

# **DANCING ON THE EDGE:**

A Transformative Tale of  
Pauline Melikoff,  
**Hobart Girl and Russian Princess.**

Elizabeth

**Victoria Rigney (BA)**

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

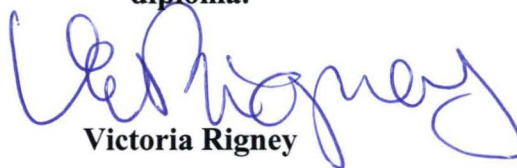
Master of Arts

University of Tasmania

17 November 2006

**This thesis is not to be made available for loan or copying for two years following the date this statement was signed. Following that time the thesis may be made available for loan and limited copying in accordance with the Copyright Act 1968**

**I declare that this work is original, except where due acknowledgement has  
been given, and has not been accepted for the award of any other degree or  
diploma.**

  
**Victoria Rigney**

**17** November 2006.

## **Abstract**

This biography of Princess Melikoff is presented with the dual purpose of uncovering a life story, and using that story to illustrate wider social structures and themes, which in this case include class and gender, imperial centres and peripheries, citizenship, and colonial anxiety. As the story is about an ordinary girl who becomes a princess, the biography is also positioned within a *Cinderella* genre, with its elements of romance, intrigue, pathos and the exotic.

Pauline Curran was born in Hobart in 1893. Her family was part of the growing Tasmanian middle class, anxious to cast off the shackles of an insalubrious heritage at the edge of the British Empire, and to strengthen claims on life at the centre. Pauline was at risk of being left ‘on the shelf’ as well as on the edge, but she inherited considerable wealth and whilst its sources were dubious, its effect was to buy her finery, travel, and greater marriage prospects than Hobart offered. In 1925 word came to Hobart from Monte Carlo of Pauline’s betrothal to Prince Maximilian Melikoff, former Captain in the Russia Imperial Army.

The thesis addresses issues involved in writing biographies of subaltern characters, who have not left rich trails, yet in whom there is public interest, and from whom much can be observed about human experience in particular epochs. It considers Tasmania’s struggles in overcoming social and economic disadvantage, the trope of colonial women and their travel experiences, and the rituals of transformation that attend on women who are recreated from the ordinary to being ‘special’. It examines Pauline’s ‘royal wedding’ as an example of empire reinforcing itself as a hierarchical entity, and it reveals the fragility of



women's citizenship status in the first half of the twentieth century. The thesis considers life in London between the world wars, the fate of the Russian diaspora, and the princess's motivation in establishing a trust fund to save the baby seals.

The methodology considers similarities and differences between biography and microhistory, and positions the available primary sources against secondary material that provides context. It carries the theme of transformation, and, in concluding that the Princess Melikoff story, like all wondertales, offers the possibility of enchantment to the one who opens the door, it suggests that this has particular relevance to Tasmania since the marriage of another Tasmanian woman, Mary Donaldson, to the Crown Prince of Denmark.

## Acknowledgements:

In researching Chapter Six I was assisted by Justinian Habner, in London, who checked newspapers other than the London *Times* (to which I had access at the National Library of Australia, in Canberra) for mention of the Melikoffs and their contemporaries. I greatly appreciate Justinian's assistance. David de Vaux and Molly Vaux searched the New York *Times* for information about Prince Levan Melikoff. I engaged the genealogist, Timothy Boettger, to provide information about the Melikov forebears.

I would like to thank everyone at the University of Tasmania who has supported and assisted my studies. In the School of History and Classics, Professors Peter Davis and Michael Bennett have assisted in many ways, including the opportunities that they have given me to carry out research in Canberra and Melbourne, and to attend conferences in both places. All the other academic and administrative staff have offered collegial support, for which I am appreciative.

Professor Cassandra Pybus was my supervisor throughout most of my studies, and was always an enthusiastic advocate for the biographer's art, and keen to know 'what happened next' to the princess. Dr Margaret Lyndley offered warm encouragement and a lively critique. Professor Stephen Alomes read an early draft of my thesis and I appreciate his generosity in doing this, and in providing me with advice.

Tony Marshall at the State Library of Tasmania, and others there, and Robyn Eastley of the Archives Office of Tasmania, and others there, have all assisted, and I appreciate their patience and interest. Jan Smith and Janet Weaving of the *Mercury* have also been very helpful, especially with advice on photographs.

Alicia Johnson has remained interested in the story from the beginning. Her scrapbooks and stories of tea at the Ritz were always sustaining. Susan Parr and staff at St. Ann's Home Inc., and staff of the Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment, have offered encouragement through their desire to find out more about the princess. I have enjoyed the contact made with historians, archivists, librarians and others across the world, and hesitate to name them for fear of missing out someone, but am, as ever, grateful to the generosity of strangers and fellow travellers.

Many thanks to Sue Jones and Shirley Abel, for friendship and for reading the manuscript, and as ever, to Sophie Rigney.

Most of all, I would like to thank Dr Tom Dunning, of the University of Tasmania.

### **Note on Nomenclature:**

In 1926, when Pauline Curran married her prince, he signed the marriage certificate “Maximilian Melikov” and Vicar General Whittington corrected the signature so that the name read “Melikoff”.<sup>1</sup> The alteration is poignant, in that here, at the farthest outpost of the British Empire, Maximilian lost an important signifier of his Russianness, and took another step away from his upbringing and heritage.

While it was common for Russian émigrés to anglicise the spellings of their names, it seems that Prince Maximilian Melikoff only took the ‘ff’ ending to his name after his marriage, and his brother, Prince Levan, kept the ‘Melikov’ spelling. I use both, tending to refer to Melikov before the marriage and Melikoff afterwards.

---

<sup>1</sup> St David’s Cathedral, Hobart, marriage certificate, Maximilian Melikov and Pauline Curran, 26 January 1926, NS 282/10/1/13, Archives Office of Tasmania.

## **Dedication**

When I first heard the name Princess Melikoff, it was in relation to seals being saved on some remote Bass Strait island, through the scientific endeavours of the Department of Primary Industries, Water and the Environment (DPIWE). When I contacted DPIWE to ask about the princess, I was warmly encouraged by Dr Irynej Skira, at that time head of the Wildlife and Marine Conservation Branch, and Executive Officer of the Department's Animal Ethics Committee. He had a great curiosity about Princess Melikoff and while he didn't know much about her, he had some hunches, and wanted me to pursue the quest. Over the next couple of years he remained very supportive of my project in our brief communications. His untimely death in 2005, whilst engaged in his ongoing studies of short-tailed shearwaters, has meant that I have not been able to share my findings with him, but I would like to dedicate this work to his memory.

## Table of Contents

|                                                                    |             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <b>Abstract</b>                                                    | <b>iv</b>   |
| <b>Dedication</b>                                                  | <b>viii</b> |
| <b>Table of Contents</b>                                           | <b>ix</b>   |
| <b>Statement of Aims</b>                                           | <b>2</b>    |
| <b>Methodology</b>                                                 | <b>3</b>    |
| <b>Synopsis of the narrative</b>                                   | <b>29</b>   |
| <b>Chapter One Thursday's Child</b>                                | <b>33</b>   |
| <b>Chapter Two Dancing on the Edge of the Empire</b>               | <b>58</b>   |
| <b>Chapter Three The Prince, Fractured Tramlines.</b>              | <b>86</b>   |
| <b>Chapter Four The Royal Wedding</b>                              | <b>109</b>  |
| <b>Chapter Five For Richer or Poorer, I Give Up My Citizenship</b> | <b>134</b>  |
| <b>Chapter Six: The London Season</b>                              | <b>151</b>  |
| <b>Chapter Seven Portrait of a Woman in Exile Again</b>            | <b>170</b>  |
| <b>Chapter Eight For those in peril in the sea</b>                 | <b>190</b>  |
| <b>Postscript: Cinderella and Tasmania's Princesses</b>            | <b>203</b>  |
| <b>Conclusion: Wishful Thinking</b>                                | <b>214</b>  |
| <b>Bibliography</b>                                                | <b>221</b>  |

## Table of Illustrations

|                                                                                          |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Illustration 1 Cinderella Poster, Theatre Royal, Hobart, 1915 .....                      | 1   |
| Illustration 2 SS Cygnet (1887).....                                                     | 35  |
| Illustration 3 The Grandstand at Elwick, 1878.....                                       | 36  |
| Illustration 4 JB Curran, left, and obscured by one of his racehorses, right, 1902. .... | 42  |
| Illustration 5 Photo taken when Bank of Van Diemen's Land closed its doors. ....         | 46  |
| Illustration 6 Drawing at Tattersall's, Collins St Hobart, c. 1901.....                  | 50  |
| Illustration 7 Pauline Curran, St. Michael's Collegiate School .....                     | 53  |
| Illustration 8 How Labour Has Influenced the Court Curtsy .....                          | 61  |
| Illustration 9 An advertisement for P&O liners .....                                     | 63  |
| Illustration 10 Sir James O'Grady and family at home in London .....                     | 77  |
| Illustration 11 Miss Pauline Curran of Hobart in her Presentation dress. ....            | 82  |
| Illustration 12 Novocherkassk on Don .....                                               | 88  |
| Illustration 13 Corps of Pages, wake up call. ....                                       | 100 |
| Illustration 14 The wedding invitation .....                                             | 117 |
| Illustration 15 Wedding Fever .....                                                      | 119 |
| Illustration 16 The bride and her maids.....                                             | 121 |
| Illustration 17 The Wedding Party .....                                                  | 124 |
| Illustration 18 The Madame Ghurka article .....                                          | 128 |
| Illustration 19 At the Launceston Cup .....                                              | 129 |
| Illustration 20 A reunion of corps of pages graduates, in exile.....                     | 140 |
| Illustration 21, Princess Melikoff, 1931 .....                                           | 157 |
| Illustration 22 Prince and Princess Melikoff. ....                                       | 158 |
| Illustration 23 Lady Dalrymple-Champneys. ....                                           | 160 |
| Illustration 24 Princess Catherine Galitzine. ....                                       | 168 |
| Illustration 25 Princess Melikoff at St. David's Cathedral Hobart, 1976 .....            | 174 |
| Illustration 26 Martin de Hodzu painting Princess Melikoff.....                          | 179 |
| Illustration 27 Richard Marientreu portrait 1955 .....                                   | 183 |
| Illustration 28 Princess Melikoff, Hobart, 1955.....                                     | 183 |
| Illustration 29 'For those in peril in the sea' .....                                    | 190 |
| Illustration 30 One spared to the sea .....                                              | 198 |
| Illustration 31 Elephant seals on King Island, 1836.....                                 | 199 |
| Illustration 32 photograph of Constable Thompson and family,.....                        | 206 |
| Illustration 33 Picturesque Tasmania .....                                               | 213 |



*Storytelling can act as a social binding agent — like the egg yolk which, mixed up with different coloured powders, produces colours of a painting.*

Marina Warner <sup>1</sup>

Illustration 1 Cinderella Poster, Theatre Royal, Hobart, 1915  
State Library of Tasmania<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, London, 1995, p. 414.  
<sup>2</sup> J.W.B. Murphy collection of theatrical posters, Cinderella, Theatre Royal in Hobart, 1915, No. 300, <http://images.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/Detail.asp?Keywords=cinderella&ID=AUTAS001125297325> accessed 26 November 2005, reproduced with permission of the State Library of Tasmania.

## Statement of Aims

Pauline Curran was a Hobart-born woman who died in 1988, in her ninety-fifth year, and who, along the way, was transformed from a rather ordinary person living on the edge of the British Empire, into Princess Melikoff, who lived in London, the imperial centre. On her death, the Princess Melikoff Trust Fund was established, and this legacy supports two Tasmanian agencies, St. Ann's Homes for the aged, and marine life conservation programs run by the Department of Environment, Water and Primary Industry (DPIWE). While significant funds are channelled to these two agencies through the trust fund, the Princess Melikoff story is not well known, and little has been written about her.

The hypothesis is that it is possible to uncover sufficient information about Princess Melikoff, from apparently slim records, to write a biographical narrative. While there will be challenges in the telling, it is argued that this is a valid historiographic pursuit, because stories of lesser known figures must be reconstructed with the same rigour as those who have left rich records. It is further argued that the Princess Melikoff story, like other biographies, will have a particular social binding effect, as, following Marina Warner's analogy of the egg yolk in tempera, it will connect those who hear the story to a much wider palette of themes, ideas and experiences.<sup>3</sup> Life stories provide a window through which to view broader social structures and themes, which in this case include class and gender, imperial centres and peripheries, citizenship and colonial anxiety.

---

<sup>3</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 414.



Any tale of female metamorphosis from the ordinary to the feted begs the Cinderella trope, and, as this story is about an ordinary Tasmanian girl who becomes a princess, the biography is also positioned within that transformation genre, with its elements of romance, intrigue, pathos and the exotic. This is not only a biography that invites consideration of a broader mix of themes, but it also belongs in a semi-magical position. It is not fiction, but, as Marina Warner says about fairy tales, this is a story that invites ‘wishful thinking’.<sup>4</sup> It is suggested, as an postscript to the narrative, that this has particular relevance to Tasmania, where Merle Oberon is still a fancied daughter, and since the marriage of another Tasmanian woman, Mary Donaldson, to the Crown Prince of Denmark.

## **Methodology**

The methodology has several elements, which include historical investigation designed to uncover traces of Princess Melikoff’s life; the construction of a narrative by piecing those together against a background of different periods of history, with their particular societal structures and themes; and positioning the biography within the trope of transformation and the wondertale, with particular reference to Cinderella.

The research included requests to family members and legal representatives, but uncovered no letters, journals or published works by Princess Melikoff. The biographical narrative has therefore been constructed from primary sources including newspapers, wills, diaries and letters, manuscripts and records of birth deaths and

---

<sup>4</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 418.

marriages, photographs, immigration and shipping records, autobiographies and memoirs, parliamentary records and correspondence with archivists and historians. Brief information about the Melikoff family was obtained from Timothy F Boettger, a genealogist specialising in European nobility. Portraits and photographs of Princess Melikoff are used as though she had left them as texts, conveying the way she wished the world to see her.

Being faced with this small cache of records posed challenges, and in dealing with those the author came to appreciate that this is not an unusual dilemma for the writer of a female subject, and that there were devices to use, and choices to make, in how to position the available material. The views of established writers who engage with lesser known, or subaltern, subjects, were therefore instructive.

According to Lloyd E Ambrosius, writers must use the best historical methodologies in order to ‘reveal the life stories of subaltern as well as prominent and powerful women and men.’<sup>5</sup> Nell Irvin Painter defines subaltern subjects as those individuals who are oppressed on account of their group identity, and she includes in this white women and members of stigmatised minorities.<sup>6</sup> These methodologies include the creative use of all available primary sources, and in the case of subaltern

---

<sup>5</sup>Lloyd E Ambrosius, in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, Lincoln, 2004, p. viii.

<sup>6</sup>Nell Irvin Painter, ‘Ut Pictura Poesis; or the Sisterhood of the Verbal and Visual Arts’, in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography*, pp. 104–105. It is recognised that Painter’s use of the word ‘subaltern’ is contentious. The term often refers to subordination in terms of race and class, but here Painter and Ambrosius use the term to include all women, because they tend to be silent in archives. Elsewhere Painter notes, ‘I soon realized that my tasks were not quantitatively different from those of any biographer, especially biographers of women. Although Sojourner Truth produced almost nothing that replicates her own words exactly, other female biographical subjects, even those highly literate, also lack archives.’ Nell Irvin Painter, ‘Writing Biographies of Women’, *Journal of Women's History*. Summer 1997. iss. 9, vol. 2, p. 154.

subjects there is recognition that, given a paucity of primary sources, particularly in written material, other devices are needed.

One such device employed in this thesis is the use of images, and other texts, including novels, where these are recognized as having historic as well as literary merit, in order to create a context for some of the records that were discovered. In her essay 'Ut Pictura Poesis' (as in painting, so in poetry) Painter argues for the use of images as sources of knowledge in a complementary relationship with the written word. She is concerned that 'Biographers habitually mine texts, which they subject to careful analysis; however they use visual source material uncritically, as mere illustration.'<sup>7</sup> While this limits any biographical study, she argues that it is more critical in the case of subaltern biography, where there is often limited access to the written word:

Subaltern biographers can come closer to nature—to truth—by reading the rhetoric of portraits. Attending to the dialectic of conventional and biographical imagery, subaltern biographers also enter the symbolic webs of meaning within which their subjects lived and fashioned themselves. Words tell only part of the story; the schema emerges from images as well.<sup>8</sup>

Painter acknowledges the added difficulty about writing a biography of an illiterate person, as she did in the case of Sojourner Truth.<sup>9</sup> Others have noted that even where their subjects were notably literate, they may remain silent and obscure within archives, which are not neutral sites of primary research, but are gendered. Historic assumptions about the value of which records are kept have lead to a male

---

<sup>7</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, 'Ut Pictura Poesis', pp. 104-105.

<sup>8</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, 'Ut Pictura Poesis', p. 126.

<sup>9</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, 'Writing biographies of women', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1997, p.154.

bias in archival collections, and particular skills and a dose of serendipity are required in order to unearth women's lives, according to Carole Gerson. Gerson also notes that, 'the papers of women without direct heirs seem to have experienced an especially high mortality rate.'<sup>10</sup>

These issues are particularly relevant to the biography of Princess Melikoff, who, because she was female, without children, and did not hold public office, has not left a strong presence in archival records. Photographs of her are used in order to assist construction of the narrative, as are portraits, as these project an image that the princess fostered of herself, in much the same way as if she had written a memoir.

The methodology also uses a literary device of including information that is available about other people, as though they are characters, or *dramatis personae* in this story, to give depth where there is insufficient information about Pauline. For example, a special character in the narrative is Margaret O'Grady, daughter of a Tasmanian Governor. Margaret and Pauline occupy shared space in Hobart social notes for a brief period of time, and intertwining references to them are used to create a sense of what it was like to travel from London to Hobart, or vice versa, in the 1920's, and to illustrate the significance of acceptance at the imperial centre for some young women of that time.

When searching for accounts of the Princess's rich travel experiences, and finding no journals or letters, others' accounts were found, including journals held in the National Library of Australia; that of an impoverished Australian show girl, Jane

---

<sup>10</sup> Carole Gerson, 'Locating female subjects in the archive', in Helen M Buss, and Marlene Kadar, (eds), *Working in Women's archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*, Waterloo, 2001.

Churchill; and the feminist, Bessie Rischbieth, and, in Archives Tasmania, the diaries of writer, Nan Chauncey. These have been used in order to compare and contrast Pauline's likely experiences.

Although these techniques of using images, characters, and others' accounts have been employed, the narrative has not been fictionalised, and this sets it apart from some life writing that is based on slim records. As discussed later, some fictional literature has been used as secondary source material, and is confined to clearly sign-posted background.

Constructing a narrative of the lives of Pauline Melikoff, and her husband, Prince Maximilian, required examination of some aspects of Tasmanian history, London society between the first and second world wars, the Russian revolution of 1917, and environmental conservation movements of the late 1970's. Other themes or tropes that invited exploration include notions of exotic and mundane, of life at the centre and at the edge of empires, and legitimate and illegitimate wealth. Within those constructs, the roles of the gambler, the society lady, the traveller and the philanthropist are considered through the cultural signifiers of portraiture, clothing and jewellery, rituals, travel modes, awards and military medals. The story of the transformation of Pauline Curran to Princess Melikoff offers a fresh opportunity to consider this range of themes and epochs, and particularly as they apply to Tasmanian experiences of placement on the edge of empire and longing for acceptance at the centre, within the familiar construct of a 'fairytale come true'.

## **Literature Review**

The primary task of the literature review was to test the hypothesis that there was very little information already written about Princess Melikoff. Having established this to be the case, the thesis required an examination of literature in three broad categories—issues in contemporary biography and historiography; contextual material relating to the various epochs and themes; and transformative wondertales, particularly Cinderella.

Because the thesis covers a wide range of epochs and subjects, the literature review is confined to some major authors in these fields, as an exhaustive consideration of scholarship in each subject area was beyond its scope.

Having established that this thesis is the biography of a subaltern character, and considered some literature relating to that when formulating the methodology, it was then important to consider other issues in contemporary biography, and in particular its relationship to history, and, in particular, the subset of microhistory, in order to inform the positioning of the thesis within a broader context of life writing. Historians, David Cannadine and Jill Lepore, were critical sources for this consideration. Other issues considered were biography and its subjectivity, and debates on the extent to which historical imagination should be employed when constructing a biographical narrative. Biographers whose work in these areas were considered included Gillian Whitlock, Cassandra Pybus, Toni Morrison, and Shirley Leckie.

David Cannadine's extensive literature on class and change is discussed later. His interest in biography has been informative, as he is an historian who writes with

an interest in the narrative, the popular readership, and the importance of situating biography within its social context. This author agrees with Cannadine when he says, in regard to writing history for a broad readership, 'It seems to me that historians have an obligation to address that audience and satisfy that interest, and I think that's something that an increasing number of historians do in fact feel.'<sup>11</sup> People are keen to know about Princess Melikoff because there is a degree of romantic appeal in the story of the ordinary girl who married a prince. It is a story that appeals to public interest in the same way stories of movie stars and other celebrities do, while at the same time being embedded in a public interest about the epoch of Tsarist Russia, and about the ambiguities of European settlement in Tasmania.

Cannadine is also keen to strike a balance between historical context and life trajectories. In reference to Harold Nicolson and Vita Sackville-West, he says that much about them has been over-explained, 'in terms of their character, temperament and sexuality, without paying due attention to the broader historical developments of their class as a whole—broader historical developments in which they themselves were inevitably and inexorably caught up.'<sup>12</sup> This position is of particular relevance when considering Prince Max Melikoff's experience as a military officer during the last years of Tsarist reign, and the experiences of the Russian diaspora, and the impact that this broad sweep of history had on the prince, and hence on Pauline.

In considering the context of biographical writing, Cannadine is in agreement with G. M. Trevelyan, who, he says, never wavered from the belief that 'history and

---

<sup>11</sup> David Cannadine, interviewed by Stephen Barbara, *The Atlantic Online*, 22 January 2003, <http://www.theatlantic.com/unbound/interviews/int2003-01-22.htm> accessed 4 May 2003.

<sup>12</sup> David Cannadine, interviewed by Stephen Barbara, *The Atlantic Online*.

literature were inseparable: no historian could write about the English past ignorant of what novelists and poets had said; and no critic could write about literature if he was unaware of the circumstances in which it had been created.<sup>13</sup> This thesis uses literature to provide context—for example, books by and about Vladimir Nabokov assisted with knowledge of the Russian émigré experience, and likewise books by and about Evelyn Waugh, on London inter-war society.<sup>14</sup>

As this narrative serves the purpose of being an explanation of themes beyond the individual, it is interesting to consider whether it could be classed as history, microhistory or biography. In her influential article, ‘Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography’, Jill Lepore attempts to distinguish between these two approaches to inquiry. She says that micro-historians trace their elusive characters through slender records, and ‘tend to address themselves to solving small mysteries about a person’s life as a means to exploring the culture.’<sup>15</sup> A microhistorical approach such as this can serve to illustrate a particular period in history, a status within that period, and roles that are ascribed to that status. The central premise of microhistory, according to Lepore, is that ‘ordinary lives, thickly described, illuminate culture best’.<sup>16</sup> Although the lives of a prince and princess are not ‘ordinary’, they do fit into another of category of interest to microhistorians, in

---

<sup>13</sup> David Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan: A Life in History*, London, 1992, p. 33.

<sup>14</sup> These include: Vladimir Nabokov, *Mary*, (translated from the Russian by Michael Glenny in collaboration with the author) Harmondsworth, 1973; and *Speak, Memory* London, 1999; Stacey Schiff, *Vera (Mrs Vladimir Nabokov) Portrait of a Marriage*, London, 2000; Humphrey Carpenter, *The Brideshead Generation: Evelyn Waugh and his Friends*, London, 1989; and Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies*, London, 1965.

<sup>15</sup> Jill Lepore, ‘Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography’, *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 1, 2001, pp. 129 -145.

<sup>16</sup> Jill Lepore and Adam Hochschild, ‘Historical writing and the revival of narrative’, *Nieman Reports*, Cambridge, vol. 56, no. 1, 2002, p. 51.



that they are ‘hitherto obscure people.’<sup>17</sup> Because obscure lives have usually left few documented trails, there is a challenge in uncovering the life stories from slim archives. Using a microhistory approach to determine in which ways these lives are typical or exceptional, and what they teach us about other lives and times, even if they themselves remain obscure, is very useful. To a large extent, this is the case with Pauline and Max: by uncovering their story similarities and differences are found to other lives, situations and periods of time.

So what is the difference, if any, between microhistory and biography? Lepore says that there is a distinction, since, ‘not all biographers, but most microhistorians, try to answer important historical–and histographical–questions, even if their arguments, slippery as eels, are difficult to fish out of the oceans of story.’<sup>18</sup> The emphasis is on the device; a microhistorian uses their subject allegorically and is less concerned with the person, to the extent, she says, that microhistorians are ‘less likely to fall in love with their subject, for better or for worse, than are biographers.’<sup>19</sup> In this thesis, the story of Princess Melikoff is not used as a device, but is that of a human being who lived in a particular time and place, and where historical questions are entwined with the biographical narrative. Using this definition, this thesis errs on the side of biography, but, while Lepore’s work has been very useful in allowing the author to consider contemporary discussion about genres, the Melikoff story, with its dual aim of telling a life story and using it to connect the reader to broader themes, illustrates the problems with applying a definition where boundaries are unclear and

---

<sup>17</sup> Jill Lepore, ‘Historians who love too much’.

<sup>18</sup> Jill Lepore, ‘Historians who love too much’.

<sup>19</sup> Jill Lepore, ‘Historians who love too much’.

contentious. The position of this author is to agree with those historians who, like Ambrosius, see biography and historical analysis as 'inextricably intertwined'.<sup>20</sup> For them, biography offers a way of analysing important historical questions, and in this case, the questions relate to the effects of isolation, convict heritage, class, and gender at the outer edges of empire.

Lepore's question of love will be addressed in the conclusion. It does however raise another aspect of biographical writing: to what extent is all biography in fact autobiography? The degree of identification between writer and subject has been considered by many biographers, and can be viewed either as a form of chicanery, where a writer gathers the facts of another's life to advance their own world view, or as a positive identification, necessary for real understanding.<sup>21</sup> In either case there is compelling evidence for the proposition that all biography is to some extent autobiographical. As Shirley Leckie observes, 'Few, if any, biographers would choose a subject if the themes of that life were not interesting enough to sustain research and writing over the course of years or even decades. Thus, one can assume that some aspect of the theme explored resonates deeply within the author.'<sup>22</sup> This author admits to an interest in marine conservation, and it is true that finding Pauline,

---

<sup>20</sup> Lloyd E Ambrosius, in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography*, p. viii.

<sup>21</sup> Eleanor Roosevelt's biographer, Blanche Weisen Cook, develops the argument of identification and understanding: "What moves us? What do we care about? For biographers, I think, all choices are autobiographical..." Quoted in Catherine N Parke, *Biography: Writing Lives*, New York, 2002, p. 95. Stanley Fish attacked modern biography as 'Minutiae without Meaning' in an article in the *New York Times*, saying that biographers collect details and fabricate meaning based on their 'favourite hobby horse', as quoted in Shirley A Leckie, 'Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More Than Ever' in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>22</sup> Shirley A Leckie, 'Biography Matters', p. 2.

and her reasons for wanting to save the seals and dolphins, offered a personal challenge.

While this degree of personal identification could be said for any field of academic study that is sustained over years, there is a difference in biography because the subject is a person with whom the writer develops a relationship. The subject of biography can have a hold on the writer, as exemplified by Australian academic Gillian Whitlock, when she writes that she has a 'ghost':

a figure who shadows me, and who shapes much of my thinking and writing about autobiography. Basically it is Mary Prince who keeps me honest. She stops me taking things for granted, and she reminds me always to ask how autobiographical narratives get heard, recorded, published and read, and to remember how passionate and fickle the attention of the reading public can be.<sup>23</sup>

Whitlock's disclosure illustrates the subjectivity of the fields of biography and critical studies of autobiography, and with this subjectivity raises questions relating to authorial responsibility. When writers chose to write about the lives of others they face questions relating to how much they should prod into private matters in order to unearth a story, how much to disclose if they find out sensitive truths, and how much they should speculate or fictionalise when details or motives elude them.<sup>24</sup> There

---

<sup>23</sup> Gillian Whitlock, 'Merry Christmas, Mary Prince', *Biography*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2003. p. 440. Mary Prince was a slave in the Caribbean in the early nineteenth century. In this instance Whitlock is not writing Mary Prince's biography, but is critically analysing autobiographies in order to examine the effects of colonialism, decolonisation and neo-colonialism, and how individuals negotiate these structures as they invent the self in relation to others. Gillian Whitlock, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography*, London and New York, 2000, pp. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup> Cassandra Pybus addresses this issue when she writes that 'I have been alert to the moral responsibility of writing a book which impinges on the lives of strangers who are inevitably touched and pained by the events in the narrative, even when the central characters are long since dead and gone.' Cassandra Pybus, 'Dogs in the Graveyard' *Australian Humanities Review* <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-1999/pybus1.html> accessed 28 August 2005. See also, Michael King, 'Biography and Compassionate Truth: Writing a Life of Janet Frame',

were no strong moral dilemmas in writing the Melikoff story, as there are no descendants of the marriage, and no available evidence of transgressions. It did seem, however, that exposing the early failure of the marriage was not what the Princess would have chosen to reveal, and that indeed she had made considerable effort to hide this over the years.

The greater dilemma was the extent to the facts should be embellished, or a more colourful narrative created by mixing them with fiction. The techniques of such 'faction' are described by Toni Morrison as 'literary archaeology', in which imagination is applied to scraps of facts, as in a journey to a site where the few relics that remain can be reconstructed, to offer up truth.<sup>25</sup> However, this thesis errs on the side of historians rather than novelists, and, whilst recognising that the boundaries are sometimes blurred and there are no correct answers to the question of how much historical imagination is too much, accepts the stance of Marion Halligan, who says, 'The writer can invite us to use our own imaginations, and she too can speculate, but none of us can know. Not in history.'<sup>26</sup>

There is also an accord with Shirley Leckie's position that a writer will not define a person once and for all, but will 'present a portrait of that individual that will

---

*Australian Humanities Review*, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-2001/king.html> accessed 22 August 2005.

<sup>25</sup> Kimberly Chabot Davis, "'Postmodern blackness': Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and the end of history', *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 44, no. 2, p. 242.

<sup>26</sup> Marion Halligan, 'That's my story and I'm sticking to it, truth in fiction, lies in fact', *Australian Humanities Review*, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-September-1998/halligan2.html> accessed 24 August 2005. Halligan is discussing Cassandra Pybus's stance in writing *White Rajahs*, where Pybus opts for engaging in a dialogue with the reader about what can be known and what can't. Elsewhere Pybus engages in a similar discussion with Inga Clendinnen: Clendinnen, 'Fellow sufferers: History and Imagination', *Australian Humanities Review*, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-Sept-1996/clendinnen.html> accessed 24 August 2005, and Pybus, 'Cassandra Pybus responds to Inga Clendinnen', *Australian Humanities Review* (not dated). <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/emuse/History/pybus.html> accessed 28 August 2005.

motivate others to conduct their own research into the existing evidence of the life that was lived.<sup>27</sup> In maintaining this position of being less, rather than more definitive, Leckie says that ‘those of us who labour in the libraries and offices in which we write biographies must be humble about our abilities and mindful of our responsibilities.’<sup>28</sup>

Pauline lived during the time that the British Empire reached its peak and declined, and the British monarchy experienced changes after Queen Victoria’s very long reign; the Great War took its terrible toll on the world, and the Russian Empire was eroded.<sup>29</sup> The British aristocracy also reached its peak and declined, and was replaced by elites based on a range of power bases other than that of ‘landed gentry’. It was a time when the ‘twenties’ society challenged accepted social structures, and when the ‘thirties’ brought economic depression, a rise in fascism, and the world to the brink of war once more. She lived through a time of rapid modernisation, where developing modes of transport changed travel and its meaning. The literature review therefore also considered some contemporary authors in these epochs, and in structures of class and elites, gender, imperial metropolis and Tasmanian history, as Pauline’s life is influenced by these structures, and she in turn is an agent who uses them to create and maintain her position in society.

David Cannadine is a prolific writer who engages in an ongoing examination of

---

<sup>27</sup> Shirley A Leckie, ‘Biography Matters’ p. 19.

<sup>28</sup> Shirley A Leckie, ‘Biography Matters’ p. 19.

<sup>29</sup> While some historians place the height of the British Empire before Pauline’s birth, Cannadine argues that it “reached its zenith between Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee of 1897 and George V’s Silver Jubilee of 1935”. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, London, 2002, p. 174.

the issues of class and change in late nineteenth and twentieth century British history, with a particular interest in the Empire and its ornamental displays, and the decline of the aristocracy. His books, including *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, *Class in Britain*, *History in our Time*, *In Churchill's Shadow*, and *Ornamentalism*, provide a framework for a study of this period.<sup>30</sup> In particular, *Ornamentalism* addresses the hierarchical nature of the British Empire, and how this was reproduced throughout empire in visible and tangible ways, through ceremony and ritual.

While Cannadine's work on class structures, change and the Empire are central to this thesis, he does not provide a satisfactory account of women's experiences within the period—his is a distinctly British male voice. Cannadine recognises this in his prologue to *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, in which he says:

There is an urgent need for more women's history of upper-class women. By definition, this book does not provide it. It is concerned with wealth, status, power, and class consciousness, which in this period were preponderantly masculine assets and attributes. And that must be the justification for the seemingly chauvinistic approach I have adopted here.<sup>31</sup>

Later, in his introduction to *Class in Britain*, Cannadine still ponders this question and says that it seems likely that women visualise the social world, and their place within it, in some ways that are different from men. This 'serious gap in our

---

<sup>30</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990; G. M. Trevelyan: *A Life in History*, London, 1992; *Aspects of Aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1994; *Class in Britain*, New Haven and London, 1998; *History in our time*, New Haven, 1998; *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, London, 2001; *In Churchill's shadow: confronting the past in modern Britain*, London, 2002.

<sup>31</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 7.

knowledge', he says, 'still awaits its historian, and perhaps the shortcomings of my account will provoke someone else to set out to fill it.'<sup>32</sup>

Australian historians, Ros Pesman, Angela Woollacott, and Penny Russell, provide other perspectives with which to examine Princess Melikoff's life, and to counter-balance Cannadine's bias towards the male experience of Empire. Pesman's and Woollacott's accounts of Australian women travellers in the era of the steamship and Russell's examination of colonial gentility and anxiety are helpful in providing a more meaningful context for Pauline's experiences.

Sea travel was important in Pauline's life from the time she left Hobart in 1924 for her presentation at Court in London and her European shopping trip, until her last recorded travels in her ninetieth year. Her first trip was at the height of the age of steamship travel, when class and gender were significant determinants of who travelled, why and how. The modes of travel, reasons for journeys, signifiers of class and status of travellers, and the ways that women of her era recorded their travel experiences are therefore important tropes for understanding this aspect of her life.

It is Pesman's thesis that we construct our lives through the narratives of journeys, and that these narratives include the many rites of passage from childhood to adulthood, innocence to experience, and birth to death.<sup>33</sup> She argues that travel is loaded with inherited meaning and associated with 'central myths and sacred journeys of culture ... and with archetypes of eternal return.'<sup>34</sup> In order to draw out these narratives, Pesman writes about the reasons women travelled, and observes that

---

<sup>32</sup> David Cannadine, New Haven and London, *Class in Britain*, p. xi.

<sup>33</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free, Australian Women Abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 4.

women sometimes went for six months and stayed away for ever, or perhaps they did the opposite, planning to stay away for years, but only lasting a few months in a harsh and competitive professional environment or a sad and unfulfilling marriage. She does not attempt to distinguish between overseas trips and expatriation, and observes that ‘the line between the two is rarely clearcut.’<sup>35</sup> Woollacott support this view, saying that some women travelled backwards and forwards between England and Australia, and that they often announced on arrival in London that they were there ‘indefinitely’.<sup>36</sup> Australia was seen as an outpost of the Empire and travel was an accepted activity, either as an occupation of its own, or as a means to pursuing one’s own career, or following a husband in military, diplomatic, professional or cultural pursuits and postings.

Pesman also writes about how Australian women’s experiences took them on symbolic, as well as actual, trips from the edges of the Empire to the centre, how they recorded their experiences, and the changes in travel across the twentieth century. She says that centres are sacred places, the ‘sites of knowledge, power, culture, recognition, redemption,’ and that the journeys of Australian women towards the centre (which was for them Europe, or more specifically, London) have always had some of the qualities of a pilgrimage.<sup>37</sup> However, she adds that despite this general sense of traversing from the edge to the centre, in a symbolic, almost mystical way, it is not possible to generalise too widely about women’s travel experiences, ‘because women travelled for many reasons—often for culture, education and seeing the

---

<sup>35</sup> Ros Pesman. *Duty Free*, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, New York, 2001, p 54.

<sup>37</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 5.



sights', but also, 'they travelled to flee, to follow, and to find men, to make good marriages and to escape bad ones.'<sup>38</sup>

Angela Woollacott is also concerned with the journey to the centre, or imperial metropolis, where the ambition of the modern Australian colonial woman from the late nineteenth to the mid twentieth century was to 'try her fortune in London', the place that was the heart, or home, in the colonial consciousness.<sup>39</sup> It was also a quest for status linked with modernity, and Woollacott describes the epoch of travel that arose at the same time as the steamship and ended with the emergence of jet travel as a 'historically specific form of human mobility' as, because of the improvements in the size, speed and comforts of the steamships, travel was culturally perceived as emblematic of the modern world.<sup>40</sup>

Pauline's biography provides an example of both the symbolic aspects of the trip to the centre, and the personal ones. Her trip was designed perhaps to find romance and a good marriage; at least to gain a fine wardrobe and some memories to cherish. Pauline's journey was indeed a pilgrimage, and the magic quality of her transformation is accentuated by the metaphor of emerging, changed, from a sacred place.

In other ways, Pauline's experience was indicative of the end of an era: it was as if she held one of the last paper streamers in a world of empire and majesty that was being replaced by different modes of living. Yet, she didn't remain behind—she

---

<sup>38</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, pp. 19-46.

<sup>40</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, pp. 20-21.

is an example of a woman whose life spanned from the age of the steamship to that of the long-haul passenger aircraft; and a woman who, while ageing, became modern.

While the thesis title refers to a literal, geographic positioning at the outer perimeters of the British Empire, there is, at the same time, something about the expression 'on the edge' that implies a sense of nervousness or insecurity; that hints at the anxiety Pauline may have felt, in relation to how others perceived her, once she finally realised her childhood ambition of becoming a Princess.

If Pauline did feel anxious about her position in society, she was not alone in her insecurities. Penny Russell describes the anxiety that underpinned the claims that women made on their position in Melbourne Society, in her book, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*.<sup>41</sup> Russell's study of Melbourne Society and its social uncertainty is relevant because it shows Pauline Curran's story in greater relief. Hobart Society was small, and arguably, in order for the Government House functions to be viable, there was a greater inclusion of those with new or ambiguous claims to belonging in the centre, which in turn would have meant a greater 'scramble for position' in Hobart than Russell describes in Melbourne:

The search for greater security was carried out in a scramble for the safest positions in the very centre of Society, to avoid the dangers and insecurities of its periphery. Women's constant judgements on each other, their tendency to condemn rather than support, were the most tangible manifestations of this uneasiness.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne, 1994. Russell uses the capital S in Society to define the lifestyle of the gentry who controlled the acquisition of prestige within the city of Melbourne in the nineteenth century, and this author follows that example.

<sup>42</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, p. 57.

Pauline was judged, and more harshly in the Melbourne press than the Hobart newspapers. The title was hers to keep, having married a prince, but close scrutiny revealed that her wealth was new many people regarded it as pelf; her prince had lost his principedom and was by no means puissant, and the marriage was not made in heaven.<sup>43</sup> It is a story of contradictions and ambiguities, because the very people who were quick to point out these weaknesses in the fairy tale were the ones who lined up to catch a glimpse of the prince, queued for hours to see the wedding, and gushed over Pauline's wardrobe.

According to Russell, the principal quality of Melbourne Society was its insecurity: 'It was the social organisation of a colonial gentry which based its claims to exclusiveness on British standards of superiority, but which was uneasily conscious that in Britain those claims would be treated with contempt.'<sup>44</sup> How much more anxiety when a colonial woman went to live at the centre, and how much contempt if the woman came not from Melbourne, but Hobart, with its foundations of felony?

The literature reviewed in relation to Prince Maximilian Melikoff positioned him, as an individual, within the grand narratives of Russian imperialist, socialist and

---

<sup>43</sup> Melbourne newspaper columnists were particularly scathing in their accounts of the Melikoff wedding. Unsourced newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Mr Alan Miller, provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson. Name of the newspaper and date unknown, but style commensurate with that of 'Madame Ghurkha' in the Melbourne *Herald* (undated). The original Madame Ghurka of Melbourne was a fortune-teller whose evidence played a major role in the conviction on a charge of murder, of a man who was subsequently executed. There is still controversy about the veracity of the evidence, and attempts are being made to clear the name of the deceased. Monash University, <http://www.lib.monash.edu.au/exhibitions/tca/xtcacad.html> accessed 14 June 2005.

<sup>44</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*, pp. 56-57.

émigré literature, including Ignatieff, Figes, Sholokov, and Nabokov.<sup>45</sup> While this is not straightforward, given the paucity of information about him, there is a very rich literature on the decline of the Russian aristocracy and the émigré experience, while the literature on Tasmanian princesses is scant. However, issues of exile applied to both Maximilian and Pauline after their marriage, and this became a significant point of the literature review, with Waltz, Dutton and Bredbenner used as authoritative sources on women's citizenship issues.

The work of environmental historian, Robert A Lambert, was particularly useful as context to the rise of a new coalition of middle class protestors in Britain, when positioning Pauline as a benefactor to marine conservation.<sup>46</sup>

The story of Pauline Curran is not quite rags to riches, but it is certainly a story of transformation from the ordinary to the extraordinary, to the extent of becoming a princess. It is therefore a Cinderella story, and by calling it that, the reader already knows that that an ordinary girl has somehow made her way to a life of glamour and fame; that her fortunes have turned, and that, more than likely, she has married in a romantic way to a handsome and well-placed man.

The scholarship of Marina Warner, Micael Clarke, and Jack Zipes, who are contemporary authorities on transformation and the wondertale, is instructive when examining the role of the Cinderella myth, which includes a girl who is kindly but persecuted, and usually poor, with a magical guardian who helps her triumph over her

---

<sup>45</sup> The spelling 'Melikov' rather than 'Melikoff' is used in this chapter. After Prince Melikoff married Pauline Curran the spelling of his name was anglicised.

<sup>46</sup> Robert A Lambert, "The Grey Seals in Britain: A Twentieth Century History of a Nature Conservation Success", *Environment and History* no. 8, 2002, pp. 449-74, and Robert A Lambert, 'Grey Seals', in *History Today*, vol 51, no. 6; 2001, pp. 30-32.

persecutors so that she receives her fondest wish by the end of the tale. Most of the tales include an epiphany sparked by an article of clothing (usually a shoe) that causes the heroine to be recognized for her true worth.<sup>47</sup> Cinderella is often a story of neglect and abuse; sometimes even incest. And as Marina Warner reminds us, often it is the story of loss of the mother: the girl left in grief, wearing the ashes as symbols of perpetual loss.<sup>48</sup>

As a child, Pauline would have been told the Cinderella story, and growing up she would also have been familiar with similar characters.<sup>49</sup> Jane Eyre, for example, in Charlotte Bronte's tale, is described by Micael Clarke as another classic Cinderella, 'poor, despised, and mistreated.'<sup>50</sup> The Cinderella story relates closely to class and position, as the assumption is that the young woman comes from a lower position, and marries into an elite, where she is accepted by her new husband, therefore seen as worthy by society in general, but criticised by some around her. A deserving person may cross out of poverty or ordinariness in to the elite, as long as

---

<sup>47</sup>Marian Roalfe Cox, *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O' Rushes, abstracted and tabulated*. London: David Nutt for the Folklore Society, 1893. part of the SurLaLune Fairy tale pages by Heidi Anne Heiner, on the Internet at: <http://classiclitt.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fmembers.aol.com%2Fsurlalune%2Ffairytales%2Fcinderel%2Findex.htm> accessed 12 November 2001.

<sup>48</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 206.

<sup>49</sup> At about the time of Pauline's birth, the folklorist Joseph Jacobs, who was born in Australia in 1854, published his book *English Fairy Tales* (1890) and *More English Fairy Tales* (1894). Jacob's version of the story, *Cinder Maid*, was a reconstruction, based on his analysis of the common features of hundreds of variants collected throughout Europe. Jacobs's stories, including the *Three Little Pigs* and the *Story of the Three Bears* remain standards; see Russell A Peck, *The Cinderella Bibliographies*: <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/Camelot/Cinder/cinintr.htm> accessed 12 November 2001; and D L Ashliman, folktexts, a library of folktales, folklore, fairy tales, and mythology. <http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/type0510a.html> accessed 6 November 2001.

<sup>50</sup> In comparing Cinderella and Jane Eyre, Micael Clarke says, 'Both Cinderella and Jane Eyre are rendered unattractive by dull, shabby clothing, and both long for escape to the excitement, beauty, music, and perhaps the sexual pleasure represented by the ball.' Micael Clarke, 'Bronte's Jane Eyre and the Grimms' Cinderella', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 40, no. 4, (2000), pp. 695-710.

they behave well, but at the same time there is a maze of manners that will punish any who traverse boundaries if they are deemed as ‘undeserving’ or if their wealth comes with avarice or greed.<sup>51</sup>

This story’s appeal is in part because the role of princess is such an important one in the imaginative repertoire of girls and women. At the time Pauline was a child, and when she married, female role models in politics, on the stage and screen, and in the professions, were very few; and quite the exception in Tasmania. A woman’s life was usually contained within the private sphere, as wife to a man who may or may not treat her well.<sup>52</sup>

The most common assumption about the role of the Cinderella story is that it is a vehicle by which male storytellers reinforce their ideal woman; passive, and imbued with goodness, modesty and concern for others. This is not the only reading of Cinderella, and indeed not the only side of Pauline Curran. Some scholars believe that the Cinderella tale has its roots in pre-Christian religions in which the goddesses such as Vesta and Hera, attended by priestesses, represent the strength and even sacredness of woman’s role, and that the ashes symbolise the hallowed fires of home and state.<sup>53</sup> According to Micael Clarke, there are two conflicting messages in the Cinderella story, and it is the strong and subversive Cinderella who is brought to

---

<sup>51</sup> Some theorists have examined fairy tales as indicators of class and predictors of the economic values that underpin society. For example, Kenneth and Mackenzie Doyle conclude that there is a tension within European fairy tales, and society more broadly, between wealth as good and wealth as evil, and that once again this is tension between marketplace and home, or Hermes and Hestia; the dichotomy between being successful and being loved. Kenneth O Doyle, and MacKenzie R Doyle, ‘Meanings of Wealth in European and Chinese Fairy Tales’, *The American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2001, pp. 191-204.

<sup>52</sup> Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, Sydney, 1999, p. 3.

<sup>53</sup> Micael Clarke, ‘Bronte’s Jane Eyre and the Grimms’ Cinderella’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 40, no. 4, (2000), pp. 695-710.

mind in the transformative tale of Pauline Curran. Her version of the story, with its own peculiarities, was manufactured partly by her, partly by others, yet always contested. Some accounts made her the passive princess just waiting for the silver slipper that would inevitably fit only her, while others saw her as a woman on the make. Some would argue that the strategy employed by Pauline and her mother in travelling overseas where there may be a greater prospect of marriage partners negates the Cinderella trope, but it is the proactive woman who not only wins the day, but also acts as a model for others.

Marina Warner asserts that, 'the pedagogical function of the wonder story deepens the sympathy between the social category women occupy and fairy tale.'<sup>54</sup> Warner also describes the genre as being characterized by 'heroic optimism' as if to say, 'one day, we might be happy, even if it won't last.'<sup>55</sup> The heroic optimism for the girl child is that she may become a princess and the more 'ordinary' her origins, the more grist to the mill of hope and wonder. Jack Zipes says that:

Even if we cannot establish whether a wonder tale is ideologically conservative, radical, sexist, progressive, etc., it is the celebration of miraculous or fabulous transformation in the name of hope that accounts for its major appeal. People have always wanted to improve and or change their personal status or have sought magical intervention on their behalf... the persistent human quest for an existence without oppression and constraints. It is a utopian quest that we continue to mark down or record through the metaphors of the fairy tale.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 21.

<sup>55</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. xvi.

<sup>56</sup> Jack Zipes, interview with Kenn Bannerman, April 2002, <http://www.bitungdogpress.com/zipes/zipes.html> accessed 5 June 2004; see also Jack Zipes, (ed) *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000, and Jack Zipes, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World*, New York, 1988.

For Pauline Curran in the remote outpost of empire in southern Tasmania the fairy tale with its imperial gloss and underlying maze of notions about manners, class, and ambivalence of wealth was pervasive, and held popular appeal.<sup>57</sup> She had an ordinary girlhood, and when she was at risk of being ‘left on the shelf’, she travelled to the heart of Empire where he met a prince in disguise who married her and took her off to a life of glamour in London’s Mayfair. Her utopian quest was successful.

While the Cinderella story is at the heart of the Princess Melikoff narrative, there are other tropes of transformation that are evoked when considering the major legatee of the Princess Melikoff Trust Fund—the baby seal. The close connections between seals and humans comprise the substance of the genre of selkie myths where seals are given human qualities, their sleek skins and limpid brown eyes, especially those of the pups and smaller females, having great appeal. Moreover the seals are able to transform themselves into humans in this genre of wondertale, and strike various bargains with their children and lovers in order to negotiate the borders between land and sea.<sup>58</sup> The thesis examines this briefly, but gives more consideration to the transformation of the doyen of the ‘save the seals’ campaigns of

---

<sup>57</sup> There is evidence that *Cinderella* featured in the cultural life of Hobart in the early part of the twentieth century, and this can be seen by looking at the theatre posters in the JWB Murphy Collection of the State Library of Tasmania, most of which relate to the Theatre Royal, from about 1898 – 1915. One poster relates entirely to *Cinderella*, but in others she appears as the feminine aspect of programs full of daring-do and adventure, such as *With Roberts to Pretoria*, the *Great Spanish Bullfight*, and *Three Torpedo Boats Chasing a Cruiser*. *Cinderella* also shares the bill with reinforcing messages about Empire, including *The Queen’s Visit to Ireland*, *Our late Beloved Queen* and *King Edward and Queen Alexandra*. Theatre Royal posters featuring *Cinderella* are available on the Internet at <http://images.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/Detail.asp?Keywords=cinderella&ID=AUTAS001125297325> accessed 26 November 2005.

