conferred the rank of Past Grand Warden of the United Grand Lodge of England.
- Lieutenant Governor on about sixty occasions between 1877 and 1883 – for a total of almost seven years. This is longer than any permanent Governor in the entire British Empire had served. (ref: SW).
- In 1890 he made the first of two tours back to England. He was fêted in London and he visited Shebbear College to which he gave the title deeds of the adjacent farm. (ref: Hannan, p3).
- President of the Public Library, Museum and Art Gallery of SA 1893 to 1908 (15 years)
- President of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution
- South Australian Society of Arts
- Empire League
- Royal Society of St George
- Zoological Society.

- Privy Councillor in London in 1897. On his second tour to England, he took his seat on the Privy Council. He heard appeals from India, China, South Africa, Jamaica and New South Wales.
- Judge of the Vice-Admiralty court
- Member of the Executive Council
- Methodist church: He was a staunch member of the Methodist Conference and helped to effect the union in 1900 of the three Methodist sects into the United Methodist Church of Australia and New Zealand
- Pastoralist: At Kadlunga he grazed the improved Shropshire sheep which he had introduced into Australia.
- Awarded five honorary doctorates at Oxford 1891, Adelaide 1892, Queens College Kingston Canada 1895, Cambridge University 1897 and Melbourne University in 1901.
- Knighthood : He was became Baronet Sir Samuel of Montefiore and Kadlunga in 1900.

There are many features named after him:-

- Samuel Way Building of the Women & Children's Hospital in North Adelaide. A ward of the Adelaide Children's Hospital. These first items might be referring to the same structure – but not that Adelaide now has a new children's hospital so his name might no longer be perpetuated by this means.
- Way Hall within the Adelaide Central Mission
- Sir Samuel Way Masonic Lodge in Stirling West (Blackwood).
- The City Courts on Victoria Square, Adelaide are named "Sir Samuel Way Building" in 1983.
- His portrait is in the Supreme Court.
- A statue of Sir Samuel in North Terrace, near the University of Adelaide - unveiled in 1924.
- Samuel Way Drive in Beachport.
- Abandoned townsite of Mount Sir Samuel, Mount Way, and Lake Way in a remote area in Western Australia.

He was described as follows. "There was a touch of vanity about him, and an element of the complacency and self-satisfaction of his era. For all that, Way was by nineteenth-century standards a great man who left an enduring mark on South Australian life. Beatrice Webb had found him a 'grizzled, bearded little man, insignificant in features, voluble and diffusive in speech, with more authority than dignity in his manner; he neither pleases nor impresses ... At first, he seems a fussy little Methodist ... presently you discover that he is both good and wise. With intimacy one learns to appreciate his wide experience of men and things, his large-minded cultivation and above all his continuous application in advancing what he believes to be right'. (ref: Australian Dictionary of Biography).

He was a prolific writer – in his legal documents as well as his diaries. The State Library of South Australia is holding 35 years of his diaries (some have been transcribed) as part of six metres of his personal papers.

Susannah's early years

Susannah's mother, Lydia Hines, at the age of 17 years, was sentenced to serve 14 years in Van Dieman's Land – for forging bank notes. She must have been feisty and got into a lot of strife while she was serving her time. Lydia married near the end of her 14 years. Her husband was Andrew Gooding. His parents, also called Andrew and Lydia, had been first fleet convicts on Norfolk Island. He had stolen 200 lbs of lead and she had stolen 10 yards of printed cotton. After completing their sentences, they, successfully farmed on Norfolk Island and eventually settled in Tasmania.

Susannah was born in 1842, the fifth of seven children – all born in Campbelltown, Tasmania. She was one of the youngest of more than 55 grandchildren of the paternal grandparents.

When Susannah was 15 years old, her father killed her mother. Lydia was drunk and had an argument with Andrew. He struck her a blow on the side of the head, she fell and died on the spot through loss of blood. Andrew was convicted of manslaughter but there was some public support for him because Lydia was seen unfavourably compared to Andrew. He was sentenced to 6 month's gaol. We can only guess at the impact all this had on Susannah.

Samuel and Susannah

It is possible that Samuel met Susannah in 1865 when he was holidaying in Tasmania (ref: Hell and Heaven Together). She was 22 years old and Samuel was 29 years. If this year is correct, after they had met, Susannah had two children, John in 1865 and Lydia in 1867, from other father(s). James, the first child of Susannah and Samuel, was born in 1869, just 16 months after Lydia.

At the time they first got to know each other, she was a servant and he was already principal of his own successful law firm in Adelaide. By the early 1870s Samuel's law firm had become foremost in Adelaide and he was soon to become a Queens Council. He purchased the Montifiore mansion in 1872. Over the next decade, they had three more children – Frank in 1872, Alfred in 1874 and Florence in 1877. This was a period when he was rising spectacularly in the life of Adelaide – as a politician (briefly), vice-chancellor of the university, Chief Justice and Lieutenant Governor.

Little Florence died at 3 years old in early 1880. We do not know the circumstances of her death and we can only guess how this affected Susannah and Samuel. Later that year Samuel assisted the family to move to Melbourne. He was probably finding Tasmania too far for him to see the family as often as he wanted but Melbourne was preferred to Adelaide where it would have been more difficult to hide the relationship from public knowledge and scandal.

Their last child, Edward, was born in late 1881 - seven years after Florence was born and 20 months after she had died. Edward was born and baptized in Hobart so maybe Susannah was moving back and forwards between Hobart and Melbourne for a few years before she settled more permanently in Melbourne

Paternity

Samuel never publicly acknowledged that he was the father (or that he had a relationship with Susannah) so we need to break the narrative for a moment to examine the reasons why we are confident that Samuel was, in fact, the father of the five children even though it is not officially recorded.

