B for Bad, B for Bogus and B for Bold:

Rupert Kathner, The Glenrowan Affair and Ned Kelly

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The recent attention given to American B movies tends to overlook Australia’s own industry of Badness. For devotees of Bad cinema, The Glenrowan Affair (Rupert Kathner, 1951) is a true gem. Based on the exploits of bushranger Ned Kelly, and promoted as a ‘serious drama’, Eric Reade laughed, “if the picture had been billed as a comedy it would have done better business”. To investigate why The Glenrowan Affair is so utterly, terribly and awfully Bad, this paper will discuss its relationship with the industry of Kelly cinema, as well as Kathner’s oeuvre, which has recently inspired the docudrama Hunt Angels (Alec Morgan, 2006).

The Glenrowan Affair began as a Harry Southwell project entitled A Message to Kelly. In August 1947, Southwell was in Benalla scouting locations for his upcoming Kelly project. Southwell was an old hand at producing Kelly films, and truly he was an awfully Bad director. Born in Wales, he spent the early part of his career in America working as a scenarist. In 1919, he moved to Australia with his wife. Promoting himself as the internationally renowned film director ‘the Welsh Wizard’, Southwell had never directed a feature. Still, he boldly announced his intentions to direct authenti-
cally Australian in script, theme and location

as a link in the chain of national propaganda. Wherever the scenes
are supposed to be laid there will the Southwell players and cam-
eramen actually be... We intend to depict Australian life as it was,
and as it is, according to the particular story filmed. 3

In 1919, the ‘Welsh Wizard’ shot *The Kelly Gang* mainly in the Mel-
bourne suburb of Coburg. 4 The film was unspectacular, and did little to ig-
nite Southwell’s career. It did, however, manage to avoid censorship in
most states. 5 Since August 1911, stringent censorship laws had practically
eroded the once booming bushranging genre. 6 In 1922, Southwell shot his
second Kelly feature, *When the Kellys Were Out*. Filmed in the Blue Moun-
tains of New South Wales, this film did not fare so well with the censors. 7

Banned in most states, Southwell took his film to Britain where it
avoided censorship and gained some unexpected praise. One British trade
journalist wrote: “(the) fights are realistic, and the hard riding with which the
picture is interspersed is far above the average Western in its genuine
horsemanship.” 8 After a decade without much success, Southwell returned
to his tried and true Ned Kelly. In 1934, he directed *When the Kellys Rode*.
Shot on location again in Sydney’s Blue Mountains, it would mark the first
talking Kelly film. 9 As with his previous Kelly films, it was critically panned
and also banned until censorship laws eased in the late 1940s. In 1948,
two entrepreneurs, Oscar Shaft and Vic Hobler, screened the film at the
Capital Theatre, Sydney. As indicated by their promotional poster, all refer-
ences to Harry Southwell were removed. In bold letters the words read,
“Ban Lifted!” Still, as suggested by *Film Weekly*, the audience took great
pleasure in the film’s unadulterated Badness. It described the movie as “hi-
larious first-half entertainment.” 10

Figure 1: *When The Kelly Rode* – Theatrical Poster, National Film & Sound Archive: 561672
Regardless of the relaxed censorship bans, producers still had reservations about making Kelly movies. In 1946, Columbia Pictures approached Ken G. Hall to make a feature about a ‘famous Australian’.  

Ned Kelly was his first choice but he had apprehensions about the unpredictable Australian censors. So instead, he made a bio-pic about the pioneering Australian aviator, Sir Charles Kingsford Smith. *Smithy* (Ken G. Hall, 1946) was a huge box-office success and it gave Hall some international recognition. Not surprisingly, Southwell did not share Hall’s reservations towards the censors. The end of censorship only inspired him to produce yet another Kelly film. Entitled *A Message to Kelly*, he hired credible Melbourne journalist Keith Menzies to write the screenplay. In 1947, Southwell was in Benalla scouting locations when he crossed paths with Rupert Kathner, who had plans to shoot his own Kelly movie. In 1935, Southwell had hired Kathner as the artistic director for his film *The Burgomeister* (Harry Southwell, 1935). Indeed, Kathner was artistically gifted. During the depression, he worked as a courtroom sketch artist.