<sup>58</sup> One gatherer of this folklore was Ruth Manning-Sanders, a prolific writer of children’s stories, who was born in 1895, two years later than Pauline. There are thirty-eight publications attributed to Manning-Sanders in the British Library, <http://blpc.bl.uk/> accessed 16 February 2002.



the early 1980's, Brigitte Bardot, who is popularly portrayed in movies as an archetype of another possible stereotypical role for women, the *femme fatale*.

This extension of the trope of women and transformation is of consequence to the Princess Melikoff story because it is quite possible that Princess Melikoff knew, or had at least had met, Brigitte Bardot. Even if she had not, there were similarities between them, despite the age difference, and it is possible that Pauline, who had spent her early years as a princess swaddled in furs, felt a close affinity with Bardot who had, in her mature years, turned away from wearing furs in order to save the baby seals.

One can be transformed as a Cinderella who becomes a princess, or as a *femme fatale*, capable of inflicting pain and suffering on others through female power and heightened sexuality. As the latter, Bardot becomes one of the *dramatis personae* in this story: another woman who has invented herself in order to fulfil a public role. Bardot is linked with other *femmes fatales* who play an important part in Cinderella and other fables of feminine transformation, by trying to block the ascendancy of the girl who will marry the future king, in order to save herself, and usually played out as the wicked stepmother.<sup>59</sup> She becomes the other. As Marina Warner argues, in discussing female antagonism and the archetype of the villainous woman in fairy tales:

---

<sup>59</sup> Rachel Moseley, 'Trousers and tiaras: Audrey Hepburn, a Woman's Star', *Feminist Review*, vol.71, no. 1, 2002, p. 37. Moseley discusses Hepburn as Cinderella, 'a trope which structures not only her on-screen roles but also the extra-filmic discourse surrounding the star', 'classy, not sexy' and mentions Bardot, as well as Marilyn Monroe and Jane Russell as 'the others' with whom this contrast can be made.

When history falls away from a subject, we are left with otherness, and all its power to compact enmity, recharge it and recirculate it. An archetype is a hollow thing, but a dangerous one, a figure or image which through usage has been uncoupled from the circumstances which brought it into being, and goes on spreading false consciousness.<sup>60</sup>

Bardot stands as the other in contrast with the indigenous hunters of Canada, and as the *femme fatale*, seems to have made more of a mark in her one brief visit to the ice floes, to protest against seal culling, than the well-established Greenpeace campaign that had motivated her. If, in some readings of the wondertale Melikoff and Bardot are archetypal opposites, as Cinderella and the Stepsister, they ultimately unite in a common cause.

---

<sup>60</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*, p. 239.

### **Synopsis of the narrative**

The narrative proceeds chronologically and each chapter contains elements of investigation through which it develops. Because each chapter involves a different aspect of life and different periods of social history, each has its own sources and methods of inquiry.

In dealing with Pauline's family background it is necessary to consider the role of gambling and luck in her life. The state of the Tasmanian economy at the turn of the twentieth century, and the arrival of George Adams to establish the Tattersall's sweepstakes, also introduces the Cinderella theme to the narrative, because the lottery proved to be the key to Pauline's changing fortunes.

The narrative of Pauline's life from the time she went to Europe in 1924, as a spinster in her mother's company, until she returned as an engaged woman, with her fiancé, considers the pivotal experience of the sea voyage from the centre to the periphery. In this way the discussion of Pauline's travels serves to position her as an Australian woman traveller of the inter-war period of the twentieth century.

It also explores an interesting connection and point of comparison between Pauline, and Miss Margaret O'Grady, daughter of Tasmania's incoming governor, which illuminates the themes of class, as well as centre and periphery. When Pauline set sail towards the centre of the Empire early in 1924, Margaret O'Grady was preparing to sail from London in the opposite direction. Their paths would cross in ways that would lead to friendship, and their respective claims on a place in 'Society' would be scrutinised, and comparisons inevitably made, often on the basis of who

danced where, with whom, and what they were wearing. They exemplify the process of modifying status as one travelled from the edges to the centre or in reverse, crossing the boundaries of the social class into which they were born. Both women can be viewed as examples of how the right ordering of society, as reported through the social pages, was fundamental to the maintenance of the British Empire. Pauline Curran went from middle class Hobart girl to European Princess, while working class Irish girl Margaret O'Grady acquired an aide de camp to assist her in her role as the hostess of the governor and daughter of a knight of the Empire.

Maximilian Melikoff, the Russian Prince whom Pauline married in 1926, needs to be placed in context. That context is the vast sweep of Russian imperialist history, richly described in general, but, once again, there is a paucity of information about the Melikoff family. Prince Melikoff's military service, his place in the Russian Revolution, and path into exile are considered. In the story of the lesser prince from Georgia driven into exile by revolution, the themes of class and status, and centres versus periphery, play out in very different ways as the Russian aristocracy was displaced and the Great War took its terrible toll on the world.

The 'Royal Wedding' of Pauline Curran and Prince Maximilian Melikoff, held in Hobart in 1926, was a special event on the edge of the Empire, to be placed in context alongside other royal weddings and events of the time, within the constructs of Cannadine's 'ornamentalism'. The significance of wedding cakes and gowns, invitation lists and military honours is considered within this framework of an empire

that Cannadine describes as ‘bound together by order, hierarchy, tradition and subordination.’<sup>61</sup>

While the plight of the Russian aristocratic diaspora is widely documented, and often romanticized, there was a parallel and much less recognized path into exile for Pauline, who lost her citizenship on marriage, and therefore became an ‘alien’ within the society that she was so keen to enter. The paths into exile of Pauline Curran and Maximilian Melikoff, two fairly ordinary and little known people, who have left very sparse trails of texts, and no descendants, will serve as an allegory for a study of citizenship and empire, and its reverse, exile and alienation; the state of homelessness usually caused by banishment. Here the rich body of work on the Russian diaspora is contrasted with the paucity of material on the subject of women who became aliens on marriage.

In the 1920s, accepted social structures were challenged, while the 1930s brought economic depression, a rise in fascism, and the world to the brink of war once more. This was a period of rapid social change in Britain, as class structures shifted and the aristocracy reached its peak and declined, the monarchy experienced some instability after Queen Victoria’s very long reign, and the hierarchical ways of the Empire were challenged. These grand themes are played out in small ways in the social world of the Melikoffs, and their narrative is used as a case study for the broader theme of the elite undergoing social and economic change, as well as an exemplar for the fate of the Russian aristocratic émigrés in the twenty years after the Revolution.

---

<sup>61</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 102.

The period from 1945, until the Princess's death in 1988, was one of adjustment and accommodation, as Britain changed after World War Two, and few lives were left unaffected. Arthur Marwick contends that it was well into the 1950s before many of the war conditions ended, as rationing and controls endured until then.<sup>62</sup> Pauline Melikoff's sea voyages during this period illuminate the transition from the dying age of highly stratified shipboard experience, to the new age of more egalitarian sea voyaging, and eventually the move to large scale commercial air travel.

Finally, the influences that may have affected Princess Melikoff's decision to leave the bulk of her estate to marine conservation are examined. While based on the available evidence, there is a degree of speculation in bringing these threads together, as her wills do not elaborate on her motivation for establishing the Princess Melikoff Trust Fund, or for bequeathing a substantial sum to one of the most radical activist groups of the day, Greenpeace.

---

<sup>62</sup> Arthur Marwick, *British Society since 1945*, Harmondsworth, p. 22. Marwick argues that the immediate post-war period extended until 1957, 'Because it was only in the later years that certain consequences of the war were clarified, certain continuities of British society re-established, and certain assumptions which were likely to determine the future course of British society fully worked out.' He describes it as a time of rebuilding and working out national debt, and of rapid technological and scientific advancement, which changed modes of transport and thereby altered travel and its meaning.

## Chapter One Thursday's Child

*Australians were on the periphery because their world was Euro-centric and they were denizens of an empire and then a commonwealth whose centre lay on the other side of the Globe.*  
Ros Pesman<sup>1</sup>

When she was fourteen years old, Pauline Curran acted in her school production of the fairy story *Beauty and the Beast*.<sup>2</sup> When the cast was chosen, no doubt the prettiest, most outgoing and vivacious girl was chosen as Beauty and that role went to Pauline, who was able to melt the beast's heart and turn him into a prince. *Beauty and the Beast* is a classic fairy tale of transformation, as cultural historian Marina Warner notes, which, 'when told by a woman, places the male lover, the Beast, in the position of the mysterious, threatening, possibly fatal unknown, and Beauty, the heroine, as the questor who discovers his true nature.'<sup>3</sup>

The ultimate classic tale of transformation is *Cinderella*, where, instead of the conversion of an ogre, the story tells how an ordinary maiden is changed into a princess, and Pauline was to take on this larger role through life. Indeed, by the time she had turned twelve, one of the critical elements of the *Cinderella* story was in place, as Pauline had gained a 'godsire' whose wealth was going to turn the pumpkins of ordinary life into a crystal carriage for her. Perhaps, even before that godsire came into her life with his bounteous endowments, Pauline was destined to be

---

<sup>1</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pauline's academic record is not exceptional, but she won awards for tennis and 'senior drill'. St Michael's Collegiate, information supplied by school archivist, Ms Niccole Warren; correspondence with author, 6 September 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blond: on Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, London, 1994, p. 275.

lucky. Certainly there were circumstances that led to her birth being linked with luck and gambling, connections that would stay with her throughout her long life.

Lady Luck smiled upon Pauline's father, JB Curran, a few days before Pauline's birth. Wednesday 1 February 1893 was Cup Day in Hobart, and the Tasmanian Racing Club's course at Elwick was looking particularly beautiful for the occasion, according to the Hobart *Mercury*. The weather had been unseasonably spring-like, and the course had been freshened by the 'aqueous visitations that tendered so much to its natural adornment.'<sup>4</sup> The night before, crowds had gathered around various betting establishments, but although the warm and light evening brought them out, the depressed economic situation limited the wagering, and JB Curran's little mare was quoted at one hundred to twelve, much greater odds than the favourite, at three to one.<sup>5</sup> It was later said that JB had made no secret of his horse's capabilities, and he had probably invested well in her chances.<sup>6</sup>

The Depression meant that less people travelled from the other colonies to the Cup, but the locals were out in their thousands. The grounds could be reached by rail, road or water, with S S *Cygnets* leaving Brooke Street pier in the centre of Hobart shortly after noon, for the cruise up river which would have patrons alighting in good time for the start of proceedings. As the *Cygnets* plied upstream the crowd of people on board 'delighted in the beauty of the river', and the captain deposited them safely at the jetty on the beach behind the racecourse; the ship in full view from the newly-

---

<sup>4</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 1 February 1893.

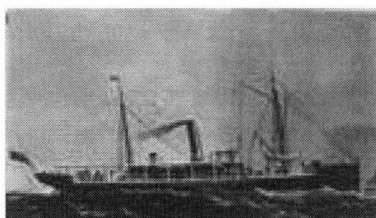
<sup>5</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 1 February 1893.

<sup>6</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, Hobart, 4 February 1893.



enlarged and stately grandstand.<sup>7</sup> Less salubrious was the arrival by road, but, according to the *Mercury*, everyone seemed to be in the best possible good humour:

especially those who came singing and shouting along in heavy brakes and wagons, entire families with their uncles, cousins and aunts, being thus accommodated, testifying once more to the fact that it is not exclusively the love of sport that draws all the laughing, joking, exuberant people down to Elwick on Cup Day.<sup>8</sup>



**Illustration 2 SS Cygnet (1887)**  
State Library of Tasmania<sup>9</sup>

Once at the races, class divisions were evident in the manner of dress, place of gathering, food and beverage, and entertainment. Ladies on the lawns ‘looked charming in primrose, yellows, pale greens and whites’, with trims of lace, but no glaringly coloured dresses, and it was noticed that several ladies wore the chignon, which was ‘coming back into fashion’.<sup>10</sup> Shortly after one o’clock, His Excellency the Administrator of the Government, Sir Lambert Dobson, arrived, ‘accompanied by Lady Dobson, together with a party of ladies and gentleman, the band pleasingly

---

<sup>7</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 1 February 1893.

<sup>8</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 2 February 1893.

<sup>9</sup> Tasmanian Images, Splendid new steel S.S. Cygnet, Jubilee advertising album /Anson Bros. (Anson AMP Album 1). Produced with permission of the State Library of Tasmania.

<sup>10</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart 2 February 1893.

accentuating their arrival by playing the National Anthem.’<sup>11</sup> These trappings of British imperialism were, as Tasmanian historian Lloyd Robson notes, a key element in Tasmania’s inheritance in the late nineteenth century, indicating adherence to the ‘old country’. ‘It is difficult to over-state the imperial or British sentiment which animated the colony’, he writes.<sup>12</sup> The grandstand and the gowns, the lawns and the afternoon teas all illustrate the emulation of British fashion and attitudes, yet it was hardly Ascot.



**Illustration 3 The Grandstand at Elwick, 1878**  
State Library of Tasmania <sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart 2 February 1893.

<sup>12</sup> Lloyd Robson, ‘Damnosa Haereditas?’ In Michael Roe (ed), *The Flow of Culture*, Canberra, 1987, p. 96.

<sup>13</sup> A. Winter photo, Hobart Town, Grand Stand Elwick, Tasmanian Images, produced with permission of the State Library of Tasmania.

Ordinary people, outside the lawns and away from the afternoon teas and the delicacies served to the ladies, were treated to sideshows—the spectacle of a large alligator, captured in Queensland, and several freaks of nature, including a sheep with many tails, and another with a face ‘very much like a monkey’s’.<sup>14</sup>

Despite all these distractions, people had come for the Hobart Cup, and after three or four false starts the race finally got away. As expected, the favourite, *Comedian*, forged to the front, with one of Australia’s premier horsemen, J Power, in the saddle. The crowd cheered, and may have wondered at the degree of preparation made by W Neeson, the jockey riding Curran’s horse, who spent a few precious moments of the race removing a ring from his finger with his teeth. But in the end it was no contest, as Curran’s ‘diminutive equine’, as the *Mercury* described her, took the lead in the home straight and won by over a length. JB’s elation was matched by a substantial prize winner’s purse of £1,000, on top of any bets he may have made.<sup>15</sup>

He must have had some anxious moments though, when, over the next few days, it became apparent that class divisions also applied to the horses. A cable from Melbourne advised of a possible appeal against Curran’s win, on the basis that ‘the mare’s nomination was lodged in an incomplete manner, more particularly as to pedigree.’<sup>16</sup>

JB had bought the mare at auction, and it was known that she was bred in New Zealand, but very little else was known about her, so she did not qualify as a

---

<sup>14</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 2 February 1893.

<sup>15</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 2 February 1893.

<sup>16</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, Hobart, 4 February 1893.

thoroughbred.<sup>17</sup> The first General Stud Book was published in England in 1793, and the word ‘thoroughbred’ came into use shortly after that.<sup>18</sup> The Stud Book gives details of horses’ pedigrees, and is updated about every three years to include the recent foals. The sires and dames back along the family tree are fastidiously recorded. According to Tasmanian racing historian Bertram Wicks, the process of becoming eligible for inclusion in the Stud Book in the first place ‘is not very much different from qualifying for a place in *Burkes’ Peerage*.’<sup>19</sup>

Attempts to discredit the horse because of her common breeding were unsuccessful, but it is interesting to reflect on the aspersions cast on the little mare, and how these could be seen as a metaphor for perceptions of Tasmanian society in general, where the ‘stain’ of the convict past still reflected on the island state to the south of Australia at the turn of the twentieth century, and where the Curran family was not immune, having close associations with Tasmania’s early European settlement, with all its mixed fortunes and often dubious connections.

Tasmania was established as a penal colony in 1803, and was known as Van Diemen’s Land until the beginning of 1856, when transportation of convicts ceased and the colony was granted self-government. Many of the colony’s immigrants were convicts, with about 65,000 felons being sent out from Britain before transportation

---

<sup>17</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 2 February 1893.

<sup>18</sup> BM Wicks, *The Racehorse: An Introduction to Thoroughbred Breeding*, Hobart, 1990, p. 16.

<sup>19</sup> BM Wicks, *The Racehorse*, pp. 17-18. It is possible for a non-stud-book (NSB) mare to be accepted for inclusion, but the process is likened by Wicks to putting a camel through the eye of a needle. It is much easier for a NSB horse to be a top galloper, and to earn the prizes. In 1939 the NSB *Rivette* became the first mare to win the prestigious Australian Caulfield-Melbourne Cup double in one year, and whatever descendants she may have had have disappeared, unrecorded. The Caulfield and Melbourne Cups are held close together as part of the Melbourne spring racing carnival.

ceased.<sup>20</sup> Despite the legacy of convicts, who made up forty percent of the population at any time up until 1851, the colony was a place where the norms of British culture were reproduced. It was expected that whether felon or free, the migrants could enjoy the ‘blessings and privileges they enjoyed in the “mother country”—liberty, the rule of law, a constitutional monarchy and the Christian religion’.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, the nature of the penal settlement meant that many of these values were limited by harsh law enforcement and the denial of elected assemblies.<sup>22</sup> Along with the convicts, there were about 250 gentry families in the colony in its first few decades, who were often assisted with land grants to build on their wealth, and who ‘lived in regency buildings and stately country houses’ as they sought to replicate aristocratic British values.<sup>23</sup> Despite these attempts at refinement, aspersions were still cast from the highest quarters, and in 1886 British Prime Minister, W E Gladstone, referred to Tasmania as the ‘home of convicts and the children of convicts’, a remark that outraged many who had striven to renew the perceptions of the colony thirty years before.<sup>24</sup> Robson notes that ‘efforts to disclaim convict origins, and indeed to mutilate, remove or deface documentary records’ bears testimony to the theme of a ‘ruinous inheritance’ in relation to colonists striving to go up in the world and be considered respectable.<sup>25</sup>

That ruinous inheritance was shared by JB Curran’s wife, Elizabeth Prosser.

Thomas Baskerville Prosser, her father, was born in 1830, and was a respectable

---

<sup>20</sup> Alan Shaw, ‘The British Contributions’, in *The Flow of Culture*, Michael Roe (ed.), p. 74.

<sup>21</sup> Alan Shaw, ‘The British Contributions’, pp. 74–75.

<sup>22</sup> Alan Shaw, ‘The British Contributions’, p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> Alan Shaw, ‘The British Contributions’, p. 84.

<sup>24</sup> Lloyd Robson, ‘*Damnosa Haereditas?*’, p. 94.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd Robson, ‘*Damnosa Haereditas?*’, p. 95.

Launceston citizen; the bailiff for many years, although he had a difficult childhood and, like many of the emerging middle class, was the son of a convict.<sup>26</sup> He was the only child of Thomas Prosser, who was transported from England in 1815 on a seven year sentence, and who married Mary Ann Bree in 1829.<sup>27</sup> Little is known about Mary Ann—she was not a convict, and was born in 1811, which means that she was only eighteen when she married the much older Prosser (she was his second wife) and it appears that he mistreated her, as he had done his first wife.<sup>28</sup> Thomas Prosser Senior acquired land and property and was quite well established when he died in 1835, but his young wife also died in 1837, as a result of a ‘visitation from God’ that occurred after she had spent the night drinking with her new partner.<sup>29</sup> Thomas Baskerville Prosser was orphaned by the age of seven, after a childhood affected by violence and alcohol abuse. He inherited his father’s property (Mary Ann having been disinherited because of her wantonness) and established himself well and in a respectable way from then on.<sup>30</sup> He and Elizabeth Hopkins were married in 1850. They had four daughters, of whom Elizabeth was the eldest, with the youngest born in 1856, as Van Diemen’s Land gained its new status as Tasmania.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Richard Scotton, *Thomas Prosser (1788-1846) and his Namesakes*, pamphlet, Tasmaniana Collection, State Library of Tasmania.

<sup>27</sup> Richard Scotton, *Thomas Prosser*.

<sup>28</sup> Colonial Tasmanian Family Links, Archives Office of Tasmania, <http://resources.archives.tas.gov.au/Pioneers/taslink2.asp> accessed 17 June 2005 gives year of birth but no other information; searches at Archives Office of Tasmania indicate that she was not a convict, and Richard Scotton, *Thomas Prosser (1788-1846)*, gives information about Prosser’s convictions for cruelty, against both his wives and an indentured labourer.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Scotton, *Thomas Prosser*.

<sup>30</sup> Richard Scotton, *Thomas Prosser*.

<sup>31</sup> Colonial Tasmanian Family Links, Archives Office of Tasmania, <http://resources.archives.tas.gov.au/Pioneers/taslink3.asp?ID=239073> accessed 28 March 05.

After the due consideration of the judges, the pedigree of Curran's little mare proved to be no impediment to her fortunes, and the week after she was confirmed as winner of the Hobart Cup, JB took her to Launceston, to compete in the Launceston Cup on Wednesday 8 February 1893.<sup>32</sup> It was a cloudy and humid day in Launceston, but rain held off and the holiday spirit was evident, according to reports in the *Mercury*, but the economic situation was once more blamed for the downturn in numbers from the colonies 'across the Straits,' and this included a reduced number of the 'suspicious characters' that followed the racing circuit, as well as the more respectable patrons.<sup>33</sup> The jockeys Power and Neeson saddled up again, but this time Curran's mare was carrying much more weight than she had the week before, and came third behind Comedian and Bischoff.<sup>34</sup>

Still, JB can't have been too disappointed—he was thrice blessed during those few days. The day after the running of the Launceston Cup, on Thursday 9 February 1893, Elizabeth, his wife of almost twenty years, gave birth to a baby daughter. As the little racehorse that had brought him so much luck was called *Pauline*, this was the name that the proud parents gave to their infant child.<sup>35</sup>

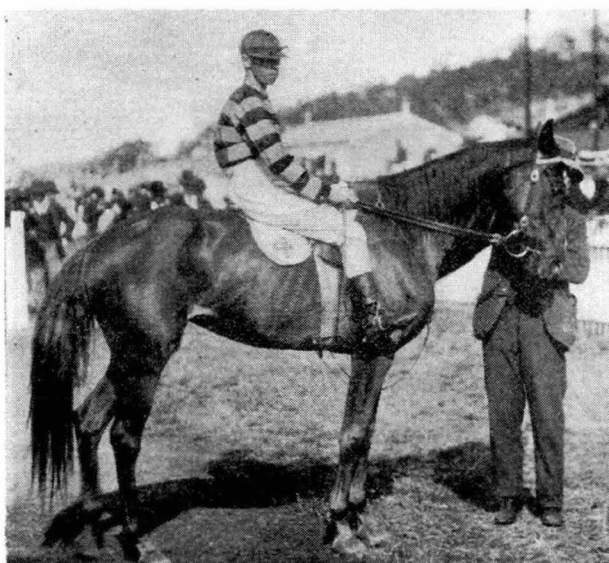
---

<sup>32</sup> The usual means of transporting horses was by train, on an overnight trip that had the horses arriving in Launceston early in the morning, where they then had to be walked to the racecourse. A. Lemon and H Freedman, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing*, (vol ii), Melbourne, 1990 p. 456.

<sup>33</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 9 February 1893.

<sup>34</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 9 February 1893.

<sup>35</sup> Register of Births, Hobart, Pauline Curran born 9 February 1893, (Ref: 33/19 317 reg. 317) Archives Office of Tasmania.



**Illustration 4 JB Curran, left, and obscured by one of his racehorses, right, 1902.**  
*Weekly Courier, Launceston*<sup>36</sup>

More than a decade after his little mare won the cup and his tenth child was born, JB's fortunes took an even greater turn for the better. After the death of his friend, George Adams, in 1905, JB Curran was most likely among the group of beneficiaries who sat bewildered, trying to make sense of the Adams's last will and testament that had taken an hour for the executors to read aloud. It was one of the most complex legal documents known in Australia until that time. When Adams died he was childless, despite having been married twice. He did not disburse much of his estate through his will, but made arrangements to set up a trust, which would administer to his beneficiaries all the ongoing revenue derived from his hotels, breweries, electric light companies, coal mines, and Tattersall's sweep stakes, that he

---

<sup>36</sup> *Weekly Courier, Launceston*; portrait 15 November 1902; with racehorse 8 March 1902, photographs obtained with the assistance of the Archives Office of Tasmania.



had established. The beneficiaries were given shares in this trust.<sup>37</sup> JB was given a lot of twenty shares; the same allocation that went to each of the politicians, Braddon, Fysh, Page and Rooke, who had supported Adams professionally, politically and personally.<sup>38</sup>

JB was then a man in his fifties, and his youngest daughter, Pauline, was twelve years old. George Adams knew Pauline since she was born; it is likely that he knew that she had been named after the lucky racehorse, and perhaps he had a sense that Pauline would benefit from his generosity; yet it is unlikely that he could have foreseen that he would become the benefactor who gave her the means to step into a fairytale.

Adams had come to live in Tasmania through some unusual circumstances, and during desperate times, when his unusual skills were sought to bail out the State's economy. Economic depression affected Tasmanian life throughout the 1890s and a pessimism clouded society.<sup>39</sup> The effects of the depression were evident in the reduced attendance at horse races, and in the social events that were a feature of the season. Fewer people travelled from other Australian colonies to race and watch, and less money was wagered on the races.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless newspaper accounts of the Launceston racing season of summer 1891 indicate a parochial society still going about its business in the northern Tasmanian town with JB Curran at the centre of it

---

<sup>37</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw: A Centenary of Tattersall's Sweeps*, second edition, Melbourne, 1996, pp 8-9, and pp. 75-95.

<sup>38</sup> Lloyd Robson, *A History of Tasmania*, (vol ii), Melbourne, p. 177.

<sup>39</sup> Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880-1988*, Sydney, 1988, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 9 February 1893.

all.<sup>41</sup> He was a man of position, who was held in high regard as secretary of the Tasmanian Turf Club, the Launceston-based organisation that was the rival of the southern Tasmanian Racing Club. Accounts of the Launceston Cup in February of that year give no hint of his impending move from his position, or from Launceston.

JB and Elizabeth had both lived in Launceston since before their marriage. John Bury Curran was born in New Zealand, and it seems that he came to Tasmania as a young single man, and that on 16 July 1873, when he and Elizabeth were both twenty three years old, they married.<sup>42</sup> They had several children, and although the birth records are inaccurate, it appears that there were four sons and five daughters by 1891.<sup>43</sup> Cleve was the baby boy of the family at this time. Like all his siblings he was

---

<sup>41</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, *Tasmanian Mail*, Hobart and *Examiner*, Launceston, January and February 1891.

<sup>42</sup> Marriage details, John Curran and Elizabeth Prosser, reference RGD 37/32 401, Archives Office of Tasmania. Members of the Curran family, Judy and Jane Aubrey, inform the author that JB was born in Parramatta NSW, the third child of John Bury Curran senior, and his wife Mary, who were Irish migrants who came to Sydney in 1826. Correspondence with author 23 November 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Local historian, Don Norman, writes that there were 'six beautiful daughters' and names them 'not necessarily in order' as Phyllis, Maggie, Ila, Edie, Beatrice and Pauline. Don Norman, *More of Don Norman's old photographs and a little about himself and others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?). (pages not numbered). Maggie and Edie do not appear in the Archives Office of Tasmania birth records, but the records are sometimes inaccurate, and there are two unusual periods of time between births over the duration of the prolific Curran marriage. The first is the five year period between the date of their marriage in 1873, and the first birth registered (Andrew Baskerville) in 1878, and the second is a four year gap between the births of Ila May in October 1884, and the twins, Phyllis and Phil, in January 1889. Register of Births relating to Curran children, Andrew Baskerville Curran, RGD 32/4 No. 6662; Keith Barry Curran, 21 August 1879, RGD 33, No. 290; Christening, Keith Bury Curran, 21 August 1879, RGD 32, No. 6663; Beatrice Clarine Curran, 1 July 1882, RGD 33/60, No. 393; Ila May Curran, 1 October 1884, RGD 33/63, No. 602; Phylliss Curran, 24 January 1889, RGD 33/68, No. 111; Phil Curran, 24 January 1889, RGD 33/68, No. 110; Cleve Clutha, 18 July 1890, RGD. 33/69, No. 479. Examples of the inaccuracies in the late nineteenth century Tasmanian birth registers include the records of births of two boys to JB and Elizabeth in 1879, Keith Barry and Keith Bury—the latter registration, a christening, appears to be a correction to the first name, although Archives Office of Tasmania records show Keith Barry and Keith Bury as siblings both born in 1879. (<http://resources.archives.tas.gov.au/Pioneers/taslink3.asp?ID=57503> accessed 26 September 2004. The records also give the incorrect information that the child next older than Pauline, Cleve Clutha, who was born in July 1890, was a girl, although Curran family member, Max Curran, informed the author on 5 September 2000, that Cleve was a male.

born in Launceston, and he was surpassed in his position of baby of the family when the last child, Pauline, was born after the family moved to Hobart.

JB and Elizabeth Curran were established, respected and comfortable. Why did they move all the family to Hobart? It seems that the relocation was connected with the crash of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land which happened on 4 August 1891. On that day Mr John Hudson, the well known and well liked manager of the Launceston branch of the bank, posted a sign on the front door of the building, which said, 'This bank will not open today.' Similar notices were posted on branches around the colony.<sup>44</sup> In Zeehan, the prosperous but wild mining town on Tasmania's West Coast, the townsfolk rioted, and in Hobart, according to the Launceston *Examiner*, crowds milled outside the bank from early in the day, as 'large knots of people from all circles of trade' discussed the situation. The newspaper played down the seriousness of the matter, reporting that during the course of the afternoon 'telegrams were received in the city from Hobart, and with a rumour getting about to the effect that hopes of a resumption of business were entertained in certain quarters at the capital matters began to assume a brighter aspect.'<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> John Reynolds, *Launceston: History of an Australian City*, Hobart, 1969, p. 133.

<sup>45</sup> *Examiner*, Launceston, 5 August 1891.



**Illustration 5** Photo taken when Bank of Van Diemen's Land (Hobart) closed its doors.  
Monday 3 August 1891.  
A notice can be seen posted on the door.<sup>46</sup>

The bank did not reopen. Its failure shook the foundations of Tasmanian politics, business, and society. According to John Reynolds, 'The collapse of the VDL Bank had not only wrecked many people's careers, and hopes, but had shattered confidence in financial institutions and, unfortunately, in some of the leading public men.'<sup>47</sup>

None of the reports of the bank's failure suggest that JB was in any way connected to it. However, he was connected with the attempts at economic recovery, which took on an unusual turn in the months following the bank's demise. The flavour of corruption, mismanagement and insider-knowledge hung over the inquiries

---

<sup>46</sup> Unknown creator, Photo taken when Bank of Van Diemen's Land closed its doors 1891, Monday 3 August, Tasmanian Images, produced with permission of the State Library of Tasmania.

<sup>47</sup> John Reynolds, *Launceston*, p. 135.

into the bank, as it became apparent that unsecured loans had been given to unproven business ventures, and that those presumably in the know had, in many cases, taken out their own assets before the crash. They would not be brought to justice.<sup>48</sup> One young employee of the Van Diemen's Land Bank, Thomas Lyons, was determined to do what he could to retrieve the situation, which was adding to the bleak economic outlook across Tasmania: he lobbied members of Parliament to allow the bank's assets to be disposed of in a lottery, to be run by George Adams.<sup>49</sup>

Adams was about ten years older than JB Curran. They had much in common, as both were migrants of fairly limited means and humble backgrounds, but were not convicts, and both loved riding, breeding, and gambling on horses. Presumably they had met on the racing circuit that took in Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart and Launceston in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and this acquaintanceship developed into a close friendship over the next few years. Their differences were physical, in that JB was tall and slim; his beard, in later life white like his hair, was neatly trimmed; and his reputation was based on a certain reserve. Adams, on the other hand, was a big, strong man, not tall, but burly, and photos of him in later life show him bulging from his suits. He had fiery red hair and beard, and had a ready, roaring laugh.<sup>50</sup>

Adams was born in England on 14 March 1839, to an illiterate farm labourer, who had four sons and a wife to support, in times when changing agricultural practices were throwing people out of work and into large cities, where unemployment was endemic. In 1855, after convict transportation had ended in New

---

<sup>48</sup> Lloyd Robson, *History of Tasmania*, pp. 174-175.

<sup>49</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, p. 75.

<sup>50</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, p. 18.

South Wales, and the gold rush of the early 1850's made Australia an attractive proposition for those escaping poverty in England, the Adams family arrived at Circular Quay in Sydney to start a new life. George had turned sixteen years old on the long voyage out.<sup>51</sup>

Over the next few years George Adams travelled widely throughout eastern Australia, often handling a team of horses over rough, unmade roads, across creeks and over mountains and avoiding bush fires and bushrangers, as he drove for Cobb and Co, the coaching company that delivered mail, goods and passengers, and kept the lines of communication open in the sparsely populated rural regions. His horsemanship became legendary in the wide New South Wales hinterlands, and even after he finished driving for Cobb and Co he would often take over the reins if he were a passenger. By then he had been involved in gold mining, farming and stock dealing, and then bought his first hotel at the same time that he was part owner of a sheep station.<sup>52</sup>

By the time Thomas Lyons persuaded the Board of Directors of the Bank of Van Diemen's Land to invite George Adams to come to Hobart to discuss the bank's demise, Adams was well established as a rich property owner, who had turned his love of horses and gambling into a profitable but controversial sweepstakes enterprise. There was ambivalence in several Australian colonies about the morality of sweepstakes, and Adams had been banned, by special legislation, from practising

---

<sup>51</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, pp. 10-18.

<sup>52</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw* pp. 10-21.

them in Victoria and New South Wales, and by then the most recent home base for the lottery, in Brisbane, was also in danger of being closed by the government.

Adams therefore came to Hobart with the proposition that he could assist the bank by conducting a lottery to dispose of its assets, including the buildings, in return for a licence to operate Tattersall's sweeps legally in Tasmania.<sup>53</sup> In December 1895, Adams left Brisbane to settle in Hobart. Acquiring the licence depended on him gaining strong support in parliament for this course of action. Tom Lyons continued lobbying on behalf of Adams, and eventually the *Suppression of Public Betting and Gaming Act*, 1896 was passed.<sup>54</sup> In effect it outlawed the prolific informal gambling that had become more popular as economic depression set in, and licensed Tattersall's as the only lottery permitted to operate in Tasmania. However, the passage of the Bill was not straight forward. It was strongly opposed throughout Tasmania by churches, mothers' groups, temperance societies and ratepayers and residents. Reasons given by those members of parliament who opposed the Bill were that 'it would lessen thrift, divert money from good channels into wrong ones, teach men and women selfishness and do no good.'<sup>55</sup> The colony was almost bankrupt, and the anti-gambling lobby lost out to the efforts of Premier Braddon and his supporters, looking to George Adams as their saviour.<sup>56</sup> George Adams presented the classic

---

<sup>53</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, pp. 75-95.

<sup>54</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, p. 89.

<sup>55</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> Trevor Wilson and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, pp.89-96. Among those affected by the closure of the banks and the subsequent lottery was Hobart pharmacist A P Miller. In 1890 he built an outstanding new three story building with spire, apparently with considerable help from the bank. A year later the bank went broke. His new building was raffled off as first prize by George Adams, one pound per ticket, and won by West Australian, Mr T H Smith. Mr Miller was able to retain his business. *Saturday Evening Mercury*, Hobart, 16 May 1964.

‘wealth for good versus wealth for evil’ dichotomy to the Tasmanian parliament, and ambivalence within society about the benefits of his wealth versus its perceived immorality persists to this day.<sup>57</sup>



**Illustration 6** Drawing at Tattersall's, Collins St Hobart, c. 1901.

George Adams holding pole, centre.

The gentleman seated centre, right, at the table, may be JB Curran.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kenneth O Doyle, and MacKenzie R Doyle, 'Meanings of Wealth in European and Chinese Fairy Tales', *The American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2001, pp. 191-204. 'John', a Tattersall's beneficiary, and Buddhist, said, 'I don't know that it's specifically mentioned under right livelihood. It probably wouldn't get a gold star because it is part of the addictive and illusory process. You know, people when they go and buy a lottery ticket or something say, "I'll do this and that" making a deal with whatever their deity is and they'll be so good. Okay, well, the inheritance meant in a sense we won the lottery and do you live up to your ideals or not is the question?'; in interview with Emma Alberici, 'Tattersall's float reveals secret beneficiaries', 7.30 Report, 9 June 2005, <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2005/s1388841.htm> accessed 15 June 2005.

<sup>58</sup> Unknown creator, Drawing at Tattersalls, Collins St Hobart, c. 1901, Tasmanian Images, State Library of Tasmania.



It was shortly after the fall of the bank, but before Adams's eventual move to live in Tasmania, that JB Curran moved his family to Hobart and recommenced his racing interests there. During Curran's second summer in Hobart, his horse, Pauline, won the Hobart Cup, and his little daughter, Pauline, was born. By the time she turned twelve, and the George Adams will was being read, this daughter, whose birth had been linked with luck and gambling, would most likely have had a childhood filled with fairy tales and stories of ordinary girls who became princesses—perhaps even more so than some other children, as she had five older sisters to read to her. She would have heard *Beauty and the Beast*, and *Cinderella*, countless times. Fairy stories of the day often ended with a moral, and one English version of *Cinderella*, circa 1890, ends with this lesson:

And any of my little lady readers, who are as amiable as Cinderella, will be sure to get kind friends to love them, even though they may not marry princes, or have fairy godmothers and pumpkin coaches.<sup>59</sup>

By the same token, the Perrault version, published in London in 1729, ends:

But none of these rich graces from above,  
In your advancement in the world will prove  
Of any use, if Godsires make delay,  
Or Godmothers your merit to display.<sup>60</sup>

Most little girls had to be satisfied with the lesson of the first version. It was enough to have good friends as a reward for virtue and constancy, even if there would never be a prince, a coach, or a fairy godmother. But Pauline, in George Adams, had

---

<sup>59</sup> M Salda (ed.), *The Cinderella Project*, the de Grummond Children's Literature Research Collection, University of Southern Mississippi, at <http://www-dept.usm.edu/~engdept/cinderella/cind5.html#Episode1> accessed 12 November 2001.

<sup>60</sup> M Salda, (ed.), *The Cinderella Project*, accessed 12 November 2001.

a Godsire who gave her the means to meet the prince. Adams provided the wealth that was to ensure that Pauline was able to transform from the ordinary, and that she remained a wealthy woman throughout, and beyond her life, because, in fairy tale terms, the Adams legacy has been like the *Magic Pudding* of Norman Lindsay, circa 1917. The rambunctious steak and kidney pudding, named Albert, is self-replenishing and remains rotund despite attempts at devouring him, in much the same way as the George Adams estate continues to fill the coffers of the beneficiaries.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Norman Lindsay, *The Magic Pudding: Being the Adventures of Bunyip Bluegum and his Friends Bill Barnacle & Sam Sawnoff*, Angus and Robertson, London, 1983. On 7 July 2005, Tattersall's was listed on the Australian Stock Exchange, and the extent of the wealth of beneficiaries to the estate was revealed, at least in part. Some remained anonymous within the protection of funds managers, such as the Tasmanian Perpetual Trustees. Nick Clark, 'Tassie feast in Tatt's shares' *Mercury*, 15 July 2005.



**Illustration 7 Pauline Curran, St. Michael's Collegiate School**  
Back row, third from left.<sup>62</sup>

Pauline had to wait for some years before the legacy flowed on to her, and before it did, transformation of a different kind swept the world when she was twenty one years old and at marriageable age.<sup>63</sup> In 1914, Tasmania had joined the rest of the country in the ultimate display of loyalty to the Empire: full engagement in World

---

<sup>62</sup> Photograph supplied by Niccole Warren, St Michael's Collegiate school archivist, 6 September 2004.

<sup>63</sup> Niccole Warren, St Michael's Collegiate school archivist, notes that it was not unusual for Collegiate girls to marry within a couple of years of leaving school; information supplied to author 6 September 2004.

War One, despite the nation never being under threat. In the early days of the war, according to Stephen Alomes, this absence of threat ‘encouraged an outdated, romantic picture of war as offering heroic opportunities for individual and national glory.’<sup>64</sup> In this theatre of nationalism, young women were expected to fulfil similarly patriotic roles, in an era of restrained social life, an absence of young men, and expectations of loyal somberness. Tasmanian historian, Alison Alexander, describes how normal social life was curtailed during the war, due to the shortage of young men, and how ‘everyone took to knitting socks, or putting on patriotic *tableaux vivants*’, and how in one of these *tableaux*, Pauline was one of two eastern houris, both clad in long drapery.<sup>65</sup> By this time, however, Pauline’s parents had moved to Eaglehawk Neck, a rural area some distance from Hobart, after JB’s retirement, so it seems that she passed the war years somewhat isolated from the town.<sup>66</sup>

Towards the end of this dark chapter in history, with its commensurate austerity in social life, an eligible and, in many ways, desirable young man arrived at the centre of Hobart society, as aide de camp to the Governor, Sir Francis Newdegate. Captain Patrick Fitzgerald arrived in Hobart in July 1917, having travelled from the UK with the new Governor.<sup>67</sup> He was a member of the Kings Royal Rifles, and his regiment served on the Western Front in all the major battles of France and Flanders during

---

<sup>64</sup> Stephen Alomes, *A Nation at Last?* p. 57.

<sup>65</sup> Alison Alexander, writing about Christine Walch, who was born in Hobart in 1893, the same year as Pauline. Information provided to author, correspondence of 6 August 2003.

<sup>66</sup> Don Norman, *More of Don Norman's old photographs*, mentions the move to Eaglehawk Neck. Patriotism and support of the war were not universally shared, as many people protested vigorously against the war and conscription. Marilyn Lake, *Divided Society*, Melbourne, 1975. However, from the scant evidence available, it seems that Pauline was loyal to the Empire and the war effort.

<sup>67</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, Hobart, 12 July 1917.

World War One, with the loss of over 12,800 men.<sup>68</sup> The assignment to Tasmania may have been a welcome respite, and perhaps was needed for recuperation after arduous, gruesome war service.

Captain Fitzgerald's duties included escorting the Governor's two daughters on official engagements, such as the Vice Regal appearance at Regatta Day in January 1918, and the Government House garden party in February. After the garden party, dozens of women's dresses were described in the social notes of the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, but Pauline Curran was not mentioned. A photograph of the official party at the regatta shows a tall and handsome Captain Fitzgerald in his uniform.<sup>69</sup> A week later Captain Fitzgerald escorted the Newdegates to the Red Cross Field Day, and again there was no mention in the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* of Pauline Curran being there, yet in the same edition of the newspaper her engagement was announced to Captain Patrick Fitzgerald, ADC to His Excellency the Governor. She was described as 'the youngest daughter of Mr and Mrs JB Curran' but the Captain's parents were not mentioned.<sup>70</sup> A later engagement notice in the Collegiate School magazine said that he was the son of an English general, but there was no joint announcement of betrothal from both sets of parents.<sup>71</sup>

In the period immediately before or after the engagement, Pauline Curran was not mentioned in the social notes, and there was an inherent tension between the

---

<sup>68</sup> The King's Royal Rifle Corps Regiment history homepage, <http://www.royalgreenjackets.co.uk/framesetpages/mainpages/regimentalheritage/krrc.htm> accessed 25 June 2005.

<sup>69</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 31 January 1918.

<sup>70</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 7 March 1918.

<sup>71</sup> St Michael's Collegiate, school archivist, Niccole Warren, provided this information which was from a brief announcement in the Collegiate Magazine, 18 March 1918. Correspondence with author 10 September 2004.

weekly reports of Captain Fitzgerald and the two Newdegate daughters, and Pauline's absence. The next mention of her was only a month later, when it was reported that 'Captain Fitzgerald left by express on Wednesday morning to catch the *Oonah* en route for England to rejoin his regiment...Miss Pauline Curran leaves later to join her fiancé, and they will be married in England.'<sup>72</sup> Six weeks later Pauline Curran hosted a supper for the 'Home Service Girls' who had given a patriotic concert to mark Empire Day, and there was no mention of the fiancé. After that, her name disappears from the social notes for some time.

Captain Fitzgerald survived the last months of active service in the war.<sup>73</sup> What became of him, and the promises he had made to Pauline, after that? Perhaps his father had other plans for the young man that did not include an undistinguished wife from the colonies. Maybe in the euphoria following Armistice Day and the resumption of social life in London there were many other temptations. Whatever the reason that Captain Fitzgerald disappeared from Pauline's life, it doubtless left her heartbroken and humiliated. She was twenty-five years old, and more than ever, her knowledge that she would eventually inherit her share of considerable wealth must have been tinged with anxiety and self-consciousness. Her father's wealth was based on gambling in a society that was ambivalent about such a source of money. Her maternal great-grandfather was a convict, and she lived in a community still self-conscious of its grim past. Her family was striving for position and acceptance in elite

---

<sup>72</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 11 April 1918.

<sup>73</sup> There is no record of his death in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <http://www.cwgc.org/cwgcinternet/SearchResults.aspx?surname=fitzgerald&initials=P&war=1&yearfrom=1917&yearto=1918&force=Army&nationality=6> accessed 25 June 2005.

circles, yet she was named after a racehorse of dubious pedigree. Furthermore, she may have thought that her Godsire was 'making delay', because her youth passed by without another Prince Charming making an appearance on the outer edges of the Empire.

## Chapter Two Dancing on the Edge of the Empire

*Centres are the sites of knowledge, power, culture, authentication, recognition, redemption. The pilgrimage to the centre is a mythological topos, and Australian journeys to Europe have always had some of the qualities of pilgrimage.*  
Ros Pesman.<sup>1</sup>

To dance in Hobart in the Nineteen Twenties was to dance on the edge of the Empire. Hobart was geographically as far away as possible from the imperial centre at Buckingham Palace in London. To dance at Government House in Hobart allowed one to replicate some sense of the centre, yet there was no denying the distance from, and the desirability of, the real centre. Pauline Curran resumed dancing at Government House sometime after the disappearance of Captain Fitzgerald from the halls and the ballroom of the Governor's residence. She must have felt a sense of loss and of time slipping away; too many dances with the same small circle of people, and not enough promise of romance or adventure, as one by one her friends married or moved away.

To add to her loss, Pauline's father died in January 1921, after spending his later years at the country residence he had established south east of Hobart.<sup>2</sup> Pauline had probably spent the couple of years before this assisting her mother with her father's care; the last of the large family to leave home. This is indicated in the wording of JB's will, written in 1918, which provided that his estate was to be held in trust to support his widow, Elizabeth, and daughter, Pauline, 'until she shall marry',

---

<sup>1</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Mercury*, 8 January 1921.



and that, after Elizabeth's death, it should be divided equally amongst his children.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the Currans had established a 'town residence' at Hadley's Hotel in Hobart, and that, rather than continue living in the country, Mrs Curran and Pauline used this more frequently after JB's death.<sup>4</sup> Pauline and her mother now had the time and the means to travel and travelling to the centre of the empire was almost expected of people who did have the ability to do so.<sup>5</sup> As well, it has been said that Pauline announced to her friends that 'mummy and I are going off on a shopping spree' and that they had more in mind than additions to Pauline's wardrobe.<sup>6</sup> More populous Europe offered the possibility of meeting suitable young men.

As Pauline prepared to sail away from Hobart, there were some interesting political developments for Tasmania's imperial identity, and these would lead another young woman, Margaret O'Grady, to voyage from Europe to Tasmania a few months later, and result in an acquaintanceship between the two women.

Margaret O'Grady's voyage to Hobart was connected to the election, in January 1924, of Ramsay MacDonald as the first Labour Prime Minister in Britain, in a minority government. As well as not having an electoral mandate, the new government was viewed with great suspicion over its relations with the USSR. The

---

<sup>3</sup> JB Curran, Last Will and Testament, Archives Office of Tasmania, 1921, No 13310, p. 419. It seems to be a commonly-held view that Pauline inherited all JB's wealth, but this does not appear to be the case. It is more likely that the other siblings sold off shares over time, and that they were dispersed in inheritances to children and grandchildren. Recent mentions of two Currans in the publication of Tattersall's share holders, and of Pauline Bennison, (Pauline Curran's niece) indicate that other siblings did receive shares in the wealth. *Australian*, 2 June 2005; *Mercury*, Hobart, 15 July 2005. Some questions remain about why Pauline prospered to the extent that she did, but these can be answered, in part at least, by the fact that she had no children to support, or to inherit her wealth.

<sup>4</sup> Unsourced newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Mr Alan Miller provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson. Name of the newspaper and date unknown, but style commensurate with that of 'MadameGhurka' in the *Melbourne Herald*.

<sup>5</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, pp. 25-27.

<sup>6</sup> Raymond Booth, communication with author, 10 September 2001.

Labour Party had been sympathetic to the Russian Revolution and this alarmed many who thought they may support a similar revolution in the United Kingdom, although there had never been evidence that MacDonald held a revolutionary position.<sup>7</sup>

The Labour government was seen by many conservatives to present a challenge to all that was revered in a hierarchical and ornamental society. According to David Cannadine, the British created their imperial society, bound it together, comprehended it and imagined it from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth in an essentially ornamental mode, because:

ornamentalism was hierarchy made visible, immanent and actual. And since the British conceived and understood their metropolis hierarchically, it was scarcely surprising that they conceived and understood their periphery in the same way, and that chivalry and ceremony, monarchy and majesty, were the means by which this vast world was brought together, interconnected, unified and sacralized.<sup>8</sup>

An example of the sense of threat to the right ordering of society is this photograph and article published in July of that year in the Hobart *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* which juxtaposes the anxiety of managing a curtsy in the shorter-fashion dresses, with the uncertainty of the future of such occasions under a Labour government:

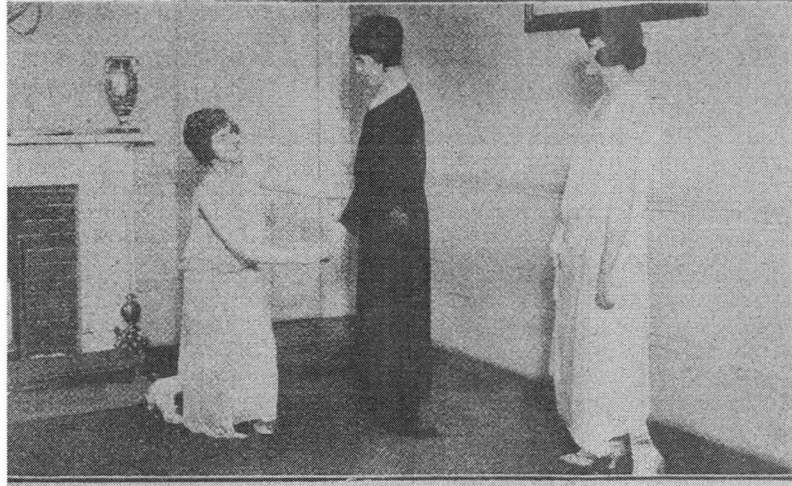
In these days of changing politics and the advent of the Labour Government, there must be many ladies awaiting with anxiety their first presentation at Court. Undoubtedly their chief cause for worry is the difficult art of the curtsy, which they will find will not be made easier by the abolition of the train on the instructions of Queen Mary. When a train is worn, many defects in a curtsy are hidden, but with shorter skirts the movement must be performed absolutely

---

<sup>7</sup> It was in an attempt to get back money owed to the United Kingdom by the Russians and to improve Britain's economy through trade with the new Soviet that Britain recognised the USSR in 1924, and moved towards appointing its first Ambassador there. The fear of revolution in Britain persisted and was fuelled a few days before the November elections, and MacDonald was put out of office, at least for a while. Christopher Lee, *This Sceptred Isle: Twentieth Century*, London, 2000, pp. 134-138.