Firstly, the puzzles about RC Norman who named as guardian for Alfred, (and possibly also Frank & James):-

- He was secretary to the Board of the Adelaide Children's Hospital from 1879 to 1884. Samuel would have known him well because Samuel was the President of the hospital at that time.
- *"Their guardian was named as Robert Chambers Norman who was the superintendent and secretary of Melbourne's Alfred Hospital. Before Norman moved to Melbourne in January 1886, he was secretary of the Adelaide Children's Hospitals for five years. At a farewell tea party he was extolled by none other than the Chief Justice, Samuel Way, a prime mover in having the hospital to be built." "While serving with the AIF, Alfred had named Teddy as his next of kin and left instructions to communicate with Samuel Way's mysterious friend, Robert Chambers Locksey Norman. Born in Cumberland, England, in 1851, Norman came to Australia in 1872 and lived at Norwood in the early 1880s while working at the Adelaide Children's Hospital. He served the Alfred Hospital for more than 30 years but did return to Adelaide to marry his third wife, Helen Harvey Birchall, daughter of John Harvey, at Unley on 3 August 1897. Norman retained a lively interest in politics and religious affairs until a few hours before his death at the age of 92 in Kew in 1943. He wrote many articles for the secular and religious press. The father of eight children by his first wife, he retired from the Alfred Hospital in 1919 and lived in Launceston with son-in-law A. D. Mackay before eventually returning to Melbourne to be near his eldest daughter, Mrs F. Penny."* (Phil Robins)
- Who set up this guardianship? – It would have been arranged by Susannah – possibly after discussion with Samuel.
- Which children? Alfred – and possibly Frank & James, but not Edward.
- When: It probably was not while Norman was living in Adelaide because this would not have been practical until 1886 when he moved to Melbourne where the boys were attending school. In 1886, James would have been 16 years old, Frank was 13 yrs, Alfred was 11 yrs & Edward was 5 years old.
- Why was guardianship arranged? – Maybe the school required a male figure and this could not be Samuel yet John White might not have been on the scene at these times.
- It is not known what personal connections there were between the boys and the Normans. We are left wondering what was his actual relationship and role with the boys. It must have been an enduring connection because decades later, Alfred made a point of wanting Edward to communicate with Norman if Alfred died.

Secondly – The pointers to Samuel as the father are :-

- Travel : Castle and Parkinson carefully analysed the shipping records, diaries, court sitting dates and other documents to identify a pattern of travel which placed Samuel in Tasmania at the time of the conceptions and baptisms. (ref : Parkinson, p 244)
- Names : This is the most compelling evidence that Samuel was the father. Each of the children was named in such a way that clearly connected them with Samuel (ref : Parkinson, p244) :-
 - James Samuel GOODING: Obviously named after Samuel whose middle name was James. Also his death certificate records the father as 'James Samuel, gentleman' (ref : Parkinson, p 244, Victoria, Registrar-General's Dept, Melbourne Deaths 6374/1895)
 - Frank Brook Way GOODING: Brook was Way's law partner who died two months before Frank was born. Samuel must have suggested this unusual name to Susannah. The fathers' name at his

- baptism was given as Samuel (no surname). (ref : Parkinson, p 245, AOT, NS 590/1/2089). As with James, his death record states that his father was 'James Samuel, gentleman' (ref : Parkinson, p 245, Victoria Registrar-General's Dept, Melbourne Deaths 1659/1902)
- Alfred Edward Rowden GOODING: Rowden was the surname of Samuel's paternal grandmother. Samuel must have suggested this name for his new son because Susannah would not have known unless Samuel told her. When Edward married in 1917, his father's details were recorded as "James White, Lawyer, deceased". (ref : Parkinson, p 247, Melbourne Marriages 7405/1917) On the death certificates of Edward and Alfred, their father is given as John Rowden WHITE. – Ref : Vic BDM 1958/3198 and 1963/1550. [Question : It is unlawful to record names which they knew were false (on marriage certificate and death certificate)]
 - Florence Elizabeth Jane GOODING: Named after Samuel's three sisters. Her birth record states 'illegitimate' (ref : Parkinson, p 246, AOT, NS, 590/1/2202)
 - Edward Roden GOODING : See the above notes about Alfred about the name Rowden. Regardless of how the birth record spelt the middle name, Edward used the spelling Rowden with a 'w' throughout his life.
 - Samuel must have actively agreed to these names because :-
 - It is surprising that these names are used – they clearly identify Samuel as the father. Why weren't other names used in order to keep the paternity a secret?
 - He must have suggested names such as Brook and Rowden, and perhaps his sisters' names because Susannah would not have known of these names unless Samuel had told her.
 - After the name of the first baby connected the child with Samuel, he could have objected – but in fact it happened over and over again – for each of the five baptisms. It seemed that he was the one suggesting these names and deliberately linking himself with the births.
 - Baptisms : It is possible that Samuel was present at each of the christenings as per Parkinson's analysis. (ref : Parkinson, p 244)
 - Diary entries : Samuel kept diaries regularly and although there are apparently no direct references stating that Susannah was his mistress or that the boys were his sons, there are many references to him visiting them and sometimes reacting to news of the children's birth (ref: Parkinson, p 246) and her death "... with sad news of my dear S.... I went to Parkville and where I saw Jno & James, Frank & Alf & the dear remains thrice" (ref : Parkinson, p 251)
 - Visits : After the children were born and they moved from Tasmania to Melbourne, Samuel continued to visit the family.
 - He stayed with Susannah in Melbourne the whole of February 1881 (ref : Parkinson, p246)
 - Samuel mentions many visits in his diaries. Often these are cryptic references and hidden amongst visits to other public figures. (ref : Parkinson, p 247 & 248)
 - He would take up lodgings close by, rather than stay in the same house with the family.
 - As it is possible that John White was in the household in the 1880s (most likely from about 1882), Samuel's many visits during that period would have been a different experience if there had been a Mr White in the house. Maybe the purpose of the visits was in relation to the boys rather than a continuing romance between Susannah and Samuel.
 - Residences : Susannah's various residences are listed below (where???). Samuel set the family up in accommodation through a series of moves within Tasmania and then (after 1880) around Melbourne. If we take it that Samuel was influential, indeed the orchestrator, of the move to Melbourne, he might have wanted Susannah and the boys nearer to him because of the difficulties of getting to Tasmania as frequently as he would have liked - but maybe he thought that Adelaide was too close, because the relationship would too easily come under public scrutiny. Melbourne was a good compromise. Parkinson theorises that : "The frequent moving around with a young family must have been hard work, but this may have been necessary to preserve some measure of anonymity. Way would not have had to put his name to any documents in order to achieve protection of the leases against the owner of the land, as leases for more than three years had to be in a registrable form in Tasmania and Victoria." (ref : Parkinson, p 249) .
 - Business : He helped Susannah set up a millinery business – see under her occupation
 - Education : He helped the boys in their education costs – see their separate profiles.
 - Library : Edward donated books to establish the Rowden White Library at the University of Melbourne. Some of these books might have come from Samuel's own collection. Parkinson observed that a number of the books "bear the imprint of Rigby's Booksellers, King Street Adelaide which is just down the street from the Supreme Court, (and) a couple have front end pages noticeably torn out, and one is the Hannan biography of Sir Samuel Way." (ref : Parkinson, p 250)
 - Photos : Photos of the Whites (were these of the boys? or of Susannah?) were found in a drawer of Samuel's desk in the Supreme Court (ref : Parkinson, p 251)
 - Dying days :