In order to avoid the problem of two conflicting Kelly movies, Southwell lured Kathner over to his film. Kathner, however, demanded to be more than a director-for-hire. By this time, he was a notorious figure of the film circuit. Already he had completed four feature films, numerous shorts and written his explosive book on the Australian film industry, *Let’s Make a Movie*. With the plan to produce many films together, Southwell and Kathner formed Benalla Film Productions. For their Kelly project, they scrounged a budget of £6000 and cast the Victorian Football League player Bob Chitty in the lead role. They began shooting in September 1947.

Everything was progressing splendidly, and within weeks they had shot over 1000 feet of film. Then Southwell discovered that once the production wrapped, Kathner still had plans to shoot his own Kelly feature. Furious and outraged, Southwell immediately dumped Kathner from the project. A few weeks later Southwell ran out of money and abandoned the picture himself. As illustrated by some recently uncovered stills from *The National Film & Sound Archive*, this film was marred by Southwell’s usual shonky direction. One image reveals Albert Henderson and Bob Chitty wearing ridiculous beards that appear to be a concoction of superglue, hair-dye and cotton wool; whereas another image exhibits the phony armour that was intended to resemble Ned Kelly’s magnificent 44-kilogram armoured suit.
In 1950, Kathner was back in Benalla shooting *The Glenrowan Affair*. This was an entirely new production, yet Southwell’s legacy continued. It was cheap, rushed and a complete mess. *The Glenrowan Affair* is told in flashback from the perspective of the aging Dan Kelly in present day Benalla. Kathner follows a story almost identical to the one narrated by the earlier features. After the Kelly Gang shoot dead three police officers at Stringybark Creek, they become the subject of a nation-wide police hunt. The criminal outbreak, which includes bank raids and the murder of Kelly ally Aarron Sherritt, culminates at Glenrowan, where Ned in his armoured suit confronts the Victoria police. Things end disastrously for Ned, but his brother Dan escapes to tell his tale.

Again, Bob Chitty was cast in the lead. For the role of Aaron Sherritt,
Kathner cast himself under the pseudonym ‘Hunt Angels’. Previously, Southwell had played Sherritt in *When the Kellys were out*. *The Glenrowan Affair* was written by Kathner and riddled by many historical errors. But perhaps the most peculiar thing is an intertitle early in the film which announces the year as 1887. Surely those with even a hazy memory of the Outbreak remembered that Ned had died on 11 November 1880. In this same scene, a Victoria Bitter emblem is displayed on the pub’s wall, even though this brand did not exist until the 1890s. Also in this scene is the shooting of Constable Fitzpatrick. As suggested here, this famous incident occurred during the Outbreak and was staged in the Glenrowan Inn. But again, such claims are not true. The Fitzpatrick incident happened months before Ned Kelly was ever outlawed, and it took place inside the Kelly homestead at Beechworth.¹⁴

![Image of Glenrowan Affair](image)

**Figure 4: The Glenrowan Affair**

Surely Kathner was having a laugh when he marketed his film as “The True Story of the Kelly Gang.”
Kathner’s shonky direction and misleading marketing certainly adds to the movie’s Badness. As a review from the Sunday Herald declared, this film demonstrates “less than the minimal requirements of film craft.”

From start to finish, The Glenrowan Affair is awfully Bad. Yet this paper wants to do more than just acknowledge its Badness. Importantly, it wants to uncover why it is so ‘awfully’ Bad. Undeniably, the onus of its Badness must be placed on the shoulders of Kathner. However, this does raise the question: were all his films this terribly Bad? According to Graham Shirley and Brian Adams, there is at least one exception. Writing about his 1941 feature Racing Luck, they declare that

the film contains sincere, naturalistic performances from Joe Valli and George Lloyd and its significance lies in the fact that it is one of the few early sound features to present working-class Australians with credibility instead of caricature.

Andrew Pike and Ross Cooper concur that Racing Luck features ‘sufficiently good performances’, but surely this is the result of good casting, as Valli and Lloyd were both highly renowned pros. Also, this prompts the question of why Kathner did not cast ‘highly renowned pros’ in The Glenrowan Affair. For his Kelly project, he cast Bob Chitty, whose performance and ability is just horrid (or shall we say, ‘Chitty’). Indeed, it would have made more sense to cast one of the country’s A-listers, such as Chips Rafferty or Peter Finch. At least they would have guaranteed Kathner some commercial interest. However, since the early 1940s popular actors were not a luxury that Kathner could afford.