<sup>8</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, London, 2002, p. 122.

correctly to be graceful as the poise and position of the feet are observable. This is why Madame Vandyck has so many ladies attending her curtsy lessons at her salon in (London).



**Illustration 8 How Labour Has Influenced the Court Curtsy**  
*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 30 July 1924<sup>9</sup>

Before Margaret O'Grady's trip to Tasmania, Pauline Curran was preparing to travel to England, where she was presented at Court in May 1924.<sup>10</sup> The anxiety about being presented under changing conditions may have affected her preparations for the journey, which were, in any case, laden with excitement and high expectations, which included the adventure of the sea voyage, the mystery of foreign climes and the exotica of their people, the shops and society of London and Europe, and a motor tour of the Continent. Preparations for travel reinforced the significance of the trip as a marker of status and as a point of departure out of the world of the

---

<sup>9</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 30 July 1924.

<sup>10</sup> *Times*, London, 22 May 1924, lists Pauline's presentation at Court before their Majesties, the King and Queen.

ordinary and into a world of difference.<sup>11</sup> A woman leaving Hobart, on what would be for many the experience of a lifetime, would acquire a new wardrobe, some elegant luggage, and a stout diary to record the voyage. The female traveller's joy of anticipation was shared with family and friends for months beforehand and there was often a round of farewell teas where she would be showered with gifts. Historian Ros Pesman describes these gift-giving ceremonies as akin to the filling of the tomb of the dead Pharaoh with objects of sustenance for the next life, such was the sense of danger associated with traversing borders.<sup>12</sup>

Narratives of travel were documented and reinforced in the wealth of female writing that was usually recorded in letters and journals, and it is most likely that Pauline, too, recorded her travel experiences, particularly on her first voyage. In the unlikely case that there was not a journal, there would have been letters home to her sisters. Pesman observes that testimony to the significance attached to the trip and its separation from ordinary life is the extent of the written record, and that stored away in trunks, attics and basements across Australia are the diaries and letters that women wrote while journeying, as 'letter-writing and the compiling of a diary were part of women's lives.'<sup>13</sup>

Women's diaries, postcards and letters revealed fascination with both shipboard life and the exotica of visited shores, which varied according to the route that was taken. Routes from Hobart to the UK were usually west across southern Australia to Ceylon, (Sri Lanka) and then via the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean. Sometimes

---

<sup>11</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 11.

<sup>12</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 11.

they were by South Africa and around the Cape of Good Hope, and occasionally ships left Australian waters heading east, via New Zealand and Fiji, to the west coast of the USA. People often travelled overland across the USA to New York where they embarked to cross the Atlantic, or, from 1914, they may have sailed from Australia through the Panama Canal to the UK.<sup>14</sup>

Unfortunately Pauline's journals and letters, if they did exist, are not available, and so in order to provide a more nuanced reading of Pauline's shipboard experiences, and how they were filtered through the lenses of class and status, the slim evidence of her travel is compared with the records of some of her contemporaries, which are available in journals or letters.



Illustration 9 An advertisement for P&O liners  
Illustrated Tasmanian Mail 1931<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Information about the Panama Canal from <http://www.pancanal.com/eng/history/index.html> accessed 24 July 2004.

<sup>15</sup> An advertisement for P&O liners, *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 2 December 1931, courtesy of State Library of Tasmania.

A year before Pauline's first voyage, Nancen Masterman set off from Hobart on a sea voyage to England via Sydney and the Pacific in 1923, but such was the extent of her excitement at the wonder of the South Sea Islands and the joy of interesting company on board that her diary, begun in great anticipation, became inconsistent from the earliest days. Although her later writing (as Nan Chauncy) was prolific, the twenty-two year old Masterman's travel journal was eventually discontinued altogether shortly after leaving Fiji, only ten days after leaving Australia, with several more weeks of the voyage in front of her.<sup>16</sup> Even in its brevity it does indicate the enormity of leaving Hobart, the exotic experiences along the way, and the sense of travelling towards a centre, in London.<sup>17</sup> Nancen's diary starts on 13 March 1923 with the entry 'left Tasmania for England plus parting presents, Bin, and kind, warm wishes.' We are not told much about Bin, but gather that she is a relative or friend. The presents included 'lovely ebony brushes' that were unwrapped on board. Nan wonders at the beauty of Hobart, Mount Wellington as its backdrop; and as the ship 'Riverina' made its way from the port and down river at, 'little specs on wharf imagined to be the dear family!'<sup>18</sup>

Nan and Bin stayed a few days in Sydney with friends, and then, after another whirl of farewells, on Thursday 29 March, 'Left Australia!' exhausted after their time

---

<sup>16</sup> Nan Chauncy, 1900-1970, wrote mainly children's books, set in Tasmania and evoking themes of Aboriginal culture, land conservation and wildlife. Her twelve children's books include *World's End was Home*, *Tiger in the Bush*, *They Found a cave*, and *Mathinna's People*.

<sup>17</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*, NS 1270/1/64, Archives Office of Tasmania. Masterman was born in England, and so had travelled by sea before, although this was her first trip as an adult. Biographical notes on her life are available from the Tasmanian Department of Education, at <http://www.doe.tasdev.edu.au/0278/issue/002/chaunceybiog.htm> accessed 10 April 2005.

<sup>18</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*.

in Sydney.<sup>19</sup> The name of the ship is not given, the '*Riverina*' being a regular mode of travel between Tasmania and Sydney, but not of international travel.<sup>20</sup> The next couple of days on board were slow, and Nan wrote letters. On 2 April the ship rounded the north coast of New Zealand and arrived in Auckland—'great excitement in early dawn catching stowaways.'<sup>21</sup> There are lyrical and humorous descriptions of leaving New Zealand the next day, including the spectacle of a man who, arriving late at the wharf and nearly being left behind, was hauled up the side of the ship in a rope chair, and, 'being fat and insisting on a farewell embrace to his wife hindered matters and he got a great cheer when he landed safely.'<sup>22</sup>

The next three days are described in one brief entry about playing bridge, dancing and making new friends, and then on Wednesday April 7<sup>th</sup> the excitement of Fiji, as Nancen went on deck early, 'to feel the thrill. It was there. A dream of colour, too, from surf reef white, thro' blue, to dullish green of jungled mountains of comic shape. One seemed stuck on another as an afterthought.' Then there are descriptions of 'natives lolling under hibiscus and palms.' While exploring the town Nan met an acquaintance from the ship, Collins, who 'took snaps of self, B and native children.'<sup>23</sup> The only other clue in the diary to this young woman's travels is a Paris Opera ticket, loosely held in the pages of the notebook; 'Stalle de Parterre 8 Nov 1923'.<sup>24</sup> On the

---

<sup>19</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*.

<sup>20</sup> The *Riverina* plied between Sydney and Hobart until she was shipwrecked en route in 1927, with no loss of life. <http://oceans1.customer.netspace.net.au/gabo-wrecks.html> accessed 14 August 2004.

<sup>21</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*.

<sup>22</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*.

<sup>23</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*. That was the last entry. The notebook was not discarded, but made the long trip home again, where Nan took up using it again in 1947 to describe flora and fauna, in brief notes, with small sketches of birds' nests and native orchids.

<sup>24</sup> Nan Chauncey, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*, loose ticket inside 1923 diary.

back of the small paper ticket are jottings in pencil of sums, probably Masterman's efforts at working out her budget for next few days.

It is easy to imagine Pauline being similarly affected by her trip, with its promises of Buckingham Palace and London shops, Paris avenues and tennis in Cannes, of being dulled temporarily by the great leveller, sea sickness, and then recovery on the decks, with strolls, games, and evening entertainment. Nothing is recorded of the planned itinerary or the friends and contacts that the Curran ladies were to meet along the way, but for many young colonial women, and for their parents, the purpose of the trip was to achieve a level of refinement considered unattainable on the edges of the Empire. When a mother took her daughters overseas it was, as Pesman notes, in the knowledge that 'real ladies were made in Europe.'<sup>25</sup> A woman could acquire money in the colonies, sufficient to allow travel, but that certain *Je ne c'est quoi* was only gained from immersion in the refining waters of European culture. It is clearly acknowledged that this applied to Pauline—whether it was the reason for travel or the consequence, it was recognised that she had become the woman she was as a result of that first trip. Madam Ghurka, the Melbourne-based gossip columnist, articulated this when writing about Pauline in 1926:

for Pauline Curran, travelled, elegant, a woman possessed of that easy grace and savoir faire, that is only acquired by contact with the culture of Europe, is an inspiration to her sex and example of what may happen to a Tasmanian girl who has faith in herself.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Unsourced newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Mr Alan Miller, provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson. Name of the newspaper and date unknown, but style commensurate with that of 'MadameGhurka' in the Melbourne *Herald*.



The experience of shipboard life itself, as well as that gained at the distant destination, also added to the acquisition of feminine grace and cultural capital. The experience was stratified, usually according to the social position that one held ashore. Ocean travel was, for the most part, predictable and ordered. There was always the possibility of the unpredictable, in the form of severe storms, deaths at sea or collisions, for example, but even they were managed to a greater or lesser extent by the ordering of responses by captain, crew and passengers, and by both class and gender. As Pauline's friend, the English writer and photographer, VC Buckley, noted:

There is something homely about a P&O boat. The stewards are always helpful and everything goes like clockwork. There is a comfortable feeling that whatever may happen the passengers will be all right.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the predictability and ordering according to position, there are accounts of women choosing to travel tourist class, when they could afford to do otherwise, but it would be much less usual for a woman to travel 'above her station'. The Australian suffragette and feminist, Bessie Rischbieth, was well travelled and used to mixing in elite circles. In her letter of 1 March 1926 to her sister, she talks about going to lunch before leaving London at Lady Astor's '4 St James' Square' town house. 'It was scrummy', she says, while adding that she sat next to the foreign secretary, Mr Eden.<sup>28</sup> That letter was written on board the Cunard ship, *Berengaria*, en route from

---

<sup>27</sup> V C Buckley, *Tickets, Please*, London, 1935, p. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Bessie Mabel Rischbieth, Family and personal correspondence, 1911-1959; Travel diaries for 1927, 1946 and 1957, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 29584 (33334) MS 2004, National Library of Australia (NLA).

London to New York. Despite having just mingled with some of London's most privileged, she says to her sister:

I am travelling tourist which is very good accommodation—I have a three birth cabin to myself as she is far from full. This morning (Sunday) went to the Service in 1st Salon—It is very fine—the lounge is like a beautiful hall all Oak panelled—no pillars—very wide—stage beautifully banked with flowers—band playing. Afterwards we went to the Palm Lounge to hear the King's speech which came over very indistinctly.<sup>29</sup>

Other accounts of class differences on board ship from this inter-war period come from the letters and diaries of Mabel Ball, who appears to be a mature aged mother of adult children. Mrs Ball leaves the UK for a round trip to Australia and New Zealand and then home, to visit friends and relatives in both countries, which she does during the few days that the Orient line ship *Orford* spends in each port. While her letters don't say in which years they are written (they start in November and end in February) the National Library of Australia dates them as 1930s.<sup>30</sup> Mrs Ball has a friend, Eileen, on board, and sometimes they are separated, as Eileen is travelling first class, and from their first port of call in Gibraltar first class and tourists went ashore in different tenders, but, 'we meet in the writing room which is just by the Purser's Office and which is common ground, just after tea each day.'<sup>31</sup> Once the ship arrived in Melbourne, the existing tourist class passengers who were staying on board and cruising to New Zealand were transferred to first class for that leg. The

---

<sup>29</sup> Bessie Mabel Rischbieth, RAAM 29584 (33334), MS 2004, NLA. The reference to the church service is significant, as these services were among the few occasions on which the classes on board mingled.

<sup>30</sup> Mabel Louise Ball, Fourteen letters to her family describing the voyage to Australia and New Zealand on the "SS Orford", 1930s, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 22549 (26614), MS 9050, NLA.

<sup>31</sup> Mabel Louise Ball, RAAM, 22549 (26614), MS 9050, NLA.

stewards had advised that, 'A very rowdy lot of people come aboard at Melbourne and Sydney for the cruise...We shall be much better off in the 1st part and we shall have a better type of people to mix with.'<sup>32</sup> A few days later she writes, from Melbourne, 'We are now installed in the 1st class and have spent the day in luxury...I'm afraid we shall hate it when we go aft in Melbourne in 3 week's time.'<sup>33</sup> As it happened, the transfer back to tourist class for the voyage back to the UK was not as bad as she had feared, and Mrs Ball writes, 'Settled back well into Tourist as not so crowded', and then, 'We have the Honourable Veronica Sammarez and a friend going tourist with us. She is making a world trip with a friend and they are getting off in Colombo'.<sup>34</sup>

Activities on board also varied with class. Bessie Rischbieth wrote in 1913 of a glittering event on board, when she was apparently travelling first class, where she notes not only the ball itself, but its trail of social connections across Australia:

Last night there was a big fancy dress ball on board. Mr and Mrs Grimwade were in eastern dress, wearing the costumes they wore at the Kismet ball in Melbourne arranged by Oscar Ash and his company. I wore my purple satin kimono that I made for the Fete at Cottesloe...several old folks told me they had all their tickets on me. It was really a most brilliant night; I have never seen anything better on board ship.<sup>35</sup>

Other accounts of shipboard life and reasons for travel are found in the diaries of Jane Churchill. Pauline Curran and Miss Churchill have little in common, apart from being Australian women traveling to England by sea in the 1920s to seek their fortunes in one way or another. For Pauline, the expectations were of gaining social

---

<sup>32</sup> Mabel Louise Ball, RAAM, 22549 (26614), MS 9050, NLA.

<sup>33</sup> Mabel Louise Ball, RAAM, 22549 (26614), MS 9050, NLA.

<sup>34</sup> Mabel Louise Ball, RAAM, 22549 (26614), MS 9050, NLA.

<sup>35</sup> Bessie Mabel Rischbieth, 7 April 1913, RAAM 29584 (33334), MS 2004, NLA.

acceptance within genteel society, and with the added bonuses of a fine wardrobe (almost certainly) and an eligible man (not beyond the bounds of possibility). Jane's hopes were to become a successful entertainer in London. While Pauline's travel records are unavailable, and Jane's are very slim, Jane's diaries still have the effect of showing Pauline's experiences in relief, as opposites. Although they may have been sailing in the same direction geographically, their directions diverged economically and socially, along class lines.

Jane's small pocket diaries do not record her age, but she seems to be a teenage show girl when, on 1 Jan 1924, her diary commences with the entry, 'Beautiful day, living in car at Luna Park.'<sup>36</sup> She describes herself as having a slender neck, a trim waist and perfect thighs, and lists the music in her repertoire as including 'The Sheik', 'Memphis Rag' and 'Until My Luck Comes Rolling In'.<sup>37</sup> Jane's 1924 diary chronicles a year of travelling with her father around towns in Victoria, with Melbourne's Luna Park as a base, performing shows in country halls. Each day throughout the year she notes the income from her shows and from sketching, and regularly sends a couple of pounds home to her mother in Sydney.<sup>38</sup>

Jane's next diary starts on 1 January 1928 on board the *Esperance Bay*, when she notes that 'Dad and I both very seasick. Stayed in bed all day.'<sup>39</sup> A few days later she records that she has met a Mr. Bailey, and the next day, 'Went to the dance

---

<sup>36</sup> Jane Churchill, Diaries, 1924-1932; 1924 diary, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>37</sup> Jane Churchill, 1924 diary, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA. It is doubtful whether Pauline would have described her body in such a way; despite their age differences there is also the sense that this is 'un-ladylike' behaviour.

<sup>38</sup> Jane Churchill, 1924 diary, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>39</sup> Jane Churchill, 1928 diary, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

tonight. Danced mostly with Mr. Bailey.’<sup>40</sup> It seems that any hopes of a shipboard romance with Mr Bailey were soon dashed. The *Esperance Bay* had a much more egalitarian passenger structure than many ships of its day—it only carried twelve first class passengers and 720 in tourist class.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps because of this, differences between these two young people’s status were not so apparent at the first shipboard dance or two. But then there is mention of her father making costumes for the upcoming fancy dress ball, and selling those on board, and the only other mention of Mr Bailey is when, on 19 January 1928, the day before the ball, ‘Mr. Bailey brought back fancy costume, also Mr Harris. Refunded them their 2 Pounds.’<sup>42</sup> Mr Bailey’s reasons for dissatisfaction with his costume are not recorded, but by this time the differences between his lifestyle and Jane’s were marked, and Mr Bailey no doubt found other objects of his fancy. Jane and her father provided music for the fancy dress ball on 20th January, and were invited to the captain's table. They also gave a concert, ‘Captain presented me with a box of chocolates from the ladies onboard. Dad and I were invited to supper in the Captain's cabin. Gave dance after show. Collection was taken up being 6 pound.’<sup>43</sup>

Jane went ashore in Colombo but stayed on board in other ports, where ‘natives came aboard’ and in Port Said, on 25 Jan 1928, she notes, ‘Dad bought me a beautiful black embroidered silk shawl also cigarette case and bottle of perfume.’<sup>44</sup> They arrived in Southampton about ten days later, where her father had passport problems.

---

<sup>40</sup> Jane Churchill, diary entries 6 and 7 January 1928, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>41</sup> Information about the *Esperance Bay* obtained from S. Swiggum and M. Kohli, the Ships List, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/descriptions/ShipsE.html> accessed 9 August 04.

<sup>42</sup> Jane Churchill, diary entries 6 and 7 January 1928, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>43</sup> Jane Churchill, diary entry 20 January 1928, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>44</sup> Jane Churchill, diary entry 25 January 1928, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

Eventually they disembarked and hired a bed-sit, and made plans to audition the show at the Hippodrome and the Olympia. Within a few days, her father was pawning items, and on 20 February 1928, Jane records, without any further comment, 'Dad sold my silk shawl for 2 pound this morning.'<sup>45</sup> She had owned her piece of exotica only three weeks.

The auditions were failures. From this point the diary disintegrates into daily jottings of, often, 'stayed in bed', or 'did not go out tonight'. In her accounts of arriving in London and subsequent attempts at breaking into the entertainment scene, Jane does not mention having connections in London who make the path easier, and as Woollacott notes, for aspiring talent from the other side of the globe, 'without the connections that years of training and examinations provided British musicians, just getting an audition could be an intimidating challenge, let alone securing enough jobs and commissions to earn a living.'<sup>46</sup>

Pauline's shipboard experiences would have been very different than Jane's, as she had the connections, the money and the ability to negotiate social situations to her advantage. Not for her the experiences of having the ship's Captain afford a degree of patronage through arranging concerts, or handing over offerings that the ladies on board had collected. Pauline had sailed away from Hobart as many other young women of her day had done, to visit the 'home' country, be presented at court, and

---

<sup>45</sup> Jane Churchill, diary entry 20 February 1928, RAAM 4671, MS 9656, NLA.

<sup>46</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001. p. 92.

tour the Continent, to accumulate cultural currency and seek a possible marriage match.<sup>47</sup>

Travelling in the opposite direction, Miss Margaret O'Grady was also transformed by the events of 1924. While Pauline Curran visited Buckingham Palace shortly after arrival in England, Margaret had made the visit to the imperial centre with her father, before they departed for Tasmania. The different experiences of these two women showed that class boundaries are not impervious: it was possible for the daughter of a working class Irish Catholic, or for the daughter of a Tasmanian auctioneer, to enter the circles of the British elite. However, in order for this to happen, one had to be inducted by a process of rituals and symbols that included the visits to Buckingham Palace and the bestowal of honours. Margaret O'Grady's induction came about because, as Cannadine explains, in this period 'Britain's titular hierarchy was exported to the far boundaries of empire, and...at home and overseas it reached further down the social scale, and brought more people together, than ever before.'<sup>48</sup> Her father was appointed Governor of Tasmania in a period in which the nervousness about what a Labour government in the 'Old Country' would mean to the Empire was clearly articulated.<sup>49</sup>

Governors were usually people of impeccable pedigree. According to Cannadine, they were often knights and imperial soldiers several times over,

---

<sup>47</sup> After Pauline's first trip abroad, questions about whether she was Australian or English, and whether indeed she was gaining a good marriage or escaping a bad one, became more complex.

<sup>48</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>49</sup> Tasmania also had a minority Labour government at this time, under the leadership of Premier Joseph Lyons. National Museum of Australia, [http://www.nma.gov.au/schools/school\\_resources/resource\\_websites\\_and\\_interactives/primeministers/joseph\\_lyons/](http://www.nma.gov.au/schools/school_resources/resource_websites_and_interactives/primeministers/joseph_lyons/) accessed 20 June 2005.

‘veritable walking Christmas trees of stars and collars, medals and sashes, ermine robes and coronets, who personified the honorific imperial identity at its most elaborate.’<sup>50</sup> The distant outpost of Tasmania had been without a governor for a couple of years, after the previous appointee had died on his way to Buckingham Palace for his investiture.<sup>51</sup> In the middle of 1924 the governorship was offered to James O’Grady, who did not fit the mould, and at first he declined. A good thing too, according to the *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, because O’Grady was not the right type:

The withdrawal of Mr J O’Grady from the Governorship of Tasmania will probably not cause a great deal of disappointment. The wonder is that the Imperial authorities should have offered him the position. Mr O’Grady is, no doubt, a very worthy gentleman, but the fact that he was an Irish Socialist, in our opinion, unfitted him for such an appointment as this. Tasmania wants an English gentleman of moderate views. Perhaps it would not be a bad thing if a little delay occurred in the selection of an English Governor, because there is every chance shortly of a change of government. With a Conservative Government in power in England, Tasmania is likely to get the type of Governor most desired.<sup>52</sup>

James O’Grady was unacceptable because he was a working-class Irish Catholic, and not an English gentleman. He was born in Bristol to Irish parents, raised in the Catholic Church, and left school at the age of ten to work in various jobs before training as a cabinetmaker.<sup>53</sup> He was an organiser for the Amalgamated Furnishing Trades’ Association and president of the Bristol Trades Union Congress in 1898.<sup>54</sup> He was also a long-standing politician, having represented East Leeds and

---

<sup>50</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 95.

<sup>51</sup> *Times*, London, 4 July 1924.

<sup>52</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 13 August 1924.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Roe, ‘O’Grady, Sir James’, entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, G Serle (General Editor), Vol. 11, 1891-1939, Melbourne, 1988, p. 71.

<sup>54</sup> *Times*, London, 5 November 1924.



then South-East Leeds in the House of Commons from 1906.<sup>55</sup> He was irrefutably patriotic, and during the war served with the Allied troops in various theatres and in the spring of 1917 he was sent to Russia on a special mission to persuade Russian Minister of War, Alexander Kerensky, to keep Russia in the war.<sup>56</sup> In 1919 he more successfully negotiated with the Bolsheviks for exchange of prisoners, and, when the MacDonald government came to power in Britain in 1924 it was assumed that he would become the first British Ambassador to the USSR.<sup>57</sup>

Sir George Buchanan met him in Russia in 1917, when Sir George was there as the British Ambassador, and O'Grady was a visiting delegate from the British Labour Party, sent to try to convince the Soviet workers that the British war effort was not fighting the Germans for imperialist or capitalist aims. O'Grady's mission was not in itself successful, but he made many friends, including the Buchanans. O'Grady was, according to Sir George, a very fine fellow—he and his colleague Thorne were ‘such splendid types of the British working man.’<sup>58</sup>

After at first declining the offer of governorship of Tasmania, Captain O'Grady accepted the position, but then requested again that his nomination should be withdrawn, as the financial allowances paid to the Governor were too meagre. According to the *London Times*, this was indicative of problems that the Labour government experienced in trying to fill such positions, which tended to rely, to some extent, on the personal wealth of the incumbent:

---

<sup>55</sup> *Times*, London, 4 July 1924.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Roe, ‘O'Grady, Sir James’, entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, p.71.

<sup>57</sup> *Times*, London, 4 July 1924.

<sup>58</sup> George Buchanan, *Mission to Russia and other Diplomatic Memories*, (vol. ii), London, 1923, p. 132.

For some weeks past correspondence has been in progress between the Home Government and the Government of Tasmania to see whether the latter would be willing to bear a greater financial burden, or, alternatively, suggest means by which economies could be devised, but so far these have not led to any very tangible results.<sup>59</sup>

The Tasmanian government maintained its position of poverty which precluded increases in the governor's salary, and, according to Michael Roe, 'O'Grady accepted the post only after lengthy negotiation specified that his social responsibilities would be modest.'<sup>60</sup>

James O'Grady, working class spokesperson, was marginal in terms of qualifications as a governor, and may have felt a degree of humiliation that his financial standing had to endure public scrutiny in the process. From this position he had to undergo what Cannadine describes as a process of re-invention, where the prospective colonial administrator or state governor proceeds to the centre—Buckingham Palace and St Paul's Cathedral—and emerges with a ribbon and star and title that signify their conversion to a representative of the crown, ready to go forth.<sup>61</sup> O'Grady made that trip to London, kissed the hand of the King, was duly knighted and emerged as Sir James, KCMG.<sup>62</sup> By this process, his daughter, Margaret, was also reinvented as a young lady of distinction.

While Sir James was on his way to represent the King in Tasmania, he sent word ahead to reassure Tasmanians that, 'When I agreed to accept office I ceased to be a politician and became the King's representative anxious only that I might win the

---

<sup>59</sup> *Times*, London, 12 August 1924.

<sup>60</sup> Michael Roe, 'O'Grady, Sir James', entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, p.71.

<sup>61</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 87.

<sup>62</sup> *Times*, London, 5 November 1924. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 86. KCMG, as Cannadine notes, was often unkindly interpreted as 'Kindly Call Me God'.

loyal affection of all Tasmanians.’<sup>63</sup> As further assurance of his suitability, Tasmanians were informed that the Tasmanian Agent General in London (Colonel Snowden) had given the O’Grady family ‘a very successful reception at Australia House, where there was a brilliant assembly of those in touch with Australia and the Imperial Government.’<sup>64</sup> The same newspaper carried the news that Mrs Curran and Miss Pauline Curran were motoring on the Continent.<sup>65</sup>



**Illustration 10 Sir James O’Grady and family at home in London**  
*Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 19 November 1924.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> James O’Grady, *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 26 November 1924.

<sup>64</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 19 November 1924.

<sup>65</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 19 November 1924.

<sup>66</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 19 November 1924. Margaret is on the right of the photograph, and Mrs Kerr Cameron in the centre. Presumably Joan, on the left, remained behind to care for her mother.

Sir James left behind in Britain his wife, who was an invalid, and most of their ten children.<sup>67</sup> He brought with him two daughters; one of whom, Mrs Kerr Cameron, was to join her husband in Queensland after a few months in Hobart, leaving the younger one, Margaret, to play the role of his official escort.<sup>68</sup> Margaret was to be scrutinised by Hobart's Society women, anxious to discover how this young daughter of an Irish working class man would fit in at Government House.<sup>69</sup> When the O'Grady's arrived on 23 December 1924, the '*Ladies Letters*' page of the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* assured its readers that Miss O'Grady was a charming, natural, healthy and pretty British woman, tall and fair, with a graceful figure, and, 'with light brown, shingled, hair. Miss O'Grady sings, having a sweet mezzo-soprano voice.'<sup>70</sup> Her class status is apparent however in Miss O'Grady's protestation that her voice 'is quite untrained,' and that she 'intends to take up golf, and is to have her first lesson next week at the Rosny Links.'<sup>71</sup> She appears not to have spent a childhood being steeped in the social graces.

Then the next week it was reported that, 'The first hostess to entertain Miss Margaret O'Grady was, very appropriately, Lady Nicholls...All present felt that Miss

---

<sup>67</sup> Michael Roe, 'O'Grady, Sir James', entry in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, p. 71.

<sup>68</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 31 December 1924. The daughter of the British Prime Minister of the day, twenty year old Ishbel MacDonald, kept house for her father and acted as his hostess. The MacDonalds also faced financial problems in office, and Ishbel had to manage within a tight budget. Anne De Courcy, *Society's Queen: The Life of Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry*, London, 1992, pp. 228-229.

<sup>69</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 31 December 1924.

<sup>70</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 31 December 1924.

<sup>71</sup> *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 31 December 1924.

O'Grady was to be a very pleasant addition to the girlhood of Hobart.<sup>72</sup> Margaret had passed the first tests.<sup>73</sup>

Her father had won over the local press, following a speech that he made on arrival whereby he expressed his, 'intense love of the British Empire, British standards, and methods.'<sup>74</sup> He also referred in the speech to his conversations with Soviet leaders, in which he told them that, in his opinion, there was no more democratic government in the world than the British form, and no more real liberty than that of the British Empire'.<sup>75</sup> All those privileged to hear him, according to the *Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, were 'convinced that His Majesty the King had made an excellent choice of a representative'.<sup>76</sup> This was reinforced on Empire Day in May of 1925 when Sir James O'Grady gave an address that was broadcast throughout the State by wireless. The *Mail* proclaimed that the day would long be remembered as the first occasion on which a governor of this State was able to speak to many Tasmanians by this new means, and that he proved himself to be a 'great imperialist'. The paper concludes, 'So long as the Mother Country sends out to the Dominions

---

<sup>72</sup>*Tasmanian Illustrated Mail*, 7 January 1925. Sir Herbert Nicholls was appointed Administrator of Tasmania in the absence of a Governor.

[http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/tpl/DataSheets/Governors\\_Table.htm](http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/tpl/DataSheets/Governors_Table.htm) accessed 20 June 2005.

<sup>73</sup> The first couple of months in Hobart probably led to some interesting family dynamics, with the older sister, Mrs Kerr Cameron, receiving most of the press attention, because of her status as the young matron and older sister, despite the clearly articulated role of the younger daughter. But perhaps it gave Margaret a chance to learn the ropes. Two *aides de camp* were needed, as both women required escorts at the many social functions they attended.

<sup>74</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 14 January 1925.

<sup>75</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 14 January 1925.

<sup>76</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 14 January 1925.

representatives thus imbued with the spirit of Empire there is no danger that the silken cords which hold the various parts together will ever be frayed.<sup>77</sup>

His daughter, Miss Margaret O'Grady, was the belle of the ball, out and about all over town, usually attended by the aide de camp, Captain Stopp. Over the coming months she worked tirelessly for charities and was reported on in the 'Ladies Letters', often attending several functions a week.<sup>78</sup>

The O'Gradys had been in Hobart only four weeks when, on 21 January 1925, the engagement was announced in the *Mail* of Miss Pauline Curran to Prince Maximilian Melikoff, second son of Prince Peter Melikoff de Somhetie and Princess Melikoff, nee Baroness D'Osten -Sachen.<sup>79</sup> Pauline had known the Prince for less than three months when news came from Monte Carlo of the engagement. They met when he was the Currans' chauffeur on their European motor holiday.<sup>80</sup> The prince's credentials were noted in the same newspaper:

---

<sup>77</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 May 1925. A few weeks later his Highness the Maharajah of Jhalwar was entertained by the Governor in Hobart – according to the *Mail* he wore 'robes of rich silk brocade, his turban was of red silk, and on his breast he wore the resplendent order of the KCSI. His jewels were splendid'. *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 24 June 1925. Again, we are able to place him by his ornamentation, no matter how exotic, as a proper man of the Empire.

<sup>78</sup> A wealth of philanthropic activity was covered in the social notes, with energetic committees working for causes such as the Kennerley Boys' Home, the Sanatorium for Consumptives, the Bush Nurses, the Limbless Soldiers' Association and the Young People's Department of the Prohibition League.

<sup>79</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1925.

<sup>80</sup> It was not unusual for Russian émigrés to be employed as chauffeurs or waiters, either as they re-established into other occupations, or, as often was the case, they waited out what they assumed to be a temporary dislocation, before they could return 'home' to Russia. Olga Bakich, 'Émigré identity: The case of Harbin', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol.99, no. 1, pp. p. 51-73. Bakich quotes S. P. Cherniavskii, an émigré in China, 1927: 'Everyone lived with the thought that he should return to the homeland where his real life would take place. This was a bivouac, a temporary stop, which should be made as short as possible. Most pioneers lived in this self-deception, and it affected the productivity and the depth of their labours.' 'Émigré identity', p. 51. Other Russians in exile advocated a return to the Bolshevik regime where they could arguably exert influence from inside—the so-called 'Changing Signposts' movement. Hilde Hardeman. *Coming to Terms with the Soviet Regime: The 'Changing Signposts' Movement among Russian Émigrés in the Early 1920s*, DeKalb, 1994.

Prince Melikoff (whose engagement to a Tasmanian appears in this issue) served during the war in the 13<sup>th</sup> Hussars Russian Imperial Calvary, from 1914 – 1917.<sup>81</sup> In 1918 he commanded the Officers' Squadron in General Denekin's Voluntary Army against the Bolsheviks, and in 1919 was instructing the Persian Cavalry with whom he fought against the Bolsheviks in 1920 – 21 in Northern Persia. He received the St George's Cross for the Calvary Charge in 1914 against the Austrians on the Uyoh Pass in the Carpathian Mountains. The St George's Cross is in Russia much the same as our VC. He also won the British MC.<sup>82</sup>

There follows a listing of his forebears, including 'great grandson of George 12th, late King of Georgia.'<sup>83</sup> Pauline's fiancé had therefore been placed in a context that British Imperialists could identify with: he was related to royalty, no matter how extinct; he was a prince himself, no matter if his empire was no more; he was a gallant military officer, highly decorated, with a medal equated to that highest-ranking British medal, struck in the name of Victoria, the cornerstone of empire. Ornamentation of military medals and indications of rank were very portable between the two empires. There was enough cross-over between the imperial symbols for this fading Russian empire to hold currency still in Hobart.

Pauline's prince was located through his titles, his medals, and his history as aristocracy in a Hobart society desperate for its own symbols of hierarchy. Young Maximilian was therefore seen by many in Tasmania as a very good catch indeed, despite the fact that he was without state and working as a chauffeur. This match was

---

<sup>81</sup> This was probably the 13th His Imperial and R William ii the Emperor of Germany and King of Prussia's Narva Hussar Regiment. Information about the Russian Imperial Army from Mark Conrad, <http://home.comcast.net/~markconrad/RUSS1914.html#CAVALRY> accessed 25 March 04

<sup>82</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

<sup>83</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

seen as a fitting conclusion to Pauline's shopping trip, and vaulted her into a new realm of importance.

A week after the announcement, the *Mail* belatedly published a photo of Pauline about to be presented at Court, which had happened some months before. The photo of Pauline was apparently found in the newspaper's file of the many such photographs of Hobart girls sent back from London. It was not until she had found her prince that Pauline could make the transition from someone who danced on the edge to someone who mattered.<sup>84</sup>



**Illustration 11 Miss Pauline Curran of Hobart in her Presentation dress.**  
Miss Curran's engagement to Prince Maximilian Melikoff has been announced.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>84</sup> 'This week appears in the *Mail* a well produced full page portrait of Miss Curran, whose engagement to Prince Melikoff has recently been announced. Next week, will appear the portraits of a popular society girl in the North, with that of her finance, who is well known in both the North and South of the Island'. *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 28 January 1925.

<sup>85</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 28 January 1925.



In August 1925, the *Mail* reported that Mrs Curran and Miss Curran were expected to arrive in Melbourne in time for the Cup, that Miss Curran's fiancé and his brother were also coming out, and the marriage would take place soon. 'The bride's trousseau is said to be unusually elaborate and beautiful.'<sup>86</sup> The reference to the prince's brother is of interest: he did not come to Tasmania, and, shortly afterwards he also married an heiress, an American woman, Rosalie Hooker.<sup>87</sup> Having parted company with his brother, Maximilian arrived in Melbourne on the *Oronsay*, where he was permitted to land on 24 October 1925, by the Home and Territories Department. He was, after all, a stateless person and his entry into Australia had to be approved by the Minister.<sup>88</sup>

The party of Pauline, Mrs Curran and the prince, made its way to Tasmania, where Hobart now waited to greet its daughter as Pauline sailed home, triumphant; an example of the trope of 'eternal return' to which Pesman refers.<sup>89</sup> Pauline had

---

<sup>86</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* 19 August 1925.

<sup>87</sup> Rosalie was from a wealthy and intellectual American family. She was a direct descendant of Rev. Thomas Hooker (1586-1657), who was the founder of the State of Connecticut and the city of Hartford, and often described as the 'Father of Democracy' in the USA. The family was well established along the eastern seaboard of the USA, with properties in Miami, New York and Connecticut. Rosalie was born in September 1892, and was therefore just a few months older than Pauline. She had been married before she met Prince Levan; having wed Francis Sitwell in 1915, and had borne a son of that same name a year later. Francis Sitwell Jr. was nine years old when his mother married Prince Levan in Paris, in 1925. Sir John Bernard Burke, (1814-92), *Prominent Families in America with British Ancestry*, (London, 1939; New York, 1971; Baltimore, 1975), pp. 2529-3022 of the 16th edition of *Burke's Landed Gentry*, Britannica Online <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=9040983> accessed 18 February 2005 and Hooker family Website <http://dav4is.8m.com/Celebrity/HOOK38.html> accessed 14 June 2002.

<sup>88</sup> Secretary, Home and Territories Department, Commonwealth of Australia, letter to the Acting Collector of Customs, 7 September 1925, and Boarding Inspector's affirmation, 30 October 1925, B 13/0 1931/9988, National Archives of Australia.

<sup>89</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 4.

travelled from the edge of the Empire to the centre; she had visited the sacred sites and sipped at their fountains and, along the way, she had been transformed.

The appearance of the young couple was eagerly awaited in Hobart. They were first seen at the Rotary Dance at the Imperial Hotel in aid of the Boy Scout movement, and the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* reported:

The floor was in its usual perfect order, and Mrs Sheppard's Orchestra discoursed up-to-date dance music. The couple that attracted the most attention was undoubtedly Prince Melikoff de Somhetie and his fiancée Miss Pauline Curran. Miss Curran was in black and silver, the soft black of her crepe de chine gown being relieved by silver lace, and silver and crystal bead fringe.<sup>90</sup>

Captain Stopp was at the dance, but Miss Margaret O'Grady was out of town with her father in Derby, in the State's north east, attending a modest country dance, as part of her civic duties.<sup>91</sup> The once ordinary Pauline Curran had already eclipsed her. Both women had undertaken long journeys and ritual trips to the Buckingham Palace centre of empire. Both had been transformed, and now danced on the edge of the empire. Had Pauline not come back with a prince, the daughter of the governor would have maintained her place as the belle of the ball, but Margaret's wardrobe, limited by her father's all-too-public pecuniary circumstances, and the absence of a title, still mattered in the 1920's in Tasmania. She was eclipsed by a local woman, refined by travel and possessed of savoir-faire, who was about to be a princess, and

---

<sup>90</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 25 November 1925. No other dancers' gowns were described.

<sup>91</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 25 November 1925.

who presented a fine example of 'what may happen to a Tasmanian girl who has faith in herself.'<sup>92</sup>



**Illustration 12 Pauline Curran, in furs, prepares for her wedding**  
Photo courtesy *Mercury*<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> Unsourced newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Mr Alan Miller, provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson.

<sup>93</sup> Unpublished photograph of Pauline Curran, 'pre wedding photo', provided by *Mercury*, Hobart.

### Chapter Three      The Prince, Fractured Tramlines.

*When my Russian gradfather was nineteen and choosing a career, the tramlines of his past ran straight into the future: he would enter a Guards regiment like his father, grandfather and great granfather before him. He could then make a career in the army or return to the family estates and live as a gentleman farmer.*  
Michael Ignatieff<sup>1</sup>

When Pauline Curran sailed back into Hobart, the prince by her side may have seemed exotic, but he was recognised as not entirely a stranger, because of the ties that had recently existed between the Russian and British empires. These included close family ties between the respective monarchies, and their shared recognition of hierarchy and its symbols and rituals.

Prince Maximilian Melikov was born in Russia in 1884, a year after Pauline Curran's birth. According to his marriage certificate, he was born at Novocherkassk, in the south of Russia on the River Don, close to Rostov.<sup>2</sup> The genealogist, Timothy Boettger, gives the prince's place of birth as St Petersburg, and an obituary after his death says that he was born in a palace near Tiflis (formerly Tbilisi, Georgia). Max's only sibling, a brother, was born a year before him, in 1893, in Tbilisi.<sup>3</sup> Boettger identifies the young princes as Maksimiliann Petrovich Melikov, a graduate of the Corps of Pages, and Levan Petrovich Melikov, the sons of Prince Petr Levanovich

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The Russian Album*, London, 1977, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> St David's Cathedral, marriage certificate, Maximilian Melikov and Pauline Curran, 26 January 1926, Hobart, NS 282/10/1/13, Archives Office of Tasmania.

<sup>3</sup> Timothy F Boettger, Melikov family background, correspondence with author, 2001. Reference to Palace in Georgia in *Times*, New York, 26 April 1950.

Melikov, Major General of the Russian Army, and Princess Melikov, the former Baroness Anna Maksimilianovna von der Osten gennant Sacken.<sup>4</sup>

Prince Maximilian's paternal grand parents were Prince Levan Ivanovich Melikov (1817-1892) and his wife Princess Aleksandra Mamukovna Jamakurian-Orbeliani. This grandfather was a General of the Calvary, aide de camp of HM the Emperor, Member of the Council of the Empire, and Knight of the Order of Saint Andrew the First Called. This order was the highest in the Empire, and very rarely bestowed outside members of the Imperial Family and other European ruling houses.<sup>5</sup> In the few cases during the nineteenth century when the Order of St Andrew was awarded outside of royalty, it was for great accomplishment in war.<sup>6</sup> Princess Aleksandra, the paternal grandmother, was a Lady of the Order of St Catherine, the highest Russian order granted to women. This diamond-encrusted cross, with an image of St Catherine and embroidered with the words 'For Love and the Fatherland' was a rare honour, and indicates both closeness to the Tsar and the royal court, as well as a high degree of personal endeavour and sacrifice.<sup>7</sup>

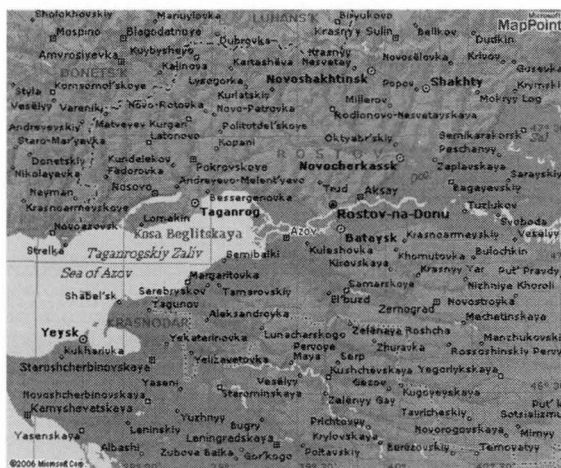
---

<sup>4</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author 2001.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author 2001.

<sup>6</sup> Russian medals Internet Site: [http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww\\_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html](http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html) accessed 21 February 02.

<sup>7</sup> Russian medals Internet Site: [http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww\\_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html](http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html) accessed 21 February 02.



**Illustration 13 Novochoerkassk on Don**  
Novochoerkassk is north east of Rostov.<sup>8</sup>

The Melikovs were part of the extensive Tsarist Russian aristocracy, whose lives were altered irrevocably by the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the civil war that followed, (1918-1921). Russia under the Tsars was marked by entrenched hierarchical structures, of both formal and informal status. It was a country that produced many princes, and the title was not uncommon at the time that Maximilian was born. Peter the Great, (1682-1725), as an integral part of his reforms, created the *chin*, or table of ranks, which opened access to the nobility to the military and the bureaucracy, and which allowed progress up through the ranks by loyal service.<sup>9</sup> The Tsar kept to himself the right to create princes, counts and barons, of which princes

<sup>8</sup> Map of Sea of Azov area, showing Novochoerkassk on Don, Microsoft® Encarta® Online Encyclopedia 2006 <http://encarta.msn.com> © 1997-2006 Microsoft Corporation. All Rights Reserved, accessed 30 June 2006.

<sup>9</sup> Henri Troyat, (trans. M Barnes), *Daily Life in Russia*, London, 1961, pp. 127-130.

were the highest order.<sup>10</sup> The princely title, once conferred, became a hereditary one and was handed on to all sons and daughters, and, although it was a rare honour in the early days of Peter's reign, the numbers of princes and princesses multiplied quickly afterwards because of the typically large families.<sup>11</sup> At the time of the last Tsar there were an estimated two thousand princes.<sup>12</sup> While the ballrooms and mess halls may have abounded with princes, the title was a signifier of great privilege in a country marked by extremes of living conditions.

Outside this ranking system, at the opposite end of the socio-economic spectrum, the peasants made up the majority of the population. At the end of the nineteenth century the peasantry was on the verge of ruin, having been emancipated from serfdom in 1861 by Alexander II, but now deeply in debt as they tried to purchase the land that they had formerly cultivated for their masters. The difference between their lifestyle and that of the aristocracy was immense, and conditions were ripe for revolution at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup>

Another major group was the Cossacks, who, although similar to the peasants in economic standing, were set apart by their culture. Cossack men were savage warriors and skilled horsemen who provided the might to Russian military campaigns during the five hundred years leading up to the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>14</sup> They were further set apart from the peasants because they had experienced self-rule of designated homeland areas within the Don region, and whilst those privileges had

---

<sup>10</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia*, pp.127-130.

<sup>11</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia* p. 130.

<sup>12</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia* pp. 127-130.

<sup>13</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia* pp. 127-131.

<sup>14</sup> Maurice Hindus, *The Cossacks: The Story of a Warrior People*, Westport, 1945, p. v.

been taken during the eighteenth century, most of the Cossacks remained loyal to the Tsar.<sup>15</sup> Their ancient tradition was to keep their horses, saddles and arms in their dwellings 'in constant readiness for foreign invaders.'<sup>16</sup> The Melikov lives were entwined with those of the Don Cossacks, through the complex relationships between landowners, servants and military ranks that wove the fabric of their mutually-dependent lives in the lower reaches of the River Don.

Perhaps the shared culture across these diverse groups could be described as 'Russianness', although, because of the diversity of experience in Russia at the time, historian Orlando Figes finds that this concept is problematic. Figes says that Russianness in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was difficult to define as a single 'national' culture, as 'Russia was too complex, too socially divided, too politically diverse, too ill-defined geographically, and perhaps too big, for a single culture to be passed off as the national heritage.'<sup>17</sup> However Figes contends that there was a Russian temperament, which he describes as, 'a set of native customs and beliefs, something visceral, emotional, instinctive, passed on down the generations, which has helped to shape the personality and bind the community.'<sup>18</sup> This temperament was forged through historical and artistic myths and shaped through literature and art, and became the force that 'gave the people the spirit to survive the

---

<sup>15</sup> Gregory P Tschebotarioff, 'The Cossacks and the Revolution of 1917', *Russian Review*, vol.20, no.3 1961, pp. 206-216. This loyalty became less predictable in the later years of the civil war, as will be discussed later.

<sup>16</sup> Gregory P Tschebotarioff, 'The Cossacks and the Revolution of 1917', p. 206.

<sup>17</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A cultural history of Russia*, London, Penguin, 2002, p. xxviii.

<sup>18</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, p. xxx.



darkest moments of their history, and united those who fled from Soviet Russia after 1917.<sup>19</sup>

No matter how problematic the concept of Russianness was within this complex background of geographic, political and social divisions, it is still possible to sketch some pictures of probable Melikov life, and the ways that Russianness would have been constructed for the growing princes. These relate to the kind of lifestyle that they would have led, both on the Don at their homestead, and in their frequent visits to Moscow and St Petersburg, and less frequent but still regular visits to Paris and the French Riviera.

Firstly it is important to place the Melikovs within the scheme of Russian aristocracy. Not all princes were created equal. Despite Peter the Great's attempts at rewarding endeavour, a hierarchy soon developed within the nobility, according to whether a prince (or princess) was of hereditary or acquired background, and how, when and where the title had been gained. There were also different perceptions about status ascribed to whether the prince was truly 'Russian' or one of those Georgians who, after the annexation of the Caucasus, were, according to the French novelist and biographer of Russian origin, Henri Troyat, 'pompously recognised as "princes" too.'<sup>20</sup> Troyat, in writing about daily life in Russia circa 1903, points out that in St Petersburg, the city created by Peter the Great, social circles were strict, and the barbs of exclusion both strong and subtle:

A man could achieve a brilliant career in the service of the State, become a general, a privy councillor, or even a minister, but the doors of certain salons

---

<sup>19</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, p. xxx.

<sup>20</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia*, p. 130.

would still be closed to him if he was not well born or if he had compromised himself by a misalliance.<sup>21</sup>

A Georgian prince would be at the margins of acceptability in St Petersburg society, and the Melikovs appear to be placed in an ambivalent position within these complicated rankings. On the one hand they could trace a long and noble history, starting from a legendary and mythical ancestor.<sup>22</sup> The family is first recorded in 314 AD, as being descended from the mythical and stellar divinity, Hayk, but in Armenia and Georgia rather than Father Russia. Their status within those regions was as princes descended from the meliks (dukes) of Lori. They are considered one of the six 'undivided' houses of Kartli, and thus had precedence over other princely families of the region. The line is traced in Georgian history until they appear on the List of Princes (in Iberia) under the name Melikishvili in 1783. Russian recognition of the name Prince or Princess Melikov is given early in the nineteenth century and confirmed in 1850, according to Boettger.<sup>23</sup>

It was later said that Pauline Curran had 'fallen in love with a dashing Russian royal blood, Prince Maximilian Melikoff. Her husband to be was a Romanoff in exile,

---

<sup>21</sup> Henri Troyat, *Daily Life in Russia*, pp. 189-190.

<sup>22</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author 2001.

<sup>23</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author 2001. One of the founders of the Theosophical Society, Helena Blavatsky, mentions a Prince Melikoff in her epic account of world religious mysticism and ritual, *Isis Unveiled*. Blavatsky recounts the experience of watching whirling dervishes in the 1860s: 'The followers of a certain sect in Persia, many of whom may be found around the Russian settlements in Temerchan-Shoura, and Derbent, have their religious mysteries in which they form a large ring, and whirl round in a frantic dance...Armed with knives, they soon reach a point of furious exaltation, and wound themselves and others until their garments and the sand on the floor are soaked with blood...While at *Petrovsk* (Dhagestan, region of the Caucasus) we had the opportunity of witnessing another such *mystery*. It was owing to the kindness of Prince Melikoff, the governor-general of Dhagestan...' Helena Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, Theosophical University Press, on line edition Vol 11 p. 568, <http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/isis/iu2-11b.htm> accessed 10 June 2002. Information about the Georgian Houses available from Guy Stair Sainty on <http://www.chivalricorders.org/royalty/gotha/russucc.htm> accessed 2 July 2005.

one of the members of the Russian royal family ousted in the 1917 Bolshevik uprising.<sup>24</sup> In fact, Prince Melikov was not a Romanoff, but he was the great grandson of George 12th, late King of Georgia.<sup>25</sup> Following the death of George 12th in 1800, the Georgian Kingdom was forcibly incorporated into the Russian Empire, which, according to genealogist Guy Stair Sainty, was 'in breach of a solemn treaty with Russia which had guaranteed the independence of Georgia and the status of its ruling family.'<sup>26</sup> Although a long and noble tradition is traced, the Melikovs were not directly related to Tsar Nicholas II, and their Georgian heritage would have marginalised them within some societal judgements. Yet the Melikovs were closely tied to the Tsar through meritorious military service, and one branch of the family, the counts Loris-Melikov, was closely related to the Tsar through civil service.<sup>27</sup>

On his father's side of the family, Maximilian had seven aunts and uncles who were princes and princesses, and four of these married princes and princesses.<sup>28</sup> It is probable that there were dozens of cousins with connections and estates throughout Russia. The expectations would have been that a bevy of well-placed potential marriage partners would be made available to the young Melikov princes once they

---

<sup>24</sup> *Mercury*, 28 February 1988.

