

# Sanatorium of India: Climate and Tourism in 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Tasmania

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Tasmania - truly called the 'Granary of the Australias,' the 'Garden of the South', the 'Sanatarium of India' - with a climate whose summer equals that of London - whose winter is not more severe than the south of France - whose autumn possesses two months more growing weather than England, - with an equal fall of rain throughout the year - a freedom from malaria - a bright and clear atmosphere - and the English aspect of its towns and villages and cultivation - offers great advantages to persons seeking health after a residence in warm climates ...<sup>1</sup>

In the early nineteenth century Van Diemen's Land's clear and temperate climate was one of its greatest resources. From early settlement settlers, visitors and various other commentators all celebrated the climate as 'salubrious', 'bracing' and 'health-giving'. This climatic celebration was due not just due to the obvious merits of the Island's atmosphere and weather, however, but also to contemporary ideas about health and wellbeing prevalent in the wider world. By the early nineteenth century scientific ideas born of the Enlightenment had coalesced with imperialist policies to produce a common concern among Europeans that climate was an important factor in the health and constitution of the European character.<sup>2</sup> Chiefly driving these concerns was the fear that the natural physical and intellectual superiority of Europeans would in some way diminish after extensive sojourns in alien and tropical climates.<sup>3</sup> The fate of the British in equatorial India and Africa, for example, was high up on the list of imperial concerns. Despite its reputation as a gaol, therefore, Van Diemen's Land became of increasing interest to Europeans who inhabited climes closer to the equator — particularly those in India. Not surprisingly, soon after settlement an early form of health tourism developed between India and Van Diemen's Land encouraged by various stakeholders who coined epithets such as the 'Sanatorium of India', 'Sanatorium of the Australian Colonies', 'Sanatorium of Australia' and 'Sanatorium of the South' to describe the island's merits as a health destination. These labels were effectively nineteenth-century logos, symbolic of several complex social transcripts, as much as they were descriptions of the Island's climatic status and potential.<sup>4</sup> Before long, however, the settlers also used these labels to promote Van Diemen's Land to emigrants and later tourists. This paper will discuss the 'The Indian Connection with Tasmania' by exploring the passage of nineteenth-century climatic ideas into early Tasmanian immigration and tourist rhetoric.

## **Cold and temperate climates in the nineteenth century**

For nineteenth-century Europeans the concept of 'climate' inherently contained two great ideas understood both medically and sociologically. On the one hand, temperate, healthy climates were inextricably interwoven with contemporary medical ideas surrounding health and well-being, at a time when cures were at a premium and disease threatened to curtail life spans. On the other hand, cold and invigorating climates were also seen as a causal factor behind European racial superiority. Although this latter line of thinking was later employed to validate movements like eugenics, in the early nineteenth century cold and temperate climates were more positively associated with the ideology of 'progress' — a concept that drove many western colonial outposts during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The idea of progress, with its promise of positive development, naturally resonated with the early free settlers of Van Diemen's Land who desired to populate the Island with

the 'right kind of people'.<sup>5</sup> From the understanding that from 'climate stemmed energy, ingenuity, and organising ability', emerged a powerful incentive to attract settlers to the island while simultaneously guaranteeing their success.<sup>6</sup> If white Caucasian people could flourish in cold and temperate climates in Europe, then, it was reasoned, they could also flourish in Tasmania. The concept of climate thus provided nineteenth-century Tasmanians with an ideal contemporary image with which to promote immigration and tourism. Not only did climate provide a positive image for Tasmania, in contrast to its negative image as a gaol, but within the concept of climate as a sociological construct was embedded the potential for moral and social redemption. Ideas about climate thus underpinned much of the rhetoric surrounding immigration and tourism propaganda emanating from the colony throughout the nineteenth century and to a lesser extent during the period from Federation to the Second World War.

### **How the celebration of Tasmania's climate began**

The celebration of climate in Van Diemen's Land began in the early nineteenth century with the global 'race' to attract emigrants. At this time around the world, new settler societies — in their quest for development — were competing for useful and productive settlers. At the same time, for various religious and economic reasons, many people in the old world were seeking to make a fresh start in the new. New settler societies intent on attracting emigrants were thus pressured to identify comparative advantages in order to promote themselves in the best possible light. The rhetoric that developed and accumulated to attract these emigrants was in many cases later used to attract tourists. Emigration guides purporting to weigh up the advantages that new settler societies had to offer, became vehicles for this rhetoric.