Racing Luck’s minor success was far from a box-office sensation. In 1941, Kathner’s recently-established production company Fanfare was on the verge of financial receivership. And like never before, Kathner was in
desperate need of a hit. So he decided to produce a comedy. Most likely, Ken G. Hall would have inspired this decision. In the years prior, Hall had kept the industry afloat with a number of successful comedies. Yet Hall’s comedies Dad and Dave Come to Town (1938), Mr Chedworth Steps Out (1939), Gone to the Dogs (1939) and Dad Rudd, M. P. (1940) were more than escapist amusement. Notably, they provided some poignant commentary on Australia’s social and political climate. Claiming to be somewhat of a social commentator himself, Kathner decided World War II would be the subject for his comedy. Entitled The Kellys of Tobruk, he cast Syd Beck and Ossie Wenban.

However, midway through the shoot Supreme Sound System officially took control of Kathner’s production company, Fanfare. Kathner was left ruined and was forced to abandon his war comedy. Not helping matters was the release of Chauvel’s hugely successful The Rats of Tobruk (Charles Chauvel, 1944). This production was unrelated to Kathner’s war project, but intriguingly it did include similar sequences of comic relief which featured George Wallace and Kathner’s actor from Racing Luck, Joe Valli. Destitute, Kathner took any work offered, which, considering his tarnished name, was minimal. In late 1941, he directed his only other movie of the decade and only production before The Glenrowan Affair. Entitled Australia’s 5th Column, it was a 10-minute propaganda docudrama that urged Australians to fight for the British Empire. Its various scenes included an image of Australia overshadowed by a swastika and footage of the social obliteration caused by Hitlerism. In 1944, Kathner received a producer credit for loaning out his studio space to the film Red Sky at Morning (Hartney Arthur, 1944).

The 1940s was a horrendous decade for Kathner. Marred by failed film projects, his book Let’s Make a Movie voiced his resentment towards the film industry. Published in 1945, it proposed his plans to sustain a sufficient industry. He stated, “I’ve still got to find the real movie studio wherein real Aussie motion pictures are made, the place where real pioneering does or can take place”. To some degree, this book was refreshing and welcomed. Yet, his allegations that “no director was making films about Australia for Australia” and that he was “the only true Australian director” were baffling and somewhat arrogant. Furthermore, his comments about perhaps the country’s most groundbreaking and successful director, Ken G. Hall, were discourteous. Discussing On Our Selection (Ken G. Hall, 1932), he wrote: “no one in their correct senses will say it was a good picture”. In reference to Kathner’s comments, the trade press were clearly not in their ‘correct senses’. The Sydney Morning Herald marvelled, “in the superb beauty of its camera work, the film can stand comparison with the finest
products of Hollywood or Elstree. More than any other director, Hall made Australian films an attractive alternative to Hollywood. Discussing Kathner’s book, Ina Bertrand growled, “how dare he sideswipe everyone in sight when his own films were so abysmally Bad!” Indeed, Ken G. Hall – not Rupert Kathner – is remembered as perhaps the industry’s great pioneer.

*Let’s Make a Movie* suggests why Kathner was such a Bad director. His sheer arrogance that criticised highly renowned directors, while celebrating his own shonky productions as marvellous and groundbreaking, is hard to fathom. To some degree, Kathner was just a publicity rabble-rouser, who concocted a number of elaborate schemes to promote his own movies. His book certainly gives this impression. Yet, it also uncovers why Kathner regularly made such Bad movies. For Kathner, the true filmmakers were the renegades. They were the guerrilla directors who borrowed, stole, robbed and deceived. Now, Kathner would not have produced five features if he had not ‘cut some corners’. Still, cutting such corners almost guaranteed that a certain type of movie would be made. Importantly, Kathner’s methods recognise his films as symptoms of their movie-making process.

Also, they identify his determination to produce films in a time when movie-making was difficult. In 1937, he directed *Phantom Gold*, which reconstructed the famous expedition of Sydney businessman Harry Lasseter. The film starred Stan Tolhurst, who Kathner had met on Southwell’s *The Burgomeister*. Tolhurst had also appeared in *When the Kellys Rode*. Throughout his career, Kathner regularly collaborated with Tolhurst. In *The Glenrowan Affair*, Tolhurst played the blacksmith. However, Tolhurst was more than a bit-part actor. Ken G. Hall valued him as a superb character actor. Reviews also praised Tolhurst’s performance in films such as *Let George Do It* (Ken G. Hall, 1938), *The Overlanders* (Harry Watt, 1946) and *Bush Christmas* (Ralph Smart, 1947). In the early 1930s, Kathner wanted to make a film-based on a story by Tolhurst. ‘Falling for Fame’ was about the “phonies who came from overseas and wasted the (film) industry’s money.” Ironically, Harry ‘the Welsh Wizard’ Southwell would have been one such ‘phony’. This film was not made, but in 1938 Kathner and Tolhurst collaborated again on *Below the Surface*. Based on a story by Tolhurst, it narrated the lives of two competing miners. Tolhurst also starred and even helped Kathner build the set at the National Studios, Pagewood. Sadly, *Below the Surface* was one of the only Kathner films to never screen publicly.