<sup>25</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

<sup>26</sup> Guy Stair Sainty, 'The Russian Imperial Succession: Another View' published at European Royal Houses website on <http://www.chivalricorders.org/royalty/gotha/russucc.htm> accessed 2 July 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Count Mikhail Tarielovich Loris-Melikov, born in Armenia, was given his title through war service, and became Minister for the Interior in the reign of Tsar Alexander II. He was an influential figure who promoted some liberal reforms on behalf of the peasants, which were approved by Alexander II on the day that he, the Tsar, was assassinated. The new Tsar Alexander III overturned the reforms and then dismissed their author. Information from the History Channel internet site, [http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/this\\_day\\_in\\_history/this\\_day\\_March\\_13.php](http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/this_day_in_history/this_day_March_13.php) accessed 12 February 2004.

<sup>28</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author, 2001.

came of age. The historian Michael Ignatieff, in describing the early life of his grandmother, wrote:

There would be some choosing for her to do, among the young officers with wasp-waisted uniforms who were allowed to dance with her at the St Petersburg debutante balls. But she was a Princess Mestchersky and once her eyes had fallen on a man, his particulars 'back to Adam and Eve' would be investigated and if they were found wanting, she would have to choose again.<sup>29</sup>

Indeed, on the surface, it seems that Max's brother, Prince Levan Melikov, also a graduate of the Corps of Pages, married very well. When he first married in St Petersburg in 1916, at the age of twenty-three, his wife was Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna of Leuchtenberg. She was a descendant of the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna, who was married to Duke Maximilian of Leuchtenberg, grandson of Empress Josephine of France and adopted son of Napoleon.<sup>30</sup> However, Levan's first marriage indicated the ambivalent social position of the Melikov princes. Whilst very well connected, Levan's first wife, Aleksandra, was a countess rather than a princess, and this was because her grandfather, Nicholas, by birth given the title of Imperial Highness Prince Romanowsky, married beneath his station. His was a morganatic marriage, and his descendants were given the title of Duke or Duchess instead of the Imperial Highness status enjoyed by their cousins, uncles and aunts.<sup>31</sup> So while

---

<sup>29</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The Russian Album*, p. 9.

<sup>30</sup> Timothy F Boettger, correspondence with author, 2001. Prince Levan and his first wife were divorced in 1922, and he remarried in 1926, in Paris, to Rosalie Hooker, and went with her to New York, where he died at the age of thirty five, in January 1928.

<sup>31</sup> Genealogical information about Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna of Leuchtenberg's ancestors available on <http://pages.prodigy.net/ptheroff/gotha/leuchtenberg.html> accessed 12 February 2004. This was probably as a result of the 'Pauline Law', introduced by Tsar Paul in 1796, which decreed that marriage within the Imperial family had to be between those equal in rank. Morganatic marriages meant that rights to Imperial titles and succession were forfeited. Information about effects of

Prince Melikov was a suitable match for the Duchess, he may not have been if she had inherited the title of Imperial Highness. It appears then that the Melikovs were very well placed, but, because of their Georgian background, probably not well enough at times to escape the subtle barbs of social exclusion.

Secondly, it is important to establish the lifestyle of the Melikovs, relevant to other aristocrats and to the people of their region, in order to consider what Max lost through war, revolution, and exile. Many aristocrats were smart city people, cultured and artistic, who visited the country when they took a *dacha* for a month in the summer.<sup>32</sup> The Melikovs were predominately country people, who maintained their property as their primary livelihood, and who sent their sons away for military training; they probably enjoyed the country sights and smells most of the time, and spent the social season in St Petersburg. The evidence that one brother was born in the far south within their ancestral homelands, and the other may have been born in St Petersburg on the Baltic Sea in the north west, or perhaps at the family home in Novocherkassk, indicates that they were pan-Russian and by inference pan-European, as the historian Geoffrey Hosking asserts of the Russian nobility in general.<sup>33</sup> They were accustomed to travelling their vast country from its cultural and royal centre in St Petersburg to its business and political hub in Moscow, and to their own estate in the south, depending on their political and social obligations and the season. As well,

---

morganatic marriage, by Piter Broek, 'The Succession Question', *Genealogy of the Romanov Imperial Family*, website at <http://members.fortunecity.com/timhaapa/article01.htm> accessed 5 July 2005.

<sup>32</sup> 'The *dacha* was a place for Russian relaxations and pursuits: picking mushrooms in the woods, making jams, drinking tea from the *samovar*, fishing, hunting, visiting the bath house...(where) the nobleman could throw off the pressures of the court and official life, to become more himself in a Russian milieu.' Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, p. 106.

<sup>33</sup> Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire 1552-1917*, London, 1997, p. 159.

they were used to a life style that encompassed English, French, German and Italian culture, being far less confined by the geographic boundaries of their homeland than the nobility of those other countries.<sup>34</sup>

Some sense of the Melikov homeland in Novocherkassk can be gained through Sholokhov's descriptions in his novel, 'And Quiet Flows the Don,' a work that chronicles Cossack life at the time before, during, and shortly after the 1917 revolution.<sup>35</sup> Novocherkassk is on the western banks of the Don, about 100 kilometers from where it flows into the Gulf of Taganrog, which enters in turn into the Sea of Azov, which then flows into the Black Sea. It is a place of climatic extremes. Sholokhov lived on a small farm on the Don, and his fictional accounts of the area therefore hold currency. One of the families in the novel is the Melekhovs, here written as Cossacks from the small farmhouse, rather than nobility from the grand estate.<sup>36</sup> Sholokhov describes the Don in its magnitude and across its varying seasons:

---

<sup>34</sup> Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia, People and Empire*, p. 159. Some writers contest that this 'denationalised' the Russian nobility, but Hosking argues that this was not so: that the in the modern sense they were the first consciously patriotic Russians.

<sup>35</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, (transl. Stephen Garry), London, 1967. Sholokhov, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1965, was from the lower middle classes, and during the revolution he joined the Bolshevik (Red) Army, and fought in the Don region against the remnants of the White Army, to which the Melikovs belonged. Information on Sholokhov obtained from *Nobel Lectures, Literature 1901-1967*, (Ed. Horst Frenz), Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1969, on Internet site, [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1965/sholokhov-bio.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1965/sholokhov-bio.html) accessed 20 February 2004. Rumours of plagiarism haunted Sholokhov until his death, and Garry's translation of *And Quiet Flows the Don* has been criticized. Both these issues are addressed by Barry P Scherr and Richard Sheldon, in 'Westward Flows the Don: The Translation and the Text', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1, 1998, pp. 119-125. Scherr and Sheldon point to the evidence that clears Sholokhov of plagiarism, (p. 123.). They are critical of the Garry translation, but the criticisms do not alter the relevance of that edition as contextual material for this thesis.

<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to consider the extent to which Sholokhov was being ironic—his work was very closely based on facts, and so he may well have been exacting some revenge on the Melikovs in choosing this name. An attestation to the realism of Sholokhov's novel is given by Gregory P

The Melekhov farm was right at the edge of Taarsk village. The gate of the cattle-yard opened northwest towards the Don. A steep, sixty-foot slope between chalky, grassgrown banks, and there was the shore. A pearly drift of mussel-shells, a grey, broken edging of shingle, and then –the steely-blue, rippling surface of the Don, seething beneath the wind.<sup>37</sup>

And at the end of winter, when the frozen Don began to thaw:

At dusk the ice of the Don began to crack with a protracted, rolling groan, and crushed by a mass of broken ice the first floe emerged from the water. The ice broke suddenly over a length of three miles, and drifted downstream. The floes crushed against each other and against the banks, to the sound of a church bell ringing measuredly for the service.<sup>38</sup>

Here on the banks of the Don the Melikov boys would have spent much of their early years. Given what is known of the Melikov position in society, it can be assumed that Maximilian had a brief but cosseted childhood, in the care of nannies who were perhaps English or French.<sup>39</sup> It is also likely that he spoke both these languages, but unlike many aristocratic Russians of his time who knew a mere smattering of their native tongue, he was probably fluent in Russian and Cossack dialects because of his close connection with the local Cossacks whom he was born to command.<sup>40</sup> His memories were no doubt rich with the fabric of this Russian

---

Tschebotarioff, 'The Cossacks and the Revolution of 1917', (p. 212.). Tschebotarioff, who later rose to prominence as a civil engineer and professor of engineering, and an authority on pre-Revolutionary Russia and the Ukrainian and Cossack movements, was an officer in the Don Cossack Guards Battery, and says that a particular real-life incident, the hanging of Podtyolkov, was described 'fairly accurately' in *And Quiet Flows the Don*. Information about Tschebotarioff from the Claremont University Library Internet site, the Tschebotarioff papers, <http://libraries.claremont.edu/sc/collections/tschebotarioff.html> , accessed 30 November 2005.

<sup>37</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, p. 173.

<sup>39</sup> Vera Alexandrova, 'Russian Émigrés in Western European Literature', *Russian Review*, vol.3, no.2 1944, 87-93. According to Alexandrova, sympathy towards Russian Émigrés in France after the October 1917 Revolution was particularly strong because of the number of governesses, tutors and educators who had spent time living in Russia with aristocratic and wealthy Russians.

<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia, People and Empire*, p. 156.

boyhood, spent largely on the Don running free, and riding wildly from the time he could walk, often with trusted Cossack men and the boys who would soon be under his command, and being cosseted by Cossack women who sang to him and fed him.

The Nobel Prize winning novelist Vladimir Nabokov was a contemporary of Maximilian Melikov, and, although his life was in many ways different, being from an intellectual and city-based family, his accounts of Russian life are rich. According to Nabokov, Russian children of this generation hoarded up memories with the power of genius, ‘as if destiny were loyally trying what it could for them by giving them more than their share, in view of the cataclysm that was to remove completely the world they had known.’<sup>41</sup> Nabokov’s memories include hunting for mushrooms in the park: ‘Its shady recesses would then harbor that special boletic reek which makes a Russian’s nostrils dilate—a dark, dank, satisfying blend of damp moss, rich earth, rotting leaves.’<sup>42</sup> He also remembered the many English treats that were enjoyed by the aristocracy:

At breakfast, Golden Syrup imported from London would entwist with its glowing coils the revolving spoon from which enough of it had slivered onto a piece of Russian bread and butter. All sorts of smug, mellow things came from the English shop on Nevski Avenue: fruitcakes, smelling salts, playing cards, picture puzzles, striped blazers, talcum-white tennis balls.<sup>43</sup>

Then there were the summer trips abroad, made by rail in sleeper cars with leather upholstery, wood paneling and mirrors, and tulip-shaped reading lamps. ‘In the far end of my mind’, Nabokov says, ‘I can unravel, I think, at least five such

---

<sup>41</sup> Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak, Memory*, London, 1999, p. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak, Memory*, p. 28.

<sup>43</sup> Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak, Memory*, p. 57.



journeys to Paris, with the Riviera and Biarritz as their ultimate destination.<sup>44</sup> The entourage included the nannies, the governesses and tutors, the maid and the pet dogs, that accompanied the Russian family of means on their holiday to the beaches of France.

As the two young Melikov princes were graduates of the Corps of Pages, the most elite of military schools, their cosseted childhood days would have ended by the time they turned nine. The young princes had probably been signed on to their father's regiment when they were toddlers, and had worn uniforms since the age of five or six.<sup>45</sup> As their father and grandfather had both had distinguished military careers, the entrance to the Corps of Pages was guaranteed, and it brought with it prestige and the pick of appointments after graduation. By the time Max started his military training, Levan would have been at the St Petersburg-based military academy for a year, and so Max had his older brother to keep him company. The schooling was austere and strict, but as well as the general and military education, it provided, according to Hosking, 'the etiquette and social graces appropriate to someone who might well have to mix with the European aristocracy.'<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak, Memory*, p. 107.

<sup>45</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, p. 119.

<sup>46</sup> Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia, People and Empire*, p. 156.



**Illustration 14 Corps of Pages, wake up call.**  
Columbia University,<sup>47</sup>

Their mother, Princess Anna, not having a daughter to train in the social graces, may have been freer to visit the city once the boys were attending the academy, and perhaps she took them out for ice creams and English tea on holidays. If she were a typical woman of the aristocracy, she would have been a distant, well-dressed and refined mother, who gave the boys to a wet nurse at birth, and then into the care of nannies and governesses.<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps the Melikov boys saw their mother once daily when they were little, like Ignatieff's mother, Princess Natasha Mestchersky, who saw her own mother only

---

<sup>47</sup> Wake up call: Russian Imperial Corps of Pages, St. Petersburg, (Soiuz Pazhei Papers), Online Exhibition, [Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, Columbia University, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/resources/exhibitions/pages/html/Sch.html](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/resources/exhibitions/pages/html/Sch.html) accessed 7 April 2005, permission to use photographs given by Tanya Chebotarev, curator of the Bakhmeteff Archive, correspondence with author 7 April 2005.

<sup>48</sup> The Russian nobility employed wet nurses long after the custom had ceased in the rest of Europe, and up until 1917. They held the highest position amongst servants, and were often fashionably dressed to accompany the mistress. It was considered that strong peasant characteristics could flow through the milk to give lifelong health to the noble child. Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, pp. 124-125.

when the governess took the little girl and her sister into the boudoir to watch mother eat the raw egg that she had for breakfast each day, after which she would ask her daughters, ‘were they washed, had they said their prayers, were they ready for their lessons?’ After that brief interview, they would be dismissed for the day.<sup>49</sup> Noble women were educated, and their domain was the salon; the grand room of the palaces where they showed off their beauty, wit and refinement.<sup>50</sup>

Maximilian turned twenty years old in the year that World War One commenced. He may have already been with a regiment for a year or two before that. From that time on, until he went into exile in 1921, the prince spent his time at war. His was a war of many facets, where the enemy changed from being external foes to those within the empire, and where all that he had known, socially, militarily and economically, crumbled and disappeared within the years of conflict. Reports subsequently published in Tasmanian newspapers indicate that at the age of twenty, Maximilian was awarded the highest Russian medal for valour—the St Georges Cross—for the Calvary Charge in 1914 against the Austrians on the Uyoh Pass in the Carpathian Mountains.<sup>51</sup> As a member of the Russian Imperial Cavalry he would have commanded hundreds of Cossacks and slept rough with them in often appalling conditions, as the war dragged on. The Tsarist forces came under threat not only from the Germans, but from the peasant population that was mobilised into revolt by the poverty, hunger, and misery of the 14 million men who had been conscripted; appalling conditions that were largely blamed on the incompetence of Tsar Nicholas

---

<sup>49</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The Russian Album*, p. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance*, pp. 47- 49.

<sup>51</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

II.<sup>52</sup> By November 1916, it is estimated that Russia's military misfortunes included 1, 700, 000 dead and 5, 000,000 wounded; the war that should have been short and victorious had turned into a nightmare.<sup>53</sup>

Sholokhov writes about the Cossack experience during the war against Austria, where Prince Melikov served, as the Cossacks wrote prayers that they concealed under their shirts:

But death came upon all alike, upon those who wrote down the prayers also. Their bodies rotted on the fields of Galicia and Eastern Prussia, in the Carpathians and Romania, wherever the ruddy flames of war flickered and the traces of Cossack horses were imprinted in the earth.<sup>54</sup>

Sholokhov has a character in *And Quiet Flows the Don*, Eugenie Listnitsky, who is from Novocherkassk, and whose father is a retired General and a nobleman, who has sent his son to the 'cadet corps' in St Petersburg. Sholokhov's treatment of the younger Listnitsky is reasonable sympathetic, as he documents the horrors of the war where Cossack men are under the young nobleman's command.<sup>55</sup> The life of the fictional Listnitsky has much in common with what is known about Maximilian Melikov's experience. It was a brutal coming of age. Again in an account of the war against the Austrians, Sholokhov writes:

Four miles of terribly heavy going took all the strength out of the horses; some of them dropped under their riders, even the strongest stumbled...Now the Austrian machine guns began to work, sprinkling a hail of bullets. The

---

<sup>52</sup> A major source used for background to the war and revolution was Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, New York, 1990.

<sup>53</sup> J Smele, *War, Revolution and Civil War in Russia*, published on the BBC History Internet site, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/eastern\\_front\\_02.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/eastern_front_02.shtml) accessed 18 February 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flow the Don*, p. 223.

<sup>55</sup> Sholokhov does not give Listnitsky a title; in fact when a Cossack character calls Listnitsky's father 'your Excellency', the older man corrects him, by saying, 'Without any "Excellencies". I don't like them.' Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flow the Don*, p. 148.

murderous fire mowed down the leading ranks. A regiment of Uhlans was the first to falter and turn; a Cossack regiment broke. The machine gun rain lashed them into a panic stricken flight. Thus this extraordinarily extensive attack was overwhelmed with complete defeat. Some of the regiments lost half their complement of men and horses. Four hundred Cossacks and sixteen officers were killed and wounded in Listnitsky's regiment alone.<sup>56</sup>

The war continued into 1918, despite the revolutions that occurred in 1917 and which led to the abdication and then murder of the Tsar. Tsar Nicholas, under the strong influence of his wife, and she reputedly under the strong influence of Rasputin, leant towards autocratic leadership. In February 1917, the peasant soldiers and workers in St Petersburg rioted in the freezing winter where food was short and the war had been too long.<sup>57</sup> In March 1917, with chaos on the streets, the army in tatters and the health of his young son and potential heir a constant concern, Nicholas abdicated on behalf of himself and the boy, and in favour of his brother, Michael.<sup>58</sup> Within twenty-four hours Michael was persuaded that he too should abdicate, at least temporarily, until, as he said, 'such a time as a constituent Assembly, summoned in the shortest possible delay on the basis of universal, fair, equal and secret elections, shall by its decision of a form of government, express the will of the people.'<sup>59</sup>

The will of the people was not to reinstate Michael as Tsar. The Provisional Government was installed, and it initiated sweeping reforms that achieved equality before the law, democracy, and freedom of religion, speech and assembly.<sup>60</sup>

However, the new government continued the war against Germany despite the

---

<sup>56</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, *And Quiet Flow the Don*, p. 296.

<sup>57</sup> Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 272-337.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, pp. 315-316.

<sup>59</sup> Andre Maylunas and Sergei Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion, Nicholas and Alexander, their own story*, New York, 1997 p. 550.

<sup>60</sup> Nicholas V Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1984, p. 456.

country's depleted resources and the level of defeatism among the troops. The result was the formation of stronger Bolshevik resistance, which, combined with failure of the new regime to carry out its plans for land settlements to the peasants, led to the revolution of October 1917, and Lenin's installation in power.<sup>61</sup>

For Max, life in the Russian Imperial Army was over, but the brutality and misery were not, because, when the Great War finished in 1918, Russians continued killing each other.<sup>62</sup> Because of his involvement in this continuing conflict, Prince Melikov went into exile later than most of the Russians of his class. While his family, friends and many of his fellow officers spilled out of his hometown, one of the last strongholds of the White Army, down the Don to the Sea of Azov, across the Black Sea and through Constantinople, out into the Mediterranean, where they dispersed, into Berlin, Paris, Nice and London, the USA, even Australia, Max stayed on.

It seems that Melikov, like his fictional counterpart in Sholokov's book, returned to the Novocherkassk region at about this time.<sup>63</sup> It was here in the southern Don that the last pro-Tsarist, anti-Bolshevik effort was marshalled. 'Important generals who formerly had been arbiters of the destiny of the Russian armies poured down into the lower regions of the Don', Sholokov explains, 'hoping to find support for their activities among the reactionary Don Cossacks and to develop an offensive against Sovietised Russia.'<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Nicholas V Riasanovsky, *A History of Russia*, p. 457.

<sup>62</sup> Rosemary and Donald Crawford, *Michael and Natasha*, London, 1998, p. 338.

<sup>63</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

<sup>64</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, p. 465.

One of those generals was Anton Denekin, who led the counter-revolutionary 'White Army' made up largely of former Tsarist officers and Cossacks. Prince Melikov joined this voluntary 'Denekin Army' and fought the Bolsheviks until Denekin's army was eventually defeated in 1920.<sup>65</sup> Apart from the daily horrors of being a voluntary officer fighting within his own country with inadequate clothing, shelter and food, Max also experienced the unravelling of the ancient loyalties of the Cossacks. In 1919, the Cossack leader, or Ataman, General Bogaevsky, placed the Don Cossack Army under the command of General Denekin and his Volunteer Army—their motto was 'Russia One and Undivided.'<sup>66</sup> However, they were no longer a united force: some Cossacks wanted to re-establish their own home rule; others joined the Bolsheviks, hundreds deserted, while many remained loyal to Denekin and the remnants of the aristocratic officers. Major General Percy of the British Army was sent to South Russia in 1919 to work with General Denekin, and two years later, when addressing the Empire Club of Canada about his experiences there, he said:

Those Cossacks are not capable of any discipline, and Denekin, I am sorry to say, is not a strict enough man to put confidence into his army. When his army advanced he was welcomed by the peasants everywhere in the most enthusiastic manner, but after a bit those Cossacks got loose and did an enormous amount of looting. The consequence was that the peasants got

---

<sup>65</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

<sup>66</sup> Gregory P Tschebotarioff, 'The Cossacks and the Revolution of 1917', p. 214. Tschebotarioff argues that General Kaledin, the Cossack leader, made a grave error in not demobilising the Cossacks when they returned to the Don from the German front in December 1917, and notes that Kaledin committed suicide at Novochoerkaskk in January 1918, not wishing to leave it as the White army resistance failed. Tschebotarioff, p. 212.

rather sick of this, and fought with Denekin's army, which had really showed that the Cossacks were not better than the Bolsheviks themselves.<sup>67</sup>

Sholokhov has an account of this counter offensive against the Bolsheviks, in *And Quiet Flows the Don*. In the novel, Listnitsky's last words, as he sees the last of the White Army crumbling, are: 'Every one of these five thousand ostracised are like me, carrying with them a charge of hatred and boundless anger. The swines have thrown us out of Russia, and think to crush us here. We shall see!'<sup>68</sup> Even if there were no fictitious Listnitsky to speak on behalf of Melikov, the latter's experiences, when imagined, would be a litany of the brutalisation of humanity, in some of the coldest, most miserable and bloodiest years of warfare in modern western experience. These experiences were well documented in the historical and period novels written in Russian between 1918 and 1968 by émigrés and published outside the Soviet Union.<sup>69</sup> The main theme in all the émigré civil war novels is, according to Ludmilla Foster, that of violence, which pervades plots, situations, episodes and characters, regardless of political persuasion. 'Indeed,' she says, 'it is the most distinctive feature (which) gives the novels a more psychological and sociological, rather than a historical or political orientation.'<sup>70</sup>

This violence was closely associated with the excessive consumption of Vodka. The use and abuse of vodka in Russian society prior to World War One, and through

---

<sup>67</sup> Jocelyn Percy, (Major-General) 'The situation in Russia', address to the Empire Club of Canada 27 January 1921, <http://www.empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?SpeechID=2745&FT=yes> accessed 18 Feb 04.

<sup>68</sup> Mikhail Sholokhov, p. 538.

<sup>69</sup> Ludmilla Foster, 'The Revolution and the Civil War in Russian Émigré Novels', *Russian Review*, vol.31, no.2, 1972, pp. 153-162.

<sup>70</sup> Ludmilla Foster, 'The Revolution and the Civil War in Russian Émigré Novels', p. 160.



to the early Soviet years, is the subject of a study by Professor Patricia Herlihy, who argues that a greater proportion of officers than of troops got drunk and died from drinking prior to the war. When Nicholas II prohibited vodka sales in Russia in 1914, he exempted officers' clubs, where vodka could be sold with all meals, including breakfast. The other ranks and peasants drank alcohol made from anything they could get their hands on, and the moonshine production was so extensive that it had an impact on the grain available for bread making.<sup>71</sup> It seems from his later problems that excess alcohol consumption had an effect on Max Melikov's life and arguably his marriage, as he grappled with the émigré experience.

Max's life as an émigré commenced after Denekin's last stand folded, and the prince went into Persia, where he trained cavalry until 1921.<sup>72</sup> By then he was twenty seven years old, and he had spent more than half his life in the military. He had been fighting bloody, cold, hungry, brutal battles for six years as his career firstly peaked, and then fell apart, in a quagmire of death, destruction and loss of all that he had known. One can only guess at the psychological effects of this. We might presume it would bend personality into the ways that serve well for survival, but not for intimate relationships: cunning, wily, hardened to cruelty, practiced against sentiment but still knowing how to behave amongst officers and ladies; gallant, chivalrous, and charming. Prince Maximilian Melikov was handsome in his own way: a short and slightly built Georgian; serious, dark and brooding.

---

<sup>71</sup> Patricia Herlihy, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka and Politics in late Imperial Russia*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 65-67 and p.145.

<sup>72</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 21 January 1924.

A plausible picture emerges from such speculation that suggests a life of comparative privilege, but one lived on the margins, geographically as well as socially, and marked by brutality, intrigue, mayhem, and eventually exile. What might be the expected consequences of this life, spent both boy and man in military training, then seven years of war and revolution that turned his known world upside down? Perhaps in all this the vodka was the one sure companion and signifier of Russianness that was left to him. It is not implausible to imagine a man of charm and decorum, handsome, cultured and debonair, who at the same time is strategic and exploitative in his relationships, mercenary, and troubled by bouts of depression and chronic alcoholism—in other words, psychologically ill-equipped for the role of prince charming.

Once he left Persia, Max found his way to Nice, where his family had established their home. Like the two million other émigrés that made up the Tsarist Russian diaspora that spread across the world, especially into Europe, China and America, he began the process of finding work and a niche for himself. This handsome, cultured prince was in Europe for about three years before he met Pauline Curran and there must have been many attractive young women who made his acquaintance during that time. However Max, (like his brother, Levan), chose a wealthy woman.

## Chapter Four The Royal Wedding

*The wedding was a crucial symbol for the gentry, marking as it often did the consolidation of fortunes and social networks, the marriage of pedigree to wealth...*  
Penny Russell.<sup>1</sup>

In Hobart, the marriage of Pauline Curran to Prince Maximilian Melikoff de Somhetie provided Tasmania with its own 'Royal Wedding', and, at the furthest outpost of the Empire, allowed some to show solidarity with the metropolitan centre and its heart at Buckingham Palace. When the Hobart *Mercury* looked back on it, some sixty-two years after the day, it was apparent that the Melikoff wedding stood the test of time as Hobart's most glamorous occasion:

The bells of St David's cathedral rang out across the streets of Hobart. The city was playing host to a royal wedding...It was a chance for those less fortunate to escape from reality, act as small players in a Cinderella story. For those more fortunate, a chance to flaunt.<sup>2</sup>

A royal wedding is set apart from others by its public and political nature; by the status of the bride and groom; and by a heightened degree of ritual and symbolism. The displays of uniforms and honours indicate that the wedding is an event of state, as much, if not more, than it is a personal matter. There are also heightened elements of personal transformation, in such grand transformations, as wondertales are evoked with their possibilities of leaving behind the cinders and wedding a prince charming.

---

<sup>1</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne, 1994, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 28 February 1988.

To what extent then, was the Curran-Melikoff occasion a royal wedding, and to what degree was this idea contested in Hobart and elsewhere? These are questions to be considered in the context of Tasmania's distance from the centre where royal spectacles were normally experienced, as well as the two recent royal occasions which had an impact on Tasmanian society. In 1920, the heir apparent to the throne, Prince Edward, made a tour of Tasmania, while in 1923, his younger brother, Prince Albert, was married in London. Both these were occasions where royalty was enforced through its rituals, displays, and what David Cannadine describes as 'majestic journeys to the Empire'.<sup>3</sup> As Cannadine notes, in the early twenty-first century it is easy to forget the extent to which, at its peak, the British Empire was:

a *royal* empire, presided over and unified by a sovereign of global amplitude and semi-divine fullness, and suffused with the symbols and signifiers of kingship, which reinforced, legitimated, unified and completed the empire as a realm bound together by order, hierarchy, tradition and subordination.<sup>4</sup>

Cannadine describes the increasing 'efficiency, self-consciousness and ostentation' of royal festivities by the late nineteenth century, combined with their successful extension to the colonies, which meant that:

These were shared imperial occasions, with a common style, involving banners and flags, speeches and street parties, military processions and religious services, the unveiling of statues or the opening of memorial halls. And they all stressed history and hierarchy, unity and order, crown and empire.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, London, 2001, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 106.

Empire and the semi-divine nature of monarchy were strengthened both in the metropolitan centre, and in the 'countless smaller towns and villages' at its periphery.<sup>6</sup>

For Tasmanians, where the economy was depressed, the distance from London was great and the effects of the World War still keenly felt, the 1920 visit of the heir to the British throne was a momentous event. The prince had been sent on a series of tours around the empire in accordance with the plans of Prime Minister Lloyd George, who saw that, in the wake of the war, there would be renewed calls for reforms in the structure of the empire, and that the visit of the popular prince would do much to quell these movements, as well as achieving the more official purpose of thanking the soldiers with whom he had served during the war, and their governments.<sup>7</sup> The tour was a fine example of what Cannadine calls the 'majestic journeys' that were 'grand progresses by land and sea, lasting for many months and covering many miles, involving countless receptions, dinners, parades and speeches, and all carried on before vast, delighted and admiring crowds.'<sup>8</sup> The reception of the prince in Hobart in July 1920 was as enthusiastic as any that he would have received. According to the *Tasmanian Mail*:

his coming was the occasion of a pageant unparalleled in the history of the State. It was a day to linger in the memory, a day of stirring scenes combining picturesque ceremonial, gay decorations, rejoicing crowds, and glorious sunshine in a wonderful drama of national and Empire significance.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII: The Official Biography*, London, 1990, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 115.

<sup>9</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

The prince, it was reported, was endearing himself ‘as much for his personal good qualities and unassuming manner as the fact that he is of Royal blood and heir to the Throne of the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen.’<sup>10</sup> The anticipation as the prince’s ship hove into sight, the well behaved crowds, and the efforts of the police force, the official party and the enclave for returned soldiers and nurses and their families were subjects of comment in the paper. It also mentions the full program, which included the welcome on the wharf, the Government House dinner and mayoral reception, Citizens Ball and a trip to the races at Elwick the following day.<sup>11</sup>

The prince found the tour exhausting. His trip to Tasmania was one of many weeks that he spent being jostled and bruised by boisterous crowds throughout New Zealand and Australia, where he was touched and poked and hit with folded newspapers and pulled out of carriages as, he said, ‘part of a mass impulse to prod some part of the Prince of Wales’.<sup>12</sup> Looking back on the trip, the prince did not describe it as a ‘majestic journey’ but said, ‘Much of the time I was like a man in a revolving door. I was a wayfarer rather than a sojourner.’<sup>13</sup> Adding to the exhaustion were the endless rounds of balls and dinners, where the young prince, being unmarried, was a most desirable dancing partner.<sup>14</sup> Sub headed, ‘The Citizens’ Ball—The Prince as Dancer—A Brilliant Pageant’ the *Tasmanian Mail* reported that the

---

<sup>10</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

<sup>11</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

<sup>12</sup> Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story: The Memoirs of HRH the Duke of Windsor*, London, 1951, p. 155.

<sup>13</sup> Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story*, p. 160.

<sup>14</sup> The prince was at this time engaged in an affair with Mrs Freda Dudley Ward, which lasted for fifteen years. Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 94.

prince wore evening dress and his decorations, and entered the hall to the strains of 'God Save the King' and thunderous applause.<sup>15</sup> Five hundred couples packed the dance floor of the city hall at all times, and 'two orchestras provided capital music, and were respectively under Mrs Sheppard and Mr McCann.'<sup>16</sup> The basement had been cleared of debris and fitted out into a fern bower, and lit with tiny red and yellow lights, making a setting 'as one would expect in Monaco, or Arcadia itself.'<sup>17</sup>

The prince danced with 'Miss Lee, Miss Joan Gellibrand, Mrs Snowden and Mrs Eisdell, and left the ball after midnight amidst rousing cheers.'<sup>18</sup> 'Midnight often found me with wearied brain and dragging feet, and the orchestra blaring out the by-now hackneyed tunes', the prince recalled.<sup>19</sup> He is also reported to have said that he had hardly seen a pretty woman in Australia, and that they were all 'a hen-faced crowd and make me tired.'<sup>20</sup>

The popular song of the time, 'I danced with a man who danced with a girl who danced with the Prince of Wales' probably sums up Pauline's situation at the ball.<sup>21</sup> She was now twenty seven years old, a year older than the Prince of Wales;

---

<sup>15</sup> *Tasmanian Mail* 22 July 1922. The prince was highly decorated but had expressed his great discomfort at being 'given' various orders, including French and Russian ones, as well as the Legion of Honour and then the Military Cross, and wearing them at the Kings request, when there was a clear policy of keeping him away from danger during his war service. Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story* p. 117; Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

<sup>17</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922. The references to Monaco and Arcadia indicate the extent to which Monaco, the setting for the announcement of Pauline's engagement, was seen as a magic and enchanted place.

<sup>18</sup> *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

<sup>19</sup> Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story*, p. 158.

<sup>20</sup> Philip Ziegler, *King Edward VIII*, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> The song was popular in music halls during the 1920s, and was used in the 1978 movie, *Edward and Mrs. Simpson*, as a theme to illustrate the popularity of the bachelor prince. Information about that film is available at the British Film Institute website, <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/457044/index.html> Accessed 30 March 2006. Pauline was not

and with her failed engagement two years behind her, no longer a debutante and probably being seen as a spinster in danger of remaining that way.

Three years later Prince Edward was still single, as was Pauline Curran, when the prince's younger brother Albert, Duke of York, married Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon.<sup>22</sup> She was a figure of great interest, as, having spent the war years in Scotland helping her mother and sisters run a convalescent hospital in their ancestral home, Glamis Castle, she then 'took London by storm', and became known for her dancing, her charm, and grace.<sup>23</sup> She was the first commoner to legally marry into the royal family in several centuries.<sup>24</sup> The large, enthusiastic crowds that came to watch indicated the widespread popularity of the prince, who had done much to improve welfare of the working class.<sup>25</sup> The bride, for all her beauty, looked unassuming in her formless gown, which was described in the *Times* as 'the simplest ever made for a royal wedding'.<sup>26</sup> She also let it be known that any presents given to her should be of

---

even mentioned as being in attendance at the Hobart ball, although the *Tasmanian Mail's* social writer noted that it was 'impossible to find the space to mention all the dresses that were noticeably graceful.' Pauline was noted at the mayoral reception though, wearing a 'tunic of mauve opalescent sequin over a skirt of mauve georgette edged with the same sequin trimmings and bead fringe, and finished with two falls of georgette down the back.' Many of the young women, daughters of the inner circle, wore the same gowns for both the major social occasions, including Miss Lee, who had danced with the prince—'ivory net mounted on ivory silk with pale blue satin edging.' This indicates a society where post-war economic restrictions were evident, even amongst the well-to-do. *Tasmanian Mail* 22 July 1922. Pauline's dress is described in more detail than some others, as it was apparently quite striking and doubtless suited her tall, slim figure very well. *Tasmanian Mail*, 22 July 1922.

<sup>22</sup> Dulcie Ashdown, *Royal Weddings*, London, Robert Hale, 1981, p. 167. The previous year Princess Mary, sister of Edward and Albert had married, and while that wedding was of considerable public interest, Mary attracted less attention than her brothers, and her groom was thirty-nine years old, and, according to Ashdown, not a 'Prince Charming.'

<sup>23</sup> John W Wheeler- Bennett, *King George VI: His Life and Reign*, London, 1958, p. 149.

<sup>24</sup> Jone Johnson Lewis, [http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio\\_elizabeth\\_mum.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio_elizabeth_mum.htm) accessed 6 June 2005.

<sup>25</sup> John W Wheeler- Bennett, *King George VI* p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> Information gained from the Historic Royal Palaces Royal Charter Body, <http://www.hrp.org.uk/webcode/content.asp?ID=541> accessed 12 June 2005. Following the example of Princess Mary the year before, the bride paid homage to the war dead, and offered her bouquet as a



the simplest character, as, in view of the widespread unemployment, expensive presents would be out of place.<sup>27</sup>

In Hobart, the bride's 'commoner' status did not go without comment, as the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* noted that the Duke of York's great-grandmother (Queen Victoria) would have been horrified if she had been alive. However, the editor observed, there were very few Royal princes and princesses left to marry each other. 'And, after all, a marriage such as the Duke of York's with Lady Elisabeth Bowes-Lyon is so popular throughout the Empire that it is bound to strengthen loyalty to the King, and thus to England.'<sup>28</sup> The newspaper devoted a five-page spread to the wedding, which included 'charming portraits of the Duke of York's bride and her aristocratic relatives.'<sup>29</sup>

Three years after the marriage of the Duke of York and Lady Bowes-Lyon, Pauline Curran married on the evening of 20 January 1926. The war had ended seven years previously but its affects were still being felt, and Tasmania was experiencing severe economic difficulties.<sup>30</sup> Many young women, and particularly working class ones, had had their plans and dreams shattered as their sweethearts or fiancés, or even the young men in their neighbourhoods who may potentially have become such, were

---

tribute to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as she entered Westminster Abbey Princess Mary had stopped her carriage after her wedding to offer her bouquet at the Cenotaph. After Elizabeth's tribute entering Westminster Abbey, all royal brides are said to have done the same, but on leaving the Abbey. Dulcie Ashdown, *Royal Weddings*, p. 168.

<sup>27</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 26 April 1923.

<sup>28</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 26 April 1923.

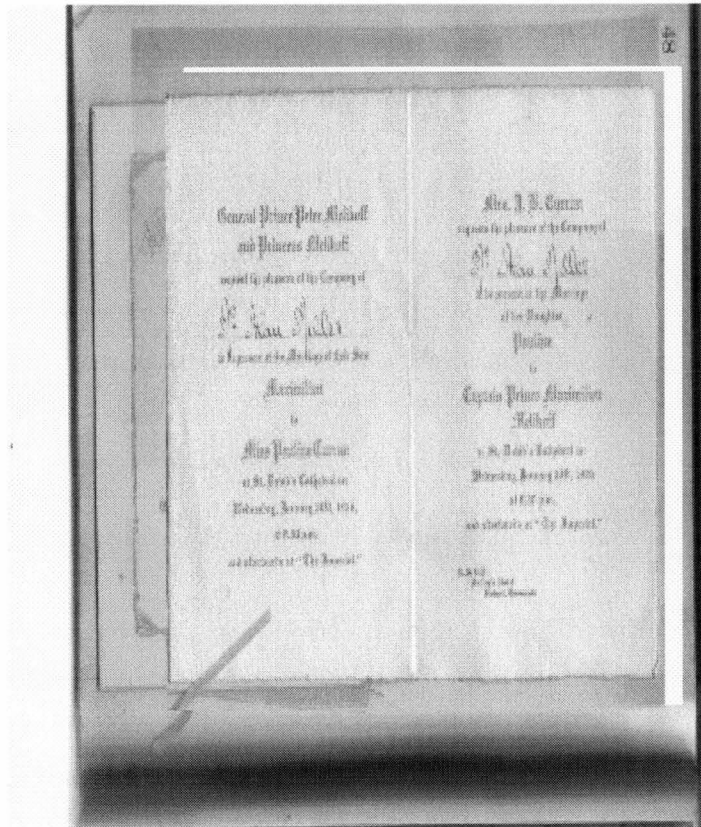
<sup>29</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 26 April 1923.

<sup>30</sup> The Federal Government sent Sir Nicholas Lockyer, a senior public servant, to Tasmania in January 1926 to conduct an inquiry into the State's economic situation. Jim Hancock and Julie Smith, 'Financing the Federation', The South Australian Centre for Economic Studies, <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/saces/publications/other/FinancingtheFederation.pdf> accessed 12 June 2005.

killed or injured in the war. Many older women expecting sons or daughters to marry had also had those plans ruined or deferred. Where marriages had taken place they had been with fewer gifts, simpler gowns, and reduced expectations of what life ahead held.<sup>31</sup> The Melikoff wedding therefore held the appeal of a royal wedding to many people who identified with the personal romance of the story, and perhaps the more so because their own wedding dreams had been dashed, or their marriages were less than fairytale in the aftermath of physical and mental scarring sustained during the war.

---

<sup>31</sup> The *Mercury* published a list of approximately five hundred names of Hobart men who were killed during World War One on 25 April 2005. Most were aged between 18 and 30 years, and were predominately privates, whose former employment included labouring, factory work and various trades.



**Illustration 15 The wedding invitation**  
From Mr Alan Miller's scrapbook.<sup>32</sup>

Nearly eighty years later, people remembered their mothers or aunts, who were not related to the Curran family, storing newspaper articles about the Melikoff wedding amongst their treasures, which would be brought out every so often along with other family mementos. At other times the clippings, along with baby clothes, lace doilies and locks of hair in boxes tied with yellowed ribbon, were found when

<sup>32</sup> From Mr Alan Miller's scrapbook, provided by his daughter, Alicia Johnson.

those women died.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps, to these women, Pauline's wedding represented what might have been.

On the wedding day, crowds gathered outside the cathedral, where many witnessed a degree of majesty and splendour the like of which they had not seen first hand, and which they valued, as loyal members of the Empire. These were people who shared the culture described by Cannadine, where history and hierarchy, unity and order, crown and empire were celebrated and reinforced through royal festivities, including tours, jubilees, weddings, funerals and coronations.<sup>34</sup> Pauline married a prince who had no principality, and was not heir to a throne, yet the signs of Empire, including his military awards and titles, his exotic name and his sophistication, all signified closeness to the centre, much closer than most in Hobart could hope to become. The crowds therefore flocked to the streets to watch the 'royal couple', as the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* reported:

Immense interest and excitement were manifested by the crowd which had assembled two hours earlier in order to watch the arrival of the wedding party, and the Cathedral was filled to the doors and beyond, many people being pressed into the aisles, where they stood during the ceremony.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> Beth Swan provided newspaper clippings of the Melikoff wedding to author on 5 September 2001.

<sup>34</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 106.

<sup>35</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.



**Illustration 16 Wedding Fever**

The crowd outside St David's Cathedral, Hobart, and on the balcony of Hadley's Hotel in the background, wait for the bridal couple to appear.<sup>36</sup>

The newspaper devoted several pages to the story, including a spread of photographs, as it had done when the Prince of Wales had toured, and when the Duke of York had wed. It described the bride's entrance to the cathedral as follows:

She came up the aisle on the arm of her brother-in-law—Mr Alex McGregor, who gave her away—looking very stately and happy, and wearing a gown that admirably suited her height and slender gracefulness. It was a creation of Idare et Cie, London, hand-made and hand-embroidered, of rich white satin edged with a beaded silver fringe.<sup>37</sup> The waist-line was low, and from shoulder to hem gleamed a marvellous diamante design, diamante also edging the long train of silver tissue with a lining of pink tulle. The veil, of soft white tulle, was

<sup>36</sup> A large crowd remained outside the Imperial Hotel, where the reception was held, until after midnight when the newly-weds left on their honeymoon. *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>37</sup> This account of the dressmaker was later disputed by a Miss J Fish, who claimed that the gown was made by a local dressmaker who 'answered the call' when Miss Curran went to CH Lamprill's shop in central Hobart for fittings. Norman, Don, *More of Don Norman's old photographs and a little about himself and others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?) This is unlikely, as the earlier accounts in the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* had announced that she was coming home for her wedding with an 'elaborate trousseau' (*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* 19 August 1925) and it seems improbable that she would have arrived in Hobart in late November for a January wedding without a gown.

held in place by a diamante hair-band of Russian design, rising in the form of a coronet in front and fastened with orange blossom sprays at either side.<sup>38</sup>

The Prince's suit was adorned with military decorations—he wore the Cross of St George, Cross of St Anne (of 2nd 3rd and 4th rank), Cross of St Stanislaus (of 2nd and 3rd rank), the Romanoff Medal, the Inter-allied Medal, and the Star of Persia (of 2nd Rank)<sup>39</sup>

Brides often choose their sisters and close friends as bridesmaids or attendants, but Pauline was thirty three years old; her sisters were all matrons, so she chose instead children, including her niece, and friends' daughters:

Miss Gunde von Dechend (Melbourne) niece of the bride, Miss Valerie Hughes (Sydney) and Miss Adye Bailey (Hobart), the three little bridesmaids, were frocked alike in pale pink georgette under white net and silver, and wore silver caps that struck a quaint note, and were very becoming. Their flowers were posies in pink and blue. The bridegroom gave the small bridesmaids as gifts their initials in diamonds set in platinum on grey moire wristbands.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>39</sup> Prince Melikoff was a Knight of the Order of St George of Russia and of the Order of the Sun and Lion of Persia. (Timothy Boettger, genealogist, correspondence with author 2001). The Order of St. George, Imperial Russia's highest exclusively military order, was instituted in 1769 and came to be considered among the most prestigious military awards in the world, ranking just below the Order of St. Andrew the First Called. The order was awarded to officers and generals for special gallantry, such as personally leading troops in rout of a superior enemy force, or capturing a fortress. Before membership in the Order could be granted, a candidate's case had to be investigated by a council composed of Knights of the Order. Russian medals Internet site:

[http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/www\\_one/medals/russsmedl/russia.html](http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/www_one/medals/russsmedl/russia.html) accessed 21 February 02.

<sup>40</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

## THE BRIDE AND HER BRIDESMAIDS.



From left to right: Miss Valerie Hughes, Miss Claude Van Dusen, the bride (Princess Melikoff), and Miss Edna Bailey.

**Illustration 17 The bride and her maids**

41

The reception was held at the Imperial Hotel, and the speeches and anthems indicated that this was seen by some as an international event, destined to unify countries and church. The toast of 'His Majesty the King' was proposed by Sir Elliott Lewis, and was followed by the playing of the National Anthem, and on a toast to the couple, Archdeacon Whittington said that Pauline:

had helped to advance internationalism by choosing a husband from one of the great European peoples. 'Prince Melikoff', he went on was a devout son of the Holy Eastern Church, and in his union with an English churchwoman was doing a still greater thing by promoting the visible unity of the catholic church. 'Only,' ended the Archdeacon, amid laughter, 'I fear that neither of these great

<sup>41</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

causes has very directly influenced the bride and bridegroom in deciding to walk the long path of life together.’<sup>42</sup>

The wedding cake also signified that this was an international occasion, one that embodied references to matters of state instead of the marriage of two ordinary individuals. Royal wedding cakes were, according to Emily Allen, ‘towering edifices’ that ‘belong even more clearly to the histories of spectacle, class, national politics, and consumer culture than they do the history of British cuisine.’<sup>43</sup> The tall and intricate cakes required great skill to construct, and while the tiered cake became popular in Victorian Britain for people wishing to emulate the royal example, as late as the 1890’s bakers were offering ‘dummies’ for sale, rather than attempting the complicated culinary feat.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps the skills to achieve great height were not readily present in Hobart, since the Melikoff wedding cake was of modest size. However the cake does indicate a narrative of politics as well as matrimony through its decoration, as, ‘The artistic square-shaped wedding cake, made by Mr Arnold’s chef, was decorated with emblems of Australia, as the kangaroo and emu, also with silver bells and orange blossom.’<sup>45</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* 27 January 1926. Sir Elliot Lewis had been Premier of Tasmania twice, the first time from 1899-1903, when the George Adams debate was at its height. Premiers of Tasmania listed on Tourism Tasmania Internet site:

[http://www.discovertasmania.com.au/home/tasmedia\\_index.cfm?level1=fact%20file&level2=content&contentid=788](http://www.discovertasmania.com.au/home/tasmedia_index.cfm?level1=fact%20file&level2=content&contentid=788), accessed 12 June 2005.

<sup>43</sup> Emily Allen, ‘Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle’, *Victorian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3, 2003. p. 457.

<sup>44</sup> Emily Allen, ‘Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle’. False wedding cakes were also common during and after World War Two, when, because of rationing, they would often be made of cardboard and iced with sugar provided by the family.

<sup>45</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.



The guest list was impressive. The notable absentee was the Governor, Sir James O'Grady, who was away from Hobart at the time. How convenient this was is not known, but one assumes that, as the man who was sent as a working class representative to Russia in the midst of the revolutionary years to try to win Bolshevik support for the war effort, he would be somewhat ambivalent about the exiled prince. However Miss Margaret O'Grady was there with the dutiful Captain Stopp.<sup>46</sup>

The language used to describe the wedding sets it apart from the other wedding account in the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* that week. The Finlay-Browning wedding may otherwise have expected to be an occasion of note in Hobart, as the bride, Gladys Brownell, was described as a 'very popular Hobart girl (who) held the tennis championship for Tasmania at one time.'<sup>47</sup> But while she looked 'sweet', Pauline looked 'stately'; Pauline's dress was a 'creation' that 'admirably suited her height and slender gracefulness' whilst Gladys merely wore a 'charming costume'.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>47</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>48</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

PRINCE AND PRINCESS MELIKOFF LEAVING THE CHURCH.



A flashlight photo. of the Melikoff-Curran bridal party leaving St. David's Cathedral after the ceremony.

Beattie's Studios.

**Illustration 18 The Wedding Party**  
*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

The bride changed into a fur-trimmed travelling outfit and Prince and Princess Melikoff left the reception and ‘drove off in their car on the first stage of their wedding journey.’<sup>50</sup> On the fiftieth anniversary of her wedding, Princess Melikoff recalled that she had a ‘lovely new Hudson car’ for a honeymoon tour of Tasmania’s East Coast, but so many people stood on it to get a view of her and her husband that it was ‘in an awful condition’ and needed to be replaced.<sup>51</sup> To an extent this ‘mobbing’ on the honeymoon emulated the ‘royal tour’ experienced by the Prince of Wales.

Pauline Curran’s wedding was sufficiently ‘royal’ and enough of a fairy-tale romance to satisfy the needs of many Tasmanians who craved connections with the centre of their empire, and who had the examples of royal weddings and a royal tour on which to draw, as well as the grief of lost love and lost opportunities because of the Great War. However, just as the Prince of Wales was not uniformly welcomed on his tour, unqualified love of Empire was a contested notion, particularly in the wake of the war, and not everyone thought that a Russian prince from a vanished realm was authentic enough to justify the palaver.<sup>52</sup> Contested views of the Melikoff wedding are illustrated in scrapbook cuttings kept by a wedding guest, Alan Miller, a friend of Pauline’s. At the time of the wedding, Alan was single, and a few years younger than Pauline. He did not keep the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* accounts of the wedding in his scrapbook, but did keep his invitation, the wedding breakfast menu, and two

---

<sup>50</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>51</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 21 January 1976.