In 1817, for example, Christopher Kelly published a book in London, ambitiously entitled, *A new and complete system of universal geography, or, An authentic history and interesting description of the whole world and its inhabitants*.<sup>7</sup> In *Volume One*, Kelly described the climate of Van Diemen's Land together with its geography as 'promising' although the aboriginal inhabitants were 'primitive'. Three years later, William Kingdom also published a book in London entitled, *America and the British colonies: an abstract of all the most useful information relative to the United States of America and the British colonies of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Island: exhibiting at one view the comparative advantages and disadvantages each country for emigration: collected from the most valuable and recent publications, to which are added a few notes and observations*.<sup>8</sup> This book carefully weighed up the comparative advantages that each society had to offer the prospective emigrant. Of Van Diemen's Land Kelly wrote:

This Island, with the single exception of a third of the inhabitants being convicts, has no disadvantage worthy of notion. Here are neither droughts nor inundations, and the natives are even more timid than those at Port Jackson, as well as fewer in number. It possesses the same advantages, in a commercial point of view, as New South Wales. The harbours are not only numerous but good; that of Hobart Town, in particular, is supposed to be equal to any in the world; and, above all, the climate is excellent, being nearly upon a par with that of the south of France ...<sup>9</sup>

Although Kingdom probably never visited Van Diemen's Land — drawing as he does quite clearly on the treatise of WC Wentworth<sup>10</sup> written the year before — his book had the effect of perpetuating Wentworth's view who claimed in 1819 that the Van Diemen's Land's climate was 'equally healthy, and much more congenial to the European constitution, than that of Port Jackson'.<sup>11</sup> Such publications raised consciousness among Van Diemen's Land colonists of the need to identify their own comparative advantages lest others do it for them. When Van Diemen's Land's settlers

began to identify their own comparative advantages they too, however, came to appreciate the climate as outstanding.

On a world scale, Van Diemen's Land's climate was unique among new settler societies. Only New Zealand, Chile, Western Britain and Western France had similar climates. Van Diemen's land offered British settlers a climate that made them feel at home while simultaneously offering antipodean qualities 'better' than the 'old' country. In terms of attracting settlers, then, the clear and salubrious climate was a distinct comparative advantage. In 1820, when the first difficult years of settlement were over, and three years after free immigration had begun, the settlers in Van Diemen's Land first used the Island's climate as a promotional tool.

### **How Tasmanians promoted the climate**

In 1820, Lieutenant Charles Jeffreys, R. N., wrote what is generally accepted as the first guidebook on the geography of Tasmania. Entitled *Van Dieman's (sic) Land: Geographical and descriptive delineations of the Island of Van Dieman's (sic) Land* Jeffreys began the book with an acknowledgment of the global race to attract emigrants.<sup>12</sup>

If the author may venture a hope that this little book may have a tendency to draw the public attention to a part of the globe hitherto too much overlooked and neglected, he shall not think his labour to have been in vain.<sup>13</sup>

The book promoted Van Diemen's Land as a 'settler's paradise' offering spectacular advantages in contrast to other places on the globe. Comparing the island with the Western Territories of North America, Jeffreys proposed that prospective settlers would find the settlements in Van Diemen's Land 'unmatched in advantages to the emigrant, in climate and capability for production by any other part of the globe'.<sup>14</sup> The climate of Van Diemen's Land, he declared was

perhaps, the most salubrious of any on the globe for an European constitution, the general temperature is about 60 degrees of Fahrenheit, and the extremes ranging from 43 to 80 degrees. Its spring may generally be considered as commencing early in August, its summer in November, its autumn in March, and its winter in May, so that its winter is not more than three months, and the severest part only six weeks.<sup>15</sup>

But not only was the climate perfectly congenial but the island's topography was 'richly variegated, and diversified by ranges of moderate hills, and gently undulating valleys, forming the most exquisitely beautiful amphitheatres, pregnant with whatever a rich soil and salubrious climate can yield'.<sup>16</sup> Prospective emigrants were understandably favourably impressed. When some of these emigrants arrived in the island to find that hard work, however, was also involved in making the most of the climate some complained that Jeffrey's descriptions of the island were 'overblown'. Nevertheless, the effect of the book was twofold. First, it served its purpose by attracting settlers to the colony and second, it set the tone for many guidebooks that followed. Nearly all of these publications praised the climate as 'salubrious' — the word itself betraying the preoccupation of the day with the relationship between climate and health. Rhetoric about the Island's climate thus proliferated as a rash of emigrant guidebook and travel narrative writers felt compelled to promote the climate to prospective settlers.