- In Susannah's dying days, Samuel, arranged for his brother-in-law Dr Allan Campbell to see her (ref : Parkinson p 251) - So his brother-in-law must have known about the mistress.
 - In his own dying days, Samuel 'consulted' both Alfred and Edward.
- Grieving : See the diary entry above and also after Susannah's death, "Way deeply missed her. ... He experienced a virtual nervous breakdown the following year, usually attributed to overwork alone." (ref : Parkinson, p 251)
- Knighthood : Parkinson speculates that Samuel delayed accepting a baronetcy until after he married Kitty : "It was only then, in the knowledge of a legal marriage and with no chance of further issue, that he accepted the honours in the form of South Australia's first baronetcy, which would pass to his heir-in-law were there one." (ref : Parkinson, p 251). This reasoning might not be correct. He was keen on getting honours and the lack of legal male heir would not have held him back. Samuel had not publicly acknowledged Alfred as his eldest surviving son, even if he was able to devise a legal means of legitimizing him, and Samuel & Kitty were passed child bearing age. As it turned out, many years after Samuel's death, his second surviving son, Edward was knighted, but this was on his own merits, not by the title being passed down to him.
- Post-obit bonds : Samuel arranged for 2,500 pounds (plus interest) to be paid to Alfred and Edward after his death. This is the most concrete indication of a connection between Samuel and his sons.
- Why did Susannah name the children in ways which so clearly linked them to Samuel?
 - Samuel must have approved of these names because it happened for each their five children.
 - It would have been so easy to use other names. Is it possible that Samuel (and Susannah) deliberately left these markers?
- Direct evidence : All the above adds up to very strong circumstantial evidence but no 'smoking gun'. It comes nearest in the following : "A fellow researcher has sighted an unpublished manuscript of Sir Herbert Mayo, a former student of the University of Melbourne, in which the author stated that he met two of the White boys, his fellow students, going to meet their father who was arriving at the Spencer Street railway station. He then witnessed the meeting between the boys and Samuel Way and heard them call him father. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of this manuscript cannot be traced at present." (ref : p249)

Thirdly - the puzzles regarding John White who was designated as the father in many documents:-

- There is a great deal of mystery about John. There is no information about a wedding and it is not clear whether or not John and Susannah ever lived together. If they did, it may have been in Melbourne in the 1880's.
- Did he really exist? Was he a convenient fiction to hide the children's real paternity?
 - We have not located any formal documentation to confirm his existence – his birth, marriage, occupation or death etc.
 - Many of Samuel's diary entries mention Mrs W, but never Mr W.
 - Parkinson infers that there was no John White. He writes that the family "assumed the surname of White.... Susannah's sister Belinda married George Henry White,.. Also, Susannah's bother Andrew married Margaret White..... Another inter-family marriage would hardly have been remarkable, so Susannah White would have gone virtually unnoticed." (ref: Parkinson, p 246)
 - Parkinson believed that even Samuel may also have used the surname White on occasions: "He may have assumed the alias of White." (ref: Parkinson, p 247). But Parkinson provided nothing to substantiate this assertion.
- Despite the above comments, it is most likely that in fact John was an actual person.
 - One indication of this is in the death notice for Susannah's father which stated that Andrew died 'at the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. John White'. (ref: Hobart Mercury, 12th March 1885, p1). It is unlikely that it would have been expressed in this way if there was no such person. This is the only reference to John White where it is not directly relevant to the paternity of the children.
 - There are many examples where the name John White was named as the father. When James was enrolled in Hutchins School in 1880, the parent's name was given as 'Mr John White' (ref: Parkinson, p 245 & 249, AOT, The Hutchins School Register NS 36/101)
 - The boys were known by the surname of White from the time the family moved to Melbourne.
- Middle name: On the death certificates of both Edward and Alfred, their father is given as John Rowden WHITE. This middle name is a surprising coincidence that both of Susannah's 'husbands' have connections with the same uncommon name – John's middle name and Samuel's grandmother's surname. There must be some doubt on the accuracy of this particular entry on the death certificates because there were other errors on these death certificates. On the other hand, if in fact John had this middle name:-
 - This would run counter to the assertion that this unusual name was a pointer to Samuel being the father because they bear his grandmother's maiden surname.
 - It would point to John White in fact being the father, as the boys publicly maintained.

- It would also indicate that John was involved in Susannah's life before the boys were born – ie early 1874 for Alfred's conception, rather than around 1880 as Parkinson believed.
- Deed poll: Did Albert and Edward ever officially change their surname to White? Apparently not.
- Knighthood: We should be able to get the documentation about the awarding of Sir Rowden. This would probably have something about paternity as lineage is often of great interest at such times (eg the entry in Burke's Peerage of Sir Samuel Way). It is significant that he chose to style himself as 'Sir Rowden'. Some thought would have been given into deciding this public nomenclature which was much more than just his middle name. He must have been curious about where the name came from and he was probably aware that it was his paternal great-grandmother's surname.
- Biases: Each instance where the name 'White' appears has been viewed through the prism that the name was used as a ploy to hide the paternity. But are we discounting everything which is not consistent with this pre-judgment? Maybe each instance is evidence that in fact, their father was not Samuel Way. Why would Susannah and Samuel have gone to such great lengths to hide paternity by avoiding public acknowledgement, while at other times (as shown below) their actions clearly pointed to Samuel – the selection of names, his visits etc
- We need to find out more about John White and what part he played in the lives of Susannah and the children.