<sup>52</sup> The Prince of Wales was anxious about what he may encounter in Australia, which he considered was politically the most restless of the Dominions, where there had been violent opposition to conscription, and where there were large Irish (anti-British) communities in the bigger cities. ‘Knowing all this, I was somewhat apprehensive as I approached the dock where were assembled a host of officials.’ Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story*, p. 154.

cuttings from gossip columnists, one written before, and one after, the wedding. In the scrapbook, the articles have neither reference to the newspaper from which they come, or the journalist who wrote them. However, from references in the content, they appear to be from the Melbourne *Herald*, and to be written by a columnist whose *nom de plume* was ‘Madame Ghurka.’<sup>53</sup> Perhaps these rather scurrilous accounts amused a young man about town, and they show that Pauline’s wedding was not uniformly embraced as being romantic and royal. Apparently she had to endure some merciless public scrutiny. The first cutting reads:

When the engagement of the dashing Pauline Curran (of Tatts and Hobart) to Prince Maximilian was first announced, the sniffs and the snorts of impolite incredulity were almost deafening. Indeed, those who considered themselves ‘in the know’ went as far as to assert that Miss Curran’s fiancé was no prince, and that when she found him he was a Chauffeur at Monte Carlo. However, Pauline’s Prince is a real boyar—a member of the Russian aristocracy—and pro-Soviet in very sooth.<sup>54</sup>

But it is the second, post-wedding write-up that really ‘takes the cake’. It was headed: ‘Tatts Heiress and her Prince: Pauline Curran weds at 33.’ Madame Ghurka was well informed about the Curran family background, and despite the cynical tone of her article, it seems that she went to great lengths to meet Prince Melikoff, and was charmed by the experience.<sup>55</sup>

Hobart is a city of splendid womanhood, but so undermanned socially that to meet their matches daughters must go abroad. The adventurous young men, the captains of industry tomorrow, are cramped in that community of narrow opportunity, and they seek their fortunes and commonly their brides on the

---

<sup>53</sup> From Mr Alan Miller’s scrapbook, provided by his daughter, Alicia Johnson.

<sup>54</sup> The reference to Melikoff being ‘pro Soviet’ is not explained. MadameGhurka claims to have met Melikoff, and he may have made a comment that led her to this, but it is not substantiated and does not fit with any other evidence of his background.

<sup>55</sup> It is also significant that the Melbourne *Herald* wrote about a Hobart social event, and this indicates that the wedding captured the imagination of women further afield than Hobart.

mainland. Hence the too frequent spectacle of fine girls for whom no one is good enough until the time to choose has gone by. How welcome then to Hobart society was the advent of a real Prince, come to marry one of their belles...She met the charming Prince Melikoff at Monte Carlo, while travelling with her mother, and they fell in love at first sight, and were united to the sound of joy-bells at her home town.<sup>56</sup>

The article goes on to discuss the Curran family's less-than-noble background, noting that the family knew what it meant to 'scrimp' and that Pauline was named after her father's winning race horse rather than the developing common assumption that the horse was named after her.<sup>57</sup> In relation to Pauline, it continues:

She was the beauty of the family, and the only one, at all events, who has captured the heart of a prince. Possibly that was because Australia does not breed Princes, while Russia turns them out literally by the bushel. Read any of Tolstoy's novels and you will know all about that side of it. Madame Ghurka, whose leanings are toward the Third International, and who has not much time for princes ... became sufficiently interested in Prince Melikoff to pay him a visit incognito at Menzies Hotel as befitted one who was herself the daughter of a general. She was received with such graciousness as to be convinced that the revolution, if it had achieved nothing else, had wonderfully improved the manners of the *haut ton*.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Newspaper clipping from Mr. Miller's scrapbook.

<sup>57</sup> Don Norman, in his book, *More of Don Norman's old photographs and a little about himself and others*, states that, (in reference to JB Curran) 'His mare, named after his daughter, Pauline, won the Hobart Cup in 1893.' Madame Ghurka was obviously well-informed to know which way about the naming had occurred.

<sup>58</sup> Newspaper clipping from Mr. Miller's scrapbook.

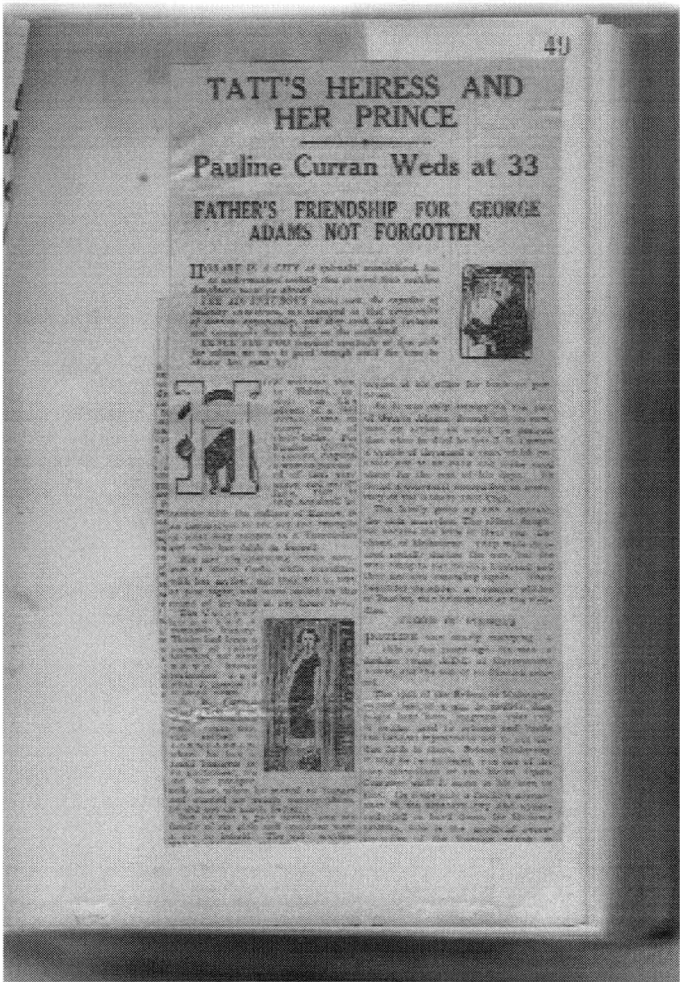


Illustration 19 The Madame Gurka article  
From Mr. Miller's scrapbook<sup>59</sup>

Pauline's first recorded public appearance after the wedding was at the Launceston Cup, where Sir James O'Grady and his daughter, Margaret, were also in attendance. The Prince and Princess Melikoff were photographed on the lawn, Pauline looking regal and aloof, and towering over Max, who was sporting a cane and looking less serious than in his wedding photos.

<sup>59</sup> Newspaper clipping from Mr. Miller's scrapbook.



**Illustration 20 At the Launceston Cup**  
*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*<sup>60</sup>

It is not known whether their stay on the edge of the Empire was intended as a short sojourn, or was a serious attempt at making a home in Hobart. The social notes give few clues, but they do illustrate that they mingled with a very busy, if small, social circle after the wedding, and that Pauline's elevated status was marked not only by her newly-acquired title, but by her elaborate clothes and jewellery. On 9 February 1926 Pauline was at a dance at the Continental Hotel, to fete the presence of the Commodore of the Australian Fleet, (in port for the Hobart Cup to be held later that

<sup>60</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 3 February 1926, the prince and Princess at the Launceston Cup shortly after their wedding.

week), who attended with his daughter, and several officers. It was no doubt an occasion when the spinster daughters of the establishment could show their accomplishments to an influx of very eligible young men, many of whom would be from Sydney and Melbourne. Miss O'Grady, attended by Captain Stopp, came to the dance after accompanying the visiting Governor General and Lady Stonehaven, and her father, the Governor, to the Theatre Royal earlier in the evening. Margaret O'Grady's dress was 'green georgette edged with lapels of silver braid', but only one gown was described in lavish detail; 'Princess Melikoff, pervenche blue with long line of beads crossing over in front, and long panel down back, edged with same beads, also coronet of diamonds.'<sup>61</sup>

Other women wore pervenche blue, many wore trims of crystal beads, but no one else wore a coronet, whether of diamond or lesser stones. Two days later Princess Melikoff was at the Young Matrons' Ball, and again wore a tiara of diamonds.<sup>62</sup> Some Melikoff treasures must have gone into exile along with the Princess Anna, Max's mother, and her daughter-in-law was now wearing them in Hobart.<sup>63</sup> Once the diamonds would have blended into a glittering sea of jewels and elaborate gowns in

---

<sup>61</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 17 February 1926.

<sup>62</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* 17, February 1926.

<sup>63</sup> Victoria Gomelsky 'Antique Russian brooch resurfaces, donated to GIA' *National Jeweler*, vol. 99, no. 2, 2005, p. 30. The question arises as to why the Melikoffs had not sold their diamonds. Accounts seem to indicate that fleeing the revolution with jewellery was common; some pieces were sold for income, but others were retained for sentimental reasons and handed on to daughters and daughters-in-law. Gomelsky's article refers to a piece that originally belonged to Anja Schrobsdorff, a native of St. Petersburg, whose family fled the city in 1917 with valuables sewn into their clothing. Even the children of Tsar Nicholas II were reported to have had their diamonds secreted on them, in readiness for their possible flight to safety: as Mary Cantwell notes, 'All the photos of the Romanov family are haunting, especially those of the children. Four pretty girls, a sickly boy—even if we did not know their fate... But we do know their fate, and we read of it again and again because it is only human to be fascinated by the ghastly (the bullets ricocheted off the diamonds sewn into the girls' corsets) and by the toppling of the mighty.' Mary Cantwell, 'Editorial Notebook; A Royal Funeral', *New York Times*, (Late Edition [East Coast]), 14 October 1995.



the ballrooms and salons of St Petersburg, but they were conspicuously splendid in the provincial halls of Hobart.

Over the following couple of days the Hobart Cup and Steeple Chase were held at Elwick, where JB Curran's great friend Tom Lyons was President of the Tasmanian Racing Club, whose guests in the Vice Regal party at afternoon tea included the Governor General, the Governor, and their wives. Miss Margaret O'Grady wore a black satin coat and black crinoline hat with loops of black velvet, and the other ladies graced the lawns in satin, velvet, silk and crepe-de-chine. Princess Melikoff, however, was noticed in a frock of mole velvet, 'trimmed with skunk fur, and a small hat to match, trimmed with skunk'.<sup>64</sup> At the Steeple Chase two days later the weather was fairer and the ladies' dresses correspondingly lighter. Margaret O'Grady wore ecru lace over silk of the same shade, and a crinoline hat of ecru, whilst Princess Melikoff wore 'a lovely frock of dove-grey georgette, the floating panels boarded with chinchilla, and high collar of the same valuable fur; large grey crinoline hat.'<sup>65</sup>

It may be that the princess was a novelty whose clothes begged greater description than those worn by the ever-present Margaret O'Grady, but it is also apparent that her wardrobe contained finery unusual to Hobart, and clearly of a more exotic and luxurious nature than that worn by the local women. Both the reality of her fine wardrobe, and the degree of description that it was afforded, set Pauline apart during those few weeks. She had the tiara, the diamonds, the furs and the fabrics that placed her in a 'royal' category.

---

<sup>64</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 17 February 1926.

<sup>65</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 17 February 1926.

Conversely, for Prince Maximilian, the Hobart fashions and society itself must have appeared, if not coarse, at least very parochial. While men were not necessarily included in the social notes, apparently Prince Melikoff did not escort Pauline to all the events that she attended during those months. At the balls and soirees of Petrograd, where he had spent the evenings of his youth as a dapper officer amongst the countesses and princesses, the grand dukes mingled with ballerinas, poets and artists; the nouveau riche with the aristocracy, and the fashion rivalled that of Paris.<sup>66</sup>

When the jewels and furs, the slippers, ball gowns and hats that had been such a fundamental part of his childhood and youth had been packed into trunks and taken into exile, they became symbols of that passage.<sup>67</sup> Once in exile, this finery and the exotic nature of its wearers, with their grace, accents and titles, became an intrinsic part of the broader fascination with 'all things Russian'. This was reinforced and perhaps even created by the success of Diaghilev's Ballet Russes, which brought a 'faux-Orientalism' to the Western world in the first third of the twentieth century.<sup>68</sup>

How different was Hobart, where the prince's new wife performed her only recorded public duty during her time in Tasmania at the Anzac Commemoration Ball, as judge of two competitions, for the 'best shingle' and the 'best head of hair untouched by the scissors'.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Alexandre Vassiliev, *Beauty in Exile: the Artists, Models and Nobility who fled the Russian Revolution and influenced the World of Fashion*, New York, 2000, p. 44.

<sup>67</sup> Alexandre Vassiliev, *Beauty in Exile* pp. 37-59.

<sup>68</sup> Wendy Buonaventura, *I Put a Spell on You: Dancing Women from Salome to Madonna*, London, 2003, p. 194.

<sup>69</sup> Princess Melikoff and the other judge had a difficult time, but 'their choice finally fell upon Miss McVilly for the prettiest shingle, which was done at the Geraldine Toilet Rooms.' *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 28 April 1926.

After only four months in Tasmania the prince and princess moved on to Sydney, where it was reported that their ‘romantic courtship and marriage...has caused nearly as much interest and excitement on the mainland as in (Tasmania).’<sup>70</sup> A few months later they set sail for his family home on the Riviera.<sup>71</sup> Pauline now had a title of her own, a prince by her side, and a trousseau accumulated in Paris and London, augmented by the diamonds that had made the trip down the River Don, through the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea and finally to the Riviera, where her mother-in-law, Princess Anna, must have wondered indeed about the credentials of this new Australian daughter in law.

---

<sup>70</sup>*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 31 March 1926. Later, in the *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* 23 June 1926: ‘Sydney Letter’—at two Sydney race meets, ‘one of the most admired visitors was Princess Melikoff, of your part of the world.’

<sup>71</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 24 November 1926, Sydney Notes—‘Prince and Princess Melikoff are leaving tomorrow for Europe in the *Otranto*. They intend to go to Cannes.’

## Chapter Five For Richer or Poorer, I Give Up My Citizenship

*Homesickness! That long  
Exposed weariness!  
It's all the same to me now  
Where I am altogether lonely*

*Or what stones I wander over  
Home with a shopping bag to  
A house that is no more mine  
Than a hospital or a barracks*

From *Homesickness*, by M Tsvetaeva  
Russian poet in exile, 1934<sup>1</sup>

The 'pomp and circumstance' surrounding the Melikoff wedding masked some less-than-splendid circumstances regarding the political situation, not only of the prince, but now his new bride as well. This situation manifested in issues of citizenship and nationality, which were to affect both of them over the coming years. Pauline, on marriage, became a princess, a status that would seem to indicate a close hold on political membership, but she also became a political outcaste, separated by law from many of the rights and privileges of her own nation and empire. On the day of their wedding, Pauline joined Max in a state of alienation. Maximilian had lost more in terms of citizenship and nationality, but not through the act of marriage. It could in fact be argued that he was using marriage as a way of shoring up his world against some of the losses he had sustained, when his political membership of Tsarist

---

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia*, London, 2002, pp. 526-527.

Russia had been lost. Whether or not this was so, it does seem that in the general literature of citizenship and alienation, the losses experienced by women on the act of marriage have not been well documented, and Pauline's story provides an example of those women whose titled existence was as thin paper, masking the cracks in their citizenship rights.

Citizenship is essentially about land and territory; the attachments that people have to shared land and the allegiance that they have to those who live there. The loyalty that people have to their territory and their fellow citizens is often represented by their willingness to care for and defend the land and its inhabitants, an attachment and allegiance which, according to Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts, 'endows citizenship with a transcendent and spiritual quality that at times of heightened sensibility can be described as religious and sacred.'<sup>2</sup> Pauline and Max both had that attachment and willingness, and it was taken from each of them in different ways. The effects of the loss of citizenship were practical, but also emotional, and symbolic. Galligan and Roberts assert that, as well as the economic and social aspects of political membership, there is also an 'elusive quality that is the symbolic heart of citizenship (that) cannot be readily defined.'<sup>3</sup> For this reason, songs, paintings and writings that depict the land are important in identifying and articulating the shared values that define a country's cultural heritage.<sup>4</sup> Loss of citizenship, often manifested in exile and alienation, is also depicted in songs, paintings and writings. Accounts of the Russian nobility who went into exile after the fall of Tsar Nicholas II are

---

<sup>2</sup> Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, Melbourne, 2004, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Brian Galligan and Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, p. 97.

abundant in literature and art; the experience is often portrayed as exotic, and mythologised.<sup>5</sup>

To consider Max's citizenship issues, it is necessary to mine that archive of Russian émigré writing, which chronicles the experiences of a people whose lives were fractured, often by the death of loved ones and injury to themselves, but also by the death of a lifestyle and culture. This writing holds clues to Max's experiences, even where his documented experience can only be found in brief references in gossip columns, court records and obituaries. Even so these sparse records indicate disappointment, humiliation and restlessness. Prince Maximilian Melikoff lived through the destruction of Russian Tsarist society, and like many others, failed to make a happy adjustment into the new order. Not only was he in a new world; the world that he had known in Russia no longer existed. Like thousands, he found himself adrift with a title, but no money, position, inheritance, traditional duties or obligations with which to anchor himself.<sup>6</sup>

Ludmilla Foster suggests that when a White Russian émigré writer looks back towards the war and revolution, the resulting literature presents 'a symphony on the theme of violence', but when the writer describes present life in exile, émigré literature is preoccupied with memory, and suffused with loss and sadness.<sup>7</sup> Ivan Alekseyevich Burin, a Russian writer in exile, exemplified this when he said in his

---

<sup>5</sup> This is in variance with the literature of the other diaspora relevant to this thesis; that of the married women who were alienated on marriage—this is a quieter, although not silent discourse addressed later.

<sup>6</sup> An estimated two million people went into exile after the Russian Revolution. They were often all described as 'aristocrats' but this was not the case. Olga Matich, 'The White Emigration Goes Hollywood', *Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 2, 2005. pp. 187-210.

<sup>7</sup> Ludmilla Foster, 'The Revolution and the Civil War in Russian Émigré Novels', *Russian Review*, vol.31, no.2, 1972, pp. 153-162.

acceptance speech on being awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1933, 'I do not wish to strike a note of sadness at this dinner, which I shall forever remember, but let me say nonetheless that in the course of the past fifteen years my sorrows have far exceeded my joys.'<sup>8</sup> Maximilian Melikoff might have said the same, at one of the dinners in London where he and Pauline lived and entertained at that time. Writing about Bunin, Thomas Marullo said that the life of the exile is one where sadness veils all endeavour and achievement, 'a journey through the valley of tears.'<sup>9</sup>

In the new Soviet Union many critics regarded Burin's work as the swan song of Russian aristocratic writing, whose ideas and images had been consigned, along with everything else of gentry Russia, to the 'dustbin of history.'<sup>10</sup> This view countered the romanticised story of the diaspora, which, in its telling, often overlooked the fundamental political questions that are at its heart. This exile was, after all, a consequence of a battle for citizenship, a battle ineptly fought by Tsar Nicholas II, who refused the democratisation of political processes. Issues of citizenship and democratisation had been both the cause of the exile of the nobility, who fought to defend their elite position, and now their fate, as they relied on foreign governments to take them in and grant them protection of one form or another, but

---

<sup>8</sup> Information from the Nobel Prize Internet site, <http://www.nobel.se/literature/laureates/1933/bunin-acceptance.html>, accessed 18 February 2002.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Marullo, *Ivan Bunin: From the other Shore 1920-1933*, Chicago, 1995, p. 5. At the presentation of Burin's Nobel Prize, Professor Wilhelm Nordenson said of him: You have thoroughly explored the soul of vanished Russia, and in doing so, you have most meritoriously continued the glorious traditions of the great Russian literature. You have given us the most valuable picture of Russian society as it once was, and well do we understand the feelings with which you must have seen the destruction of the society with which you were so intimately connected. Information from the Nobel Prize Internet site, <http://nobelprize.org/literature/laureates/1933/bunin-speech.html>, accessed 18 February 2002.

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Marullo, *Ivan Bunin*, p. 3.

usually within a legislative framework that perpetuated them as ‘aliens’. As Ignatieff says of his grandparents, ‘They grew up in a time measured by a protocol of family decorum. They ended their lives in the formless time of exile, a time with no future and a past suspended out of reach.’<sup>11</sup>

Russian émigré literature abounds not only with the story of loss and alienation, but with the sights, sounds and smells of the homeland, and it relies on memory to keep alive the flavour, colours and sensations of the lost Fatherland. According to Aaron Cohen, ‘The selective memory of life in an idealized pre-Revolutionary Russia helped Russian émigrés cope with the experience of revolution and civil war, flight into exile, and the hardship of life in emigration.’<sup>12</sup> Vladimir Nabokov considered that Russians who spent their childhood during the period leading up to the 1917 Revolution had stored up memories, as if with the power of genius; as if nature were allowing them these powers to draw on when needed.<sup>13</sup> Nabokov’s novel, *Mary*, which was written early in his exile, allows the autobiographical main character to cast off the potentially stifling aspects of memory, thereby allowing the émigré to commence a new life. According to Stacey Schiff, ‘it can be read as the story of a man liberated from a crippling burden of nostalgia; its émigré protagonist finds himself suddenly able to walk away from the past.’<sup>14</sup>

Some Russian émigrés were able to use their exotic backgrounds and deep loss to shore up sympathetic treatment of them in the new world. In a 1927 French novel

---

<sup>11</sup> Michael Ignatieff, *The Russian Album*, London, 1977, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Aaron J Cohen, ‘Oh, That! Myth, Memory and World War 1 in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union’, *Slavic Review*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2003, pp. 69-86.

<sup>13</sup> Vladimir Nabokov, *Speak, Memory*, London, 1999, p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Stacey Schiff, *Věra (Mrs Vladimir Nabokov) Portrait of a Marriage*, London, 2000, p. 50.



by Josef Kessel, *The Nights of the Princes*, the French women, looking on the émigrés, are seen to shake their heads and exclaim: '*Les Russes!* ...as if this name with its suggestion of unhappiness, mystery, grandeur, was enough to make them accept without protest actions most disturbing to their own peace.'<sup>15</sup> Some émigrés wavered between the new world and the new Soviet. Maxim Gorky, for example, went into exile late in 1921, and it became for him a form of torture. 'While he could not bear to live in Soviet Russia, nor could he bear to live abroad', writes Orlando Figes, 'For several years he wavered in this schizophrenic state, homesick for Russia yet too sick of it to return home.'<sup>16</sup> As Gorky wrote in 1924, 'I feel like a person without a homeland.'<sup>17</sup>

To what extent did Prince Melikoff store up memories, and are these memories significant in considering his nationality and status? Although Max has left very little, it is possible to place his life within that vast and rich body of text and be confident not to have got it too wrong. In the stories of diamonds and rubies prized out of honorary awards and tiaras and sewn into hem lines, of seal skin coats and silk slippers, of mushrooms and butterflies, golden syrup and long train rides, somewhere we can find the memories that travelled with Max. They are memories inextricably linked with loss and sadness, and they have assumed heightened importance only because there is loss of nationality and citizenship; memories of a diaspora abroad and uncertain, and defined now as alien.

---

<sup>15</sup> Josef Kessel, 'The Nights of the Princes' quoted in Vera Alexandrova, 'Russian Émigrés in Western European Literature', *Russian Review*, vol.3, no.2, 1944, pp. 87-93.

<sup>16</sup> Orlando Figes, 'Maxim Gorky and the Russian Revolution', *History Today*, vol. 46, no.6, 1996, pp. 16-23.

<sup>17</sup> Maxim Gorky quoted in Orlando Figes, 'Maxim Gorky and the Russian Revolution'.



**Illustration 21 A reunion of corps of pages graduates, in exile.**  
 Reunion : Paris February 5, 1933 ( Soiuz Pazhei Papers ).<sup>18</sup>

But what of Pauline and alienation? For all that concepts of citizenship and nationality contain intrinsic values of loyalty, bravery, and attachment, historically they are contested concepts, and gendered. Citizenship was often defined by men, who were the bearers of civil, political and social rights.<sup>19</sup> The first worldwide challenges to this presumption were with respect to women's capacity for electoral

<sup>18</sup> A reunion of corps of pages graduates, in exile, (Soiuz Pazhei Papers), Online Exhibition, Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, Columbia University, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/web/eresources/exhibitions/pages/html/Sch.html> accessed 7 April 2005, permission to use photographs given by Tanya Chebotarev, curator of the Bakhmeteff Archive, correspondence with author 7 April 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Francisco Ramirez, Yasemin Soysal and Suzanne Shanahan, 'The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-national acquisition of women's suffrage rights, 1890 to 1990', *American Sociological Review*, vol.62, no.5, 1997, pp. 735-746.

participation.<sup>20</sup> Long after suffrage was achieved there was unequal access to citizenship for women, depending on their marital situation. This particular aspect of women's contest over nationality has been a neglected topic in the study of twentieth-century British history.<sup>21</sup> Yet it is an aspect of empire that seems in many ways to be the 'underbelly' of all that Cannadine describes, for, despite the long reign of Queen Victoria, her empire was a male domain, underpinned by the military and hierarchical in terms of male achievement and rankings.<sup>22</sup> Married women usually relied on their husbands for their standing within the hierarchy and this situation and its consequences became the basis for feminist activity in the British Empire and the USA well past the time that female franchise was achieved in relation to the right to vote.<sup>23</sup>

Issues regarding the nationality of married women did not inspire a rich literature, either academic or popular, and so these issues are largely to be uncovered in clues relating to individual women and their experiences. The clues to Princess Curran having a problem with her citizenship can be found in the mysterious reference to her within the Australian Archives Immigration records, on her arrival in Melbourne on the 'Otranto', in November 1931, when she was singled out for

---

<sup>20</sup> Francisco Ramirez, Yasemin Soysal and Suzanne Shanahan, 'The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship'.

<sup>21</sup> M. Page Baldwin, 'Subject to Empire: Married Women and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2001, pp. 522-556.

<sup>22</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, London, 2001, p. 102. When Cannadine refers to this empire, it is often in terms of 'kingship': 'the British empire was a *royal* empire, presided over and unified by a sovereign of global amplitude and semi-divine fullness, and suffused with the symbols and signifiers of kingship'.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that women's right to vote was not been universally settled early in the twentieth Century: Swiss women gained the right to vote in 1971. Francisco Ramirez, Yasemin Soysal and Suzanne Shanahan, 'The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship'.

mention in the company of Mrs Emily Wade, and Mr Nathan Taflove.<sup>24</sup> At first glance they may appear to be a travelling party, some swinging London friends, part of that 'certain set', whom Pauline was bringing out for a Tasmanian summer. On closer examination, however, it appears that out of the hundreds of people on board they were the waifs and strays; the ones in whom the authorities had interest, under the provisions of the Immigration Act.

Mrs Wade was both elderly and poor; a widow with no means or income, who intended disembarking in Melbourne where her sister and brother-in-law would provide her with a home and maintenance during her stay in Australia. Her brother-in-law, a Mr Fookes, had made an undertaking to the effect that he would provide for her during her stay.<sup>25</sup> Mr Taflove, a national of America, was described as a bank manager, on a tour of the world, who wanted to disembark in Melbourne and remain in Victoria for about a month. He could show proof of a return ticket to Colombo and a letter of credit for a thousand pounds. He was however travelling third class, and so Immigration Officers had 'fully advised him concerning the temporary admission of tourists travelling third class.'<sup>26</sup> Here was a man of moderate means who was welcome, as long as he abided by the rules.

---

<sup>24</sup> Collector of Customs, Commonwealth of Australia, Customs and Excise Office, Fremantle, memorandum to Collector of Customs Victoria, Immigration Report, RMS 'Otranto', 27 October 1931, and note in response, 5 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, National Archives of Australia (NAA).

<sup>25</sup> Collector of Customs, memorandum to Collector of Customs Victoria, Immigration Report, RMS 'Otranto', 27 October 1931, and note in response, 5 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, NAA.

<sup>26</sup> Collector of Customs, memorandum to Collector of Customs Victoria, Immigration Report, RMS 'Otranto', 27 October 1931, and note in response, 5 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, NAA.

And, there was Princess Melikoff, described as ‘Russian’ and needing permission to disembark in her own country.<sup>27</sup> And the reason was that when Pauline Curran married a Russian—when Russia was no more, and the remnants of the Russian aristocracy aliens in exile—she had become stateless. There is no mention of this in any of the sparse accounts of Pauline’s life. The evidence is in the law: at the time Pauline married, in 1926, the position in Australia, Britain, the USA and many other countries, was that a woman national should upon marrying a foreigner lose her own nationality.<sup>28</sup> It was assumed she would take her husband’s nationality. When the husband’s country did not provide for this—including in situations when he was stateless—she would become stateless, or ‘*Heimatlos*’.

Pauline was a daughter of the British Empire, a middle class Australian girl who had been presented at Court in London, one of the most powerful signifiers of a young colonial woman’s devotion to Empire; had sailed home to a ‘royal wedding’, and yet the first time she returned to Australia as a married woman she was a stateless Russian, who needed permission to disembark in Australia.<sup>29</sup> According to Waldo Waltz, in many ways the woman’s situation was worse than being an alien because,

---

<sup>27</sup> Assistant Secretary, Department of Home Affairs, Commonwealth of Australia, letter to the Collector of Customs, 23 June 1931 and note in response 4 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, NAA.

<sup>28</sup> Australians had British citizenship between the foundation of the Commonwealth in 1901 and the proclamation of the Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948 on Australia Day 1949. David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, National Archives of Australia, Commonwealth of Australia 1999, p. 13. The relevant law was the 1914 British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act. M Page Baldwin, ‘Subject to Empire’. The author was alerted to this aspect of the law when reading Woollacott’s account of Winifred James’s experience, Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity*, Oxford, 2001, p. 45.

<sup>29</sup> Waldo Waltz, *The Nationality of Married Women*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. xxii, no 1, 1937, p. 61.

‘The rights extended to the alien through treaties with the alien’s state are quite lacking for the poor *Heimatlos*.’<sup>30</sup>

Through the 1920s and 1930s, Australian feminists campaigned on several issues with which they were concerned, including equal pay, the traffic in women and children, family endowment and equal moral standards. Since Australian women had achieved the vote, there was a very slow track into political and administrative spheres where they might make a greater difference in the quest for the full rights that went with the vote.<sup>31</sup> Citizenship for married women was one of these rights, and its champions included feminist activists Bessie Rischbieth, Jesse Street, Vida Goldstein, Blanche Stephens, and the writer, Winifred James. According to Marilyn Lake, in the post-suffrage period, feminists were ‘enthusiastic, even exemplary, citizens; they gloried in the new possibilities of civic and political life and effectively blurred the boundaries between the two.’<sup>32</sup>

But for some, that glory was denied, and for British women married to foreigners, the battle went on for years. Indeed, while there were incremental improvements over the years, it was not until the Nationality and Citizenship Act of 1948 that men and women were treated equally for the purposes of determining civic status.<sup>33</sup> The Hague Convention of 1930 stipulated that a woman could only lose her nationality if she gained that of her husband, and thereby sought to eliminate the

---

<sup>30</sup> Waldo Waltz, *The Nationality of Married Women*, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> Bessie Rischbieth, *March of Australian Women*, Perth, 1964, pp. 71-73.

<sup>32</sup> Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, Sydney, 1999, p. 139.

<sup>33</sup> David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, National Archives of Australia, Commonwealth of Australia 1999, p. 81.

situation of a woman becoming stateless by marrying an alien.<sup>34</sup> Australia and Britain supported the Convention, but it was some years before they changed their own legislation to implement it.

The British debate on the necessary amendment to the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill in 1933 in the House of Lords, illustrates the ambivalence that surrounded the issue. 'It is no advantage to a woman to be stateless', Sir Gerald Hurst said, 'She would have the greatest difficulty for instance in getting passports and if she required diplomatic assistance she would have nobody to take up her cause.'<sup>35</sup> But he was adamant that the law should only extend to this group of women; in general women should have the same nationality as her husband, for the sake of family unity: 'If a woman cares to marry a foreigner, and loves him enough, she should take his nationality too. In the long run marriage is more likely to succeed the fewer the points of difference they may have.'<sup>36</sup> To complicate the issue further was the disparity of attitudes between the Dominions, and the fact that unity within the Empire was given higher importance than women's rights.<sup>37</sup> While Australia and New Zealand were willing to support principles of equality, South Africa and the Irish Free State strongly opposed moves to grant women independent nationality in marriage, reflecting the conservative religious influences in those countries.<sup>38</sup>

During this period Winifred James had her own nationality issues. Angela Woollacott, in her book, *To Try her Fortune in London*, notes that James was a

---

<sup>34</sup> David Dutton, *Citizenship in Australia*, p. 81.

<sup>35</sup> House of Commons Orders of the Day, British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill (Lords), 9 November 1933, pp. 354-368.

<sup>36</sup> House of Commons Orders of the Day, November 1933, pp. 354-368.

<sup>37</sup> M. Page Baldwin, 'Subject to Empire', p. 524.

<sup>38</sup> M. Page Baldwin, 'Subject to Empire', p. 545.

principal actor in the fight for the right of women married to foreigners to retain British nationality. After marrying and then divorcing an American national, James became increasingly incensed by the loss of her British-national imperial status and became involved in the feminist struggle over this issue in the early 1930s. 'In 1933 she refused any longer to register in Britain as an alien, claiming she was prepared to show the world "a British woman being sent to jail for loyalty to her country"', Woollacott writes.<sup>39</sup> The Home Office finally agreed to exempt women in her situation from registering.<sup>40</sup>

In February 1933 James was charged with failing, as an alien, to furnish information necessary for maintaining the Aliens Register, and failing to produce her identity book to a police officer on demand. She failed to appear in court, but outside the court a number of members of the Women's Guild of Empire carried banners with the words 'British born women protest against being made aliens by marriage.'<sup>41</sup> The case is an example of the incremental changes to the law, as summonses were withdrawn on the basis that the provisions of the Aliens Act had just been changed to exempt British born women married to aliens from its provisions, so they therefore did not need to report regularly to the police. The women marched on the Home Office after the court session, protesting that the concessions were not enough, and they wanted all disabilities that women were suffering to be removed.<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, p. 45.

<sup>40</sup> Angela Woollacott, *To Try her Fortune in London*, p. 45.

<sup>41</sup> *Times*, London, 7 February 1933.

<sup>42</sup> *Times*, London, 7 February 1933.



However the wider laws still applied and remained the subject of ongoing attention from feminist activists. Mrs Rischbieth said in a letter to the Prime Minister, in 1939, 'British women, living in England, married to aliens are being refused for National Service while foreign women (with no inborn love of British citizenship, though married to a British subject) are accepted for such service.'<sup>43</sup> The next year Blanche Stephens wrote to Robert Menzies, 'Many British women married to aliens and living in England are suffering hardships and indignity, whilst some very undesirable alien women, married to British men, enjoy all the privileges and freedom of British citizenship.'<sup>44</sup> Shortly after that London was being bombed, and British women of means displayed their patriotism by tireless voluntary service. Pauline may have wanted to join in, and indeed there was a common expectation that elite women would reinforce imperial values in this way, but because she was married to an alien she would still have been barred from civil duties.<sup>45</sup>

In the USA the punitive attitude towards American heiresses who married European aristocrats offers another angle on the issue of citizenship, marriage, and the way Pauline may have been viewed by some. The Expatriation Act of 1907 proclaimed that married American women derived their citizenship from the men they wed. According to Bredbenner, 'Congress designed the 1907 statute to single out Americans it presumed had forsaken their allegiance to the United States through the

---

<sup>43</sup> Bessie Mabel Rischbieth, letter to Prime Minister, 19 June 1939, League Inter L14 PM File No L 349/3/6, National Archives of Australia (NAA).

<sup>44</sup> Blanche Stephens, Hon Sec League of Women Voters, SA, Letter to Right Honourable RG Menzies, KC, 3 June 1940, League Inter L14 PM, File No L 349/3/6, NAA.

<sup>45</sup> Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire: the Twentieth Century', in Philippa Levine, (ed.) *Gender and Empire*, London, 2004, p. 89, and Eliza Riedi, 'Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3, (2002), pp. 569-599.

assumption of either a foreign residence or a foreign husband.<sup>46</sup> Media accounts following this law focussed on an unflattering stereotype of the American woman who wed an alien. She was portrayed as a young heiress whose parents crassly pursued foreign aristocrats for sons-in-law, in a social and political milieu where a titled American was an affront to ideals of democracy.<sup>47</sup> Even President Roosevelt weighed in to the debate in 1908, saying that the American citizen who deserved the least respect was the man ‘whose son is a fool and his daughter a foreign princess.’<sup>48</sup> It was 1934 before the USA abandoned marital expatriation, and even then, women who had lost their citizenship were not automatically reinstated, but had to individually apply.<sup>49</sup>

A colourful example of the American experience is that of Isadora Duncan, once self-proclaimed as the spiritual daughter of Walt Whitman; her dance, according to her biographer, Peter Kurth, ‘wholly American in its vision of freedom.’<sup>50</sup> Isadora, in 1921, married Sergei Alexandrovich Esenin, described as a ‘hard and naughty cherub’, and the most famous Russian poet of his day.<sup>51</sup> The next year they sailed to the USA, where they were refused permission to land—Isadora had lost her

---

<sup>46</sup> Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her own: Women, Marriage and the Law Of Citizenship*, Berkley, 1998, p. 60.

<sup>47</sup> Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her own*, p. 62-63.

<sup>48</sup> Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her own* p. 62. This has relevance to Rosalie Hooker, wife of Prince Levan Melikoff, who was an American heiress. To add to the list of rights denied to such women, whether heiresses or not, whether they had ever left the USA or not, was the added classification of ‘enemy alien’ during World War One, if their husbands were citizens of the Central Powers, and the subsequent confiscation of their assets by the Alien Property Custodian. An immigrant woman marrying an American would learn patriotism from him, it was held, but an American woman married to an alien could be destroying American boys, by giving her wealth to bolster the enemy. Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her own*, pp. 69-72.

<sup>49</sup> Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of her own* p. 243.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Kurth, *Isadora, A Sensational Life*, London, 2003, p. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Peter Kurth, *Isadora, A Sensational Life* p. 482.

citizenship and was bound for Ellis Island. 'I am an American girl, and proud of it, but I will never go to Ellis Island', she proclaimed to the gathering media.<sup>52</sup> Finally she agreed to go there for questioning, on guarantee that she would not be detained overnight, and, after being released, walked the forty blocks from there to the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria. Isadora left America at the end of an unsuccessful tour, saying 'I will go back to Moscow where there is vodka, music, poetry and dancing... Oh yes, and Freedom!'<sup>53</sup>

Did Pauline know that this alienation would be her fate on marriage? Did it matter to her? Did she realise the consequences of becoming a *Heimatlos*, or stateless person? Evidence suggests that she did know that there were consequences of marrying a 'foreigner'. At Pauline's wedding, one bridesmaid was Gunde von Dechend, of Melbourne; the teenage daughter of Pauline's sister Maggie.<sup>54</sup> Assuming that Maggie had married a German in Australia before World War One, Pauline would have been aware that being born in Australia was no guarantee of citizenship rights, as those of German background were rounded up and interned, often for years; denied the right to vote. 'They were arrested, often at gunpoint, and immediately imprisoned without knowing what offence they were supposed to have committed, under regulation 56a of the War Precautions Regulations', according to Ian Harmstorf and Michael Cigler.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>52</sup> Peter Kurth, *Isadora, A Sensational Life* pp. 514.

<sup>53</sup> Peter Kurth, *Isadora, A Sensational Life* pp. 520-521.

<sup>54</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 27 January 1926.

<sup>55</sup> Ian Harmstorf and Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, Melbourne, 1985, p. 129.

It probably did matter to her. The evidence suggests that Pauline was a true daughter of the Empire, steeped in the sights, sounds, images and symbols that gave citizenship a spiritual and religious meaning. She can be readily placed by the social notes of the day, as a middle class woman with aspirations of position in society. And yes, it mattered, if a woman was not allowed to hold office, work in a profession, appear at a public function, join an incorporated society, or provide volunteer services for her country or her empire.<sup>56</sup>

Max Melikoff's experience of exile can stand as allegory for the loss of the autocratic Tsarist regime and of a whole society, swept aside by forces of democratisation and richly accounted for in literature and art. Pauline's situation was different. After all, there was some kudos in becoming a princess, especially at a time when all things Russian were admired in certain social sets.<sup>57</sup> And yet, she was exiled from the substance of membership of country and empire. Prince and Princess Melikoff entered married life with ambiguous status; their romanticised role as 'royalty' within some circles masked the fact that both were stateless, and that their claims on society were tenuous, at least.

---

<sup>56</sup> Waldo Waltz, *The Nationality of Married Women*, p. 93.

<sup>57</sup> Alexandre Vassiliev, *Beauty in Exile: the Artists, Models and Nobility who fled the Russian Revolution and influenced the World of Fashion*, New York, 2000, p. 59.

## Chapter Six: The London Season

*Lady Circumference raised her lorgnette and surveyed the stream of guests debouching from the cloak rooms like City workers from the Underground. She saw Mr Outrage and Lord Metroland in consultation about the Censorship Bill...She saw both Archbishops, the Duke and Duchess of Stayle, Lord Vanburgh and Lady Metroland, Lady Throbbing and Mrs Blackwater, Mrs Mouse and Lord Monomark and a superb Levantine, and behind them and about them a great concourse of pious and honourable people (many of whom made the Anchorage House reception the one outing of the year), their women-folk well gowned in rich and durable stuffs, their men folk ablaze with orders...*  
Evelyn Waugh.<sup>1</sup>

*I am sick of Court Circulars. I loathe haut-ton intelligence. I believe such words as Fashionable, Exclusive, Aristocratic, and the like, to be wicked, unchristian epithets, that ought to be banished from honest vocabularies.*  
William Makepeace Thackeray.<sup>2</sup>

After leaving Sydney at the end of 1926, the Melikoffs established a home in Cannes, and from shortly thereafter it is possible to track their entry into London Society through the social pages of the *London Times*.<sup>3</sup> During the period between the Melikoff wedding in 1926, and the beginning of World War Two, the hierarchical, complex, and changing web of privileged British Society is illustrated through the newspaper's accounts of who held the parties, who attended them, and, by inference, who did not.

---

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies*, London, 1930, p. 126. Waugh's description of Lady Circumference is evocative of Lady Londonderry standing at the top of her staircase, waiting for her guests to join her.

<sup>2</sup> William Makepeace Thackeray, *The Book of Snobs etc*, (Walter Jerrold, ed.), J M Dent and Co, London, 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Reference to the home in Cannes in *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 November 1931. The first indication of their entry into London Society is a note in the *London Times* in May 1929 which says that 'Prince and Princess Melikoff have returned from France', *Times*, London, 7 May 1929. Other notices in the Court Circular that day indicated that it was time to return to London for the social season, and the Melikoffs were mentioned in illustrious company. Princess Helena Victoria had returned from Lowther Castle, Countess Howe from Penn House, and Lady Inskip from Scotland; and others from 'abroad' or 'the country'.

The inclusion of the Melikoff name in some of these social notes indicates inclusion in a wealthy, privileged circle that was, for Pauline, far and away above what she had known in Hobart. There are mentions at parties that glittered with foreign ambassadors, Lords and Ladies, the Prime Minister, (Stanley Baldwin), and foreign princes and princesses, maharajahs and admirals, generals and judges. Prince Maximilian was connected by his history, and Pauline, who would probably not have found herself in one of these marble foyers if it hadn't had been for his title, apparently won the friendship of several influential women, and thereby carved out a niche for herself in a stately Mayfair set. If she needed the title to enter society, she was able to retain her place there long after the marriage to the Prince was over, indicating that she had learnt the ways of a princess very well in the early years of her marriage.

Considering the slings and barbs of social exclusion and snobbery renowned in English Society at the time, it is interesting to consider how the Melikoffs gained entry, despite their uncertain citizenship status, dubious wealth and Pauline's less than regal background.<sup>4</sup> Their acceptance was a symptom of the significant change affecting social class in Britain that resulted in doors being opened where they once would have been firmly closed. It also indicated sympathy for, and acceptance of, the Russian aristocratic diaspora within British Society, and the broader fascination with

---

<sup>4</sup> Evelyn Waugh, satiric commentator on the vagaries and snobbishness of the class system, was considered by many to be a snob himself. One of his biographers, John Porter, notes in regard to Waugh's book *Brideshead Revisited*, 'It is also a mourning for an age that had passed with the war, the waning of the English aristocracy and the ascent of 'Hooper', personification of the artless mass. And, though it remains his best-loved work, it is the book where Waugh's snobbery went rampant.' John Porter's Internet site dedicated to the works of Evelyn Waugh, accessed at <http://www.doubtinghall.co.uk/> 21 February 2005.

‘all things Russian’ and the mystery and exotica associated with the Ballet Russes, and with Russian fashion.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, it is apparent that Pauline had gained sufficient of the ‘savoir faire’ that had been attributed to her at the time of her marriage, to ensure that she was able to maintain her own place within Society once the marriage disintegrated.<sup>6</sup>

This period saw the final decline of the British aristocratic landowning classes—a decline that had begun in the 1880s, and which, by 1930, had seen ‘society’ as it had been known replaced by a new elite based on foreign titles, an influx of Americans, and the British *nouveau riche*, whose fortunes came not from the land but from industry.<sup>7</sup> In reference to the ‘old’ British aristocracy where families such as the Devons, Derbyshires, Salisburys and Londonderrys held sway, David Cannadine states that from the 1880s onwards, this carefully integrated and functionally significant social system began to break down in London high society because, ‘the aristocratic monopoly was broken, as the new super-rich stormed the citadels of social exclusiveness, and flaunted their parvenu wealth with opulent and irresistible vulgarity.’<sup>8</sup> He writes that by the interwar years most of the aristocracy had all but abandoned large scale political entertaining and sold off their London

---

<sup>5</sup> Alexandre Vassiliev, *Beauty in Exile: the Artists, Models and Nobility who fled the Russian Revolution and Influenced the World of Fashion*, New York, 2000, pp. 37-59.

<sup>6</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne, 1994. Russell says that the ‘transformation of the ruling class involved deep social insecurities for individual members, who feared that the redefinition of Society may cost them their place within it’, p. 199; reference to Pauline’s ‘savoir faire’ from unsourced newspaper clipping in the scrapbook of Mr Alan Miller, provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson. Name of the newspaper and date unknown, but style commensurate with that of ‘MadameGhurka’ in the Melbourne *Herald* (1920s).

<sup>7</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, p. 342.

<sup>8</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 342.

town houses, with the ‘conspicuous but unhappy exception of Lord and Lady Londonderry.’<sup>9</sup> Lady Londonderry kept up her lavish entertaining during the 1930s, regardless of the changed attitudes of most of her set, and in stark contrast to the economic difficulties of the majority of the British people. Much in the style of Waugh’s *Lady Circumference*, she greeted her guests at the top of her famous staircase, accompanied by the Prime Minister of the day.<sup>10</sup>

Complicating this scenario of aristocratic decline replaced by the incoming tide of wealth, was the fact that the upper classes of the British Empire, Europe, and the USA shared social networks built on filial relationships that spanned countries and continents through intermarriage, and other relationships built on military service, schooling and family connections. The royal families of empires that entered World War One, including Germany, Russia and the United Kingdom, were closely related, and in the aftermath there were remnants of obligations and sympathies that gave displaced Russian aristocrats considerable prestige within some elements of British Society, despite the diminished social positions that many of them now held.<sup>11</sup> There was also a sense of guilt felt by some about the fate of the Romanoffs, cousins to the

---

<sup>9</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, p. 342. Lady Edith Londonderry was conspicuous in her entertaining, to the extent that it was considered vulgar by many, including her peers. There were often around 2,500 guests in her home at a time. Her remarkable friendship with Ramsay MacDonald, the British Labour Prime Minister, brought criticism to both of them, and caused MacDonald to lose the trust of many of his political allies. An account of Lady Londonderry’s life is provided by Anne De Courcy, in *Society’s Queen: The Life of Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry*, London, 1992.

<sup>10</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* p. 344.

<sup>11</sup> Queen Victoria and Prince Albert were respectively from the Houses of Hanover and Saxe-Coburg, and their children married throughout European royalty. Christopher Lee, *This Sceptred Isle: Twentieth Century*, London, 2000, p. 2. Victoria was the grandmother of Tsarina Alexandra, wife of Tsar Nicholas of Russia, and considered herself to be the ‘second mother’ of Alexandra; Andre Maylunas and Sergei Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion: Nicholas and Alexander their own story*, New York, 1997, p. 59.



King of England, who had been promised sanctuary in Britain, and were murdered when this was reneged.<sup>12</sup>

Within elite London social circles the combination of connections with European aristocracy, and the legacies of World War One, were often reflected in conservative politics—an abhorrence of socialism and bolshevism—including the support by some of fascism, which caused political and social ambivalence within Society as the next world war loomed. Connections between members of the elite and Hitler’s ascendancy were not uncommon, and many London hostesses of the period were openly pro-Nazi.<sup>13</sup> The Melikoffs, unlike some with whom they socialised, were not political activists and do not appear on guest lists with the German Ambassador to Britain, Joachim von Ribbentrop, who later became Hitler’s most influential foreign advisor. Still, like many of the conservative elements of London Society and many Russian émigrés, the Prince and Princess probably had some sympathy with the political views that feared bolshevism and supported fascism.<sup>14</sup>

Because of her loss of citizenship, the princess was in an invidious political situation when interviewed in Melbourne on her 1931 visit to Australia, but, far from presenting as stateless and to be pitied, she projected an image of wealth, status and privilege. The princess said that she and her husband made a visit to England from

---

<sup>12</sup> Andre Maylunas and Sergei Mironenko *A Lifelong Passion*, pp. 559-570.

<sup>13</sup> Chris Lloyd, ‘Charley’s Nazi house party’, *Northern Echo*, Darlington (UK), 23 October 2004, p. 10; Christopher Lee, *This Sceptred Isle*, p. 183; Carol Kennedy, *Mayfair: A Social History*, London, 1986, p. 216.