In 1822, in an emigrant guidebook with a long and convoluted title, George Williams Evans, Deputy Surveyor of Lands for Van Diemen's Land from 1812 to 1825 (and arguably more qualified to comment on climate and topography than Lieutenant

Jeffreys) described the climate of Van Diemen's Land as 'perhaps the most salubrious of any on the globe for an European, it being much more congenial to his constitution than that of Port Jackson'.<sup>17</sup> The following year English guidebook writer, Thomas Godwin, echoed Evans, declaring that 'this island has to boast of perhaps, the most salubrious and congenial climate of any in the known world, for an European'.<sup>18</sup> In 1824 Edward Curr wrote of Van Diemen's Land that

... from its situation between the parallels of 40 degrees and 44 degrees south, it is possessed of a moderately warm and very salubrious climate, more especially in the northern part, which for an English constitution, can hardly be surpassed by any other country in the world.<sup>19</sup>

Curr was careful to be measured in his appraisal of the opportunities offered to the emigrant in Van Diemen's Land since, in his view, references in other guide books previously written 'produced a lavishness of praise which I have considered unwarranted'.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, he thought that

In no respect have I bestowed unqualified praise except upon the climate; and of that I must remark, that if it be never bad, it has degrees of excellence; and the extremes are often exhibited in a very short space of time.<sup>21</sup>

But it was not just the early guidebooks that initiated and circulated the praises of Tasmania's climate. From the earliest times travellers also told of their experiences with the Tasmanian climate. In July 1828, Rosalie Ambrose Hare, staying at Circular Head with the Curr family en route to Java, remarked on the climate stating that

The climate is very healthy; two of our women on board ship [*Caroline of Calcutta*] were reduced to skeletons almost and appeared in consumption, but no sooner had they got on shore than they improved very rapidly and were, when I left, in particular good health. Here, by the assistance of my good friends, I perfectly recovered, and my dear and anxious husband on his return from Launceston could scarcely believe me the same pale, creature he had left.<sup>22</sup>

Settlers themselves, in their private letters and correspondence, also contributed to the development of ideas about the climate. William Parramore writing to his fiancée Thirza Cropper in 1824 claimed:

We now have the most delightful weather, as delightful as summer in England, but with a clearer atmosphere. I could not desire a finer climate than that of Hobart Town. ... everywhere Van Diemen's Land is remarkably healthy. I have heard of no contagious diseases, no epidemics. Children's diseases are yet unknown. ... I have had excellent health ever since we arrived and my Father's is better than it has been for some years ...<sup>23</sup>

## **The climatic connection between Van Diemen's Land and India**

That all these views should come to the notice of Anglo-Indian soldiers and civil servants serving the British Raj in India is not surprising. Communication between the early British colonies was surprisingly efficient and frequent. By the time Jeffrey's book was published virtually the entire East Coast of India was under the imperial rule of the second British Empire. Soon British civil servants and soldiers began visiting the Van Diemen's Land for rest and recreation and to enjoy the 'salubrious' climate.

In February 1825, the *Hobart Town Gazette and Advertiser* reported that Major Todd and Captain Wilson, of the East India Company Service, had arrived in Hobart Town for 'the benefit of their health' and it was understood that 'several Brother Officers will

speedily follow them here for the same purpose'. The paper prophesied that these visits might herald a pattern. 'We may fairly add', it predicted,

from the salubrity of the climate, and from the military allowance to invalids having been discontinued if they go to England, it would not surprise us if in future Hobart Town should be as much thronged by the fashionable sick of India and the Mauritius, as Duke's place is by Israelites, Margate by Cockneys, and the Borough Mint by Hibernians, and the road to London by 'sons of the hardy-north'.<sup>24</sup>

The newspaper's statement turned out to be prophetic. From the mid 1820s a steady stream of Anglo-Indians travelled to the island for rest and respite from India's climate and conditions.

In the summer of 1829-1830 Augustus Prinsep and his wife arrived from Calcutta in search of health. Prinsep found the climate both restorative and delightful. He remarked on the dryness of the atmosphere that was a 'relief to my constitution, after the mists and rain which seemed to pursue me from Calcutta to Penang, and thence to Singapore (sic) and Batavia'.<sup>25</sup> Although remarking on the cold southern winds, he delighted in

the power of again ranging about the fields, with a book or pencil, and conversing with nature thus easily, without fear of a burning tropical sun and the lassitude its presence produced, is to me a never-failing source of delight.<sup>26</sup>

In the same year, although arriving separately, Captain John Henderson and a Captain Betts arrived in Van Diemen's Land. On returning to India Henderson, Betts and Prinsep all wrote books about their experiences, which were subsequently published in 1830, 1832 and 1833 respectively.<sup>27</sup>

Such publicity raised consciousness about Van Diemen's Land in India and prompted further curiosity on the part of British and Anglo-Indian civil servants interested in the island. In 1834, TE Dempster, a surgeon in the employ of His Majesty Service in Bengal, visited Van Diemen's Land for several months. On his return to India he submitted an article to the journal of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta that discussed the relationship between climate and disease in the island. The article was published in 1835 in Volume Seven of *The Calcutta Medical and Physical Transactions*. Entitled 'On the climate of Van Diemen's Land as a Resort for Invalids from India' Dempster observed in the article that

... so far as it goes [the climate] is eminently favourable. Everyone of whose case I could gain an account, had experienced great and decided benefit, with the exception of a few persons, who arrived in the colony either labouring under, or having a strong predisposition to thoracic disease.<sup>28</sup>

Dempster further pointed out that in addition to the climate Van Diemen's Land offered other advantages 'over all other places in the Indian seas, usually resorted to by invalids from this country'.