Susannah's death – and her children's stories

Susannah died in 1888, aged 45 years. We do not know the cause of death but we know that Samuel had arranged for her medical attention prior to her death and her death affected him deeply.

Let us consider how she would have seen things develop before she died – and also note what she did not live to see.

John: John was Susannah's first child. He was 23 years old at the time of his mother's death. We know very little about him. His father is unknown. We know that he graduated from Scotch College in Melbourne but we know nothing of his later life.

Lydia: Her father was John Daggs. When Susannah died, Lydia was 21 years old and had had a child in the previous year. Lydia might have still been living at home with Susannah so Susannah would have been thrilled to hold her first grandchild who was named after herself. The father of that child is unknown but his surname might have been White (ref: ??). We know nothing about this unknown White - maybe he was the son of John White with whom Susannah was with and after whom her oldest sons adopted their surnames. (The name White arises in seemingly disconnected ways throughout the whole extended family.) Lydia eventually had 10 children.

James: He was Samuel's first son. He was 19 years old when Susannah died. She would have seen James through his education at good schools, with the financial support of Samuel – firstly (but briefly) at the prestigious Hutchin's School in Hobart and then Carlton College in Melbourne and it is probable that she proudly attended his graduation at Geelong Grammar a year or so before she died. He later attended Roseworthy Agricultural College for a few months in 1893. Susannah was spared the grief of his premature death when he was 26 years old. It is not known whether he married nor had any children.

Frank: Frank had attended Carlton College and was one of the more senior students at Geelong Grammar being 16 years old when his mother died. Little is known what he did after finishing Geelong Grammar except that he was at Roseworthy Agricultural College in 1891 and notably, in that year he played Australian Rules Football for Norwood and was a key player when they won the premiership. Is it known whether he got married nor had children. He died, when he was only 29 years old, at Mrs Madden's Private Hospital, a salubrious establishment in Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, opposite Melbourne's Exhibition Gardens. Maybe Samuel was aware that Frank was dying and helped pay for his hospitalization.

Alfred: Alfred was 14 years old when his mother died. He had been dux of Carlton College and was attending Geelong Grammar School – either as a day boy or boarder. Susannah was not to know that later:-

- He qualified as a doctor at the University of Melbourne and became a leading physician.
- He was a Major in the Medical Corps in France during WW1
- Philanthropy – including Rowden White Library
- Knighted
- Never married nor had any children.
- Died at the great age of 88 – the last of her children.

Florence : She was just three years old when she died. We do not know how she died. Possibly even up to her own death seven years later, Susannah still felt the loss of her only daughter.

Edward : At the time of Susannah's death, Edward was seven years old - their youngest living child. He might have been attending the junior school at Geelong Grammar as a day boy or boarder. In later years, he followed his older brother into medicine at Melbourne University and also became a prominent physician. He was a lieutenant colonel in the medical services in Gallipoli, Sinai and Palestine in the First World War. He married Gladys Mary NORTHCOTE immediately on returning from the war. He was xxxxxx between the wars. He was in the medical services again in the Second World War – as a Colonel in Malaya and was a prisoner of war. Edward and Gladys had two children – James and Elizabeth. James also attended Geelong Grammar but died in WW2. Elizabeth married Howard Albert Leslie 'Tim' MORAN who was also a Geelong Grammar old boy and was a WW2 air veteran.

John White : Maybe he had begun living with Susannah around 1882 and maybe he was still with her when she died about six years later. Maybe he continued to have a role in the boys' lives. We just do not know.

Samuel : He was 52 years old and it is thought that he was deeply affected by her death. He might have had some kind of breakdown and his capacity to carry a full workload was hampered for some time. After their mother's death, Samuel continued to be in contact with the boys – as they completed their schooling at Geelong Grammar. We do not know Samuel's reaction to the deaths of James in 1895 and Frank in 1902.

The enigmatic relationship

Here is the paradox. On the one hand, for more than two decades Samuel maintained a clandestine relationship with his mistress and children in Tasmania and then in Melbourne. She was from a disreputable family whereas on the other hand, Samuel's prominence in Adelaide society continued to rise. He was one of the colony's most eligible bachelors, the epitome of integrity, the public face of propriety, the foremost law officer, with key roles in the government, church, Freemasons, hospitals, universities and most aspects of civic life. Somehow, Samuel managed to keep these two personas, these two worlds, separate.

What sort of person was she? What did Susannah make of it all?

- We know a great deal about Samuel – much has been documented about what he achieved, what he said, and even what he thought. But from Susannah there is silence. We can only guess at how she managed this secret relationship with such a public person for so long.
- She must have been a remarkable woman, a strong woman.
- She was in a powerful position because at, any stage, if ill feeling had developed between them, she could have exposed Samuel. This would have been at great cost to herself but even greater cost to Samuel. We do not know whether or not this was ever a factor in their relationship.
- She 'attracted' one of Adelaide's most eligible bachelors so we can guess that she had many attractive qualities in the early years of their romance and other endearing qualities as their relationship continued over the decades.
- It must have been much more than a sexual relationship. There must have been deep fulfilment for both Samuel and Susannah because they retained the relationship through the years, even though it would have been so difficult for both of them in different ways.
- She must have had strong feelings when she heard of Samuel's prominence in Adelaide while she was cut out and ignored publicly.
- Maybe Samuel was looking for other qualities in a wife. If Susannah had been Samuel's wife, could she have complemented his standing in the community as capably as Kitty was able to do?

Why didn't Samuel marry Susannah? Why did he keep the relationship a secret?