In addition to *Phantom Gold*, Kathner also directed *The Pyjama Girl Murder* in 1937. This docudrama (a mix between documentary and drama) is his most impressive film. Based on the gruesome homicide of Linda Agostini, this 10-minute newsreel used re-enactments and voice-over to
sensationally dramatise this famous crime. Its gritty and coarse style, which riveted and shocked audiences around the country was groundbreaking. In fact, it remains the first example of a newsreel produced to assist a police investigation. Popular newsreels of the time (Cinesound News and Movietone News), concentrated predominantly on “feel good stories.” But here, Kathner revealed all the crime’s horrible details. (Still to this day, this crime is yet to be satisfactorily solved. Despite the fact that Linda’s husband Tony Agostini was convicted of manslaughter in 1944, many have claimed that the prosecution’s evidence was flimsy and circumstantial.)

Kathner’s docudrama style and obsession with conspiracy theories are also evident in The Glenrowan Affair. To open his Kelly drama, the narrator (Charles ‘Bud’ Tingwell) first introduces the milieu of ‘Kelly Country’. With uninventive and dull footage, shot by Kathner, the result is rather uninspiring. Next, it introduces the character of Dan Kelly. Yet this is not Dan Kelly the young robust bushranger, but Dan Kelly the old withered man. As one gathers from these scenes, Dan did not die at Glenrowan in 1880 with his other Gang members. Rather, he escaped to tell his tale. And indeed his tale is fascinating, yet it is complete fantasy. Or is it? Because of Kathner’s other untruths, we simply assume that this is another fabrication. However, this myth does have substance. Over the years, Dan Kelly has not gone away – despite all the evidence proving that his body was charred by a fire started by the police at the Glenrowan Inn.

Over the years, many have claimed to be the ‘real’ Dan Kelly. In 1938, a fellow named James Ryan declared himself as Ned’s brother. “I am Dan Kelly” read the headline from Brisbane’s The Sunday Truth. Forensic experts are now set to determine whether Ryan was in fact Dan Kelly. The book Horseman Bold named a patient of Ipswich Hospital as Dan Kelly. He supposedly used the alias, Jack Day. In 2001, Maureen Tyler claimed her grandfather, known as Charles Divine Tindale, was Dan. Ms Tyler claims he hid in the hotel cellar and managed to escape. In 1935, Jack Allen wrote a book aptly titled, Burnt to a Cinder Was I. Allen claims to have befriended Dan Kelly years after the Outbreak. His book narrated many of the tales that Dan supposedly told. Still, Kelly expert Barry MacArthur came up with the most delicious allegation to date. He claimed that Ned Kelly escaped Glenrowan and Dan Kelly hanged in his place at the Melbourne Gaol. In 1911, the supposedly autobiographical Dan Kelly: A Memoir was being pitched to publishers. Currently, the only known copy sits in the Reading Room in the State Library of Victoria.

As can be gathered by such evidence, Rupert Kathner did not fabricate this myth from his own deluded imagination. The Dan Kelly myth is real and does really exist outside this film. Still, it is interesting that Kathner
chose this myth. Although it was never verified, The Glenrowan Affair seems to borrow heavily from a play touring in 1929, Ned Kelly – A Play. Like the film, this play narrates the story of Dan’s miraculous survival. Not surprisingly, it also was met with harsh opposition – especially from Kelly descendants. Ned’s older brother Jim claimed that the Dan Kelly character should be declared ‘an impostor’. Surely, an entire docudrama about Dan’s disappearance would have been fascinating. Yet Kathner only chose to bookend his otherwise dreary and dull saga with this enthralling tale.