The town, the streets, and shops, the inhabitants, manners, and customs — all are English; everything tropical is left behind and forgotten for a time; old and pleasing recollections renewed; and morbid associations and habits broken and destroyed. The advantage of such moral remedies, in aiding the cure of long continued chronic disease, every physician will fully appreciate.<sup>29</sup>

Because of this type of publicity, by the mid nineteenth century Tasmania was well known in India and some Anglo-Indians had already migrated to the colony.<sup>30</sup>

In the summer of 1850-51, prompted by curiosity about its climate, among other reasons, seasoned traveller and Deputy Adjutant General of Forces in Australasia, Colonel Godfrey C Mundy, travelled through the island. In the journal, which he kept of his travels, which he later published, Mundy recorded a telling incident with a shopkeeper in Launceston. The shopkeeper — clearly a great admirer of the climate — described to Mundy the situation of a friend who had moved from Port Phillip to Launceston on account of his bad health. The evidently rotund shopkeeper narrated how his friend had been restored to health after moving to the island a fact, which in his view could only be attributed to the climate. He declared 'he was as thin as a plank, or as you are, Sir, when he came, but in a few months, he became as lusty as myself'.<sup>31</sup> After hearing similar stories Mundy concluded that Tasmania possessed 'about the finest climate' in the world.<sup>32</sup> Not only were the stories of the salubrity of the Tasmanian climate true but the climate 'shows itself in the healthy appearance of the people, especially in the young'.<sup>33</sup>

At a reception at government house, which Mundy enjoyed during his visit, he observed the dancing of some of the local children. Among them 'were many beautiful specimens of rising Anglo-Saxons — for the rearing of whom the climate of Tasmania is evidently very favourable'.<sup>34</sup> The same, he observed, 'must be said of it with reference to human plants of a more advanced growth; for I saw in five minutes this night more fair faces tinged with the English rose than I had seen in New South Wales in as many years'.<sup>35</sup>

### **Climate as an idea in Van Diemen's Land**

The idea that Tasmania's climate was responsible for the superior physical condition of the native born, and the longevity of those who had migrated to the island, was, at the time, not surprising. As an idea, the impact of climate on human development had been circulating in scientific circles for some time. In his introductory paper to the *Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science*, Hobart Presbyterian Minister, John Lillie, for example, explained that 'climate is known to exert a powerful control over both the body and the mind of man'. In Lillie's view this hypothesis was evident in Van Diemen's Land where climate could be seen to have exerted a powerful influence on the native born:

It is generally allowed that the climate of this country, whether arising from the absence of moisture or a higher temperature, or from some other cause, is of a much more stimulating and exciting character, and tends to bring on a quicker development of the bodily and mental powers, than the climate of Great Britain. ... The native children, or those born in the colony of European parents, are in general decidedly in advance of children of the same age in the mother-country. There is a precocity of body and mind quite surprising to those who have come recently from Home; and the more so, because associated with no symptoms of sickness, or want of activity and vigour.<sup>36</sup>

Ten years later historian John West corroborated Lillie's view by recording in his two-volume history of Tasmania that 'those of middle age who land here find their constitutions recruited; but the country-born come more quickly to maturity'.<sup>37</sup> John Mitchel, the Irish political prisoner, who was removed from Bermuda to Van Diemen's Land on account of his asthma, also noticed the effect of the climate on the native born: 'Native Tasmanians, both men and women, grow up frequently tall, straight and handsome, with a mild expression of countenance, and manners always affable, gentle, and kindly.' In Mitchel's view,

our species grows to a splendid perfection here; but the finest specimens of the genus are those who have been born in the northern hemisphere and who came hither [as] children. They have both the European stamina and the southern culture in so matchless a clime, and the result is something marvellous.<sup>38</sup>

Thomas Meagher, Mitchel's compatriot 'Young Irishman', also observed:

The climate is more than healthful; it is invigorating and inspiring. Breathing it manhood preserves its bloom, vivacity, and vigor, long after the period at which, in other countries, those precious gifts depart, and the first touch of age is felt ... Breathing it many a frail form, which the Indian sun had wasted, acquires a fresh life; the dim eye lights up anew, and to the ashy paleness of the sunken cheek succeeds the sparkling blush of health ...<sup>39</sup>