- Emerson (p28 suggests) the ostracism by respected society of the time if someone married below their class or had a mistress.
- The difference in social standing would have been accentuated by the convict background of her parents and grandparents. South Australian had resisted the idea of having convicts and undoubtedly the upper echelons of Adelaide society would have been particularly negative towards convict backgrounds.
- Emerson suggested that, after the extreme poverty of his childhood: "... he wanted to put himself as far as possible from having to endure that misery again, and to him that seems to have meant conforming to established practices rather than challenging them. If it was not done thing to marry a servant if one aspired to high public office, then he would keep that side of life to himself. The division of private and public life is no exception in Victoria society." (ref : Emerson, p 28) Does this imply that it was common for high society to

turn a blind eye to having a mistress of a lower class? There can be some doubt that this was common because it would have been difficult to keep this secret and avoid public scandal.

How did he keep it a secret? Who knew? How did he avoid public scandal?

- As such a public figure, many people would have wondered why Samuel was not married – he was a highly eligible bachelor.
- Fellow students and staff at Geelong Grammar would have asked the boys “Who is your father?” Paternity and lineage was pivotal, requiring a credible answer - particularly at that school, and particularly at that time. They would have been curious about who was paying the high fees. They would have noticed which parents attended official occasions like graduations and speech nights. Maybe John White, whoever he was, covered at least some of these questions.
- Emerson suggested that it was known by just a few intimate friends. (ref : Emerson, p 29) – but it seems that many people knew – it was a secret many were aware of, but they did not spread the word. Why did they help perpetuate this secret? Maybe Samuel’s standing was so high, and the ‘outing’ would have been so explosive, that no one dared speak out.
- His youngest sister, Florence must have known. She was his confidante and might have destroyed his personal diaries (p 26). Also, her husband, Dr Allan Campbell must have known because he attended Susannah, at Samuel’s request, in her dying days.
- Did Kitty know? Susannah died 10 years before Samuel and Kitty were married, but Kitty knew Samuel very well before and also it seems that all the close family knew – so Kitty must have known quite a lot about the relationship and the boys, even if Samuel was not completely frank about every detail. We do not know her attitude or reaction.
- People (who?) would have asked why he was going to Tasmania (and then Melbourne) so often and where he stayed. It would have been a major journey in those days, and he was a busy man.
- Knighthood documentation of lineage – compare with Samuel’s entry in Burkesxxxxx
- James White, grandson, knew.
- In his own dying days, Samuel sought the medical opinion of both his sons. They would have attended the funeral but were not recognised with the chief mourners. The other three children died before Samuel.
- Who knew? :-
 - At the time, maybe it was the worst kept secret amongst a wide circle going well beyond the immediate family and some professional circles.
 - There was an unstated conspiracy of silence by all who knew at the time, and by writers over the years (they must have known) – maybe out of respect for this great man.
 - It did not come fully public until Parkinson’s article in 1995. This was about 130 years after the commencement of their relationship, 107 years after Susannah had died and 80 years after Samuel’s death. Although many biographies of Samuel were written over these intervening years, none declared, let alone hinted, at this important aspect of his life.
 - It has now found its way onto internet genealogies – When? Who first put it on? Did they know the full significance of this information?

The consequences of secrets.

- It would have been difficult to keep the secret and the public consequences of the secret eventually coming out would have played on his mind and the minds of people close to him. Secrets come at a cost. It would have been distressing to not be able to publicly acknowledge your own family – at times of honour (eg graduating from Geelong Grammar) and grief (at the funerals). Parkinson called it “The Regret of Samuel Way”
- He publicly upheld the moral standards of the day through his roles in the courts, church, Freemasons and family. He, of all people in the community, epitomized certain standards. He could have exposed himself to being seen as an enormous hypocrite.
- As time went on, and his public profile increased, the consequences of exposure would have become greater and greater. The whole intrigue could have been easily become public. The risks were huge.
- To his credit, Samuel did not take the easier path of ignoring Susannah and the boys. Quite the opposite. He sustained considerable effort in visits and financial support. Every step he took was increasing the likelihood of exposure.
- The enormity of all this is indicated by the fact that at least six researchers investigated it. Firstly Alex Castles, Anne Rand, Margaret Glover, Shirley Eldershaw and Sue Edgar. This research included Castles’s examination of some Tasmanian shipping records of Samuel’s his visits to Tasmania. By the time Emerson made it public, possibly for the first time, it did not matter (ref : Emerson,p 26).

There were many potential points of controversy:-

- Class – the servant and the socialite
- Conformity – the relationship out of wedlock
- Secrecy – always difficult to sustain
- The law – convict background of her grandparent and father (stealing and ‘murder’) Vs the chief law officer
- Hypocrisy – the disconnect between private actions and public standing
- Scandal – what can really be wrong with loving a woman and caring for their children

What affect did it have on his professional life as judge and public figure?

- Samuel’s experiences with Susannah and the boys must have influenced (for the better, we hope) his professional life – a better understanding of the circumstances of others :-
- When chairing a Royal Commission into welfare services in 1883, “he was shocked at the ‘Lying-in home’ on North Terrace. Unmarried mothers were imprisoned for six months and forced to wash clothes six days a week” (ref : Emerson, p 35) He must have thought of Susannah while considering the plight of those lying-in.
- “In many of the cases he presided over involving women and children his judgements are compassionate and sometimes even progressive.” (ref : Parkinson, p 252)

COMMENTS :

- Potentially there were tremendous consequences of ‘exposure’ - much of what Samuel had achieved could have been overshadowed. He took a great risk but he avoided all public consequences even if there was a personal toll on many close to him.
- It is difficult to gain a balanced perspective on what, if anything, Samuel did wrong. And what public and private reactions (150 years ago and now) can be expected.
- One view could be that :
 - He loved a good woman and cared for their children as best he could – what is so wrong with that?
- On the other hand :
 - He treated Susannah badly (secrecy and shame) – in stark contrast to how he treated Kitty (public pride)
 - If he had publicly acknowledged his relationship with Susannah and paternity of the boys, he would have faced a scandal, but maybe his career would not have been significantly hampered.

Kitty’s early years

Samuel was born in England in 1836. Six years later, Susannah was born in Tasmania in 1842. Eighteen years after Samuel and twelve years after Susannah, Kitty was born in Scotland in 1854.