<sup>14</sup> Among European aristocracy present at the same parties as the Melikoffs were Princess Windichgraetz, Prince Sherbatov (a noted horse breeder) and Princess Blucher. Princess Blucher later featured in the ‘Red Book’ list of names of the British ‘Right Club’. The Right Club strongly supported the view that Bolshevism should be stopped through alliance with Hitler, although its main aim was to ‘oppose and expose the activities of Organized Jewry.’ Information about the Right Club, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWrightclub.htm> accessed 16 January 2005.

the Riviera each year, ‘mostly in summer, which we like to spend in London or in visiting in the counties.’<sup>15</sup> She spoke about Riviera life, hunting in Kenya, Russia’s exiles, the theatre in London, Australians abroad, fashion, and beauty:

Fashions? Well, for beauty culture the latest slimming craze is the paraffin wax bath. I think it is a splendid one; one lies down on a bed or couch of waxed paper, the warm paraffin wax is poured all over one and left for a few minutes. One can take off from one to two and a half pounds in a month this way, and so far as I have experienced it without any effects of exhaustion.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps a woman of the British aristocracy would be less likely to speak of such personal subjects. But Pauline had acquired the air of a film star, at least—she was no longer an ordinary Tasmanian girl:

My husband got a lion when I was out with him, and on other occasions buffalo, elephant, and a variety of small deer, plentiful there. Clothes? Most of the women wear slacks; they find trousers useful even in ordinary life in the colony, but I wore just a tweed coat and skirt with the inevitable double crowned toupee as a protection against the sun, which can be deadly in its effects.<sup>17</sup>

Pauline refers to the ‘colony’ of Kenya with a degree of superiority—not for her the rather common trousers of the women there. This is an indication of the degree to which she had been transformed; able to assert herself as a princess with an enhanced sense of decorum when visiting the colonies, rather than the Tasmanian daughter of an auctioneer.

---

<sup>15</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 November 1931.

<sup>16</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 November 1931.

<sup>17</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 November 1931.



**Illustration 22, Princess Melikoff, 1931**  
*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*<sup>18</sup>

A couple of weeks after this interview, Pauline and her mother arrived in Hobart, where they set up residence at Hadley's hotel. It was summer and close to Christmas; there were many balls and garden parties, but Pauline was mentioned only at one, where she was the guest of Mrs Addison, who was looking 'very youthful and attractive after her visit to the Mother Country.'<sup>19</sup> After Christmas, a brief social note

<sup>18</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 November 1931.

<sup>19</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 16 December 1931.

advises that Mrs Curran and Princess Melikoff stayed at Hadley's and 'did not go out of town for the holidays'.<sup>20</sup> It appeared that Pauline 'managed' the local press by remaining silent, staying in, and supplying a photograph of a congenial grouping in an Oxford garden; she and the prince together and with a titled friend. All appeared to be well and happy.



PRINCE AND PRINCESS MELIKOFF (NEE PAULINE CURRAN), IN AN OXFORD GARDEN  
The Prince is conspicuous against tree background. Princess Melikoff is on the left hand side of the picture. In the party are Lady Wilsher (right), Mrs. Pollock, and Mr. Johnson.

**Illustration 23 Prince and Princess Melikoff.**  
*Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*<sup>21</sup>

Once the princess left Tasmania for Sydney, her social profile lifted; she held a dazzling party where her elegant clothes were shown off by the blue colours of her

<sup>20</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 20 January 1932.

<sup>21</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 9 December 1931.

rented Hampton Court flat, which was decorated by 'masses of orange flowers'.<sup>22</sup> It seems as though Hobart was both small and dangerous; it was easier to carry the role of foreign princess in Melbourne and Sydney and less likely that people would discover the cracks in the veneer. Pauline passed through Hobart briefly *en route* back to England on the *Orontes*, late in February 1932.<sup>23</sup> As that year progressed the princess was more firmly established in London than Cannes, and the marriage, which remained childless, was clearly in trouble.

Pauline turned forty years old in 1933, and, if she didn't exactly 'take London by storm' in the way that the young Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon had done after World War One, she was, in her mature years, assured enough to resist any attempts that there were to oust her.

The closest connection that Pauline made with London Society was through her association with Lady Anne Dalrymple-Champneys. Lady Anne was the wife of Sir Weldon Dalrymple-Champneys, a noted British medical officer, who travelled widely and was renowned for his work in malaria research.<sup>24</sup> Lady Anne entertained often and lavishly at their London home and her guest list supports Cannadine's position on the changing social scene: foreign princes and princesses, counts and countesses, members of parliament and senior military officers. Amongst the hundreds of guests, there was little evidence of the 'old aristocracy.'<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 18 February 1932.

<sup>23</sup> *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, 3 March 1932.

<sup>24</sup> Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, [library.wellcome.ac.uk/doc\\_WTL039923.html](http://library.wellcome.ac.uk/doc_WTL039923.html), accessed 22 January 2005.

<sup>25</sup> *Times*, London, 7 December 1933, 15 June 1934, and 04 October 1934, give examples of the Dalrymple-Champneys parties where Princess Melikoff is mentioned among the guests. Cannadine



**Illustration 24 Lady Dalrymple-Champneys.**  
On holiday in Belgium, 1934.<sup>26</sup>

Lady Dalrymple-Champneys lived in Brynaston Square London, and at the end of 1929 new neighbours moved into an apartment in the square; a Mr. and Mrs. Simpson from the USA; he of the wealthy Simpson, Spencer and Young ship brokerage firm that was weathering the depression very well.<sup>27</sup> A frequent visitor to this apartment over the next few years was Edward, the still single Prince of Wales, later to be King of England. The Melikoffs were not at the functions where guest list names were indubitably the *crème de la crème*, or where the scandal was of the

---

does not list the Dalrymple-Champneys in the index of his substantial book, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*.

<sup>26</sup> This photograph originally appeared in published 1934. It is understood that the photograph is out of copyright. This copy was accessed from Internet site [www.rott-n-chatter.com/oldcarting.html](http://www.rott-n-chatter.com/oldcarting.html) accessed 22 January 2005.

<sup>27</sup> Charles Higham, *Wallis, Secret Lives of the Duchess of Windsor*, London, 1989, p. 99.

highest order, including the circles where the abdication of the King of England was soon played out.

The Melikoff marriage was never dissolved by divorce, but early in the 1930s the references to the couple in social life were replaced by that of just the princess.<sup>28</sup> Pauline and the prince attended a function in London in May 1932; the last occasion on which they are noted together in public.<sup>29</sup> This may have been a final attempt at reconciliation after her absence in Australia. From that time on, he disappeared from the social notes and Pauline remained, by now having established her own place on particular invitation lists.

This must have been a time of considerable anxiety for her in terms of her status. Clearly she had been elevated from her position on the edges of Hobart's social scene into Mayfair's glittering social life. What then, was the effect of an errant prince on Pauline's position in society, given that so much of her status was built upon his title and exotic background?<sup>30</sup> Pauline's one-time friend and compatriot, Dorothy Jenner, was known as the gossip columnist 'Andrea', and her autobiography, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* gave a cruel account of Pauline's marital situation and her life of luxury in London during the 1930s.<sup>31</sup> Of her friendship with Pauline Melikoff during the early 1930s she writes:

---

<sup>28</sup> The first mention of Princess Melikoff attending a function in London alone was in May 1930, when the *Times* noted that 'Princess Melikoff has returned to 6 Clarges Street from the Continent. Prince Melikoff will be returning from Africa about the end of June.' *Times*, London, 13 May 1930.

<sup>29</sup> *Times*, London, 3 May 1932.

<sup>30</sup> Penny Russell, *A Wish of Distinction*; Russell discusses the uncertainties that 'lent an edge to the genteel performance', p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> Jenner's columns were published in the *Sydney Sunday Sun and Guardian*, and gave an Australian perspective on London social life. Dorothy Gordon Jenner and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* Sydney, 1975.

Then we got in with a set who congregated at the home of Princess Melikoff. Princess Melikoff was Pauline Curran, thinly disguised. Pauline, a very wealthy 'Taswegian', had been on holiday with her mother to Europe. They had hired a car with a chauffeur. Their chauffeur was Max Melikoff, a Georgian prince. A White Russian with no money whatsoever, but with an impressive title, and Pauline married him. This enabled her to put a coronet on her car. Now she had both money and a title. A lot of snobby Australians used to converge at Pauline's. Her mother sat there with two marmosets, one on each arm of her chair. They wee-ed on the chair. Not much, because they were such small animals, but after six months the odour was grand.<sup>32</sup>

There was worse to come, as Jenner unfolded her account of their mutual friends, and the decline of Prince Maximilian Melikoff. Jenner recalls that 'Sir Dinshaw Petit, Third Baronet and head of a very wealthy Parsee family from Bombay, was one of Pauline's frequent visitors.'<sup>33</sup> In 1935, Jenner took on the role of chaperoning Sir Dinshaw's younger brother, Jamshed, who spent considerable money on her, including a period of six months in New York, where he hired half a floor of the Waldorf hotel for himself, plus suites for his current love interest, and Jenner. Writing of that period in her later autobiography, Jenner says:

Then Max Melikoff turned up in New York. Prince Max Melikoff, Pauline Curran's husband. Here in New York, Max was yelling for me to help because, when he had been unable to pay his hotel bill, they had garnisheed his luggage. Poor Max. I felt awful. I was up to my armpits in dough, glorious dough, but quite unable to help him because I never saw any actual cash. The best I could do was to provide him with champagne and chook sandwiches. Later on when I was back in London, I don't think even Princess Melikoff knows this, I used to feed her husband when he was sleeping out as a hobo on the benches in Green Park. Max was an absolute gentleman, but I don't think he ever recovered from having to leave his native Russia. The whole scheme of living was too much for him. He's been dead for years.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Dorothy Gordon Jenner and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* p. 118.

<sup>33</sup> Dorothy Gordon Jenner and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* p. 118.

<sup>34</sup> Dorothy Gordon Jenner and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* p. 130.



The publication of Jenner's book in 1975, with its harsh accounts, must have caused pain to Pauline in her later years. However this was not the first public report of Max's demise. In 1933, the London *Times* published two articles relating to his bankruptcy and so Pauline could not have escaped the resultant humiliation. There was no denying public knowledge of the prince's situation, and by implication the demise of his marriage to a wealthy woman, when, on 26 July that year, a *Times* article headed 'A Russian Prince's Affairs' described the preliminary meeting of the bankruptcy proceedings:

The debtor (Prince Maximilian Melikoff) stated that he came to England in 1924 or 1925. He subsequently went to Australia, returning to this country in 1927. Three years later he went to East Africa for big game shooting and stayed there for nine months. On his return, he gave private lessons in Russian and did a little 'crowd' work for the films.<sup>35</sup>

The account showed that Max's debts were not large; he owed three hundred and forty five pounds, and he said in his defence that, 'Ten thousand pounds is owing to him by Russians whom he is unable to trace.'<sup>36</sup> In November of that year, Max reappeared before the Bankruptcy Court. When asked by the court official if he was a Russian, he replied, 'No, a Georgian.' Max went on to attribute his insolvency to lack of regular employment, and it was explained to the court that, 'Owing to the regulations relating to foreigners it was not until a year ago that he was given permission to work in this country.' The Prince was, he said, dependent on relatives

---

<sup>35</sup> *Times*, London, 26 July 1933.

<sup>36</sup> *Times*, London, 26 July 1933.

and friends and the very small sums that he was now earning, despite having been promised good work on the films.<sup>37</sup>

The Prince was not the only one to go bankrupt in 1933—in fact the whole country of the USA was declared bankrupt by its President, Roosevelt.<sup>38</sup> They were harsh and difficult times, overlaid with a veneer of London social life where the privileged maintained their opulence. According to Cannadine:

Anyone prepared to entertain extravagantly enough could establish themselves as a leader of society, and the profuse expenditure, the opulent vulgarity, and the ‘meretricious ornamentation’ of these nouveaux riches seemed to know no limits. Pushful hosts gloried in waste and indulgence, the newspapers recorded the interminable feasts and banquets, and ‘society took to worshipping the almighty dollar unabashed’.<sup>39</sup>

Within this culture of wealthy display, indigent Russian princes were held in some sympathy, and Max Melikoff was not the only Russian prince to face the humiliation of the British bankruptcy courts. Some years previously Prince Andrew, a Romanoff, nephew to Tsar Nicholas II, who sometimes attended the Dalrymple-Champneys’ parties along with the Melikoffs, was declared bankrupt after his establishment, the Regents Park Country Club, got into financial difficulties<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Times, London, 18 November 1933.

<sup>38</sup> The USA was declared bankrupt and insolvent by President Roosevelt, 9 March, 1933, through the Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933, U.S. Statutes at Large (73rd Congress, 1933 p. 1-7) 48 Stat. 1, Public Law 89-719; Roosevelt, the newly-elected President, had a plan for the country to spend its way out of the depression through major construction. According to Lee, Britain had no such plan, and the government did not know how to cope with the depression. ‘In Britain there was no such vision, no such system and no such wealth to create a New Deal for the United Kingdom.’ Christopher Lee *This Sceptred Isle*, pp. 177-78.

<sup>39</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall*, p. 346.

<sup>40</sup> Times, London, 15 June 1934. The Peerage web site, [www.thepeerage.com/p11123.htm](http://www.thepeerage.com/p11123.htm) accessed 24 January 2005. At this stage of his life Prince Andrew had three young children, and over the next few years seemed to claw his way to better circumstances, principally by remarrying into a wealthy British family. Prince Andrew’s daughter from his second marriage, Princess Olga, has been quoted as saying, ‘We were extremely well off, but our family money has gone over the years, all down to mismanagement, naivety and stupidity.’ Radio interview with Princess Olga quoted at

Marrying into money was one way for the Russian émigré aristocracy to shore up future prospects, and in some cases the marriages were long and apparently successful, such as that between Helena Rubenstein and Prince Artchil Gourielli-Tchkonina, a Georgian, whom she met in 1935 and married in 1938.<sup>41</sup> Pauline's friend, Dorothy Jenner, also claims to have had a marriage proposal from Prince Gourielli in 1935. During Jenner's time at the Waldorf with Jamshed Petit, she says that she 'got in with the Russians' and invited them to open house at the Petit suite:

They were White Russians, Georgian princes and so on ...they'd had to leave everything and were now working at various menial jobs as janitors or storekeepers or something similar. At five o'clock they'd put on their one suit, turn back into princes, arrive at the suite ...then wait for chicken sandwiches and champagne. After the party they changed back again, just like Cinderella. For the six months we were there they never had to buy one meal for themselves.<sup>42</sup>

Into this scene walked Prince Gourielli, who, according to Jenner:

saw all this money flowing like water, the food and the flowers, and he assumed that, as I was part of the deal, I too was wealthy. So he proposed to me! I said, 'Come off it! I'm working here on a salary!' I didn't see any more of Gourielli!<sup>43</sup>

Gourielli and Max Melikoff were mixing in the same Waldorf/Petit set, and had probably known each other in their Georgian homeland. Gourielli remained married to Rubenstein, who was considerably older than himself, until his death in 1956.<sup>44</sup> By the mid 1930's, twenty years after the Russian Revolution, some of the aristocratic

---

[www.rwguide.com/thread\\_22062\\_princess\\_olga\\_romanoff.html](http://www.rwguide.com/thread_22062_princess_olga_romanoff.html) accessed 24 January 2005. In 1940, Princess Galitzine and Princess Andrew both died in air raids.

<sup>41</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, London, 1965, p. 77.

<sup>42</sup> Jenner, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* p. 127.

<sup>43</sup> Jenner, *Darlings I've had a Ball!* p. 127.

<sup>44</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, p. 101.

émigrés, like Gourielli, had established themselves in new surroundings and professions, had made sound if prosaic marriages, and were enjoying the social and business collateral obtained through their titles. Many others, like Melikoff, foundered; never making the transition into the new world, which was not just post-revolutionary, but one where the trimmings of a noble background were becoming anachronistic.

Among other Russian émigrés who attended the same functions as the Melikoffs were Prince and Princess Galitzine.<sup>45</sup> The Galitzines were contemporaries of the Melikoffs, and Maximilian and Vladimir Galitzine were both cavalry officers who served in the Caucasus. According to the Galitzine family memoirs, Vladimir was aide de camp to the Grand Duke Nicholas, and at the time of the evacuation from the Black Sea in 1919, he was asked to escort the Dowager Duchess into exile.<sup>46</sup> He was accompanied by his wife, Catherine, or Katya, the former Countess Catherine Carlow, who was related to the British Royal family through her mother's line, being a descendant of Princess Augusta (cousin of Queen Victoria).<sup>47</sup> Because of Princess Galitzine's British connections, the family continued on to London after their evacuation and Prince Galitzine set up shop selling Russian *objets des arts*. Queen Mary had a permanent order at the shop for anything of interest to be sent to her at

---

<sup>45</sup> The Galitzines were the only other European aristocracy present in May 1930 at a dance held at the Hyde Park Hotel by Mr ES Edgar for his daughter, when Pauline was present, *Times*, London, 26 June 1930; and in 1932 at an 'at home' held by Lady Graham-Little, when both Pauline and Max attended, although Princess Asfa Yilma, niece and later biographer of Emperor Haile Salasie of Ethiopia, attended the second function. Others present include many members of British peerage, as well as ambassadors and military officers. *Times*, London, 3 May 1932.

<sup>46</sup> Galatzine family website, <http://www.galitzine.biz/vaval.html> accessed 7 November 04.

<sup>47</sup> Galatzine family website, <http://www.galitzine.biz/nikolai.html> accessed 7 November 04.

Buckingham Palace.<sup>48</sup> The Galitzines often paid for their sons' schooling in Russian paintings in lieu of fees.<sup>49</sup> The Galitzine family became British citizens—a notice in the *Times* in 1933 announces that 'Prince Vladimir Galitzine of Chessington Hall, Chessington, Surrey, is applying to the Home Secretary for naturalization'—and were able to participate fully in British life, including voluntary and paid military and civil service.<sup>50</sup> Through their children's futures, the parents were able to see a path ahead that made this commitment a sensible one. There is no evidence that Prince Melikoff made a similar commitment and without the anchors of children, citizenship or profession he appeared to drift, while Pauline attached herself to Society as best she could, with the assistance of his title.<sup>51</sup>

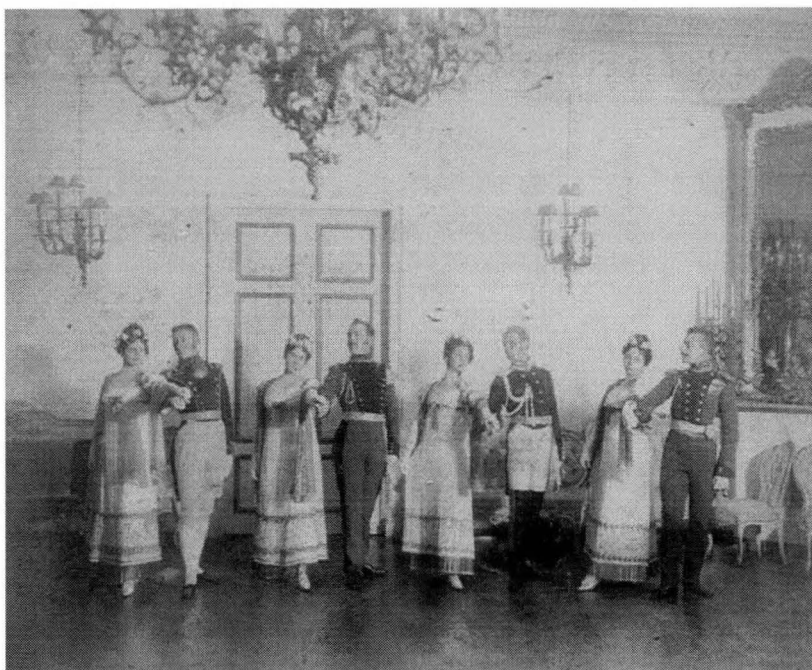
---

<sup>48</sup> <http://www.galitzine.biz/nikolai.html> accessed 7 November 04.

<sup>49</sup> *Telegraph*, London, 9 January 2003, obituary for Prince Emanuel Galitzine, accessed at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2003/01/09/db0901.xml> accessed 21 February 2005. The Galitzine sons all adapted to British life, became successful in their respective careers, and served as military officers during World War Two. <http://www.galitzine.biz/nikolai.html> accessed 7 November 2004.

<sup>50</sup> *Times*, London, 24 February 1933.

<sup>51</sup> Princess Catherine Galitzine died in London in 1940, ten years before Prince Melikoff's death. She was on her way to work in the service of her new country as a translator at the Censorship Office and died in a daylight bombing raid. <http://www.galitzine.biz/nikolai.html> accessed 7 November 2004.



**Illustration 25 Princess Catherine Galitzine.**

A Picture taken in the ballroom of 46 Fontanka, St Petersburg, Russia, the Winter home of the Mecklenburg-Strelitz's, about 1910. The Group includes Countess Catherine von Carlow, before she was married to Prince Vladimir Galitzine.<sup>52</sup>

Princess Melikoff was noted alone at a luncheon party at the Ritz in London in July 1938. In January of that year British children were issued with gas masks, and an Act of Parliament had set up air raid precautions.<sup>53</sup> London Society had lost its glitter. The Melikoff marriage was in tatters; Max was sometimes sleeping rough, and Pauline was no longer a young beauty. She was forty five years old, and her lack of citizenship precluded volunteer work or any official service to her Empire as it

<sup>52</sup> This photograph appears on the Galitzine family website, at <http://www.galitzine.biz/memorabilia.html> accessed 17 January 2005, and is reproduced with the permission of Phillip Goodman, on behalf of his wife Sophia (born Countess Sophia Vladimirovna Kleinmichel, niece of Princess Catherine Galitzine). Permission given in e-mail communication with author 17 and 18 January 2005).

<sup>53</sup> Christopher Lee, *This Sceptred Isle*, pp. 180-181.

plunged into war once again.<sup>54</sup> There were no further mentions of Princess Melikoff in the social notes for many years. It seems that, for Pauline, the party had ended.

---

<sup>54</sup> *Times*, London, 8 July 1938.

## Chapter Seven

### Portrait of a Woman in Exile Again

*True pilgrimages were long, arduous hauls, and Australians have  
been only too ready to impress others with the extent of their  
journeying, whether five weeks by ship or twenty four hours in a  
jumbo jet.*

Ros Pesman<sup>1</sup>

Little is known about Pauline's experiences in London during World War Two. Much could be assumed: the horrors of the Blitz, rationing, the restrictions on social life, the obligations to sacrifice and to contribute in some ways, and the distance from Tasmania reinforced by restrictions on travel. She may have grieved for the deaths of friends and acquaintances during air raids in London, the loss of their children on active service and the destruction of the great London homes where she had once partied. Many such homes were closed at the beginning of the war, never to open again, while others, including Londonderry House, were turned into troop accommodation or hospitals.<sup>2</sup> In 1953, when Princess Melikoff turned sixty years old, she entered the older stage of her life in a society that had fundamentally changed. The post-war years saw further decline in the aristocratic class, and the British Empire much diminished, so that, as Cannadine notes:

The great ornamental positions—in the empire, the nation and the localities—  
have either vanished in the aftermath of decolonisation, or have largely been

---

<sup>1</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, p. 627.



taken over by people of very different backgrounds, who are now deemed more appropriate. The disappearance of the great London palaces...and of the once numerous servant class, means that the labour-intensive theatricality of aristocratic life has virtually come to an end.<sup>3</sup>

The next period of the Princess's life, across the many remaining years until she died, is sparsely documented in occasional social notes, and particularly those regarding her return trips to Tasmania; in accounts of a robbery that affected her independence, and in the wills that she left when she died. In some ways it is a portrait of an old woman clinging to old ways and a lost lifestyle; to the title that was now somewhat anachronistic; to the accoutrements of the Russian Empire that was long gone; to the British one that was fading fast. She had her bridge games, the mansion flat in Mayfair, and the ageing servants still with her. In other ways, hers is a story that reveals her strength and adaptability, as the Princess left behind the ocean liners and took to long-haul jet flights, and then left part of her considerable estate to one of the most radical organisations of its time.

While it appears that Pauline had not lived with Max for many years, and that she maintained her Mayfair lifestyle while he drifted indigently, the couple were still married at the time of the Prince's death in 1950. A poignant front page advertisement in the London *Times* during the last year of the war, advertised what may have been the marital bed for sale: 'Super Bed, 5 ft padded green brocade, cover to match, P Melikoff 8 Hertford Street.'<sup>4</sup> The next public announcement was of Prince Maximilian's death, in April 1950. A story persists that Prince Melikoff died

---

<sup>3</sup> David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, New Haven and London, 1990, p. 639.

<sup>4</sup> *Times*, London, 30 December 1944.

in the United States of America, where he was working with horses<sup>5</sup> However the London *Times* published a brief death notice advising that Prince Maximilian Melikoff, ‘beloved husband of Princess Pauline Melikoff’, had died on 16 April 1950 at Southsea, England, and that account was confirmed in the New York *Times*.<sup>6</sup> As Southsea is a port city it is possible that the prince became ill or was injured in the USA and died either en route back to the UK or shortly after arrival, but this is not mentioned in the brief obituary published in the New York *Times*:

Prince Maximilian Melikoff, former wealthy Russian who roamed the world working as a cavalry instructor and ballet dancer, died here, (Southsea, UK) it was announced today. He was 54 years old. Born in a palace near Tiflis, Prince Melikoff had all that wealth could offer—until the Russian Revolution left him penniless and he fled his country. In turn he became a cavalry instructor in the Persian Army, ballet dancer in Rome, tennis coach in San Remo, partner in a chicken farm at Nice, leopard trapper in Kenya and an employee of a food distribution corporation in New York.<sup>7</sup>

Max was a competitive tennis player, with his results recorded twice in the London *Times*—once at the Monte Carlo Championships in 1925, and again at the Warwickshire Championships in England in 1929. On both occasions he was beaten convincingly.<sup>8</sup> His parents lived in Nice and chicken farming was a plausible pursuit. The only surprise of this obituary is the reference to Max being a ‘Ballet dancer in Rome’. Even that is not beyond imagination. As a fit and dapper man who would have been well trained in dance forms as a child at the School of Pages, and who was most likely proficient in his traditional Georgian dancing with its high degree of

---

<sup>5</sup> This account is given in Don Norman’s local history of Hobart, *More of Don Norman’s old photographs and a little about himself and others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?).

<sup>6</sup> *Times*, London, 25 April 1950, *Times*, New York 26 April 1950.

<sup>7</sup> *Times*, New York 26 April 1950.

<sup>8</sup> *Times*, London, 26 February 1925 and 30 July 1929.

athleticism, he could feasibly have made a ballet dancer, or at least performed 'walk on' roles in the days when Russianness was so highly prized in dance and theatre circles.<sup>9</sup> No mention is made of the 'moving picture' work that he recounted to the Bankruptcy Court in London in 1933.<sup>10</sup>

The myth of the happy Melikoff marriage endured, and appears to have been well-maintained by Pauline despite Dorothy Jenner's revelations and the publicity surrounding Max's bankruptcy. In 1981, Princess Melikoff told a journalist, 'My husband and I led a nice, social life. We travelled a great deal through India, Egypt, Kenya and Europe. Since he died, I go back to Tasmania almost every year ...'<sup>11</sup> After her death, the Hobart *Mercury* reported that after the Melikoffs married, 'The couple were to spend the next 25 years of their life together, before the Prince's death in 1951, (sic) living in London's fashionable Mayfair district.'<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Pauline's status, both in London and Hobart, was so dependant on her marriage to a prince that she needed to maintain the façade. She may have cast him loose and turned her back on him, or maybe she maintained her love for Max, as the death notice suggests, and perhaps in her own mind the marriage remained sacrosanct. Certainly she visited St David's Cathedral in Hobart on 20 January 1976, the fiftieth anniversary of her wedding day, and a photograph shows her looking the part of a widow lost in memories as she gazes at a bas-relief of St Francis of Assisi, (patron saint of animal

---

<sup>9</sup> Possibilities include being a member of Diaghilev's Ballet Russes, or one of its several offshoots, including the Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo, which were formed in the years following Diaghilev's death in 1929, <http://www.australiadancing.org/subjects/9.html>, National Library of Australia, accessed 27 October 2005.

<sup>10</sup> *Times*, London, 26 July 1933.

<sup>11</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine*, Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>12</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 28 February 1988.

welfare, the environment, and against dying alone) as she reminisced about the day that she married a Russian prince.



**Illustration 26 Princess Melikoff at St. David's Cathedral Hobart, 1976**  
Photograph courtesy *Mercury*<sup>13</sup>

Pauline was mentioned rarely in social notes after her husband's death; indicative of her advancing years and the declining social milieu of the 1950s. There is evidence that she maintained contact with the remainder of her old set, and in 1955 she attended a function chaired by her friend Lady Dalrymple-Champneys at the Savoy Hotel, where Princess Marie Louise (granddaughter of Queen Victoria) presided.<sup>14</sup> She also ventured into new circles and there is a suggestion of entertainment with a much different crowd, that which congregated around the actors

---

<sup>13</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 21 January 1976.

<sup>14</sup> *Times*, London, 6 May 1955.

Richard Burton and Hugh Griffith. Griffith was married to Adlegunde von Dechend, Pauline's niece and bridesmaid. According to Burton's biographers, John Cottrell and Fergus Cashin, during the early 1950s Griffith held court at a rambling old country house at Oxhill which he and his wife Adelgunde shared with two other Welsh couples—the Burtons, and Osian Ellis, the famous harpist, and his wife. 'Adelgunde was a magnificent cook and, though it was rather wasted on Richard's chips-with-everything taste, she kept a wonderful table and entertained a procession of actors and actresses'.<sup>15</sup> These were occasions where, according to Cottrell and Cashin, 'everyone threw bouts of poetry at each other', and Burton recited Robert Frost.<sup>16</sup> Princess Melikoff referred to this relationship when interviewed in Hobart in 1976, when it was reported that 'Mr and Mrs Griffith live in London, where Princess Melikoff often sees them.'<sup>17</sup>

Late in 1954 Pauline left London for Tasmania on one of the first trips made by the luxurious new *Orsova*, on her first visit south since the 1931 trip where she had travelled with her mother and Max had stayed behind. At this time, in Hobart, her sister Beatrice was closely involved in fund raising for the recently established St. Ann's Home for the Aged, and held an annual garden fete at her Taroona home.<sup>18</sup> Pauline was probably a guest at one of these fetes over that summer. This connection was to prove very important to St. Ann's in later years, as Pauline decided how to manage her estate.

---

<sup>15</sup> John Cottrell and Fergus Cashin, *Richard Burton*, London, 1974, p. 136.

<sup>16</sup> John Cottrell and Fergus Cashin, *Richard Burton*, London, 1974, p. 136.

<sup>17</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 21 January 1976.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Stops and Don Norman, *A History of St Ann's Rest Homes Inc. from its inception in 1922 to 30 June 1990*, (unpublished), St. Ann's Homes Inc. records.

The 1954 trip represented not only a rekindling of Pauline's connection with Tasmania, which was then to continue regularly over many years to come, but also a change in sea travel that would at first burgeon, and then fade away with the increasing availability and sophistication of commercial air travel. During the war, civilian ocean travel was severely curtailed, due to the danger from torpedos and bombing, and the fact that many ships had been pressed in to troop carrying duties, converted from their civilian magnificence into floating barracks. After the war, the decimated fleets were used to carry refugees to new homes in the USA and Australia, while P&O Cruises and Orient Lines embarked on a major building program to replace their losses.<sup>19</sup> The *Orsova* was one result of this rebuilding, and the new vessel sailed the most common route, through Gibraltar, Naples, Port Said, Aden, Colombo, Fremantle, Adelaide and Melbourne to Sydney.<sup>20</sup> Christmas Day and New Year's Eve were both spent at sea. The ship remained based in Australia for the southern summer, and took the same route when Pauline returned to the United Kingdom in March 1955.<sup>21</sup> The Hobart *Mercury* wrote up the 1955 visit as follows:

HH the Princess Melikoff returned to Hobart yesterday in the *Orsova* after an absence of twenty-five years. Her Highness, better known to her friends in

---

<sup>19</sup> Information about the *Orsova* from

<http://www.pocruises.com.au/html/history.cfm?bhflver=6&bhflverex=6%2C0%2C79%2C0> accessed 14 August 04.

<sup>20</sup> In April 1955 the *Orsova* began Orient's first round-the World route, sailing London-Australia via Port Said, and then New Zealand, USA, Panama, Trinidad, London. Information supplied by Stephen Rabson, P&O Historian and Archivist, correspondence with author, 15 April 2002.

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Rabson, P&O Historian and Archivist, correspondence with writer 15 April 2002; *Mercury*, 14 January 1955. The ship would have been much quieter on the return leg. This was a phenomenon noted since the wave of refugees and European migrants began their journeys to Australia in the 1930s, followed in the 1950s and 60s by the 'Ten Pound Tourists'—British migrants coming to Australia on subsidised migration schemes. Once these passengers disembarked to start their new lives in Australia, the ships returned with fewer passengers. George Negus, 'Ten Pound Poms', Interview 22 March 2004 with families who immigrated to Australia in 1960 on the *Orsova*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, <http://www.abc.net.au/gnt/history/Transcripts/s1071227.htm> accessed 14 August 2004.

Hobart as Pauline Curran, was born here and educated at Collegiate School. News of her engagement to HH the Prince Melikoff came from Monte Carlo, but the couple were married at St David's Cathedral, Hobart, in 1926. Her Highness will be returning to England in the Orsova in March.<sup>22</sup>

While much had changed as a result of the war, ocean liners were still the usual mode of international travel in the 1950s, and there were still class differences evident on board and echoed on land in the reference to Princess Melikoff as 'Her Highness'. These affectations of class were often scorned, rather than openly envied, by people travelling tourist class, and such is the account of Hobart woman, Ethel Young. Ethel, returning home to Tasmania after an extended holiday in England and Europe in 1954, described the class differences on the P&O liner, *Arcadia*:

You've no idea the number of Elite on this ship. The snobbery is shocking. One wonders how these people can be bothered...The Maharajah is a man of about thirty who spends his time travelling about. Is so lazy spends most of his time on board ship, in bed, and when not in bed giving champagne parties in his suite. His secretary is a stuck up English man. One really gets a lot of amusement on a ship like this.<sup>23</sup>

Ros Pesman argues that young women travelling during this period were going for the same reasons that had motivated their mothers and grandmothers:

To see the sights, to acquire a little foreign language and culture, to be stamped with the overseas imprimatur, to be turned into ladies through European finishing schools and presentation at court, to study art and music, to gain higher degrees and professional training...and, increasingly, to go on holidays.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup> *Mercury*, 14 January 1955.

<sup>23</sup> Ethel Young, Typescript diary entries in form of letters home by Ethel Young, *Tour of England and Europe May-November 1954*, Estate of Ethel Young OAM, NS 1912/2, Archives Office of Tasmania (AOT).

<sup>24</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 207.

However, she says that most were, 'Less curtailed, less chaperoned, enjoyed more freedom and independence.'<sup>25</sup> It had also become the convention to travel, rather than the exception. 'If by her early twenties a woman had saved the fare and was not married, she took off', Pesman writes.<sup>26</sup> Ethel Young's letters home describe the dream experience of the young woman abroad in the 1950's. She was independent, and unchaperoned, and like many others in her time, was travelling to broaden her horizons.<sup>27</sup> Her return sea voyage was enjoyable, despite the class differences that were highlighted in her correspondence. Ethel organised fundraising efforts on board for charity, and acted as hostess at sporting events. She did not record invitations to dine with the Captain, much less to the Maharajah's champagne parties, and thus had a very different experience of sea voyaging than that of Princess Melikoff, Hobart's regal daughter.<sup>28</sup>

If shipboard affectations are signifiers of class, so also are portraits, which tend to be stratified by the status of both the sitter and the artist. During the 1950s Princess Melikoff sat for a portrait, as she had done on at least one previous occasion, in the early 1930s. The earlier portrait was captured on film by her writer and photographer friend, VC Buckley. Buckley took a photograph of the artist, Martin de Hodzu, seated with palette in front of the Princess, who is posing next to her life size portrait,

---

<sup>25</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 207.

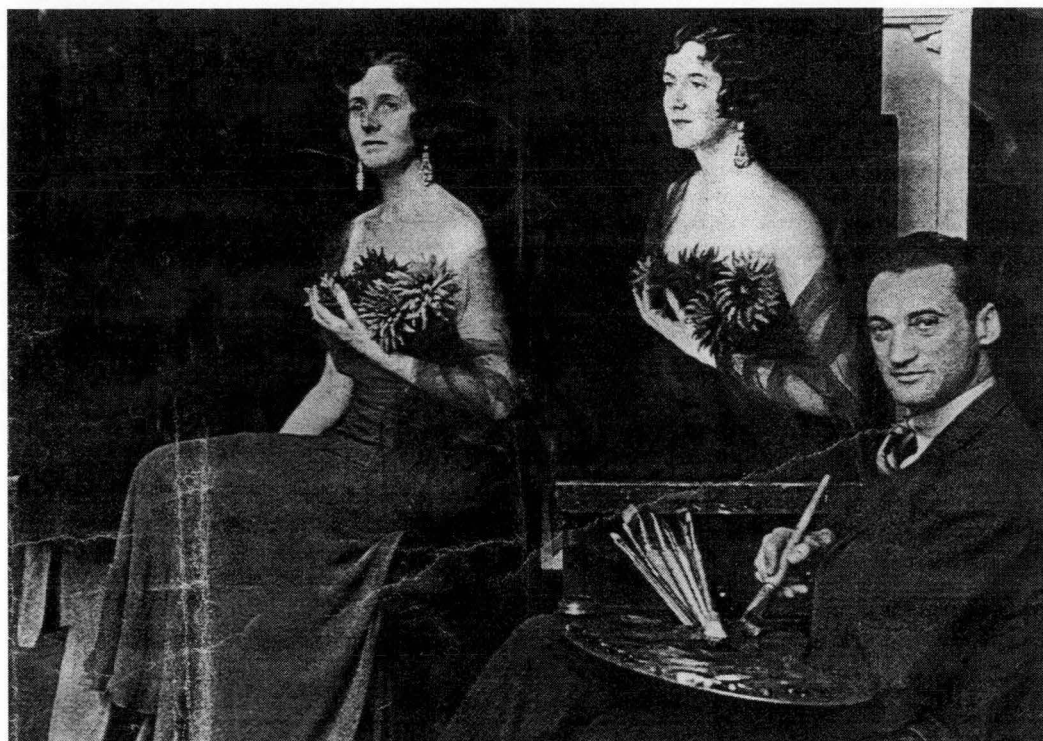
<sup>26</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, pp. 207-212.

<sup>27</sup> Ethel greatly enjoyed the combination of meeting people, shopping, and visits to Australia House and Tasmania House, where one put one's name down for garden parties at Buckingham Palace and then waited in great anticipation for an invitation. In Ethel's case the invitation had come, and in July 1954 she had attended 'BP' and loved being presented to the young Queen Elizabeth and her 'very pretty' sister, Princess Margaret Rose. Ethel Young, Typescript diary entries in form of letters home, AOT.

<sup>28</sup> Ethel Young, Typescript diary entries in form of letters home.



clutching dahlias to her bosom. In the portrait she appears flattered by more cleavage and a romantic dreaminess of expression that is softer than that of the 'real' Pauline in the photograph.



**Illustration 27 Martin de Hodzu painting Princess Melikoff.**

Photo VC Buckley<sup>29</sup>

This quality of the portrait artist to either flatter or disadvantage the sitter is discussed by Helena Rubenstein, when she said that:

Having one's portrait painted is something of a gamble. I realize that an artist must be free to interpret what he sees in his own way; but there are times when I look at some of the portraits that have been done of me and I comfort

---

<sup>29</sup> VC Buckley, *Good Times at Home and Abroad between the Wars*, London, 1979, p. 123, permission to use photograph given by Naomi Pritchard, Thames and Hudson Ltd., correspondence with author 25 May 2002.

myself with the words of Sargent: 'A portrait is a likeness with something slightly wrong about the mouth.'<sup>30</sup>

Rubenstein is significant here as there are threads of connection between her and Princess Melikoff, including their 'Australianness' and marriages to Georgian princes. Rubenstein is often described as being an Australian woman, although she was born in Poland and came to Australia as a teenage girl in about the 1890s, where she established a business selling beauty creams from her mother's recipe.<sup>31</sup> She created considerable wealth through her business, and set up homes and offices in London, Paris and New York. Helena Rubenstein sat for many artists, including Picasso and Salvador Dali, who, according to Rubenstein, 'Claims that he was recognized as a portrait painter in America only after he painted my portrait.'<sup>32</sup> Later, Graham Sutherland painted two life size portraits of Rubenstein, which, she thought, 'Nearly overpowered everything else in the Tate.'<sup>33</sup> Rubenstein rarely used her name of 'Princess Gourielli', having established herself with an internationally known name of her own. The prestige and wealth than she had already established attracted her to influential artists, and vice versa, in the symbiotic relationship between the sitter and the painter. Princess Melikoff, on the other hand, achieved little recognition for her portraits outside of Hobart.

In October 1955 the *Saturday Evening Mercury* published a photograph of a portrait of Princess Melikoff, painted in London by Richard Marientreu, whom the

---

<sup>30</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, London, 1965, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, pp. 18-26.

<sup>32</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, p. 93.

<sup>33</sup> Helena Rubenstein, *My Life for Beauty*, p. 95.

newspaper describes as ‘one of the leading portraitists of the day’.<sup>34</sup> Not only is he ‘exceedingly adept in portraiture’, the newspaper reported, he was also, ‘A romantic, who enjoys portraying the sweep and vigour of untrammelled and violent action, the dramatic contrast of a fitful light against a dark ground, the swirling confusion of heroic warriors in action.’<sup>35</sup> Marientreu was born Ryszard Richard Schneider Edler von Marientreu, in 1902, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. He unwillingly followed his father’s military profession, but after being badly wounded in 1918, and spending two years in hospital, he began the career of his own choice, as an artist. He was brought to England in 1933 by a patron, and while he could speak no English, he became a popular addition to the invitation lists of fashionable society. He was an immaculate person who charmed his admirers by always painting in a Savile Row suit. Marientreu enjoyed a position of some note during the 1950s and was a portraitist to King George V, the Duke of Edinburgh, and Field Marshall Montgomery.<sup>36</sup> However of the 320,000 works in the National Portrait Gallery, London, there are none by Marientreu.<sup>37</sup> Princess Melikoff’s first portraitist, de Hodzu, a Hungarian, did not make a big mark on the world of portraiture either, and like Marientreu, de Hodzu has no works in the National Portrait Gallery.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>34</sup> *Saturday Evening Mercury*, Hobart, 22 October 1955. Interestingly, these same words were used by the *Times*, London, in its 1991 obituary of Marientreu. Neither newspaper attributes the description to another source. *Times*, London, 3 July 1991.

<sup>35</sup> *Saturday Evening Mercury*, Hobart, 22 October 1955.

<sup>36</sup> David Buckman, *Dictionary of Artists in Britain since 1945*, Bristol, 1998, p. 1227.

<sup>37</sup> Search of National Portrait Gallery (NPG) website, <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/> accessed January 2005, and e-mail correspondence between author and Alex Hepburn, Archive and Library Assistant, NPG, 8 February 2005.

<sup>38</sup> The only reference to de Hodzu held by the NPG is a very brief obituary in the *Daily Telegraph* 25 November 1953, which describes him under the alternate spelling of de Hosszu, and which does not refer to his art. Search of National Portrait Gallery (NPG) website, <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/>

In the Marientreu portrait, the Princess is painted from the waist, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, which is thrown into relief by the halo of light shining from behind it. She is holding a small long-haired lap dog, is bejewelled, and draped in a silky wrap. If it is a contemporary painting, as the article implies, it is indeed romantic. The sixty-two year old Princess seems ageless in the portrait, her face serene and ethereal. A photograph of her published in the *Mercury* at the beginning of that year is a less flattering likeness; a dignified presence but a woman of mature years just the same.<sup>39</sup>

---

accessed January 2005, and e-mail correspondence between author and Alex Hepburn, Archive and Library Assistant, NPG, 8 February 2005.

<sup>39</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 14 January 1955.



Illustration 29 Princess Melikoff, Hobart, 1955  
Princess Melikoff returns to Hobart after an absence of twenty five years<sup>41</sup>



Illustration 28 Richard Marientreu portrait 1955  
Painted in London, reproduced by the Hobart  
*Saturday Evening Mercury*<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>40</sup> Richard Marientreu portrait, *Saturday Evening Mercury*, Hobart, 22 October 1955.

<sup>41</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 14 January 1955.

To what extent does the portrait reveal what biographer and art historian, Nell Irvin Painter, refers to as ‘new dimensions in subjects’ ambivalent relationship to their culture’?<sup>42</sup> The portrait gives an indication of how Pauline wanted the world to see her; elegant, wealthy, successful. This can be gleaned from the sumptuous draping of the clothing and the subtlety of expensive jewellery; the gaze serenely directed straight into the eyes of the viewer. She also wants to be seen as compassionate—an animal lover. But this is not a wild animal; the little dog has a bow tied in its hair behind one ear; it is a little girl dog. These readings serve in some small way instead of autobiographical accounts that Pauline may have left in written text, because they convey images of class, wealth, position, beauty and a standing in society. At the same time there is an indication here of Pauline’s ambivalent relationship with that society. Is she a Russian princess in this portrait or an upper-crust British woman? She could be either of these, but she wants to let us know that she isn’t a Hobart girl, great granddaughter of a convict, daughter of an auctioneer, and named after a racehorse.

The portrait seemed to work in Hobart. Unlike Helena Rubenstein, Pauline did not launch artists into perpetuity, however the publication of her portrait in the *Saturday Mercury* reinforced the local message that she was a person of note—the one to whom the same newspaper had referred a few months previously as ‘Her

---

<sup>42</sup> Nell Irvin Painter, ‘Ut Pictura Poesis’ in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (Ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, pp. 103-105. Painter includes white women in her definition of ‘subaltern subjects’ who do not always leave rich trails of written texts, and who, because of their positions in society, often have complex identities in relation to the dominant culture.

Highness'.<sup>43</sup> There were many in Tasmania who shared the ambivalent relationship to their culture, and who were reassured by their ability to produce a princess as elegant, graceful and ageless as this one.

Over the years, the *Mercury* wrote up the Princess's voyages to Tasmania, but she was not afforded the title 'Her Highness' again. These voyages were in 1958, 1960, and 1961. Several times the visits were recorded as being with her sister, Mrs E Walsh, also of the United Kingdom.<sup>44</sup> There was a significant change in the next reported visit in 1972, which, despite the gap in reporting between 1961 and 1972, was described as the Princess's 'annual summer trip to Tasmania.'<sup>45</sup> This time the Princess was arriving at the Hobart Airport. At seventy nine years of age she was making the transition into the next phase of modern life, the revolution of travel which, at the same time, according to Pesman, democratised travel and removed the understanding of travel as a sensory experience.<sup>46</sup> The air travel continued on an annual basis until Princess Melikoff was 87 years old, when an event occurred that robbed her of some of the independent spirit which had sustained her until then, and had enabled her to make the long flights back to Tasmania, alone.

At that time the Princess lived in Down Street, which had once been part of the Mayfair that historian Carol Kennedy describes as the 'dream world populated by glamorous couples foxtrotting to Ambrose or Sydney Lipton', an image that lasted

---

<sup>43</sup> *Mercury* Hobart 14 January 1955.

<sup>44</sup> *Mercury*, 12 December 1958 28 December 1960, 13 February 1961.

<sup>45</sup> *Mercury* 1 March 1972.

<sup>46</sup> Pesman recounts her own travel experience: 'My journey to Europe in 1961 consisted of a five-week voyage; I returned five years later on a thirty-six hour Boeing 707 flight. The arrival of the jet obliterated distance, the communications revolution overcame the information gap, and television conveyed closer and clearer images of Michelangelo's Last Judgement than could be obtained in the Sistine Chapel itself.' Ros Pesman, *Duty Free*, p. 2.

‘even in the 1950’s.’<sup>47</sup> Kennedy deplores the desecration of Mayfair’s ‘golden age’ and, when writing in the 1980’s, says that the ‘cavernous red brick mansion flats of Down Street with their two story libraries’ provide a tantalizing glimpse of that world that had virtually disappeared.<sup>48</sup> Down Street retains its charm, she wrote, but has some mysterious inhabitants, including ‘Arab sheikhs and a White Russian princess’.<sup>49</sup> That princess, one of the few people with titles left in Mayfair, and one of ‘a mere thirteen residents (in) the lofty, red brick mansion flats of Down Street’ was Princess Pauline Melikoff.<sup>50</sup>

One morning, just a few days short of her 88<sup>th</sup> birthday, Princess Melikoff was at home in her Mayfair home, and was reading the newspaper in bed, when the porter came to the door.<sup>51</sup> The Princess was in her night clothing and it was a cold winter’s day. Three policemen had come to the apartment, and asked Henry England, the porter, if they could speak to the Princess in regard to some stolen property, which they hoped she might be able to identify. When he brought this message to her, Pauline told Mr England that she knew of no such property, but when he went back to the door the uniformed men pushed past him into the flat. A melee ensued, in which the Princess and the porter were tied up with stockings. The old lady had rings torn from her fingers as she watched the rest of her bedroom and living area being ransacked. Her elderly female companion, who was blind, was in her own room

---

<sup>47</sup> Carol Kennedy, *Mayfair: A Social History* London, 1986, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Carol Kennedy, *Mayfair*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>49</sup> Carol Kennedy, *Mayfair*, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Carol Kennedy, *Mayfair*, p. 273.

<sup>51</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine* Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.



listening to music and was unaware of the robbery that was taking place.<sup>52</sup> When Princess Melikoff was interviewed by a journalist from the *Australian Weekend* magazine a few days later, she said that:

One of the men tried to drag the rings off my fingers, but I told him he was hurting me so he let me do it. You know what it's like—it jolly well hurts to have rings dragged over your knuckles. He went to take one ring and I said 'Oh, please, no, don't take that one. It was a present from my mother.' So he didn't. They ransacked the place. I suppose they got away with \$40,000 worth of stuff. But a lot of it was just costume jewellery. My best pieces are in the bank.<sup>53</sup>

The men were armed and had clubbed the porter with a gun before tying him up. The Princess was convinced that she was to be strangled when one of the robbers approached her with a pair of silk stockings, but he used them to tie her up.<sup>54</sup> The old lady was left with bruises and scratches, but she went out to play Bridge that afternoon, because, as she explained to the journalist, 'Bridge is just the thing to ease the nerves.'<sup>55</sup>

The London *Times* described Pauline simply as 'the widow of a Russian prince', but the *Mercury* referred to her as the 'Belle of Tasmania' who had married her prince in a 'glittering ceremony.'<sup>56</sup> The picture that was portrayed in some media was of an old and frail woman, living with the vestiges of gentility—the Mayfair mansion flat, the butler and the live-in maid. But this view of frailty was not the impression gained by the journalist from the *Australian Weekend*, who wrote that the Princess was born in 1909 and, 'Despite (her) refusal to be photographed now

---

<sup>52</sup> *Times*, London, 5 Feb 1981.

<sup>53</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine* Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>54</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine* Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>55</sup> *Mercury* 7 February 1981, *Australian Weekend Magazine* Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>56</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 7 February 1981.

because she is 'too old' it is easy to see why she was known as the Belle of Tasmania. A tall, slim woman with pale blond hair and magnificent blue eyes, her appearance belies her 72 years as she glides around the flat in her smart Pucci dress.<sup>57</sup> Even more remarkable then, that she was in fact born in 1893, and was about to turn eighty-eight.