### **Tasmania as the 'Sanatorium of India'**

To breathe life into 'many a frail form that the Indian sun had wasted' was clearly the goal for many Anglo-Indians who visited the island. British imperial servants came to Tasmania for the same reasons that they sojourned to the Indian hill stations of Kashmir and Ceylon in search of health and a cooler climate. For many soldiers and civil servants of the British Raj it was an attractive alternative destination to Ceylon and Mauritius for rest and recuperation. By 1857 when the British in India were plunged into a state of political emergency, such excursions, however, would be significantly curtailed. When Indian patriots launched a full-scale rebellion against the Raj the British reeled in shock at the violence that ensued. In terms of the connection between Tasmania's climate and India what happened next is, in hindsight, not surprising.<sup>40</sup> When reports reached the largely British community in Tasmania of violent attacks on women and children they were greatly concerned. So great was the public feeling that in 1858 the colony's governor, Sir Henry Fox Young, commissioned an enquiry into the potential of Tasmania as a Military Medical Sanatorium and Post for Convalescents.<sup>41</sup> Young aimed primarily to relieve military men stationed in India of the long trip home to Britain for convalescent leave. It was a compassionate response but also as an opportunity to capitalise on the previous relationship which Tasmania had enjoyed with India due to the island's climate.

*The Mercury* immediately supported the scheme and applauding Governor Young's initiative to commission the inquiry claimed that the move was 'one of the most important acts that characterised His Excellency's administration.'<sup>42</sup> 'The advantages Tasmania possessed as a military depot for invalids from India could be stated in a few words':

We are considerably nearer to India than England is; and troops might be sent here in about one half the time and at considerably less expense. Leaving India, they might reach this colony by steam in one month, remain here another, and be landed in Calcutta again, musket in hand, in another — three months in all.<sup>43</sup>

But of course the 'splendour of the climate' was of the greatest importance 'seeing that the comfort and speedy recovery of the invalids, would be much facilitated thereby'.<sup>44</sup> *The Mercury* pointed out that Tasmania's superior climatic advantages could be deduced from the returns forwarded from the principal medical officers to the army authorities at home relative to the health of the troops: 'By those returns it will be seen, we believe, that mortality amongst the men stationed in this Colony, has been considerably less than in England'.<sup>45</sup> The newspaper considered that 'a more salubrious climate than ours it would be most difficult, if not impossible, to find; and this, we take it, is another advantage'.<sup>46</sup>

Ten Commissioners, including medical doctors, sat on the enquiry producing seven findings, the first of which was the salubrity of the climate. The Commissioners found:

The salubrity of the Climate is equal, if not superior, to that of the healthiest part of Europe; and, for the restoration to health of those who suffer from the Diseases incidental to exposure to a Tropical Climate, better than that of any other in the world.<sup>47</sup>

Diseases of the stomach and bowel, for example, that were fatal to soldiers in the East Indies, were least fatal to them in Tasmania and less so even than the other Australian colonies.

Other points concerned the logistics of the proposal itself. The Commissioners found that 'the voyage from Calcutta or Bombay to Hobart Town, in the Steam Vessels which carry Her Majesty's Mails, would be performed in less than a month'.<sup>48</sup> The men would benefit from an immediate change to a better climate and instead of the long voyage of three and a half months when sent to Europe they would only have to endure a short voyage of about three weeks. Further, 'a sanatorium in Hobart Town, if established, would be more easily and quickly reached than the Hill Sanatoria in the Himmalayas (sic); there would be more certainty, in the generality of cases sent to it, of speedy restoration to health'.<sup>49</sup> The Commissioners concluded that they hoped the scheme would meet with the approval of the Home and Indian governments because they thought it 'would save many valuable lives'.<sup>50</sup>

Members of the general public supported the scheme. Tasmanian Member of Parliament and early photographer, Douglas Kilburn, wrote to *The Times* in London suggesting that the combination of Tasmania's scenery and climate would yield considerable health benefits for convalescing soldiers of the Anglo-Indian army.<sup>51</sup> He told the newspaper's readers that 'all medical men advocate change of scene, particularly of pleasant places' and in this respect 'the scenery of Tasmania was 'the most picturesque that can be imagined'.<sup>52</sup> Here 'the valetudinarian can obtain absolute enjoyment in the establishment of his health upon the noble river, in fishing, and water excursions to the various bays and creeks in which it abounds'.<sup>53</sup> 'Pathologus', another writer to *The Times*, responded supportively to Kilburn's letter suggesting that the climate possessed the characteristics of 'a constant perflation from the ocean of an equable temperature', which would clearly be beneficial for invalids.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, it made sense to take advantage of the public buildings left vacant in Tasmania due to the cessation of transportation.