Kitty was born in Larbert, Stirlingshire and, when just 10 weeks old, she migrated to South Australia with her family - her parents, Jessie and Alexander Gordon, and her two brothers John and Alexander (junior).

They settled in Belvidere, a few kilometres south of Strathalbyn. Her father established a farming property, *Beaufort*, and the family were one of the pioneering families in the area.

At some stage Kitty went to live with Catherine and Donald Gollan in Strathalbyn. Catherine was Jessie’s sister so she was Kitty’s maternal aunt. Donald was a prominent figure with many significant business interests in the district. Donald and Catherine had migrated in 1839, in the first years of the colony of South Australia and Donald pioneered the economic and social life the new town of Strathalbyn. They visited back to Scotland in xxxxxx. It is not known when and why Kitty joined their household. The move to the Gollans may have occurred when Kitty was an infant, or a young child, or even towards her teenage years.

- If, as an infant: This could have been soon after her family settled near Strathalbyn. Her brothers were about 4 years and 3 years old and she was six months old. It might have been before Jessie had had any other children. Catherine did not have any children herself - we know this because in Donald’s obituary there is a full list of mourners but no reference to any children (ref : Southern Argus, 1st March 1888, p3). Because Catherine was childless, there might have been an arrangement (either explicit or implied) that she would eventually care for one of Jessie’s children - there is an indication of this because Catherine visited Jessie about a year before Kitty was conceived and curiously, Jessie gave Kitty the middle name of Gollin (that spelling) which linked her to the Gollans at that early stage. Maybe there was some obligation towards the Gollans because Donald had assisted the Gordons to migrate and settle into the new colony. None-the-less it is a mystery why Jessie would ‘give’ her first daughter to her sister, rather than, for example, a second or third son.

- If, as a young child: There is an indication that she came into the Gollan's care 'a few years' after she migrated (ref : Kitty's obituary in The Barrier Miner, 18th May 1914, p 8). Kitty "had gone as a child to live with Donald Gollan and his wife..... with them she led a much more sophisticated life than in the home of Alexander the Deacon." (ref : Gremmell??? P94). Maybe there were some circumstances that affected Jessie's ability to care for Kitty – perhaps a health issue.
- If, as a 13 year old: There is an indication that Kitty didn't come into the care of Catherine and Donald until around 12 or 14 years old (ref : Gremmell??) It is unusual for an eldest daughter to live away from home, especially when she is getting to an age where she would be able to contribute a significant role in the running of the household and the care of the younger children (there were four younger siblings), and particularly as they had recently lost their mother (when Kitty was 12 years old). After her mother's death, Ann Campbell joined the household as a housekeeper, and later married Kitty's father, so Ann was possibly managing the household quite well. Maybe there were some difficulties between Kitty and her new stepmother. Maybe, the absence of her mother, her father thought that pubescent Kitty needed the guidance of her aunt. Or maybe it was something practical which provided better access to opportunities in Strathalbyn rather than Belvidere - such as Miss Senner's School. Maybe aunt Catherine needed an extra hand. Or maybe Kitty was strong willed and forged her own way. It wasn't because of a family feud as she probably continued to have a lot of contact with her own family as her two 'fathers' (Alexander and Donald) were on good terms for an extended period - with business dealings (joint land ownership) and travels (they went to Bordertown together in 18xx).

But all this is just speculative.

It might have been an informal arrangement rather than an official adoption (we have not sighted any documents) but she became known as Kitty GOLLAN rather than Kitty GORDON.

Whatever the circumstances for this arrangement, it all seemed to have worked out well for Kitty in the long run. It was said that the Gollans were 'well-to-do' (ref : Wakefield p 104) and that "with them she led a more sophisticated life than in the home of Alexander the Deacon" (ref : Gremmell p 94). For example, she attended Miss Senner's school, which might have provided a quality of education not readily available to some other children. And maybe she was introduced to a social world which, at just 18 years, enabled her to 'marry well' to the local doctor, Billy Blue. And this in turn introduced her to high society firstly when Billy became the mayor of Strathalbyn and eventually, with her marriage to Sir Samuel Way, to become a public figure held in esteem in the best of circles in Adelaide.

Billy's early years

William Archibald Sinclair Blue was known as Billy Blue. He was born in Poplar in London in 1846. His father was the ship's surgeon when the family migrated to Australia when Billy was 5 years old. They settled in Strathalbyn where his father became one of the first doctors in the area.

Billy returned to England to train as a doctor at Guys' Hospital and then came back, as a 25 year old, to become a doctor in Strathalbyn like his father, who had died five years previously. He married a year after returning from London.

Billy and Kitty's marriage

Billy and Kitty were married in 1872 when he was 26 years and she was 18 years old. Four years later he was elected as the Mayor of Strathalbyn – a position he held a total of about 6 years.

He became Mayor of Strathalbyn in 1875 - three years after they married and the year their first child was born. Billy served a total of six years as mayor in two separate terms.

It was stated that 'Billy was one of the most distinguished residents of the town. and he and Kitty were largely responsible for the progress of the district. they had much to do with the social life of the place and were the heart and soul of anything they were connected with, and were always ready to promote any movement having for its object the progress of the district.' (ref: Barrier Miner, 18th May 1914, p 8) Dr Blue and Kitty's efforts ensured that the Institute was built. Often, Kitty attended medical cases with her husband. (ref: Butler p486)

Billy and Kitty had four children - Sinclair in 1875, Archibald in 1877, William in 1879 and Shylie in 1882.

They lived in Strathalbyn for many years but later moved to seaside Largs Bay for a short time before finally settling in Hahndorf.

The three Blue brothers were students at the Hahndorf Academy and in 1897 Kitty ran a small school at the Hahndorf Institute where she taught her own daughter Shylie as well as several other girls. She also taught music to students from Hahndorf College. (ref : 'The College of Wattles' by Reg Butler)

There are hints (where?) that Billy had alcohol issues.

He died in 1896 after a lengthy illness. They had been married for 24 years. On his death, Billy was 51 years, Kitty was 42, Sinclair 21, Archibald 19, William 17 and Shylie was 14 years old.