Princess Melikoff indicated to the journalist that she may go back to Tasmania to live permanently in 1983. Her collection of tapestry-covered, gilt framed chairs intrigued the journalist, who asked if the Princess would ship them all to Tasmania when she left England. 'No, no. I think I will take just one chair and the two French lamps with me', she said, 'I will probably live in a hotel in Hobart'. 'A change from Mayfair?' she was asked. 'Yes. But I like the idea of growing old at home, surrounded by people who will keep an eye on me' was her reply.<sup>58</sup>

Was this a fanciful idea, dreamt up on the spot as a revised date of birth seemed to have been? Perhaps not. The Princess had travelled until then, and a final voyage a couple of years later was apparently within her capabilities until the robbery, about which she may have seemed sanguine at the time, apparently did affect her confidence. According to one report, 'Friends say Princess Melikoff never quite recovered from the incident, living out her final days in seclusion.'<sup>59</sup>

The Princess died alone in London on 30 January 1988, a few days before her ninety-fifth birthday.<sup>60</sup> This was seven years after the robbery, and she seems to have

---

<sup>57</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine*, Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>58</sup> *Australian Weekend Magazine* Sydney, 14-15 March 1981.

<sup>59</sup> *Mercury* 28 February 1988.

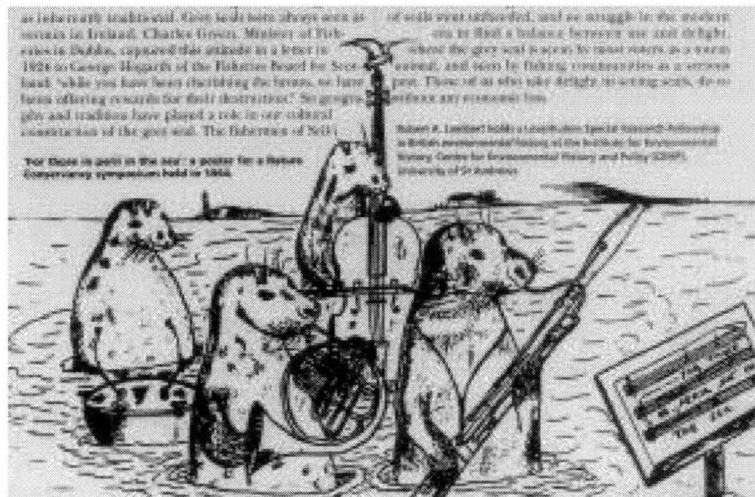
<sup>60</sup> *Mercury*, 28 February 1988.

spent these years in a different kind of exile, not having had the confidence to pack her two chairs and lamps and move back to Tasmania.

## Chapter Eight For those in peril in the sea

*Let your life lightly dance on the edges of Time  
like dew on the tip of a leaf.*

Rabindranath Tagore<sup>1</sup>



**Illustration 30 'For those in peril in the sea'**  
A poster for a Nature Conservancy symposium held in the  
United Kingdom in 1964.<sup>2</sup>

Before her death Princess Melikoff wrote two wills, which ensured that her name would survive and her wealth would be put to work in unusual ways. One will was drawn up in Hobart in 1982 and the other in London in 1985. Both related to considerable assets. The British will disposed of her Mayfair home, English share portfolio and personal effects, and left the bulk of this part of the estate to Greenpeace, the

<sup>1</sup> Rabindranath Tagore, from *The Gardener*, 1915, available as an electronic book from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, at <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/6686> accessed 22 June 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Image reproduced with permission of Dr Robert Lambert, from his article, 'Grey Seals', in *History Today*, vol 51, no. 6, 2001, pp. 30-32, and e-mail correspondence with author 31 January 2005.

conservation group. The Australian will established the Princess Melikoff Trust Fund to manage the income which continues to pour into Pauline's estate through her shares in the George Adams legacy, and directed the revenue to two beneficiaries, St Ann's Homes for the Aged, and the Tasmanian government wildlife protection services. The trust fund currently manages about fifteen million dollars.<sup>3</sup>

Princess Melikoff established an interest in St. Ann's through her sister Beatrice's support of the facility in the 1950s, and this was reinforced when Beatrice and a number of the princess's friends became residents of St Ann's in their later years.<sup>4</sup> St Ann's has benefited greatly from the trust fund, which came into effect as the Home was experiencing serious financial difficulties, and in 2003 St. Ann's dedicated a plaque in honour of the princess and her generosity, which has enabled extensive renovations to the facilities.<sup>5</sup> However, it seems that Pauline's greater interest was her desire to prevent the killing of baby seals and dolphins, and both wills reflect this. The Australian will reads, 'so that any income so received shall be applied and dealt with particular reference to the prevention of the practice of killing baby seals and dolphins' and the British will expresses her wishes that it should 'pay my debts, funeral and testamentary expenses and the legacies given by this my will...and hold the balance...upon trust absolutely for Greenpeace Environmental Trust'.<sup>6</sup>

There are several imaginable sources of influence on Princess Melikoff's decision to leave the bulk of her estate to saving marine mammals. These wills were written at the

---

<sup>3</sup> Tasmanian Perpetual Trustees Annual Report 2004/2005, available on the Internet at [http://www.tasmanianperpetual.com.au/images/pdf/tptl\\_ar05.pdf](http://www.tasmanianperpetual.com.au/images/pdf/tptl_ar05.pdf) p. 19. accessed 14 July 2006.

<sup>4</sup> 'Princess plaque unveiled' media release, 17 November 2003, archives of St. Ann's Homes Inc.

<sup>5</sup> 'Princess plaque unveiled' media release, 17 November 2003, archives of St. Ann's Homes Inc.

<sup>6</sup> Last Will and Testament of Princess Pauline Melikoff, (Tasmania), 8 March 1982, Archives Office of Tasmania, 79854, and Last Will and Testament of Princess Pauline Melikoff, (UK ), 26 November 1986, Court Services United Kingdom, Probate Registry, Search Reference 01/10/0017.

height of an international focus on the 'save the seal' campaigns, run by an unlikely combination of activists: Greenpeace and Brigitte Bardot. Because of her age and the added frailty caused by the home invasion, robbery and assault, the princess was now often confined to home and watching television, where she would have seen the media coverage of seal culling in Britain and Canada. This may have struck particular chords with her, as she had an affinity and love for animals. It is also possible that the appeal of baby seals touched her, as it did many others, in a particularly maternal way. This close connection between humans and seals forms a strong strand of mythology and folklore in coastal societies where seals, hunters and fisher-people have lived in close mutual subsistence. Then there was the strong connection that she had with the McGregor family in Hobart; pioneers of the Tasmanian shipping industry, and closely connected with whaling and sealing during the formation of the Colony.

Media coverage brought the plight of seal cubs to millions of people in their own homes, through television coverage that became more sophisticated and immediate towards the end of the 1970s. While protests against seal culling had received media coverage since the 1960s, the efforts of Greenpeace and Bardot in the late 1970s and early 1980s brought viewers closer to the blood-stained ice floes than they had been before. The television coverage was made possible by increasingly sophisticated technology, but also by the political astuteness of Greenpeace, and the newsworthiness and photogenic appeal of Bardot. The images of baby seal slaughter that were broadcast in these years are recognized as being particularly poignant and graphic television footage. Canadian anti-sealing campaigner, A J Cady, summed up the sentiment by writing, in 1997:

One of the most enduring images of animal protection is the angelic face of a baby harp seal, the epitome of innocence and helplessness. Thirty years ago, scenes of Canada's club-wielding sealers staining the ice with the blood of infant animals galvanized public opinion and generated worldwide calls for an end to such atrocities.<sup>7</sup>

Greenpeace commenced in Vancouver, Canada, in 1970; the product of a city that was home to many young American draft-resisters, influential Quakers versed in non-violent protest, and a strong subculture that drew hippies and radicals from all over Canada.<sup>8</sup> In describing the origins of Greenpeace, Frank Zelco adds that their maritime origins should not be underestimated, as it was the ocean-based protests against nuclear testing, whaling and sealing that shaped the development of tactics, and, 'This predilection for the high seas also predisposed the organization towards campaigns that transcended the boundaries of the nation-state.'<sup>9</sup> It also predisposed them towards domination by males who savoured the 'high-seas derring-do', according to Arn Keeling, who further describes them as 'muscular environmentalists' who believed their radical actions could save the world.<sup>10</sup> Along with the ever-present potential for egotism and conflict that came with this group was a particular affiliation with the media and the ability to gain considerable attention to the cause. The first Greenpeace mission in 1971 was to penetrate a pacific nuclear test site, and although in some ways unsuccessful the presence of two well-known journalists as crew members and, according to Zelco, a 'clearly defined media strategy that was at the crux of the campaign', set the tone for

---

<sup>7</sup> A J Cady, 'The Clubbing Continues', *Animals' Agenda*, vol. 17, no. 5, 1997, pp. 22-24. Cady's article refers to the renewed seal culling practices of recent years, despite the success of the earlier protests.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Zelco, 'Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia', *BC Studies*, no. 142/143, 2004, pp. 197-239.

<sup>9</sup> Frank Zelco, 'Making Greenpeace' p. 238.

<sup>10</sup> Arn Keeling in a review of four books: *Making Waves: the Origins and Future of Greenpeace* by Jim Bohlen; *Shadow Warrior: The Autobiography of David McTaggart, Founder of Greenpeace International*, by David McTaggart; *Seal Wars: Twenty Five Years on the Front Lines with the Harp Seals* by Paul Watson, and *Greenpeace to Amchitka: An Environmental Odyssey* by Robert Hunter; reviewed in *BC Studies*, no. 142/143, 2004, pp. 309-312.

Greenpeace *modus operandi* from then on.<sup>11</sup> Greenpeace filmed much of the striking television footage about their operations themselves, and supplied it ‘ready to go’ to the satellite television networks.<sup>12</sup> The strategies worked, and Greenpeace got the publicity that they sought, and which played a large part in the collapse of the fur seal trade.<sup>13</sup>

If this was the predominantly masculine side of seal and dolphin protection campaigns, Brigitte Bardot provided the feminine perspective. She played a powerful, but not straightforward role in stopping seal culling in Canada.

The French film star who had gained fame as a teenager in her ‘sex kitten’ roles, Bardot had developed a strong interest in animal rights, and she had been deeply affected by the television scenes of 1976 that showed the culling of baby seals by men wielding clubs.<sup>14</sup> Bardot had virtually retired from film making in the 1960s, and claimed affinity with hunted beasts, as she said that she knew what it was like to be hunted down by predators—the photographers who had pursued her for years.<sup>15</sup> Now, deeply moved by the plight of the *bébés phoques*, she helped make a documentary for French television, and agreed to fly to Newfoundland to confront the hunters during the next cull. Bardot withdrew from those plans, and demonstrated instead in Paris, in front of the Norwegian Embassy, and as a result of a rush of popular support she established the Brigitte Bardot

---

<sup>11</sup> Frank Zelco, *Making Greepeace*, p. 237; Stephen Dale’s book, *McLuhan’s Children: the Greenpeace Message and the Media*, examines this aspect of the organization’s operations, including the role of the Communications Department, or ‘media brain’, based in London. Noel Keogh reviews Stephen Dale’s *McLuhan’s Children: the Greenpeace Message and the Media, Between the Lines*, Toronto, 1996, (Review in *Alternatives*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1998, pp. 44-45.

<sup>12</sup> Noel Keogh reviews Stephen Dale’s *McLuhan’s Children*.

<sup>13</sup> It has been argued that the ‘black hat, white hat’ oversimplification of issues required in order to achieve this media coverage had an adverse effect on the organisation, and even on the cause, as there was bitter division within Greenpeace about what ‘angles’ to choose in order to get publicity, and a disincentive to finding compromises with the sealing communities. Mike Kaulbars makes this point in his review of Dale’s book in *Peace and Environment News*, December 1996-January 1997, accessed at <http://perc.ca/PEN/1996-12-01/review.html> on 20 March 05.

<sup>14</sup> Peter Haining, *Brigitte Bardot*, London, 1983, p. 202.

<sup>15</sup> Sean French, *Bardot*, London, 1994, p. 160.



Foundation for animal rights. Within months it had closed, with all its well-publicised plans coming to nothing and Bardot being subsequently lampooned in the international media.<sup>16</sup> Bardot did make the trip to Newfoundland a year later, and regained some credibility with the media and her sponsors. Franz Webber, from the International Fund for Animal Welfare, who had been with her on that trip, praised her bravery:

Since she dislikes long travel and fears flying, going to Canada with me was an act of courage for her. The ice and the blood of the seals frightened her badly. She couldn't have faced ice, helicopters and the press conference—because her very greatest fear may be of journalists—without great determination to fight to the end.<sup>17</sup>

This Bardot, timid and anxious, dedicated to preserving innocence and fearful of publicity, was not the Bardot portrayed in her movies: that Bardot was dangerous and potentially emasculating. Bardot had been considered a *femme fatale* in the movie world, and had been promoted as such by her first husband and director, Roger Vadim.<sup>18</sup> Vadim brought Bardot to the screen and made his mark on the movie world by promoting his twenty year old wife as being lustful, wilful and seductive. She was seen as a powerful force against artless men, and Vadim famously marketed her 'dangerous' sexuality in '*And God Created Woman*' in 1956.<sup>19</sup>

Just as Bardot had been seen in her earlier days as using her sexuality against innocent men, so she became known again in Canada, by those men who considered that she had taken away their livelihoods. Twenty years after *And God Created Woman*, Bardot's appearance on the ice floes had a profound affect on the working patterns and

---

<sup>16</sup> Peter Haining, *Brigitte Bardot*, pp. 202-03.

<sup>17</sup> Franz Webber, quoted in Peter Haining, *Brigitte Bardot*, pp. 204-205.

<sup>18</sup> Vadim was born Roger Vladimir Plemiannikov, the son of a Russian émigré in Paris. Barnett Singer, 'Bardot: The Making of a Femme Fatale', *Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 76, no. 4, 2000, p. 647.

<sup>19</sup> Carmen Ficarra, 'And God Created Vardim', *MovieMaker*, no. 38,

[http://www.moviemaker.com/issues/38/38\\_vadim.html](http://www.moviemaker.com/issues/38/38_vadim.html) accessed 25 March 2005.

income of indigenous Canadians. Inuit writer Alootook Ipellie describes history as being demarcated ‘before and after Brigitte Bardot’, and adds that if he had realised Brigitte Bardot was going to destroy the seal industry, he ‘would have taken her for a long ride in my dog team that day and told her about the realities of our lives as hunters and gatherers.’<sup>20</sup> Elvis Loder of Deep Harbour also comments on how for generations the men of that area risked their lives far out on the pack ice to hunt harp seals for the fur trade. ‘But that was before Brigitte Bardot...we didn’t think we were doing anything barbarous. Now there’s nothin’ fer them fellers here to do.’<sup>21</sup> One *femme fatale* cuddling a *bébé phoque* was more dangerous to some than many swashbuckling men in converted fishing trawlers.

Were there real-life connections between Princess Melikoff and Brigitte Bardot? There was a forty one year age difference, and so it is unlikely that they were close, but there is a strong mutual connection with the Riviera, where Bardot lived since the 1950s, and where Princess Melikoff remained a frequent visitor after her move to London. There was a particularly notable period between 1956 and 1958, on the French Riviera and neighbouring Monaco, when Bardot came to world attention in her sex kitten films, and movie star Grace Kelly lived out the Cinderella story for Americans by becoming Princess Rainier. It was the time that Princess Melikoff made frequent visits to the casinos of Monaco and the centre of the Riviera social scene.<sup>22</sup> It is probable that Bardot and Melikoff at least visited the same restaurants, parties, and casinos.

---

<sup>20</sup> Alootook Ipellie, *Arctic Dreams and Nightmares*, quoted in Richard Cavell, ‘White Technologies’, *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no.59, 1996, p. 209.

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Stephen Gorman, ‘Skidooing through Newfoundland’, *The World and I*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2003, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> *Mercury*, Hobart, 14 December 1958, published a social note about princess Melikoff’s recent visit to Tasmania, saying, ‘The much-travelled princess is a frequent visitor to the Riviera’. According to the Internet Movie Database Bardot appeared in nine movies in this period:

If Bardot pulled the strings of Pauline's heart, it was possible that they were maternal strings, as baby seals have been closely related to human infants, and that this identification was a motivating factor in her decisions regarding the estate. This close connection between humans and seals is at the heart of a rich mine of mythology, where the seals have been talked, sung and written into legend, their lives entwined around those of the men, women and children with whom they live in close proximity. The stories are complete with violence, unrequited love, longing, deserting parents and willful children, and the seals are often ascribed a magical quality that allows them to cross from human form or back in times of crisis, and usually with fateful consequences. Those taking on mortal form are known as selkies, and it was not uncommon for Celtic islanders to claim descent from them. One trope in selkie stories is that seal cubs and human infants have close affinity, and this is explored in *One Spared to the Sea*, a story by Orkney folklorists Nancy Cutt and W Towrie Cutt, which is the tale of a man who wants to take a seal pup home as a pet for his children:

At the edge of the rocks the mother seal splashed and sobbed in distress. When he glanced up, she was pulling herself clumsily back out of the water to lie moaning at the edge, her round eyes full of tears. The pup too gazed at him with soft blurred brown eyes, and nosed at his sleeve. Its little sleek round head was like a child's... 'Ach, selkie, take thee bairn and be gone wi' ye!' said Willie Westness aloud.<sup>23</sup>

Several years later, a rising tide catches Willie's small children as they collect cockles. Two grey-cloaked women whom they don't know, but who sing sweetly, carry

---

<http://us.imdb.com/name/nm0000003/#actress1950> accessed 27 March 2005. Annette Tapert says that Grace Kelly, 'The privileged daughter of a Philadelphia construction tycoon lived out a 20th-century Cinderella fantasy and her clothes always communicated the appropriate sartorial elegance. Ladylike pearls, gloves, sweater sets and chiffon gowns were a few of her signature pieces', 'Jackie, Audrey and Grace Would All Be 75 This Year' *Harper's Bazaar*, New York, Feb 2004, p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> Nancie Cutt and W Towrie Cutt, *The Hogboon of Hell and Other Strange Orkney Tales*, London, 1979, pp. 119-120.

them across to dry land, with a message for their father—‘one spared to the sea is three spared to the land.’<sup>24</sup> When the children look back from the foreshore there are no grey-cloaked women, just two seals swimming towards the point of Elness.<sup>25</sup>



**Illustration 31 One spared to the sea**  
Sigurd Towrie<sup>26</sup>

Another theme in the stories is the responsible culling of seals, and this trope reinforces interdependence, including the necessity for men to kill seals in order to survive, while acting as sanctions against wholesale or indiscriminate slaughter.<sup>27</sup> Seal slaughter on this scale was common throughout the world in the nineteenth century and Tasmania’s European settlement was marked by the harsh and often brutal conditions in which the seal trade was conducted, and the effects of the industry on the seal population.

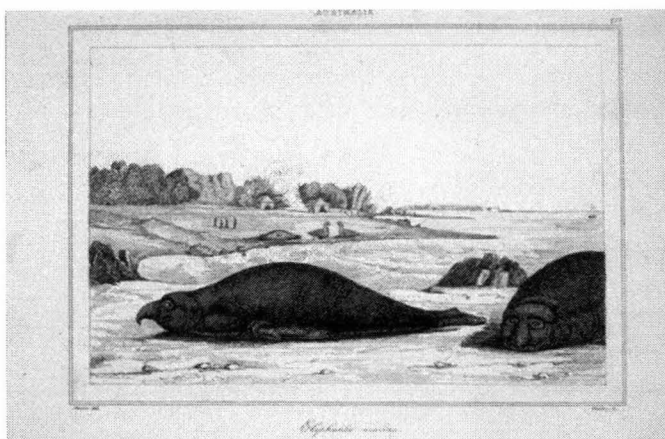
<sup>24</sup> Nancie Cutt and W Towrie Cutt, *The Hogboon of Hell*, p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> Nancie Cutt and W Towrie Cutt, *The Hogboon of Hell*, P. 123.

<sup>26</sup> This illustration by Sigurd Towrie of the Orkney story ‘One Spared to the Sea’ reproduced with the permission of the artist, e-mail correspondence with author, 31 March 2005, and is from the Website <http://www.orkneyjar.com/folklore/selkiefolk/spared.htm> accessed 28 March 2005.

<sup>27</sup> In the tale of ‘The Seal Hunter and the Mermen’, collected by Manning-Sanders, the man who earns his money by hunting seals and selling their skins is not remorseful, because he had always killed seals for his living. One day he is taken under the sea to the mermen, whose king is a great seal that the man has injured. Now, underwater, the hunter magically heals the mer-king, and in exchange he is allowed to return to earth on promise that he never kills another seal. With this agreed, he is sent home with enough gold to buy a farm. Ruth Manning-Sanders, *Scottish Folk Tales*, London, 1976 pp. 117-125.

Sealing began in the waters of Van Diemen's Land as early as 1791, and from the time the explorers Bass and Flinders sailed through Bass Strait in 1798 the industry was given an impetus because of the number of small islands in that area that had large populations of fur seals and sea elephants.<sup>28</sup> From these early days it was the custom for boats to remain in Bass Strait for long periods while the crews killed seals and traded them, at first to vessels that were *en route* to China and to England where the skins were used in millinery.<sup>29</sup> The oil of the seals and sea elephants was also exported, and the combined trade of skins and oil became Australia's first important export staple.<sup>30</sup>



**Illustration 32 Elephant seals on King Island, 1836**

<sup>28</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*, transcript, 1929, NS1/1/36, Archives Office of Tasmania, (AOT).

The following information about Fur Seal and Sea Elephants (otherwise known as Elephant Seals) was provided by the Tasmanian Department of Primary Industry, Water and Environment, and is available online at <http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au> accessed 25 April 2005. 'The Australian fur seal (*Arctocephalus pusillus*) is the world's fourth- rarest seal species. Hunted to the brink of extinction last century, population recovery has been slow, and seals are now wholly protected.'

<http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/WebPages/BHAN-53K77E?open> accessed 25 April 2005.

'Southern elephant seals (*Mirounga leonina*) are the largest of all seals with males reaching 4-5 m in length and 3 500 kg in weight. Southern elephant seals once bred in Tasmania on King Island but were wiped out by the sealing industry. The closest breeding area of elephant seals is Macquarie Island. Here, there is an estimated population of 86,000 animals. However, the population is declining at a rate of 2.5% per annum.'

<http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/WebPages/BHAN-53K6XV?open> accessed 25 April 2005.

<sup>29</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*, transcript, 1929, NS1/1/36, AOT.

<sup>30</sup> Stephen Murray-Smith, ed. *Mission to the Islands: the Missionary Voyages in Bass Strait of Canon Marcus Brownrigg, 1872-1885*, Launceston, 1987, p. 70 (footnote 47).

Captain Phillip King, who was Governor of New South Wales from 1800 to 1806, was so concerned about the destruction of the seal colonies that he considered placing restrictions on the numbers of sealers and the times of year that they could operate in the Strait, as he was aware that a valuable commercial resource was being decimated.<sup>32</sup> But Sydney was a long way from the Bass Strait islands, where unruly seamen from the colonies, as well as French and American sealing expeditions, which supplemented their crews with escaped convicts, were left unchecked in the remote waters.<sup>33</sup> The sealers were often set ashore on the small rocky islands of the Strait for as long as two years, and they frequently ran short of supplies, leading to robbery and piracy.<sup>34</sup> In 1805 some regulations were put in place to protect the sealing grounds, but more importantly to protect the conditions of the sealers, and the wives and children whom they left behind in Van Diemen's Land, unsupported.<sup>35</sup>

It is claimed that between 1800 and 1806 over a hundred thousand seal skins were obtained.<sup>36</sup> One account from these early years told of indiscriminate killing, where three hundred seal pups were left to 'perish on the beach for want of their mothers.'<sup>37</sup> By the 1830s the seal populations had been decimated, because of callous and random harvest practices. The end of this period of Van Diemen's Land's history saw the beginning of another, with the whaling industry becoming established in Hobart's Derwent River.

---

<sup>31</sup> Chaillot, Danvin and Domeny de Rienzi, 'Elephants marins', 1836, reproduced with permission State Library of Tasmania

<sup>32</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*.

<sup>33</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*.

<sup>34</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*.

<sup>35</sup> L C Murray, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*.

<sup>36</sup> Lyndall Ryan *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, St Lucia, 1982, p. 66.

<sup>37</sup> L Norman, *Pioneer Shipping of Tasmania: Whaling, Sealing, Piracy, Shipwrecks etc in Early Tasmania*, first published 1938, reprint 1989, Hobart, p. 21.

Princess Melikoff would have been aware of Tasmania's of the bleak sealing and whaling history. Through the marriage of her sister Beatrice, Pauline was closely connected to the McGregor family, who built their fame and fortune on sealing, whaling and shipping enterprises in Hobart. Alexander McGregor, who married Beatrice, had grown up during the time that Hobart's whaling industry was significant but declining, as his father built many of the ships, and his uncle was the last person to send a captain and crew out of the Derwent for the chase.<sup>38</sup> His childhood and young adult life had been dominated by the knowledge of a declining resource, stories of blood and gore and a species hunted almost to extinction, where the whale oil was no longer highly sought, and it was hard to find men willing to put to sea for the dangerous occupation. Pauline maintained a life-long closeness and affection for Beatrice, and for Alexander McGregor, the brother-in-law who walked her down the aisle on her wedding day.<sup>39</sup>

Pauline knew about the effects of brutalizing species of marine animals until they were hunted almost out of existence, while mothers tried to shelter their young, where rocks and sea ran red with blood. Half-remembered stories and photographs must have made visitation when, alone in her mansion flat in London's Mayfair, she watched Brigitte Bardot lisping her way through a song about the *bebes phoques*; saw the Greenpeace media campaigns at their height, and heard about the 1985 bombing of the *Rainbow Warrior*, the ship that had lead many anti-whaling and sealing campaigns.<sup>40</sup> Pauline wrote her wills during this period, and, as she considered how to settle her affairs, the strands of her life came together—the Tasmanian childhood, the Riviera social life,

---

<sup>38</sup> Harry O'May *Wooden Hookers of Hobart Town*, second impression, Hobart, 1978 pp. 92-95.

<sup>39</sup> Two of Pauline's brothers attended the wedding, but she chose Alexander McGregor to fulfil the role. *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail*, Hobart 27 January 1926.

<sup>40</sup> B. K. Greener-Barcham, 'Before September: A History of Counter-terrorism in New Zealand', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 37, no. 3, (2002), pp. 509-524.

her love of animals, her childlessness and her wealth. The disappointments that she had encountered throughout her long life had been well hidden from the world. The anxiety inherent in her convict ancestry and ignoble naming; the disappearance of her fiancé, Captain Fitzgerald; the humiliation of Prince Maximilian's public bankruptcy and the obvious failure of the marriage, had all been managed with poise and elegance, and she had achieved a public image that she did not wish to give up, even in death. Even past that inevitable day, Pauline Curran wanted to be remembered as Princess Melikoff, a woman with sufficient *savoir faire* to succeed in the centre of the Empire. In establishing Tasmanian Trust Fund she ensured that her name would continue to dance lightly on the edge.



## Postscript: Cinderella and Tasmania's Princesses

*Once upon a time there was a beautiful Australian commoner called Mary who fell in love with a handsome young prince named Frederik. Frederik was from Denmark, where the royal family is worshipped. Mary was from Tasmania, where Ricky Ponting is worshipped. Though Frederik probably wouldn't know Ricky Ponting if he fell over him and though Sydney resident Mary is nothing like a Dane, Frederik asked for his fair Mary's hand in marriage. He was royal and she common but all the land of Denmark rejoiced. And Australia was pretty chuffed too. Here's where the story should read: "And they lived happily ever after." But the life of the modern Cinderella is no fairy tale and Mary Donaldson has enormous glass slippers to fill.*

Julietta Jameson and Bruce Wilson, Daily Telegraph, 27 September 2003<sup>1</sup>

Before 14 May 2004, Princess Melikoff was Tasmania's little-known, but only, princess. Then, Tasmanian woman, Mary Donaldson, married the Crown Prince of Denmark, and international attention focused on the island at the bottom of the world. Stories of two other 'Tasmanian' women, Merle Oberon and Myrtle Jones, and their claims to fame, fortune or nobility, have also been brought to attention recently, in a way that reinforces the transformation genre. There appears to be an emerging genre of stories of titled Tasmanian women, with elements of the exotic, the distant, the naïve and innocent, which at best can be beguiling, but wherein lies an element of 'status anxiety', and a risk that one's humble beginnings will be revealed and held to ridicule.<sup>2</sup> There is an added element of Tasmania itself as a metaphor for Cinderella, portrayed as the overlooked, ashen-clad, and underestimated jewel of the south.

---

<sup>1</sup> Julietta Jameson and Bruce Wilson, 'Class rules - How Mary Donaldson is being trained for life as the Queen of Denmark - Working all Dane and night to be fit for a king', *Telegraph*, 27 September 2003, accessed at <http://rasmusheide.dk/journalist/tele-mary.html> 15 May 2004

<sup>2</sup> Alain de Botton, *Status Anxiety*, Melbourne, 2004

The need for Tasmanians to ‘invent’ glamorous women in order to elevate the status of the whole island is inherent in the story of Merle Oberon. While reliable research has proven that Oberon was not born in Tasmania, there are many who refuse to believe this, and who hold fast to the position that she was a glamorous daughter of the furthest shores of the Empire. Oberon was born in Bombay, India, in 1911; an Anglo Indian child whose early poverty was assuaged by her beauty and precocious nature.<sup>3</sup> While younger than Princess Melikoff, it is possible that they met, when Oberon joined the Riviera set in 1929. According to biographers Higham and Moseley, Oberon arrived there having met a film producer in India and, over the course of her life from then on, ‘at every opportunity she would return and make the Hotel du Cap or the Hotel de Paris in Monte Carlo her home.’<sup>4</sup> Here, they say, Oberon joined the ‘rich and beautiful people of the Roaring Twenties (who) giddily pursued a circuit of excitement and pleasures, swirling through Cannes, Antibes, and Nice to Monte Carlo—the hub of society, complete with the most popular gambling casino in Europe.’<sup>5</sup> As Pauline and Max were often at that Casino, one wonders if they ever discussed Tasmania—as Merle Oberon was now launched upon her film career as a daughter of that southern and remote place.

Why Tasmania? According to her biographers, Oberon was forced to live a lie, as no woman of mixed race could become a film star in those days, ‘because the idea of suggested miscegenation was repellant to the powerful women’s clubs and religious groups that controlled the audience, she had to pretend, on studio instructions, to be

---

<sup>3</sup> Charles Higham and Moseley, Roy, *Princess Merle: The romantic life of Merle Oberon*, New York, 1983, pp. 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Higham and Moseley, Roy, *Princess Merle*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Higham and Moseley, Roy, *Princess Merle*, p. 37.

white.’<sup>6</sup> In Tasmania, according to writer Nicholas Shakespeare, ‘the story was swallowed, hook, line, and sinker.’<sup>7</sup> Merle Oberon had been christened, in India, Estelle Merle O’Brien Thompson—her father, Arthur Thompson, died at the Somme during the First World War.<sup>8</sup> Her strategy was to keep the name, but invent stories of a dashing English major, Thompson, who was stationed in Tasmania at the time of her birth, who subsequently died, but whose relatives ensured that she went to the best schools, in Paris, London, and Darjeeling.<sup>9</sup> Coincidentally, in Tasmania, a man named J W Thompson apparently sired an illegitimate child with a woman of Chinese descent, Lottie Chintock.<sup>10</sup> Tasmanians were able to cobble together Merle’s publicity stories and the gossip about the Tasmanian east coast hotel keeper and his housemaid, sufficiently well to ensure that there was general acceptance of Oberon’s accounts of her background. Or perhaps, as suggested by this photograph, Merle was the legitimate daughter of another Tasmanian, Constable Richard Thompson?

---

<sup>6</sup> Charles Higham and Moseley, Roy, *Princess Merle*, p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Shakespeare, *In Tasmania*, Sydney, 2004.

<sup>8</sup> Charles Higham and Moseley, Roy, *Princess Merle*, p. 37.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas Shakespeare, *In Tasmania*, p. 297.

<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Shakespeare, *In Tasmania*, pp. 303-307.



**Illustration 33 photograph of Constable Thompson and family,  
including child claimed to be Merle Oberon.**  
Archives Office of Tasmania<sup>11</sup>

A recent documentary film, *The Trouble with Merle*, added further evidence to the findings of Higham and Moseley, with validation of Merle's Indian birth certificate, and Shakespeare has since discredited the explanation that Lottie could have given birth to Merle.<sup>12</sup> Oberon came to Tasmania once towards the end of her life, in 1978, and collapsed at a civic reception in her honour, after apparently saying to the gentleman who walked her up the Town Hall steps, 'It's probably a bad time to bring up the fact I wasn't born in Tasmania.'<sup>13</sup>

Still, there are many Tasmanians who refuse to believe that Merle was not their own shining Hollywood star, and who claim to have known her well as a child.<sup>14</sup> Tasmanians needed Merle Oberon, in the same way that they needed Princess Melikoff. 'In Tasmania

<sup>11</sup> Historical Tasmanian Photographs, photograph of Constable Richard John Thompson and family, including child claimed to be Merle Oberon, PH30/1/9329, reproduced with permission of the Archives Office of Tasmania.

<sup>12</sup> Marée Delofski, *The Trouble with Merle*, Australian Broadcasting Corporation, 2002, information about the film is available at <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/documentaries/stories/s657300.htm> accessed 16 May 2006

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas Shakespeare, *In Tasmania*, p. 298.

<sup>14</sup> *Sunday Tasmanian*, Hobart, 21 July 2002.

we tell stories to reassure ourselves we have not slipped unnoticed over the rim of the world', writes Cassandra Pybus about the Oberon mythology.<sup>15</sup>

Accounts of Merle Oberon's life are infused with elements of class, race, gender, status, empire and belonging, many of which resonate in the story of another Tasmania woman, Myrtle Jones, and her claim to nobility through marriage, which has been revealed recently in Carmen Callil's book, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family and Fatherland*.<sup>16</sup> This work presents biographies of Jones, her husband, Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, the French Nazi collaborator and 'Commissioner for Jewish Affairs', and their daughter, Anne Darquier. Myrtle Jones was born in the same year as Pauline Curran, 1893, in Launceston, Tasmania.<sup>17</sup> Pauline and Myrtle both had middle class backgrounds which had been established from relatively recent convict heritage. Myrtle's father, Henry, was the grandchild of male and female convicts, on his father's and mother's sides of the family. He married Myrtle's mother, Alexandrina (Lexie) who was the granddaughter of a free settler, and who instilled strong, conservative, middle class values on her children and into her marriage—according to Callil she brought a 'severe form of gentility' into the marriage.<sup>18</sup> Myrtle was the second of nine children, most of whom prospered as a result of the increasing fortunes of their father and the strict emphasis of their mother on manners, music, deportment, social contacts and education.<sup>19</sup> Myrtle, it seems, was the unruly one, who left Tasmania at the age of twenty two, to make her fortune as an actress and singer.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Cassandra Pybus quoted in Nicholas Shakespeare, *In Tasmania*, p. 298.

<sup>16</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family and Fatherland*, London, 2006.

<sup>17</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family and Fatherland*, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>19</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 27-30.

<sup>20</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith* p. 30.

Callil's substantial book details Myrtle's slide into misery after she married Louis Darquier de Pellepoix, who invented part of his impressive name, and the title of 'Baron', to go with the changed name. Darquier was cruel to Myrtle, who became an alcoholic; she wrote frequent begging letters to both her Tasmanian family and his French one, detailing the violence to which she was subjected, and requesting money for food and rent. Into this relationship was born Anne, in 1930, who, at the age of three months was given into the care of a nurse and virtually abandoned by both parents.<sup>21</sup> When Anne became an adult and learnt of her father's war crimes, for which he was sentenced to death, she did not forgive him, but spoke openly of her hatred for him and all he represented.<sup>22</sup> Callil claims that this caused resentment between Anne and her Tasmanian relatives, who had provided financial support as the child grew, because, 'Myrtle's siblings continued to view her as a glittering European baroness whose grandeur and style illuminated the salons of cosmopolitan society.'<sup>23</sup> The Jones family remained in denial of the truth of their sister's misery, at least publicly, and Anne was marginalised, because she 'saw her mother as an alcoholic and worse, and her father as a war criminal. The Jones family did not find Anne easy to deal with.'<sup>24</sup> Anne, who became a psychiatrist, died from misadventure associated with a mixture of barbiturates and alcohol, a few days after her fortieth birthday.<sup>25</sup>

The story of Myrtle Jones has been described by Callil as the 'fairytale for the Jones family' through which they lived out their collective desire for class, prestige and recognition—'Their Myrtle was a creature whose vibrant personality was little suited to

---

<sup>21</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith* pp. 72-74 re Anne's birth; throughout re the domestic violence and alcoholism.

<sup>22</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 398-400.

<sup>23</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, p. 398.

<sup>24</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, p. 404.

<sup>25</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 421-422.

their small island, a sister who could only flourish on a larger stage, and who happily found this in a great, aristocratic European love affair.<sup>26</sup> While the Jones family is made to appear pathetic, short-sighted and gratuitous in their support of Myrtle, Callil has captured something of the Tasmanian desire for acceptance on the world stage, and the anxiety that it may come undone.

The similarities between this story and that of Pauline Curran are considerable, as are the differences. Both couples, for example, set up home in Mayfair in the late 1920's. The greatest difference is, perhaps, in their access to money. Myrtle was assured of a good inheritance, until the Wall Street crash of 1929 destroyed her family's wealth.<sup>27</sup> She and Louis crept out of Mayfair owing considerable sums to hotel proprietors, and in 1930 they appeared before the courts because of Louis's failure to register as an alien, and his inability to prove that he could support himself and his dependants. (Here Callil appears not to appreciate that Myrtle was also an alien, through marriage, even though both Baron and Baroness appeared in court.)<sup>28</sup> Pauline had an independent income that remained strong throughout the troubled times of the 1930s, and when her husband faced the courts as a bankrupt alien, she remained in the Mayfair apartment, and kept up her society engagements. Arguably it is this wealth, above all else, that gave her a position of power and independence, which she was able to maintain no matter how embarrassing the marriage became. It was therefore easier for those in both Mayfair and Tasmanian society to accept her in her own right, as a princess, as she had the means to shore up the title with all the necessary accoutrements, including the right address, wardrobe, and jewellery.

---

<sup>26</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, p.31.

<sup>27</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>28</sup> Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith*, pp. 70-73.

Tasmania had to wait seventy-seven years between its royal weddings. Mary Donaldson, unlike Pauline Curran, married the heir to a throne, and she usurped the position of Crown Princess from all the eligible young women in Europe. She was a commoner and unknown in European society. As the date of the Danish royal wedding drew near, Cinderella references were to be expected, and tales and dreams of transformation proliferated: the six-year-old girls at the Hobart school that Ms Donaldson had attended as a child were asked about their career aspirations. Their school teacher reported that, 'In class we've been talking about what they want to do when they grow up. They say they want to be princesses.'<sup>29</sup>

Internet searches at the time of the wedding revealed many comparisons between Mary Donaldson and Cinderella, and with other modern Cinderella princesses.<sup>30</sup> There were warnings about what may be ahead, and Princess Diana parables were inevitable; there were also comparisons with Princess Masako of Japan, whose husband, Prince Naruhito attended the Danish wedding alone, as if to underscore the potential underside of the fairy story—his wife apparently struggling with nervous indisposition and unable to travel.<sup>31</sup> In the *Times of India*, Mary Donaldson's promotion to princess was compared with the Cinderella-like political ascension of Sonia Gandhi, who, on the day of the Danish wedding, led the Congress party to victory in the Indian elections. 'The most glorious fairytale aspect of it all', wrote journalist Rashmee Ahmed, 'is that this rather

---

<sup>29</sup> Jane Krupp, school teacher, quoted in the *Saturday Mercury* 27 September 2003.

<sup>30</sup> A simple search with the words Mary Donaldson Cinderella, not linked through quotation marks, revealed 6,000 'hits' on 1 May 2004, a fortnight before the wedding. Two days later the number had doubled, and on 12 May 04 it peaked at 40,800, before starting to fall off again. Mary Donaldson Cinderella searches using Google Search Engine, Internet, were carried out at <http://www.google.com.au/search?q=mary+donaldson+cinderella&ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&hl=en&btnG=Google+Search&meta=> between 1 May 2004 and 19 June 2004 inclusive.

<sup>31</sup> Julia Baird, '...but then the Clock Struck Reality', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 15 May 2004.



reserved, awkward, taciturn, private and uncharismatic daughter of an Italian builder should have reached this point.’<sup>32</sup>

Underestimation of female power is a core element of the Cinderella story. On one hand society sees the maiden as almost a sacrificial object, dressed up and going passively to a marriage ‘above her station’ and where she is being rewarded for virtues of modesty and for her beauty. On the other, she is seen as a proud and worthy woman of the world who will put her own mark on society. When the *Australian Women’s Weekly* ran an article entitled ‘Prince Charming’ about the relationship of Crown Prince Frederick of Denmark and Mary Donaldson, the cover of the same magazine asked, ‘Exclusive: Prince Frederick—Is he good enough for our Mary?’<sup>33</sup> This contemporary example illustrates the dichotomy. According to Micael Clarke:

in the final analysis the Cinderella tale offers two apparently conflicting perspectives on women’s roles. On the one hand, Cinderella does seem to teach that humility, obedience, and long-suffering acceptance of household drudgery will be rewarded through marriage and living happily ever after, in triumph over all those competitive other women.<sup>34</sup>

On the other, Clarke says, is the goddess, the powerful guardian of the sacred fires, who causes us to question whether she is ‘good’, or an ambitious, clever, even scheming person who makes the prince bow to who she truly is, a clever and strong girl in an ash-stained dress.<sup>35</sup>

Ambivalence, dichotomy, the quest for power and recognition, perceptions of worthiness or otherwise, and underpinning anxiety are elements of the transformative

---

<sup>32</sup> Rashmee Z Ahmed, ‘A Tail of two Fairy Tales’, *Times of India*, 15 May 2004.

<sup>33</sup> *Australian Women’s Weekly*, November, 2003 p. 43 and cover.

<sup>34</sup> Micael Clarke, ‘Bronte’s Jane Eyre and the Grimms’ Cinderella’, *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2000, p. 704.

<sup>35</sup> Micael Clarke, ‘Bronte’s Jane Eyre and the Grimms’ Cinderella’, p. 703.

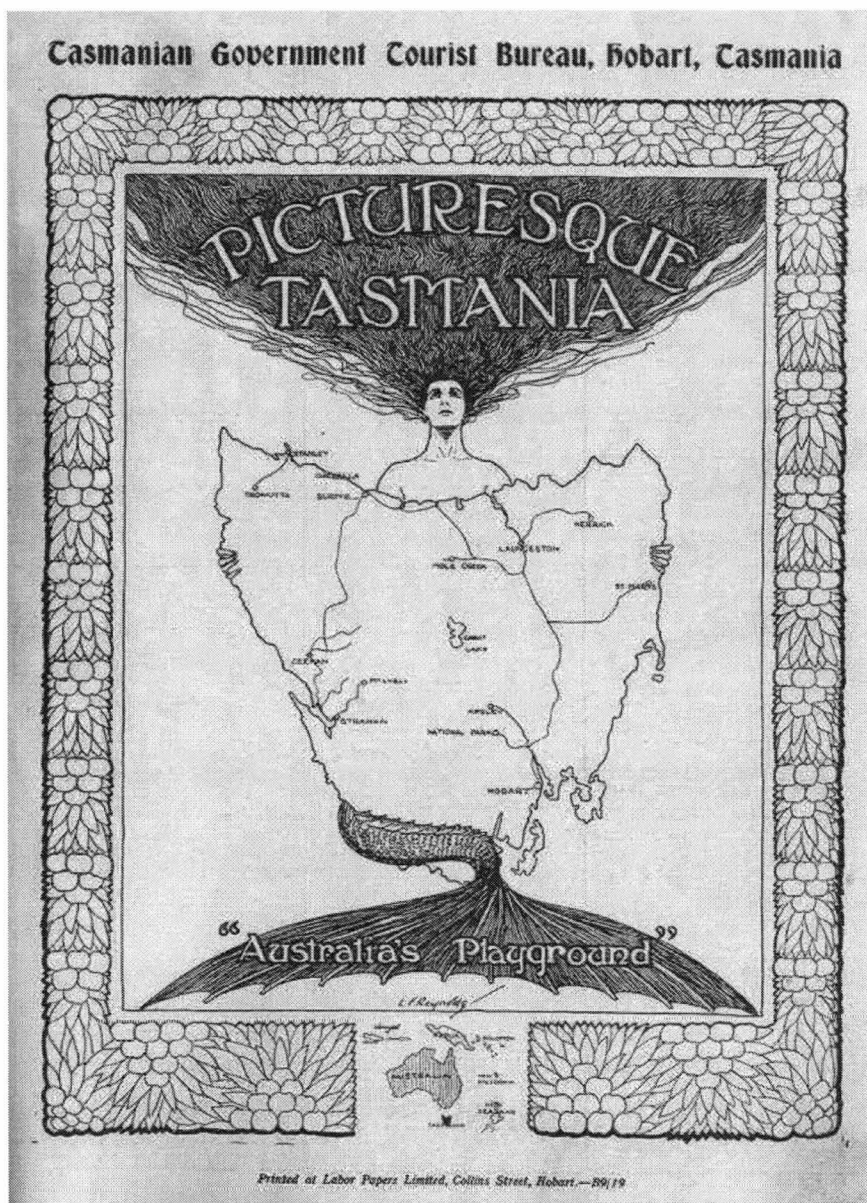
tales of Pauline Curran, Mary Donaldson, Merle Oberon and Myrtle Jones. There are elements of the fairytale coming true in these stories, but with an underlying maze of manners, class, race and gender that affects outcomes.

But what of that other Cinderella allusion— is there a hint there that Tasmania is also a Cinderella in these stories? The connection has certainly been made: one journalist, Jim Schembri, proclaimed that, ‘Everybody loves a Tasmanian. Everybody loves a princess. Everybody loves a big fat royal wedding. The fusion of Mary Donaldson, former Tasmanian advertising account manager, to Prince Frederik of Denmark, gave us all three.’<sup>36</sup> Another journalist, John Fitzgerald, announced that ‘Mary and Tasmania pass the test as the wedding day nears.’<sup>37</sup> Tasmania, it is inferred, is somehow tatty, unsophisticated, at the bottom of the world somewhere, but worthy of recognition for her true virtues: trees, rivers and niche-market fine wine and food.

---

<sup>36</sup> Jim Schembri, the Age, ‘Wedding Blues’ Melbourne, 20 May 2004.

<sup>37</sup> John Fitzgerald, ‘Mary and Tasmania pass the test as the wedding day nears’. ABC Tasmania Online news, 12 May 2004, accessed at <http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1106660.htm> 14 June 04.



**Illustration 34 Picturesque Tasmania**  
State Library of Tasmania <sup>38</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Picturesque Tasmania: 'Australia's playground' (1920), In *Picturesque Tasmania*, vol.1, no.1, January 1920, *Picturesque Tasmania* was issued monthly by the Tasmanian Tourist Bureau, Hobart. The front cover for the first six months of 1920 featured a powerful and strong mermaid, each month in a different colour. Reproduced with permission of the State Library of Tasmania.

## Conclusion: Wishful Thinking

*Fairy tales are indeed still criticized—and with reason—for the easy lies, the crass materialism, the false hopes they hold out, but in the last decade of the century, in conditions of radical change on one hand, and stagnation on the other, with ever increasing fragmentation and widening polarities....and the need to belong grows ever more rampant as it becomes more frustrated, there has been a strongly marked shift towards fantasy as a mode of understanding, as an ingredient in survival, as a lever against the worst aspects of the status quo and the directions it is taking.*

Marina Warner, 1994<sup>1</sup>

The thesis aimed to construct a biography of Princess Pauline Melikoff; a story of transformation, about life on the edges and in the centre of the British Empire, which would have a social binding effect and would infuse some colours into the pages of history. Using Marina Warner's metaphor of the egg yolk in tempera, the aim was to create a narrative that would connect those who may hear it to a broader palette of themes, ideas and experiences.<sup>2</sup> As the research progressed, that palette became coloured with aspects of class, identity, diaspora and citizenship, travel and its symbolism. There were discoveries that related particularly to Princess Melikoff, and which allowed a more complete portrait of her and the influences on her life, and there were others that supported tropes of post colonialism, ornamentalism, and Tasmanian identity.

The major challenge was inherent in the hypothesis that it is a valid process of historiography to write a biography of a lesser known or subaltern character, where that biography will add to a body of knowledge about the individual, and about society—there were few records on which to base a robust biography. No letters or diaries were available. Before this thesis commenced, the main sources of information about Princess Melikoff were a few paragraphs in a booklet produced by local historian, Don Norman;

---

<sup>1</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, London, 1995 p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde*. P. 414.

and a one page article in the Tasmanian magazine *Forty Degrees South*, which writer, Danielle Wood, had based on the Don Norman material.<sup>3</sup> The thesis methodology took account of the slim records, and enough primary evidence was uncovered in newspapers, wills, birth, death, marriage and other archival records, to piece together a chronological and thematic account of the Princess's life. The methodology was also informed by the position argued by Cannadine and others, that history, popular culture and literature should intersect, and by Painter and others on the use of photographs and images when constructing biographies of lesser-known subjects.<sup>4</sup> Secondary sources, including novels and other biographies, therefore enabled the primary evidence to be attached to a broader tapestry of historical events and subjects. The thesis achieved its first aim, as there is a progression from parents' backgrounds to Pauline's birth; her first betrothment, and abandonment; her overseas travel and engagement, the royal wedding, her married life and old age. While there are many unanswered questions, a little-known life has been extracted from the archive.

Uncovering the prince's story was also a challenge as he left few traces, yet the methodology allowed the attachment of those meagre records to the rich literature of Russian revolutionary and émigré literature. The palette and the tempera were used while being careful not to create a counterfeit by using fiction as a literary device to fill in the gaps. This thesis is therefore positioned as a work of history rather than creative non fiction.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Norman, Don, *More of Don Norman's old photographs and a little about himself and others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?), Wood, Danielle, 'The Princess and the Seal Pup', *Forty Degrees South: Tasmania and Beyond*, no. 11, 1998-99, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Cannadine, David. *G. M. Trevelyan: A Life in History*, London, 1992, p. 33; Nell Irvin Painter, 'Ut Pictura Poesis' in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, p. 126.

<sup>5</sup> This is at variance with, for example, Carmen Callil, who, when not able to obtain a photograph of a particular person, William Jones, inserted one of an unrelated person into her recent book, with the note

Representatives of the two major beneficiaries of the Princess Melikoff Trust Fund, St Ann's Homes for the Aged, and the Department of Primary Industry, Water and Environment, expressed interest in knowing more about their benefactor. In uncovering the story and constructing a narrative about Princess Melikoff, those beneficiaries have been assisted. In uncovering the life of Prince Melikoff, the author has assisted the Georgian Assembly of Nobility, after being contacted by their representative, David Gigauri, who is gathering information on the diaspora.<sup>6</sup>

The broader aim of the thesis was to direct those who may hear the story towards a range of subjects, many of which interconnect. The thesis has achieved this, by suggesting that Pauline and Max provide examples of individuals who are affected by, and who influence, aspects of class and gender, legitimate and illegitimate wealth, citizenship, imperial centres and peripheries, travel and its symbolism, colonial anxiety and Tasmanian identity.