Despite efforts put into the enquiry together with the general public's support for the scheme, both in Tasmania and abroad, the idea to make Tasmania the 'Sanatorium of India' never came to fruition. However, as an opportunity for Tasmania all was not lost. The ultimate effect of the public discourse surrounding the scheme was to consolidate the rhetoric about Tasmania's climate that had been circulating for the previous fifty years.

### **Tourism as the 'Sanatorium of the South'**

In 1868, when English guidebook writer Frederic Algar published his colonial handbook on Tasmania, he talked about Van Diemen's Land not just in terms of the 'Sanatorium of India' but also as the 'Granary of the Australias' and the 'Garden of the South'.<sup>55</sup> Although the image of Tasmania as a 'Sanatorium' remained, the image metamorphosed into a number of variants as public discourse changed over time. The image of Tasmania as the 'Sanatorium of India' thus metamorphosed into the 'Sanatorium of Australia', 'Sanatorium of the Australian colonies' and 'Sanatorium of



the South' as visitors from the hotter mainland colonies travelled to Tasmania for rest and recreation wooed by the growing number of tourist operators and boosters.<sup>56</sup> By 1871, when *Walch's Tasmanian Guide Book* was published, the editor, Louisa Anne Meredith, suggested that the 'advantages of Tasmania's climate were so well known, by reports of various visitors who resorted here in summer', that it was only necessary to say that, 'though a variable one, the climate is mild and most agreeable'.<sup>57</sup>

In 1888 the rhetoric that had developed concerning Tasmania's climate was given official credence by London medical publisher, Ludwig Bruck.<sup>58</sup> Bruck's objective was to provide individuals like Otter, together with medical professionals, specific information on the most appropriate resorts for particular ailments. In his *Guide to Health Resorts in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand*, published in 1888, Tasmania scored the highest number of mentions in the sections dealing with 'sea-side health resorts' and 'climatic health resorts', which were classified according to 'their therapeutic indication'.<sup>59</sup> According to Bruck, seaside health resorts were particularly healthy for invalids because, among other reasons, they offered a greater amount of ozone and because 'a very important fact is the comparative purity of the sea-air from organic admixture and inorganic dust, while the presence of a greater or less amount of saline particles cannot be regarded as a disadvantage'.<sup>60</sup> Bruck advised that seaside locations benefited anyone suffering from various nervous disorders such as 'Insomnia, Anaemia, Scrofula, Impotence, Phthisis and Hysteria, Blennorrhoea, Leucorrhoea, and other diseases'.<sup>61</sup> He recommended that any invalids travelling to Tasmania afflicted with these conditions should resort to Formby and Torquay, Georgetown, Kingston, Penguin, St. Helens, Swansea, Ulverstone and Wynyard.<sup>62</sup>

Bruck also provided information on 'climatic' health resorts, which were classified according to their elevation from sea-level. Climatic health resorts benefited invalids suffering from 'Phthisis, Bronchial Catarrh, Convalescence, Nervous and Chronic Debility, Uterine Diseases, Chlorosis, Laryngitis and other diseases'.<sup>63</sup> Tasmania sported several suitable climatic resorts in the 1000-1500 feet above sea level category and recommendations were given for Campbelltown, Deloraine, Franklin, Hobart, Launceston, New Norfolk, Richmond, Ross, Victoria, Evandale and Oatlands.<sup>64</sup>

For Bruck, however, there were other important points to consider when assessing resorts for their comparative fitness for rest and recuperation. The character of the local hotels, for example, should be taken into account. In this respect Bruck provided additional information in his book about excursions to popular local tourist attractions. Presumably Bruck considered that the benefits of distraction would also aid recuperation from illnesses.

By 1894 Montagu Rhys Jones confirmed in London's *Pall Mall Magazine* that Tasmania was still the 'Sanatorium of Australia'. 'It is here', he claimed 'that, from the semi-tropical and enervating heat, the recuperation which nature needs, may be found in the bracing air of its numerous mountains'.<sup>65</sup> In 1899, when Irish patriot and nationalist politician, Michael Davitt, stopped off on his world tour he reported that Hobart's attraction for holiday seekers from the warmer colonies was one of Hobart's fortunate qualities: 'Large numbers of visitors go there from the mainland countries in their warm seasons owing to the cool temperature of Tasmania and the wide reputation of its varied attractiveness'.<sup>66</sup> Davitt suggested that if Hobart 'shares, as I expect it does, in the general salubrity of its colony's climate, it must be as healthy to live in as it is clean to look at'.<sup>67</sup>

Although views such as those held by Jones and Davitt continued to reverberate until at least the Second World War, from the twentieth century tourists began to be interested in other attractions, besides therapeutic indications offered by health resorts.