A year or so later, Kitty married Samuel Way

Samuel and Kitty's marriage

In 1898, ten years after Susannah died, Samuel married Kitty. She was 44 years old and it was Samuel's 62nd birthday – a difference of 18 years.

Less than a year after they were married, Samuel was granted a knighthood, and so Kitty became Lady Way.

Kitty and Samuel had no children but the children from Kittys' marriage to Billy Blue were Sinclair (22 yrs), Archibald (21 yrs), William (19 yrs) and Shylie (16 yrs). The older boys might have been beginning to establish their own lives outside the home, but it is probable that at least Shylie, and maybe William were very much part of the Montifiore household for at least the first few years. Shylie got married herself 8 years after the marriage of her mother and Samuel.

Their residence was *Montefiori* which Samuel had purchased in 1872. It was a two story mansion which was known for its elegant character set within a glorious garden. It has now been converted to a single story Aquinas College.



Photograph from "The Australasian" of 17 Dec 1898

Samuel had two other properties – Seaview (at some stage this was managed by Kitty's brother Hugh) and 'Kadlunga' near Mintaro. They would have spent time on these properties.

As Sir Samuel's wife, Kitty was prominent in the social life of Adelaide and she supported many community services. It was said "She was a person of outstanding ability and concern for others and capably filled the position of wife of two such public figures. She had much grace and sweetness and evident sincerity." (ref : xxx)

She became generally known as a leader among the large body of philanthropists who have done so much for the sick and the poor of this State (ref : Barrier Miner, 18th May 1914, p 8).

They may have lived at the Governor's House for several short periods. Lady Way's first garden party on the lawns of Government House was enjoyed by many Strathalbyn friends of former days. (Belvidere p 104)

The organizations she supported included:-

- Queen's Home
- Lady Victoria Girl's Club
- Home for Incurables
- YMCA
- Methodist Central Mission.
- Adelaide Children's Hospital
- State Children's Council
- Mothers' Union
- District Trained Nursing Society
- Lady Victoria Buxton Girls' Club
- Girls' Friendly Society
- Ministering Children's League
- Young Women's Christian Association
- Travellers' Aid Society
- The Queen Adelaide Club - president since its inception
- Victoria League
- Alliance Francaise
- Central Methodist Mission
- Actively involved in Christ Church (not Church of Christ)
- Golf and tennis clubs

Kitty and Samuel were together for 16 years before Kitty died in 1914 at the age of 60 years.

Kitty's funeral

The glowing eulogies for Lady Way demonstrate her standing within the community. The newspaper report of her funeral reads like a state funeral. Some public events, including social occasions and the courts, were cancelled for the funeral. It was a major occasion in Adelaide with thousands lining the streets for a procession. It was attended by all the leading public figures - the Governor, mayor, judges of the Supreme Court, church leaders, academics, health personnel, parliamentarians, charities, at least 6 knights, and of course family members - Blues (Archibald, William and Shylie), Rymills, Downers and Gordons (Maggie and Donald were there but it is not known why Alexander was not mentioned, John may have been ill as he died a few months later and Hugh had already died).

Anyone reading the obituaries and descriptions of the funeral is certain to be impressed by the impact her passing had on the people of Adelaide. - QUOTES

The public adulation was, in part, a reflection of public respect for Sir Samuel, but it must have been substantially due to the qualities which the public saw in Lady Way herself.

Samuel died two years later, at the age of 80 years.

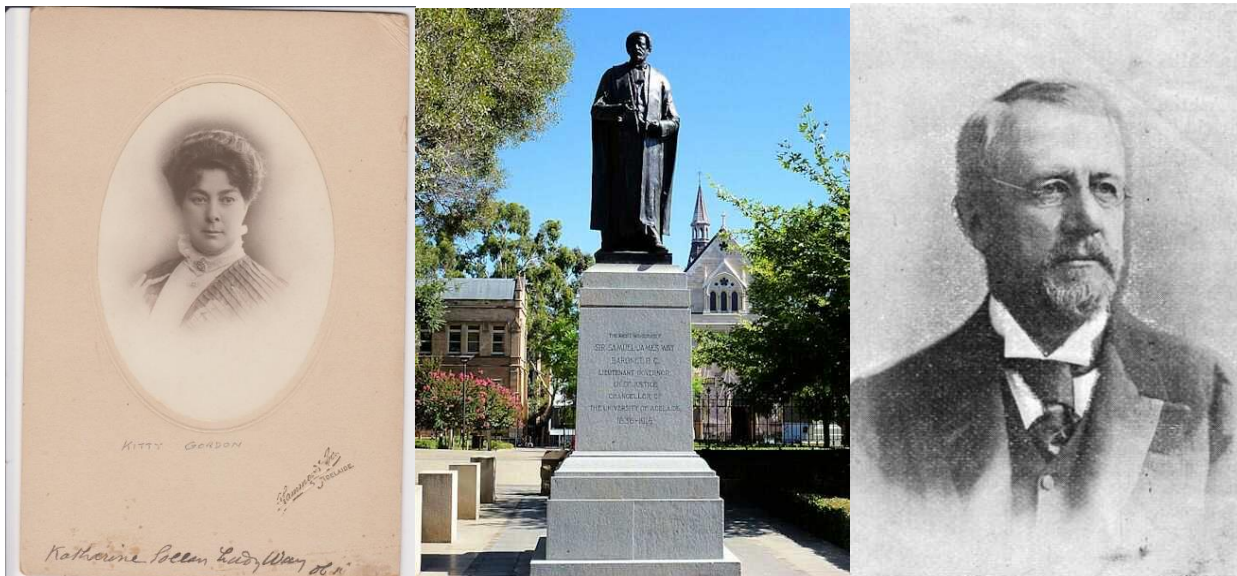


Photo from *The Australasian*, 17th Dec 1898 - Monument in North Terrace Adelaide - Photo: Courtesy of Alison Hicks

Kitty's children

What did Kitty know about the experiences of her children up to the time of her death? And what did she miss out in events after she had died?