Stories such as this one are often told as stories of transformation, offering an allegory to others, that by good living and good fortune they may also be plucked from the mundane to become special. Pauline Curran was an ordinary Hobart girl, from a middle class family, who may well have sunk into obscurity as a married woman, and mother; or as a spinster; consigned to the role of maiden aunt by the ravages of World War One. Her luck brought her wealth, and her wealth bought her a ticket out of this obscurity and allowed her to marry a prince; it gave her entry into a titled existence in Mayfair, and the means to ensure her perpetuity through the Trust Fund, when she had no

---

that 'Will Jones would have looked just like this on his enlistment in September 1915.' Carmen Callil, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family and Fatherland*, London, 2006, photographs between pp. 102 and 103.

<sup>6</sup> David Gigauri, correspondence with author, 10 February 2005 and 17 February 2005.

children to carry on her name. It is a Cinderella story and as such it appeals to all who harbour dreams of being elevated from the ordinary. Pauline's wealth came from the Tattersall's legacy, and today advertisements with the 'Tatts me out of here' message convey the transformation dream to all potential Lotto ticket buyers.<sup>7</sup>

In many ways it is remarkable that Pauline gained and kept this acceptance in Mayfair society, as it was plain to all that the Princess was a colonial woman whose wealth was gained from the proceeds of gambling, and whose stateless prince was bankrupt and often sleeping rough on park benches. While Cannadine's explanations of changing class in Britain are a useful backdrop to explaining how this may have been so, it appears that Pauline learnt the ways of being a princess quite effectively, and was able, by her manner, dress and decorum, to maintain her position once she made her first steps inside the ballrooms of inter-war London. She therefore retains her individuality, as well as her appeal as an exemplar of wider social phenomena.

In some ways it remained an ordinary life, as the princess did not contribute in any meaningful way to public service during her lifetime. The biography explains that she was prohibited from any public roles, because of her legal status on marriage—alien, or 'Heimatlos'. One of the most significant discoveries was Pauline's citizenship status, and in this aspect of ambiguity in her life—being at once a princess and ostracised from membership of her own country and empire—she provides an example of a still under-acknowledged aspect of the history of nationhood, and women's suffrage. Pauline Curran

---

<sup>7</sup> BreakEven Secretariat, a problem gambling service in Melbourne, is concerned that 'supposedly harmless messages like 'Tatts me out of here' convey the idea that gambling can solve one's financial and associated problems or even enable people to escape from the mundaneness of life', and should be balanced by messages on gaming machines, such as, 'Do the kids need to be picked up.' *Responsible Gaming: The Issues For Consultation* submission by BreakEven Secretariat, Victoria, 14 April 2000, available at [http://www.dtf.vic.gov.au/DTF/RWP323.nsf/bdbe2670498cb2314a2565f5002cc1b7/4ece0bd7730e6df44a2569e600162736/\\$FILE/sn87.pdf](http://www.dtf.vic.gov.au/DTF/RWP323.nsf/bdbe2670498cb2314a2565f5002cc1b7/4ece0bd7730e6df44a2569e600162736/$FILE/sn87.pdf) accessed 21 May 2006.

was affected by the citizenship laws of the first half of the twentieth century, and this note of historical interest in the status of women has some contemporary currency, as issues of citizenship still govern eligibility to basic services and rights in Western society.

By uncovering the story of Miss Margaret O'Grady, daughter of the governor of Tasmania, and constructing the narrative of Pauline and Margaret crossing the world in opposite directions as they reinvented themselves, from the ordinary to the notable, the trope of imperial edges and centres is illustrated, as each un-remarkable young woman is remade. Their stories provide further examples to illustrate the work of Ros Pesman and Angela Woollacott, on colonial women and travelling. In particular Princess Melikoff's story provides an example of Pesman's thesis of constructing our lives through the narratives of journeys, and there is a degree of pathos in the interview with the princess, after the robbery, where she ponders a return to Tasmania with her chair and two French lamps; an example of the deep stream of longing for 'eternal return' that runs through such tales.<sup>8</sup>

The thesis also offers an example of the displays by which the British Empire reinforced its hierarchical nature, as described in Cannadine's work on Ornamentalism.<sup>9</sup> It suggests that Pauline's marriage fulfilled the functions of a 'royal' wedding, particularly at the outer edge of the Empire, where splendour was rare and hopes always high that the displays of empire would be more spectacular than the usual 'unveiling of statues or the opening of memorial halls' that Cannadine suggested were the usual displays in provincial towns throughout the Empire.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Ros Pesman, *Duty Free, Australian Women Abroad*, Melbourne, 1996, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their Empire*, London, 2002, p. 106.

<sup>10</sup> Cannadine, *Ornamentalism*, p. 106.



The thesis also considers the theme of colonial anxiety. Don Norman wrote that Pauline's father, JB Curran, had horse racing interests, and that his mare won the Hobart Cup in 1893.<sup>11</sup> By researching the newspapers from that time, it became apparent to the author that Don Norman had perpetuated the understandable assumption that JB had named the racehorse, Pauline, after his daughter. In fact, it was the other way around, and while this may seem to be a small detail, there is a significant difference in having a horse named after one, as opposed to knowing that one had been named after a horse of dubious breeding, in a provincial race, in a town on the edge of the Empire. Through archival research Pauline's convict ancestry was uncovered. Both these discoveries strengthened the thesis that her background must have caused some anxiety for Pauline as she entered London society; a world based on status and snobbery.

A review of the literature led to the conclusion that this is closer to biography than microhistory, but that there are problems in definition, and both genres have the function of pointing to broader themes than the subject of the narrative. In making her distinction, Lepore's premise that microhistorians are 'less likely to fall in love with their subject, for better or for worse, than are biographers' is of interest.<sup>12</sup> In considering this thesis to be closer to biography than microhistory, it is relevant to consider the degree of affinity that was developed in this case, between author and subjects. Without letters or diaries, and with a methodology that sought to maintain the historian's objectivity, it was difficult to form close attachments, but easy to imagine writing more creatively about Pauline and

---

<sup>11</sup>Don Norman, *More of Don Norman's old photographs and a little about himself and others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?).

<sup>12</sup> Jill Lepore, 'Historians who love too much: Reflections on microhistory and biography', *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no 1, 2001, pp. 129 -145.

Max if other methods had been employed; to imagine their romance, passion and arguments, their loss and sorrow, joy and pride: love in a warmer genre, perhaps?

As it is, the reader may decide whether to think of Max as the drunk, sleeping rough; or to see him as a survivor in the harsh world of the émigré; and to decide whether Pauline should be criticised for contributing little from her privileged position while alive, or whether, as the law prohibited her from doing so during her prime of life, there is a redemptive quality in the way that she arranged her estate. If that redemptive quality is found, and if this story becomes in some small way a source of ‘creative enchantment’ to the reader, it may enter the realm that Marina Warner describes, where:

The store of fairy tales, that blue chamber where stories lie waiting to be rediscovered, holds out the promise of just those creative enchantments, not only for its own characters caught in its own plotlines; it offers magical metamorphoses to the one who opens the door, who passes on what was found there, and to those who hear what the storyteller brings. The faculty of wonder, like curiosity, can make things happen; it is time for wishful thinking to have its due.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>13</sup> Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, London, 1995, p. 418.

## **Bibliography**

### **Primary Sources:**

#### **(a) Documentary**

Boettger, Timothy F, genealogist, information on Melikov family provided to author in correspondence during 2001.

Colonial Tasmanian Family Links, information relating to Prosser, Curran and Melikoff families, Archives Office of Tasmania and in particular:

- Register of Births, Pauline Curran born 9 February 1893, (ref: RGD 33/19 reg. 317).
- Marriage certificate, John Curran and Elizabeth Prosser, (ref: RGD 37/32 reg. 401).
- Marriage certificate Maximilian Melikov and Pauline Curran, 26 January 1926, St David's Cathedral, Hobart, NS 282/10/1/13
- Register of Births, Andrew Baskerville Curran, RGD 32/4 No. 6662.
- Register of Births, Keith Barry Curran, 21 August 1879, RGD 33, No. 290.
- Christening, Keith Bury Curran, 21 August 1879, RGD 32, No. 6663.
- Register of Births, Beatrice Clarine Curran, 1 July 1882, RGD 33/60, No. 393.
- Register of Births, Ila May Curran, 1 October 1884, RGD 33/63, No. 602.
- Register of Births, Phylliss Curran, 24 January 1889, RGD 33/68, No. 111.
- Register of Births, Phil Curran, 24 January 1889, RGD 33/68, No. 110.
- Register of Births, Cleve Clutha, 19 July 1890, RGD. 33/69, No. 479.
- JB Curran last will and testament, 20 June 1921, No. 13310, p. 419.
- Princess Pauline Melikoff, last will and testament, 8 March 1982, No. 79854.

Commonwealth of Australia, Secretary, Home and Territories Department, letter to the Acting Collector of Customs, 7 September 1925, and Boarding Inspector's affirmation, 30 October 1925, B 13/0 1931/9988, National Archives of Australia (NAA).

Commonwealth of Australia, Collector of Customs, Customs and Excise Office, Fremantle, memorandum to Collector of Customs Victoria, Immigration Report, RMS 'Otranto', 27 October 1931, and note in response, 5 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, NAA.

Commonwealth of Australia, Assistant Secretary, Department of Home Affairs, letter to the Collector of Customs, 23 June 1931 and note in response 4 November 1931, B13/0 1931/16047, NAA.

Court Services United Kingdom, Probate Registry, Last Will and Testament of Princess Pauline Melikoff, 26 November 1986, Search Reference 01/10/0017.

House of Commons (UK), Orders of the Day, British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill (Lords), 9 November 1933, pp. 354-368.

Murphy, J.W.B., collection of theatrical posters, available on the Internet at

<http://images.statelibrary.tas.gov.au/>

National Portrait Gallery, London, search of collections through website, <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/search/> accessed January 2005, and e-mail correspondence between author and Alex Hepburn, Archive and Library Assistant, NPG, 8 February 2005.

P&O Archives, London, per Stephen Rabson, P&O Historian and Archivist, information about UK-Australia ocean travel, 1920s-1960s, correspondence with author, 15 April 2002.

St. Ann's Homes Inc., archives relating to Princess Melikoff provided to author 2004 and 2006.

St. Michael's Collegiate School Archives, through correspondence and meetings with Niccole Warren, School Archivist, September 2004.

U.S. Statutes at Large (73rd Congress, 1933 p. 1-7) 48 Stat. 1, Public Law 89-719, Emergency Banking Relief Act of 1933.

### **Literary**

Alexander, Alison, writing about Christine Walch, correspondence with author, 6 August 2003.

Ball, Mabel Louise, Fourteen letters to her family describing the voyage to Australia and New Zealand on the "SS Orford", 1930s, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 22549 (26614), MS 9050, National Library of Australia.

Buchanan, George, *Mission to Russia and other Diplomatic Memories*, (vol. ii), Cassell and Co., London, 1923.

Buckley, VC, *With a Passport and Two Eyes*, Hutchinson and Co, London, 1932.

Buckley, VC, *Tickets, Please*, Hutchinson and Co, London, 1935.

Buckley, VC, *Draw Back the Curtains: an Autobiography*, The Abbey Press, Abington, 1971.

Buckley, VC, *Good Times at Home and Abroad Between the Wars*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1979.

Chauncey, Nan, *Diary of Voyage from Australia to England in 1923*, NS 1270/1/64, Archives Office of Tasmania.

Churchill, Jane, Diaries, 1924-1932; 1924 diary, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 4671, MS 9656, National Library of Australia.

Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A Kings Story: The Memoirs of HRH the Duke of Windsor*, K.G Cassell and Company Ltd, London, 1951.

Galitzine family website, <http://www.galitzine.biz/vava1.html> accessed 7 November 2004.

Galitzine, obituary for Prince Emanuel, accessed at <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2003/01/09/db0901.xml> accessed 21 February 2004.

Goodman, Phillip, information about the Galitzine family, correspondence with author 17 and 18 January 2005.

Jenner, Dorothy Gordon, and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings, I've had a Ball!*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1975.

Miller, Alan scrapbook including Unsourced newspaper clippings relating to Melikoff wedding, and wedding invitation and wedding breakfast menu; provided to author by his daughter, Alicia Johnson.

Murray, L C, *Notes on the Sealing Industry of Van Diemen's Land*, transcript, 1929, NS1/1/36, Archives Office of Tasmania.

Norman, Don, *More of Don Norman's Old Photographs and a Little about Himself and Others*, D. Norman, Hobart, (1993?).

Percy, Jocelyn, (Major-General) 'The situation in Russia', address to the Empire Club of Canada 27 January 1921, <http://www.empireclubfoundation.com/details.asp?SpeechID=2745&FT=yes> accessed 18 Feb 04.

Rischbieth, Bessie Mabel, Family and personal correspondence, 1911-1959; Travel diaries for 1927, 1946 and 1957, Register of Australian Archives and Manuscripts, (RAAM) 29584 (33334) MS 2004, National Library of Australia.

Rischbieth, Bessie Mabel, letter to Prime Minister, 19 June 1939, League Inter L14 PM File No L 349/3/6, National Archives of Australia.

Rischbieth, Bessie, *March of Australian Women*, Paterson Brokensha, Perth, 1964.

Rubenstein, Helena, *My Life for Beauty*, Bodley Head, London, 1965.

Scotton, Richard, *Thomas Prosser (1788-1846) and his Namesakes*, pamphlet, Tasmaniana Collection, State Library of Tasmania.

Stephens, Blanche, Hon Sec League of Women Voters, SA, Letter to Right Honourable RG Menzies, KC, 3 June 1940, League Inter L14 PM, File No L 349/3/6, National Archives of Australia.

Street, Jessie, *A Revised Autobiography*, Lenore Colheart, (ed.), The Federation Press, Annandale, 2004.

Swan, Beth, collection of newspaper cuttings about the Melikoff wedding, from a family legacy, provided to author in correspondence, 5 September 2001.

Thackeray, William Makepeace, *The Book of Snobs etc*, (Walter Jerrold, ed.), J M Dent and Co, London, 1903.

Towrie, Sigrid, Orkney folklorist, correspondence with author 31 March 2005, and internet site <http://www.orkneyjar.com/folklore/selkiefolk/spared.htm> accessed 28 March 2005.

Young, Ethel, Typescript diary entries in form of letters home by Ethel Young, *Tour of England and Europe May-November 1954*, Estate of Ethel Young OAM, NS 1912/2, Archives Office of Tasmania.

### **(b) Contextual**

Nabokov, Vladimir, *Mary*, (translated from the Russian by Michael Glenny in collaboration with the author), Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973.

Nabokov, Vladimir, *Speak, Memory*, Everyman's Library, London, 1999.

Sholokhov, Mikhail, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, (trans. Stephen Garry), Penguin, London, 1967.

Waugh, Evelyn *Vile Bodies*, London, Chapman and Hall, 1930.

### **(c) Newspapers**

*Australian*, 1975-2006.

*Examiner*, Launceston, Tasmania, 1891 to 1926.

*Gaurdian*, Sydney, 1926-1939.

*Mercury*, Hobart, Tasmania, from 1891 to 2005.

*Sunday Sun*, Sydney, 1926-1939.

*Tasmanian Mail* and *Illustrated Tasmanian Mail* from 1891 to 1931.

*Times*, London, 1924-1988.

*Times*, New York, 1924-1950

## Secondary Sources

### (a) books

Alomes, Stephen, *A Nation at Last? The Changing Character of Australian Nationalism 1880-1988*, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, 1988.

Alomes, Stephen, *When London Calls: The Expatriation of Australian Creative Artists to Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.

Ambrosius, Lloyd E, (ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and their Craft*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2004.

Amory, Mark, (ed.), *The Letters of Evelyn Waugh*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1980.

Anderson, B and J Zinsser, *A History of Her Own: Women in Europe Vol 11*, Harper and Row, New York, 1988.

Ashdown, Dulcie, *Royal Weddings*, Robert Hale, London, 1981.

Blavatsky, Helena, *Isis Unveiled*, Theosophical University Press, on line edition Vol 11 p. 568, <http://www.theosociety.org/pasadena/isis/iu2-11b.htm> accessed 10 June 2002.

Bredbenner, Candice, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage and the Law of Citizenship*, University of California Press, Berkley, 1998.

Brown, M, and J May, *The Greenpeace Story*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Dorling Kindersley Ltd, London, 1991.

Bryan, J 3<sup>rd</sup>, and Charles J V Murphy, *The Windsor Story*, Granada, London, 1979.  
Buckman, David, *Dictionary of Artists in Britain Since 1945*, Art Dictionaries, Bristol, 1998.

Buonaventura, Wendy, *I Put a Spell on You: Dancing Women from Salome to Madonna*, Saqi, London, 2003.

Burke, John Bernard, *Prominent Families in America with British Ancestry*, (London, 1939; New York, 1971; Baltimore, 1975), pp. 2529-3022 of the 16th edition of *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

Buss, Helen M, and Marlene Kadar, (eds.), *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*, Wilfrid Laurier UP, Waterloo, 2001.

Callil, Carmen, *Bad Faith: A Forgotten History of Family and Fatherland*, Jonathon Cape, London, 2006.

Cannadine, David, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1990.

Cannadine, David, *G. M. Trevelyan: A Life in History*, Harper Collins Publishers, London, 1992.

Cannadine, David, *Aspects of Aristocracy*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1994.

Cannadine, David, *Class in Britain*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1998.

Cannadine, David, *History in our time*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1998.

Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire*, Penguin, London, 2001.

Cannadine, David, *In Churchill's shadow: confronting the past in modern Britain*, Allen Lane, London, 2002.

Cannadine, David (ed.), *What is History Now?* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002.

Carpenter, Humphrey, *The Brideshead Generation: Evelyn Waugh and his Friends*, Weidenfield and Nicolson, London, 1989.

Christian, David, *Living Water: Vodka and Russian Society on the eve of Emancipation*, Oxford University Press, London, 1990.

Cottrell, John, and Fergus Cashin, *Richard Burton*, (revised ed.), Coronet Books, London, 1974.

Crawford, Rosemary and Donald, *Michael and Natasha*, Phoenix Giant, London, 1998.

Cutt, N, and W Towrie, *The Hogboon of Hell and Other Strange Orkney Tales*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1979.

Damousi, Joy, and Marilyn Lake, *Gender and War: Australians at War in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995.

de Botton, Alain, *Status Anxiety*, Penguin, Melbourne, 2004.

De Courcy, Anne, *Society's Queen: The Life of Edith, Marchioness of Londonderry*, Phoenix, London, 1992.

De-la-Noy, Michael, *The Honours System*, Allison and Busby, London, 1985.

Dutton, David, *Citizenship in Australia*, National Archives of Australia, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, 1999.



- Duyker, Edward, and Coralie Younger, *Molly and the Rajah*, Australian Mauritian Press, Sylvania, 1991.
- Fenton, James, *History of Tasmania*, facsimile reprint, Melanie publications, Launceston, 1978.
- Ferro, Marc, *October 1917: A Social History of the Russian Revolution*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1980.
- Figes, Orlando, *Natasha's Dance: A Cultural History of Russia*, Penguin, London, 2002.
- Freedman, H, and A Lemon, *A History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing Vol 11*, Southbank Communications Group, Melbourne, 1990.
- French, Sean, *Bardot*, Pavilion Books, London, 1994.
- Galligan. Brian and Winsome Roberts, *Australian Citizenship*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 2004.
- Gray, Robert, and Jane Olivier, *Edward VIII: The Man We Lost*, Compton Press, London, 1972.
- Guinness, Jonathon, with Catherine Guinness, *The House of Mitford*, Hutchinson and Co, London, 1984.
- Hackforth-Jones, Penny, *Barbara Baynton: Between Two Worlds*, Penguin, Melbourne, 1989.
- Haining, Peter, *Brigitte Bardot*, W H Allen and Co., London, 1983.
- Hardeman, Hilde, *Coming to Terms with the Soviet Regime: The 'Changing Signposts' Movement among Russian Émigrés in the Early 1920s*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Harmstorf, Ian and Michael Cigler, *The Germans in Australia*, Australian Ethnic Heritage Series, Australasian Educa Press, Melbourne, 1985.
- Herlihy, Patricia, *The Alcoholic Empire: Vodka and Politics in Late Imperial Russia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002.
- Higham, Charles, *Wallis, Secret Lives of the Duchess of Windsor*, Pan Books, London, 1989.
- Higham, Charles, and Roy Moseley, *Princess Merle: the Romantic Life of Merle Oberon*, Coward-McCann Inc, New York, 1983.
- Hindus, M, *The Cossacks: The Story of a Warrior People*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 1945.

- Hosking, Geoffrey, *Russia: People and Empire 1552-1917*, Harper Collins, London, 1997.
- Jenner, Dorothy Gordon, and Trish Sheppard, *Darlings, I've had a Ball!*, Ure Smith, Sydney, 1975.
- Ignatieff, Michael, *The Russian Album*, Vintage, London, 1977.
- Kennedy, Carol, *Mayfair: A Social History*, Hutchinson, London, 1986.
- Kurth, Peter, *Isadora, A Sensational Life*, Abacas, London, 2003.
- Lake, Marilyn, *A Divided Society, Tasmania During World War 1*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1975.
- Lake, Marilyn, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1999.
- Lee, Christopher, *This Sceptred Isle: Twentieth Century*, Penguin, London, 2000.
- Lemon, A, and H Freedman, *The History of Australian Thoroughbred Racing*, Vol II, Southbank Communications, Melbourne, 1990.
- Levine, Philippa, *Gender and Empire*, Oxford University Press, London, 2004.
- Lindsay, Norman, *The Magic Pudding: Being the Adventures of Bunyip Bluegum and his Friends Bill Barnacle & Sam Sawnoff*, Angus and Robertson, London, 1983.
- Longley, David, *Imperial Russia 1689-1917*, Longman, Essex, 2000.
- Manning-Sanders, Ruth, *Scottish Folk Tales*, Methuen Children's Books, London, 1976.
- Marwick, Arthur, *British Society Since 1945*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1982.
- Maylunas, Andre, and Sergei Mironenko, *A Lifelong Passion: Nicholas and Alexander Their Own Story*, Doubleday, New York, 1997.
- Marullo, Thomas G, *Ivan Bunin: From the Other Shore 1920-1933*, Ivan R Dee, Chicago, 1995.
- McKibbin, Ross, *Classes and Cultures, England 1918-1951*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998.
- Middlemas, Keith, *The Life and Times of George VI*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1974.
- Middleton, Dorothy, *Victorian Lady Travellers*, Acadamy, Chicago, 1982.

Montgomerie, N and W, *The Well at the World's End: Folk Tales of Scotland*, The Bodley Head, London, 1975.

Murphy, Sophia, *The Mitford Family Album*, Sidgwick and Jackson, London, 1985.

Murray-Smith, Stephen, (ed.), *Mission to the Islands: the Missionary Voyages in Bass Strait of Canon Marcus Brownrigg, 1872-1885*, Foot and Playsted, Launceston, 1987.

Norman, L, *Pioneer Shipping of Tasmania: Whaling, Sealing, Piracy, Shipwrecks etc in Early Tasmania*, 1<sup>st</sup> published 1938, reprint, Shearwater Press, Hobart 1989.

O'May, Harry, *Wooden Hookers of Hobart Town*, second impression, TJ Hughes, Government Printer, Tasmania, 1978.

Parke, Catherine N, *Biography: Writing Lives*, Routledge, New York, 2002.

Pesman, Ros, *Duty Free: Australian Women Abroad*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1996.

Pipes, Richard, *The Russian Revolution*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1990.

Plomley, Brian, and Kirsten Henley, *The Sealers of Bass Strait and the Cape Barren Island Community*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, 1990.

Pugh, Martin, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1959*, Macmillan Education, London, 1992.

Pybus, Cassandra, *Community of Thieves*, William Heinemann Australia, Melbourne, 1991.

Pybus, Cassandra, *The White Rajah: a Dynastic Intrigue*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1996

Pybus, Cassandra, *Raven Road*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 2001.

Pybus, Cassandra, and Richard Flanagan, (eds.) *The Rest of the world is watching*, Sun, Chippendale, Sydney, 1990.

Raeff, M, *Russia Abroad: A Cultural History of the Russian Emigration, 1919-1939*, Oxford University Press, 1990.

Read, Piers Paul, *Alice in Exile*, Phoenix, London, 2002.

Reynolds, John, *Launceston, History of an Australian City*, Adult Education Board, Tasmania, 1969.

Riasanovsky, Nicholas V, *A History of Russia*, Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1984.

- Robson, L L, *A History of Tasmania*, vol 11, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, 1983.
- Robinson, Jane, (Anthology, selected by), *Unsuitable for Ladies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994.
- Roe, Michael, (ed.), *The Flow of Culture: Tasmanian Studies*, Australian Academy of the Humanities, Canberra, 1987.
- Roe, Michael, *The State of Tasmania: Identity at Federation Time*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart, 2001.
- Russell, Penny, *A Wish of Distinction: Colonial Gentility and Femininity*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1994.
- Ryan, Lyndall, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1982.
- Said, Edward, *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York, 1978.
- Said, Edward, *Culture and Imperialism*, Vintage, London, 1994.
- Salisbury, Harrison, *Russia's Revolutions 1905-1917*, Da Capo, New York, 1978.
- Schiff, Stacey, *Vera (Mrs Vladimir Nabokov) Portrait of a Marriage*, Picador, London, 2000.
- Scott, John, *The Upper Classes: Property and Privilege in Britain*, Macmillan Press, London, 1982.
- Server, Lee, *The Golden Age of Ocean Liners*, Todtri, New York, 1996.
- Shakespeare, Nicholas, *In Tasmania*, Random House, Sydney, 2004.
- Summerfield, Penny, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourse and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998.
- Tagore, Rabindranath *The Gardener* 1915, available as an electronic book from the Project Gutenberg Literary Archive Foundation, at <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/6686> accessed 22 June 2006.
- Troyat, H, (trans. M Barnes), *Daily Life in Russia*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1961.
- Vassiliev, Alexandre, *Beauty in Exile: The Artists, Models and Nobility Who Fled the Russian Revolution and Influenced the World of Fashion*, Harry N Abrams, Inc, New York, 2000.
- Waltz, Waldo, *The Nationality of Married Women*, Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol xxii, No 1, 1937.

Warner, Marina, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and their Tellers*, Vintage, London, 1994.

Warner, Marina, *No Go the Bogeyman: Scaring, Lulling and Making Mock*, Vintage, London, 1998.

West, J, *The History of Tasmania*, (First published 1852), Angus and Robertson Classics edition, Australia, 1971.

Wheeler- Bennett, John W, *King George VI: His Life and Reign*, Macmillan and Co Ltd, London, 1958.

Whiting, Audrey, *Kents: A Royal Family*, Hutchinson, London, 1985.

Whitlock, Gillian, (ed.), *Eight Voices of the Eighties*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1989.

Whitlock, Gillian, and David Carter, (eds.), *Images of Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia, 1992.

Whitlock, Gillian, *The Intimate Empire: Reading Women's Autobiography*, Cassell, London and New York, 2000.

Wicks, Bertram, *Men of Influence: A History of the Tasmanian Racing Club*, Libra, Hobart, 1999.

Wicks, Bertram, *The Racehorse*, Libra, Hobart, 1990.

Wilson, Trevor, and Eddie Dean, *The Luck of the Draw*, second edition, Tattersall Sweep Consultation, Melbourne, 1996.

Woollacott, Angela, *To Try her Fortune in London*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2001.

Ziegler, Philip, *King Edward VIII: The Official Biography*, Collins, London, 1990.

Zipes, Jack, *The Brothers Grimm: From Enchanted Forests to the Modern World*, Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc, New York, 1988.

Zipes, Jack, (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000.

Zipes, Jack, *When Dreams Came True: Classical Fairy Tales and their Tradition*, Routledge, New York, 1999.

#### **(b) Chapters from Books**

Barbara Bush, 'Gender and Empire: the Twentieth Century', in Philippa Levine, (ed.) *Gender and Empire*, Oxford University Press, London, 2004, pp. 77-111.

Gerson, Carole, 'Locating female subjects in the archive', in Helen M Buss, and Marlene Kadar, (eds), *Working in Women's archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*, Wilfrid Laurier UP, Waterloo, 2001, pp. 7-22.

Leckie, Shirley A, 'Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More Than Ever' in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.), *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2004 pp. 1-2.

Painter, Nell Irvin, 'Ut Pictura Poesis; or the Sisterhood of the Verbal and Visual Arts', in Lloyd E Ambrosius, (ed.) *Writing Biography: Historians and Their Craft*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 2004, pp. 103-132.

Robson, Lloyd, 'Damnosa Haereditas?' In Michael Roe (ed), *The Flow of Culture*, Australian Academy of the Humanities, Canberra, 1987, pp. 88-101.

Shaw, Alan, 'The British Contributions', in *The Flow of Culture*, Michael Roe (ed.), pp. 73-87.

#### **(d) Journals:**

Aldworth, Rebecca, 'Blood Flows on the Ice Floes', *The Animals' Agenda*, no. 20, (2000), p. 14.

Alexandrova, Vera, 'Russian Émigrés in Western European Literature' *Russian Review*, vol. 3, no.2 (1944), pp. 87-93.

Allen, Emily, 'Culinary Exhibition: Victorian Wedding Cakes and Royal Spectacle', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 45, no. 3 (2003), p. 457.

Bakich., Olga, 'Émigré Identity: The Case of Harbin' *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 99, no. 1 (2000), pp. 51-73.

Baldwin, M Page, 'Subject to Empire: Married Women and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 40, no. 4 (2001), pp. 522-556.

Bethea, David M, '1944-1953: Ivan Bunin and the Time of Troubles in Russian Émigré Literature', *Slavic Review*, no. 43, (1984), pp. 1-16.

Bethea, David M, 'Emigration and Heritage', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, no. 31, (1987), pp. 141-164.

- Boeck, Brian J, 'The Kuban Cossack Revival (1989-1993): The Beginnings of a Cossack National Movement in the North Caucasus Region', *Nationalities Papers*, no. 26, (1998), pp. 663-657.
- Boyd, Colin, 'Business Ethics in Canada: A Personal View', *Journal of Business Ethics*, no. 16, (1997), pp. 605-609.
- Cady, AJ, 'The Clubbing Continues', *The Animals' Agenda*, no. 17, (1997), pp. 22-24.
- Cannadine, David, 'Second Thoughts on *Ornamentalism*', *History Australia*, vol. 1, no. 2, (2004), pp. 169- 178
- Cavell, Richard, 'White Technologies', *Essays on Canadian Writing*, no.59, (1996), pp. 199-210.
- Clarke, Micael, 'Bronte's Jane Eyre and the Grimms' Cinderella', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, vol. 40, no. 4, (2000) pp. 695-710.
- Clendinnen, Inga, 'Fellow Sufferers: History and Imagination' *Australian Humanities Review*, (1996) Electronic version, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-Sept-1996/clendinnen.html> accessed 24 August 2005.
- Cohen, Aaron J, 'Oh, That! Myth, Memory and World War 1 in the Russian Emigration and the Soviet Union', *Slavic Review*, vol. 62, no. 1, (2003), pp. 69-86.
- Cohen, Margaret, 'Travelling Genres', *New Literary History*, no. 34, (2003), pp. 481-500.
- Cohen, Philip N, 'Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America', *Signs*, no. 21, (1996), pp. 707-728.
- Cramer, Janet M, 'Woman as Citizen: Race, Class, and the Discourse of Women's Citizenship, 1894-1909' *Journalism and Mass Communication Monographs*, no. 165, (1998), pp. 05-45.
- Cullen, Bonnie. 'For Whom the Shoe Fits: Cinderella in the Hands of Victorian Illustrators and Writers' *The Lion and the Unicorn* 27, vol. 27, no. 1, (2003) pp. 57-83.
- Davis, Kimberly Chabot, "'Postmodern Blackness": Toni Morrison's Beloved and the end of history', *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 44, no. 2, (1998), pp. 242-260.
- Dickin, Janice, Review of *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents* by Helen M Buss and Marlene Kadar, (eds.), *Biography*, vol. 25, no. 3, (2002), p. 513.
- Do Rozario, Rebecca-Anne, 'The Princess and the Magic Kingdom: Beyond Nostalgia, the Function of the Disney Princess', *Women's Studies in Communication*, no. 27, (2004), pp. 34-59.

Doyle, Kenneth O, and MacKenzie R Doyle, 'Meanings of Wealth in European and Chinese Fairy Tales', *The American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 45, no. 2, (2001), pp. 191-204.

Farfan, Penny, Review of *Isadora: A Sensational Life*, by Peter Kurth, *Theatre Journal*, 56, no. 4, (2004), p. 720.

Ficarra, Carmen, 'And God Created Vardim', *MovieMaker*, no. 38,  
[http://www.moviemaker.com/issues/38/38\\_vadim.html](http://www.moviemaker.com/issues/38/38_vadim.html) accessed 25 March 2005.

Figes, Orlando, 'Maxim Gorky and the Russian Revolution', *History Today*, vol. 46, No.6, (1996), pp. 16-23.

Figes, Orlando, 'The Russian Revolution of 1917 and its Language in the Village', *The Russian Review*, vol. 56, no. 3, (1997), pp. 323-345.

Foster, Ludmilla, 'The Revolution and the Civil War in Russian Émigré Novels' *Russian Review*, vol. 31, no.2, (1972), pp. 153-162.

Giles, July, Review of *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives: Discourses and Subjectivity in Oral Histories of the Second World War*, by Penny Summerfield, *Biography*, vol. 23, no.3, (2000), p. 552.

Ginzburg, Carlo, 'Microhistory: Two or three things that I know about it', *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 20, no. 1, pp. 10-35.

Gomelsky, Victoria, 'Antique Russian Brooch Resurfaces, Donated to GIA', *National Jeweler*, vol. 99, no. 2, (2005), p. 30.

Goodwin, J, CG Cauthorne, and RT Rada, 'Cinderella Syndrome: Children Who Simulate Neglect.' *American Journal of Psychiatry*, vol.137, no. 10, (1980), pp. 1223-1225.

Gorman, Stephen, 'Skidooing Through Newfoundland', *The World and I*, no.17, (2002), pp. 110-119.

Gregory, B S, 'Is Small Beautiful? Microhistory and the History of Everyday Life', *History and Theory*, vol. 38, no. 1, (1999), pp. 100-110.

Greener-Barcham, B. K., 'Before September: A History of Counter-terrorism in New Zealand', *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 37, no. 3, (2002), pp. 509-524.

Halligan, Marion, 'That's My Story and I'm Sticking To It: Truth in Fiction, Lies in Fact' *Australian Humanities Review*, (1998) *electronic version*,  
<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-September-1998/halligan.html>  
accessed 28 August 2005.

Iswolsky, Helen, 'Twenty-Five Years of Russian Émigré Literature', *Russian Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, (1942), pp. 61-73.



Kaulbars, Mike, book review of Stephen Dale, *McLuhan's Children: The Greenpeace Message and the Media*, reviewed in *Peace and Environment News*, December 1996-January 1997, accessed at <http://perc.ca/PEN/1996-12-01/review.html> on 20 March 05.

Keough, Noel, book review of Stephen Dale, *McLuhan's Children: The Greenpeace Message and the Media*, reviewed in *Alternatives*, no. 24, (1998), pp. 44-45.

King, Michael, 'Biography and Compassionate Truth: Writing a Life of Janet Frame', *Australian Humanities Review*, (2001), electronic version, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-2001/king.html> accessed 22 August 2005.

Lambert, Robert A, 'Grey Seals', *History Today*, vol. 51, no. 6, (2001), pp. 30-32.

Lambert, Robert A, "The Grey Seals in Britain: A Twentieth Century History of a Nature Conservation Success", *Environment and History*, no. 8, (2002), pp. 449-74.

Laursen, Eric, 'Memory in Nabokov's *Mary*' *Russian Review*, vol. 55, no. 1, (1996), pp. 55-64.

Lehovich, Dimitry, V, 'Denikin's Offensive', *Russian Review*, vol. 32, no. 2, (1973), pp. 173-186.

Lepore, Jill. 'Historians who love too much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography', *The Journal of American History*, vol. 88, no. 1, (2001) pp. 129 -145.

Lepore, Jill, and Adam Hochschild, 'Historical Writing and the Revival of Narrative', *Nieman Reports*, Cambridge, vol. 56, no.1, (2002), p 51.

Lifar, Sergei, 'The Russian Ballet in Russia and in the West', *Russian Review*, vol 28, no. 4, (1969), pp. 396-402.

Matich, Olga, 'The White Emigration Goes Hollywood', *Russian Review*, vol. 64, no. 2, (2005), pp. 187-210.

McDowell, Robert H, 'Russian Revolution and Civil War in the Caucasus', *Russian Review*, vol. 27, no.4, (1968), pp. 452-460.

Melton, Edgar, 'Life on the Russian Country Estate: A Social and Cultural History', *Journal of Social History*, vol. 29, no.4, (1996), pp. 1027-1029.

Morrissey, Susan, 'Patriarchy on Trial: Suicide, Discipline, and Governance in Imperial Russia', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 75, no. 1, (2003), pp. 23-58.

Moseley, Rachel 'Trousers and Tiaras: Audrey Hepburn, a Woman's Star', *Feminist Review*, vol.71, no. 1, (2002), p. 37.

O'Rourke, Shane, 'The Don Cossacks During the 1905 Revolution: The Revolt of Ust-Medveditskaia Stanitsa', *The Russian Review*, vol. 57, no. 4, (1998), pp. 583-598.

Painter, Nell, 'Writing Biographies of Women', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 9, no. 2, (1997), pp.154-163.

Peltonen, M, 'Clues, Margins and Monads: The Micro-Macro Link in Historical Research', *History and Theory*, vol. 40, no. 3, (2001), pp. 347-359.

Pybus, Cassandra, 'Cassandra Pybus responds to Inga Clendinnen' *Australian Humanities Review*, (not dated),  
<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/emuse/History/pybus.html> accessed 28 August 2005.

Pybus, Cassandra 'Dogs in the Graveyard' *Australian Humanities Review*, (1999),  
Electronic version, <http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-1999/pybus1.html> accessed 28 August 2005.

Ramirez, Francisco, Yasemin Soysal and Suzanne Shanahan, 'The Changing Logic of Political Citizenship: Cross-National Acquisition of Women's Suffrage Rights, 1890 to 1990', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 62, no.5, (1997), pp. 735-746.

Riedi, Eliza, 'Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 45, no. 3, (2002), pp. 569-599.

Russell, Penny, 'Ornaments of Empire? Government House and the Idea of English Aristocracy in Colonial Australia', *History Australia*, vol. 1, no. 2, (2004), pp. 196-208.

Scherr, Barry P, and Richard Sheldon, in 'Westward Flows the Don: The Translation and the Text', *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 42, no. 1, (1998), pp. 119-125.

Singer, Barnett, 'Bardot: The Making of a Femme Fatale', *The Virginia Quarterly Review*, vol. 76, no. 4, (2000), pp. 647-660.

Tschebotarioff, Gregory P, 'The Cossacks and the Revolution of 1917' *Russian Review*, vol. 20, no.3, (1961), pp. 206-216.

Wold, Emma, 'Women and Nationality', *Pacific Affairs*, vol. 4, no. 6, (1931), pp. 511-515.

Whitlock, Gillian, 'Merry Christmas, Mary Prince' *Biography*, vol. 26, no. 3, (2003), pp. 440-442.

Whitlock, Gillian, Review of *Shameful Autobiographies: Shame in Contemporary Australian Autobiographies and Culture* by Rosamund Dalziell, *Biography*, vol. 24, no. 2, (2001), p. 487.

Whitlock, Gillian, Review of *Shameful Autobiographies: Shame in Contemporary Australian Autobiographies and Culture* by Rosamund Dalziell *Australian Humanities Review*, (1999) Electronic version,

<http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-December-1999/whitlock.html>  
accessed 28 August 2005.

Woollacott, Angela, "'All this is the Empire, I told myself': Australian women's voyages 'home' and the articulation of colonial whiteness", *The American Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 4, (1997), pp. 1003-1029.

Wood, Danielle, 'The Princess and the Seal Pup', *Forty Degrees South: Tasmania and Beyond*, no. 11, (1998-99), pp. 25-26.

Zelco, Frank, 'Making Greenpeace: The Development of Direct Action Environmentalism in British Columbia' *BC Studies*, no.142/143, (2004), pp. 197-239.

### **(e) Newspaper Articles**

Ahmed, Rashmee Z, 'A Tail of Two Fairy Tales', *Times of India*, 15 May 2004.

Baird, Julia, '...but then the Clock Struck Reality', *Sydney Morning Herald*, Sydney, 15 May 2004.

*Australian Weekend* magazine, Sydney, 14-15 March 1981, interview with Princess Melikoff.

Clark, Nick, 'Tassie feast in Tatt's shares' *Mercury*, 15 July 2005.

Cantwell, Mary 'Editorial Notebook; A Royal Funeral', *New York Times*, (Late Edition [East Coast]), 14 October 1995.

Fitzgerald, John, 'Mary and Tasmania pass the test as the wedding day nears', *ABC Tasmania Online news*, 12 May 2004, accessed at <http://www.abc.net.au/tasmania/stories/s1106660.htm> 14 June 04.

Jameson, Julietta, and Bruce Wilson, 'Class rules - How Mary Donaldson is being trained for life as the Queen of Denmark - Working all day and night to be fit for a king', *Telegraph*, 27 September 2003, accessed at <http://rasmusheide.dk/journalist/tele-mary.html> 15 May 2004.

Matterson, Helen, 'Tatts secret society revealed', *Australian*, 2 June 2005.

*Mercury*, Hobart, 25 April 2005, list of approximately five hundred names and occupations of Hobart men killed during World War One.

Schembri, Jim. 'Wedding Blues', *The Age*, 20 May 2004.

Tapert, Annette, 'Jackie, Audrey and Grace Would All Be 75 This Year' *Harper's Bazaar*, New York, Feb 2004.

### **(f) Internet Sites**

Alberici, Emma, 'Tattersall's float reveals secret beneficiaries', 7.30 Report, 9 June 2005, <http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2005/s1388841.htm> accessed 15 June 2005.

Ashliman, D L, (transl. and/or ed.) Cinderella: Aarne-Thompson folktale type 510A and related stories of persecuted heroines, <http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/type0510a.html> accessed 6 November 2001.

Australian Broadcasting Commission, information about *The Trouble with Merle*, produced by Marée Delofski, 2002, <http://www.abc.net.au/tv/documentaries/stories/s657300.htm> accessed 16 May 2006

Bakhmeteff Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture, Columbia University, <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/exhibitions/pages/html/Sch.html> accessed 7 April 2005.

Bannerman, Kenn, interview with Jack Zipes, April 2002, <http://www.bitingdogpress.com/zipes/zipes.html> accessed 5 June 2004

Barbara, Stephen, interview with David Cannadine, *The Atlantic Online*, <http://www.theatlantic.com/unbound/interviews/int2003-01-22.htm> accessed 4 May 2003.

British Film Museum, information about the 1920's music hall song, 'I danced with a man who danced with a girl who danced with the Prince of Wales', used as a theme for the movie, *Edward and Mrs. Simpson*: <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/457044/index.html> accessed 30 March 2006.

Broek, Piter, 'The Succession Question', *Genealogy of the Romanov Imperial Family*, website at <http://members.fortunecity.com/timhaapa/article01.htm> accessed 5 July 2005.

Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <http://www.cwgc.org/cwgcinternet/SearchResults.aspx?surname=fitzgerald&initials=P&war=1&yearfrom=1917&yearto=1918&force=Army&nationality=6> accessed 25 June 2005.

Conrad, Mark, Information about the Russian Imperial Army: <http://home.comcast.net/~markconrad/RUSS1914.html#CAVALRY> accessed 25 March 04.

Copenhagen Post, 'Mary receives Greenlandic national costume gift', <http://www.cphpost.dk/get/77843.html> accessed 30 June 2006.

Cox, Marian Roalfe. *Cinderella: Three Hundred and Forty-five Variants of Cinderella, Catskin, and Cap O' Rushes, abstracted and tabulated*. London: David Nutt for the Folklore Society, 1893. Part of the SurLaLune Fairy tale pages by Heidi Anne Heiner, on the Internet at: <http://classiclitt.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fmembers.aol.com%2Fsurlalune%2Ffrytales%2Fcinderel%2Findex.htm> accessed 12 November 2001.

Claremont University Library Internet site, the Tschebotarioff papers, <http://libraries.claremont.edu/sc/collections/tschebotarioff.html> , accessed 30 November 2005.

Department of Primary Industry, Water and Environment, information about Australian fur seal and southern elephant seal, <http://www.dpiwe.tas.gov.au> accessed 25 April 2005.

Frenz, Horst (ed.), Information on Sholokhov, *Nobel Lectures, Literature 1901-1967*, Elsevier Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1969, on Internet site, [http://nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/literature/laureates/1965/sholokhov-bio.html](http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1965/sholokhov-bio.html) accessed 20 February 2004.

Genealogical information about Duchess Aleksandra Nikolaevna of Leuchtenberg's ancestors available on <http://pages.prodigy.net/ptheroff/gotha/leuchtenberg.html> accessed 12 February 2004.

Hancock, Jim and Julie Smith, 'Financing the Federation', The South Australian Centre for Economic Studies, <http://www.adelaide.edu.au/saces/publications/other/FinancingtheFederation.pdf> accessed 12 June 2005.

Historic Royal Palaces Royal Charter Body, information about the wedding gown worn by Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, <http://www.hrp.org.uk/webcode/content.asp?ID=541> accessed 12 June 2005.

History Channel internet site, information about Count Loris-Melikov, [http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/this\\_day\\_in\\_history/this\\_day\\_March\\_13.php](http://www.thehistorychannel.co.uk/site/this_day_in_history/this_day_March_13.php) accessed 12 February 2004.

Hooker family Website <http://dav4is.8m.com/Celebrity/HOOK38.html> accessed 14 June 2002.

Internet Movie Database, information about Bardot's films made during 1956-58: <http://us.imdb.com/name/nm0000003/#actress1950> accessed 27 March 2005

Johnson Lewis, Jone, information about the marriage of Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, [http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio\\_elizabeth\\_mum.htm](http://womenshistory.about.com/library/bio/blbio_elizabeth_mum.htm) accessed 6 June 2005.

King's Royal Rifle Corps Regiment history homepage,  
<http://www.royalgreenjackets.co.uk/framesetpages/mainpages/regimentalheritage/krrc.htm> accessed 25 June 2005.

Madame Ghurka information obtained from Monash University:  
<http://www.lib.monash.edu.au/exhibitions/tca/xtcacat.html> accessed 14 June 2005.

National Library of Australia, 'Australia Dancing' collection, information about the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo, <http://www.australiadancing.org/subjects/9.html>, accessed 27 October 2005.

National Museum of Australia, information about Joseph Lyons:  
[http://www.nma.gov.au/schools/school\\_resources/resource\\_websites\\_and\\_interactives/primeministers/joseph\\_lyons/](http://www.nma.gov.au/schools/school_resources/resource_websites_and_interactives/primeministers/joseph_lyons/) accessed 20 June 2005.

Negus, George, 'Ten Pound Poms', Interview 22 March 2004 with families who immigrated to Australia in 1960 on the *Orsova*, Australian Broadcasting Commission, <http://www.abc.net.au/gnt/history/Transcripts/s1071227.htm> accessed 14 August 2004.

Nobel Prize Internet site, information about Ivan Burin,  
<http://www.nobel.se/literature/laureates/1933/bunin-acceptance.html>, accessed 18 February 2002.

Panama Canal <http://www.pancanal.com/eng/history/index.html>  
accessed 24 July 2004.

Parliament of Tasmania, information about Sir Herbert Nicholls:  
[http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/tpl/DataSheets/Governors\\_Table.htm](http://www.parliament.tas.gov.au/tpl/DataSheets/Governors_Table.htm) accessed 20 June 2005.

Peck, Russell A, *The Cinderella Bibliographies*:  
<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/Camelot/Cinder/cinintr.htm> accessed 12 November 2001.

P&O Cruises, Information about the *Orsova*,  
<http://www.pocruises.com.au/html/history.cfm?bhflver=6&bhflverex=6%2C0%2C79%2C0> accessed 14 August 04.

Porter, John, Internet site dedicated to the works of Evelyn Waugh, accessed at  
<http://www.doubtinghall.co.uk/> 21 February 2005.

*Riverina*; information about the Sydney-Hobart passenger ship, obtained from:  
<http://oceans1.customer.netspace.net.au/gabo-wrecks.html> accessed 14 August 2004.

Romanoff, Olga, radio interview, quoted at [www.rwguide.com/thread\\_22062\\_princess\\_olga\\_romanoff.html](http://www.rwguide.com/thread_22062_princess_olga_romanoff.html) accessed 24 January 2005.

Russian medals Internet Site:  
[http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww\\_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html](http://www.ukans.edu/~kansite/ww_one/medals/russmedl/russia.html)

accessed 21 February 2002.

Sainty, Guy Stair, 'The Russian Imperial Succession: Another View' published at European Royal Houses website on <http://www.chivalricorders.org/royalty/gotha/russucc.htm> accessed 2 July 2005.

Salda M, (ed.), *The Cinderella Project*, the de Grummond Children's Literature Research Collection, University of Southern Mississippi, at <http://www-dept.usm.edu/~engdept/cinderella/cind5.html#Episode1> accessed 12 November 2001.

Sea of Azov area, map showing Novochoerkassk on Don, Microsoft® Encarta® Online Encyclopedia 2006 <http://encarta.msn.com> © 1997-2006 Microsoft Corporation, accessed 30 June 2006.

Smele, J, *War, Revolution and Civil War in Russia*, published on the BBC History Internet site, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/eastern\\_front\\_02.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwone/eastern_front_02.shtml) accessed 18 February 2004.

Spartacus Educational, information about the Right Club, <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWrightclub.htm> accessed 16 January 2005.

Swiggum, S, and M. Kohli, the Ships List, information about the Esperance Bay, <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/descriptions/ShipsE.html> accessed 9 August 04.

The Peerage web site, information about Prince Andrew's bankruptcy, [www.thepeerage.com/p11123.htm](http://www.thepeerage.com/p11123.htm) accessed 24 January 2005.

Tasmanian Perpetual Trustees Annual Report 2004/2005, available on the Internet at [http://www.tasmanianperpetual.com.au/images/pdf/tptl\\_ar05.pdf](http://www.tasmanianperpetual.com.au/images/pdf/tptl_ar05.pdf) p. 19 accessed 14 July 2006.

Tourism Tasmania Internet site, information about Tasmanian Premiers: [http://www.discovertasmania.com.au/home/tasmedia\\_index.cfm?level1=fact%20file&level2=content&contentid=788](http://www.discovertasmania.com.au/home/tasmedia_index.cfm?level1=fact%20file&level2=content&contentid=788) accessed 12 June 2005.

Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine, information about Sir Weldon Dalrymple-Champneys, [library.wellcome.ac.uk/doc\\_WTL039923.html](http://library.wellcome.ac.uk/doc_WTL039923.html), accessed 22 January 2005.