By then ideas such as 'following the sun' were gaining in popularity. Perhaps the last gasp of the idea of Tasmania as a sanatorium is manifest in the famous Harry Kelly travel poster, 'Cool off in Tasmania', commissioned by ET Emmett in the 1930s for the Tasmanian Government Tourist Bureau. This poster can be understood as the final act of appreciation for Tasmania's cool and temperate climate before the idea of 'sun, sand and sea' became transcendent in the post World War Two years.

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<sup>1</sup> F Algar, *A Hand-book to Tasmania*, London, 1868, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Warwick Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health and Racial Destiny in Australia*, Melbourne, 2002, particularly chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a survey of the debates surrounding these ideas see David N Livingstone, 'Human Acclimatisation: Perspectives on a Contested Field of Inquiry in Science, Medicine and Geography', *History of Science*, xxv, 1987, pp. 359-394.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion on climate and its sociological effect in Australia see David Walker, 'Climate, Civilisation and Character in Australia' in D Walker and M Bennett, *Intellect and Emotion: Perspectives on Australian History Essays in Honour of Michael Roe*, Geelong, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> See Anne McLaughlin, 'Against the League: Fighting the 'Hated Stain'', *Tasmanian Historical Studies*, Vol. 5. No. 1, 1995-6, pp. 76-104.

<sup>6</sup> G Blainey, *The Great Seesaw: A New View of the Western World, 1750-2000*, South Melbourne, 1988, p. 121. See particularly chapter seven: 'Cold and White: The Role of Climate and Race', pp. 121-138. Note: Blainey describes 'progress' as a 'movement in a desired direction; the believers in progress - the optimists - think the world is improving and will continue to improve', p. 313.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Kelly, *A New and complete system of Universal Geography, or, An authentic history and interesting description of the whole world and its inhabitants; Volume One*, London, 1817.

<sup>8</sup> William Kingdom, *America and the British colonies: an abstract of all the most useful information relative to the United States of America and the British colonies of Canada, the Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Island: exhibiting at one view the comparative advantages and disadvantages each country for emigration: collected from the most valuable and recent publications, to which are added a few notes and observations*, London, 1820.

<sup>9</sup> Kingdom, *America and the British Colonies*, p. 319.

<sup>10</sup> William Charles Wentworth, *A Statistical, Historical, and political description of the colony of New South Wales and its dependent settlements in Van Diemen's Land: with a particular enumeration of the advantages which these colonies offer for emigration, and their superiority in many respects over those possessed by the United States of America*, London, 1819.

<sup>11</sup> Wentworth, *A Statistical, Political and Historical description of the colony of NSW and VDL*, p. 148.

<sup>12</sup> Charles Jeffreys, *Van Dieman's Land (sic) Geographical and Descriptive Delineations of the Island of Van Dieman's Land*, London, 1820.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffreys, *Van Dieman's Land*, p. iii.

<sup>14</sup> Jeffreys, *Van Dieman's Land*, p. v.

<sup>15</sup> Jeffreys, *Van Dieman's Land*, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Jeffreys, *Van Dieman's Land*, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup> George Williams Evans, *A Geographical, Historical and Topographical Description of Van Diemen's Land, with important hints to emigrants, and useful information respecting the application for grants of land; together with a list of the most necessary articles for persons to take out. Embellished by a correct view of Hobart Town; also, a large chart of the Island, Thirty Inches by Twenty-four, with the soundings of the harbours and rivers, and in which the various grants of lands are accurately laid down*, London, 1822, p. 26. It is to be noted that Evans accused Jeffreys of plagiarism when Evans was a passenger on Jeffreys' ship two years earlier. For more on this see, Morris Miller, op. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Godwin, *Godwin's Emigrant's Guide to Van Diemen's Land, more properly called Tasmania, containing A Description of its climate, soil and its productions; A form of Application for Free Grants of Land; with a scale enabling persons in inland towns, to estimate the expense of a passage for any given number of men, women or children, a List of the most necessary Articles to take out, and other information useful to emigrants*, London, 1823, p. 1.