Shylie

Shylie was 32 years old at the time of the death of her mother who had lived to see her daughter grow into a vivacious and beautiful debutante and who became a successful golfer. She married and had been married to Cargie Rymill for eight years. Cargie was the son of a successful business family. They had four children - Henry in 1907, William in 1910, Edward in 1911 and Katherine in 1913.

No doubt Kitty enjoyed seeing Shylie marry so well and delighted in her four grandchildren. But Kitty did not live to see how Shylie developed into Adelaide society and a charity worker with a life which, in many ways, mirrored her own.

She was prominent in the Guide movement and was State Commissioner for 12 years, coinciding with her son Henry being Chief Commissioner of the Boy Scouts. Henry had also married well - into prominent Adelaide families, the Downers and the Riddochs. Shylie died in 1959 at the age of 77 years.

Such was the prominence of the extended families that their lives are chronicled in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* - Rymill (Shylie and her son Henry), Riddoch, Downer and Way. There are also entries in Wikipedia.

The Blue boys

By contrast to the brilliance of Shylie's life, fortunately Kitty did not live to see the pain in the lives of every one of the men who were close to her - all in less than two years after her own death. Her eldest son died in South Africa five months after she died. Then her oldest brother (John) died the next month. Her youngest son was killed in action in Egypt 14 months after her death. Samuel died following illness and an amputation only 20 months after Kitty. Her middle son survived Gallipoli but had hospitalizations for mental illness soon after his return and he had a difficult life. None of her three sons married and Shylie was the only one to produce grandchildren.

Sinclair, the eldest, had been in Penola where he was a horseman riding in local events and was involved in sport and he was favourite when he sang for community occasions. His uncle (Kitty's brother, John) was managing a station near there and her other two sons and sister, Maggie, might have also lived in that area for a while. Kitty would have

been proud and worried when Sinclair was farewelled to fight in the Boer War at the age of 25 years. He embarked in January 1900 and was in the same contingent as Breaker Morant. After the war, he was the aide-de-camp to Sir Samuel for a while. He returned to South Africa a few times and finally died in Capetown at the age of 39 years.

A few months after Kitty died, her youngest son, William, enlisted soon after the outbreak of WW1. On enlisting he was described as an unmarried wool traveller, 34 years old. He was with the 3rd Light Horse. He sailed in October, around the time that Sinclair and John died. William served in Egypt. Twelve months after leaving Australia he sustained a bullet wound to the face and died of meningitis. He was buried in Egypt at the age of 36 years.

Her middle son, Archibald enlisted in 1916, seven months after Samuel had died and eleven months after William had been killed. Archibald was also in the 3rd Light Horse like his brother before him. He was taller and heavier than his younger brother. On enlistment, he was described as 38 years old, unmarried, farmer. He served in Gallipoli and Egypt. He was a dispatch rider - being a very good horseman. He returned and was a labourer on Witchelina Station. He had some hospitalizations for mental illness soon after returning from the war. Archibald died in 1947 at the age of 70 years. He never married nor had children.

Samuel's final year

Sir Samuel had been unwell in the months prior to Kitty's death and a few months after her funeral he had an arm amputated. He continued in his judicial and civic roles but died in January 1916, twenty months after her. He had an official state funeral which was even grander than Kitty's funeral - "probably the biggest funeral the state has ever seen" (ref : Brisbane Courier, 12th Jan 1916, p 8).

His estate was valued for probate at £55,000 (gross). There were thirty-five beneficiaries, the most considerable legacy going to his widowed sister and his library of 15,000 volumes was willed to the university. Way's voluminous, shrewd and candid letter-books are in the Mortlock Library of South Australiana. It is said that his sister burnt his personal diaries.

Samuel's children

What were the circumstances of the children of Susannah (who had died 28 years previously) and Samuel at the time of his death and the subsequent years?

Of the five children, three had already died. Florence died 36 years previously, James died 21 years previously and Frank died 14 years prior to Samuel's death.

Alfred: At the time of his father's death, Alfred was 41 years old and a leading physician in Melbourne. A year or so after Samuel's death, Alfred signed up for service in WW1 with the Medical Corps in France where he became a major. After the war, he continued his prominent medical career. He was a well-known philanthropist and in 1953 he was knighted as Sir Rowden. He never married nor had any children. He died at in 1963 at the age of 88 years.

Edward : At the time of Samuel's death, Edward was 34 years old. Like his older brother, he was a physician in Melbourne but at the time of his father's death, he was overseas on service in the First World War. He was a lieutenant colonel in the medical services in Gallipoli, Sinai and Palestine in. He married Gladys Mary NORTHCOTE immediately on returning from the war. He was continued as physician between the wars. He was in the medical services again in the Second World War – as a Colonel in Malaya and was a prisoner of war. Edward and Gladys had two children – James and Elizabeth. James also attended Geelong Grammar but died in WW2. Elizabeth married Howard Albert Leslie 'Tim' MORAN who was also a Geelong Grammar old boy and was a WW2 air veteran. Edward died in 1958 at 76 years.

How and when did Albert and Edward hear about their father's death? Edward was overseas (where exactly at that time?) and might not have heard of the death until some time later. Someone (who?) might have telegraphed Alfred in Melbourne, or he might have read of the death in the papers (check which Melbourne papers and when). There was only five days between the death and funeral and we do not know whether Alfred rushed from Melbourne to Adelaide for the funeral. Was he present at the funeral service and burial? We do not know whether he was among the crowds looking on as the procession passed, or was he in one of the many carriages of the procession? (Note that

newspaper reports listed who was in many of the carriages, but no mention of Alfred). What emotions flooded over him as an outsider when his father was so publicly heralded and eulogized without even a mention of his children.

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These notes were compiled by Don Gordon. Don's great-grandfather was Kitty's brother.

The notes are drafts which are not yet complete but they are a useful basis for further research – or maybe an inspiration for someone to create a more readable narrative of these intriguing lives – perhaps a fact-novel or scene-play.

It would be great to hear from anyone who is interested in any part of this family tree. Please send any corrections or suggestions via 'Contact us' on the website www.samuelway.info.