- <sup>19</sup> Edward Curr, *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land, principally designed for the use of emigrants*, London, 1824, p. 2.
- <sup>20</sup> Curr, *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land*, pp. 148-149.
- <sup>21</sup> Curr, *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land*, p. 149.
- <sup>22</sup> Quoted from the diary of Rosalie Hancorn Ambrose Hare, written on board the *Caroline of Calcutta*, on a voyage to Van Diemen's Land, 1827-1828, in Douglas R. G. Sellick (ed.), *Venus in Transit: Australia's Women Travellers 1788-1930*, Fremantle, 2002, p. 47.
- <sup>23</sup> DC Shelton, (ed.), *The Parramore Letters*, self published, Epping, 1993, p. 54.
- <sup>24</sup> *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, 25 February 1825.
- <sup>25</sup> Augustus Prinsep, *The Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land*, London, 1833, p. 64.
- <sup>26</sup> Prinsep, *The Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land*, p. 64.
- <sup>27</sup> Prinsep, *The journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land*. London, 1833; John Henderson, *Observations on the Colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*. Calcutta, 1832; T Betts, *An account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land*. Calcutta, 1830.
- <sup>28</sup> T Dempster, as quoted from 'The Calcutta Medical and Physical Transactions' as quoted in *The Launceston Advertiser*, 24 September 1835.
- <sup>29</sup> T Dempster in *The Launceston Advertiser*, 24 September 1835.
- <sup>30</sup> Stilwell, 'The Castra Scheme', p. 12.
- <sup>31</sup> GC Mundy, *A Record of Observations in Van Diemen's Land*, (first published 1852 as *Our Antipodes*), Sullivans Cove, 1986, p. 89.
- <sup>32</sup> Mundy, *A Record of Observations in Van Diemen's Land*, p. 9.
- <sup>33</sup> Mundy, *A Record of Observations in Van Diemen's Land*, p.88.
- <sup>34</sup> Mundy, *A Record of Observations in Van Diemen's Land*, p. 49.
- <sup>35</sup> Mundy, *A Record of Observations in Van Diemen's Land*, p. 49.
- <sup>36</sup> John Lillie, 'Introductory Paper', *The Tasmanian Journal of Natural Science, Agriculture & Statistics*, vol. 1, 1842, p. 11.
- <sup>37</sup> John West, *History of Tasmania*, vol. 2, Launceston, 1852, p. 348.
- <sup>38</sup> John Mitchel, *Jail Journal*, Dublin, 1913, p. 253.
- <sup>39</sup> Thomas Meagher, quoted in A Griffith, *Meagher of the Sword*, Dublin, 1917, p. 266.
- <sup>40</sup> See James, *Raj*, part 4, 'The Mutiny: 1857-59'.
- <sup>41</sup> 'Military Sanatarium: Report of the Board of Commissioners', *Journals of the House of Assembly*, 1858, vol. III, paper 1.
- <sup>42</sup> *The Mercury*, 10 July 1858, p. 2.
- <sup>43</sup> *The Mercury*, 10 July 1858, p. 2.
- <sup>44</sup> *The Mercury*, 10 July 1858, p. 2.
- <sup>45</sup> *The Mercury*, 10 July 1858, p. 2.
- <sup>46</sup> *The Mercury*, 10 July 1858, p. 2.
- <sup>47</sup> 'Military Sanatarium', *JHA*, 1858, vol. III, paper 1, p. 3.
- <sup>48</sup> 'Military Sanatarium', *JHA*, 1858, vol. III, paper 1, p. 3.
- <sup>49</sup> 'Military Sanatarium', *JHA*, 1858, vol. III, paper 1, p. 3.
- <sup>50</sup> 'Military Sanatarium', *JHA*, 1858, vol. III, paper 1, p. 4.
- <sup>51</sup> *The Times*, 7 September 1858.
- <sup>52</sup> *The Times*, 7 September 1858.
- <sup>53</sup> *The Times*, 7 September 1858
- <sup>54</sup> *The Times*, 11 September 1858.
- <sup>55</sup> F Algar, *A Hand-book to Tasmania*, London, 1868.
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- <sup>57</sup> Anon, *Walsh's Tasmanian Guide Book*, Walch, Hobart, 1871, p. 28.
- <sup>58</sup> Ludwig Bruck, *Guide to the Health Resorts in Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand*, London, 1888.
- <sup>59</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, pp. 145-147.
- <sup>60</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, p. 144.
- <sup>61</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, p. 145.
- <sup>62</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, p. 145.
- <sup>63</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, p. 146.
- <sup>64</sup> Bruck, *Guide to Health Resorts*, pp. 146-147.

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<sup>65</sup> Montagu Rhys-Jones, 'Hobart, with some Tasmanian Aspects, Political and Social,' *Pall Mall Magazine*, vol. viii, no. 35, [1894], p. 362.

<sup>66</sup> Michael Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australasia*, London, 1898, p. 323.

<sup>67</sup> Davitt, *Life and Progress in Australasia*, p. 323. See Stefan Petrow, *Sanatorium of the South?*, Hobart, 1996, for a discussion on the merits of the label in relation to public health.