Appropriately, the ridiculous 2003 comedy Ned (Abe Forsythe, 2003) shares a curious likeness to The Glenrowan Affair. In this film, it is not Dan who survives but Ned. While Dan Kelly appears at the beginning of The Glenrowan Affair, Ned begins with the surviving Ned Kelly. Intriguingly, both these elderly outlaws seem dishevelled, damaged and a little bonkers. In Ned, Ned Kelly is a patient who has escaped from the Sinclair Mental Institution. The tag-line for this film reads “Hero, Lover, Dickhead”. The Glenrowan Affair and Ned both try to debunk one myth while entertaining another, and in the spirit of Kathner’s film, Ned totally ridicules and mocks serious historical thought. Now, such depictions were bound to generate harsh criticism, but these films do identify an intriguing pattern: myth plays a key role in determining a film’s B-ness. Sure, both these films are B because of their Badness, but B means more than this. B also identifies a different attitude and approach to history. It recognises the myths that are rarely located in mainstream (or A-stream) cinema.
Kelly cinema has traditionally endured an awkward relationship with serious Kelly history. Since film production began in Australia, Kelly motion pictures have been produced at regular intervals. So far they have included *The Story of the Kelly Gang* (Charles Tait, 1906), *The Kelly Gang* (Harry Southwell, 1920), *When the Kellys were Out* (Harry Southwell, 1923), *When the Kellys Rode* (Harry Southwell, 1934), *The Glenrowan Affair* (Rupert Kathner, 1951), *Ned Kelly* (Tony Richardson, 1970), *Reckless Kelly* (Yahoo Serious, 1993), *Ned Kelly* (Gregor Jordan, 2003) and *Ned* (Abe Forsythe, 2003). While there is a strong argument that the 1906 version was actually a pretty ‘good’ film, there is no question that the others are terrible for one reason or another. Still, it is not surprising that Ned Kelly inspired such a wide breadth of cinema. Indeed the Kelly Outbreak of 1878-1880 remains a startling and astonishing narrative. No dramatist could have produced a more spectacular scenario. Its star, Ned Kelly, embodies all the vital ingredients that drama craves. He is daring, bold and tragic.

So why has Ned Kelly inspired such Bad cinema? According to Brian
McFarlane, Kelly cinema has “not yet really made its definitive mark in its representation of Kelly and his gang and what they stand for in the national history/mythology.” McFarlane makes a valid point, yet as he also claims, the movies are a large tapestry woven by a cross-media context that includes novels, plays, operas, ballets and paintings. While the recent novels *Our Sunshine* (Robert Drewe, 1992) and *The True History of the Kelly Gang* (Peter Carey, 2000) both deserve their status as literary achievements, Kelly Culture is mostly based on fairly scrappy and rather lampooning celebrations of the bush icon. Even during the historical outbreak, Ned was a subject of satire and mockery. The 1879 play *Babes in the Wood or Who Killed Cook Robin* narrated the riotous plot of Ned Kelly and Lord Stephen Byrne kidnap babes from a Benalla schoolroom. Then in 1977, rock star Jon English starred in *Ned Kelly: The Rock Opera*. While this took itself more seriously, it is hard not to be amused by the ridiculously melodramatic songs such as “Jesus Shut the Door on Me” or “Die Like a Kelly, Son”. Even Sidney Nolan’s celebrated Kelly paintings were intended to “demean the myth.” So maybe Ned Kelly cinema is simply taken too seriously. Rather than hold *The Glenrowan Affair* accountable for its Badness, maybe it should be acknowledged for its contribution to Ned’s industry of Badness.

Still, *The Glenrowan Affair* should be remembered as more than just another Bad Ned Kelly film. The biographical docudrama based on Kathner’s career, *Hunt Angels* (Alec Morgan, 2005), champions *The Glenrowan Affair* as his crowning achievement. This docudrama has received a generous circulation, premiering at the Melbourne International Film Festival and receiving a short cinema distribution. It also has played on ABC television. Beyond capturing his style and attitude, *Hunt Angels* employs Kathner’s filmmaking ingredients, such as re-enactments, voice-over narration and interviews. Fittingly, this docudrama is also crammed full of baffling untruths. In one instance, it declares *The Glenrowan Affair* as the only Australian feature released in 1951, despite the fact that films such as *Wherever She Goes* (Michael S. Gordon, 1951) also premiered that year.

Importantly, *Hunt Angels* celebrates Kathner’s Badness as his most enjoyable pleasure. Throughout the narrative, clips from his movies are interspersed as Kathner experts discuss his shonky methods, Bad luck and financial restrictions. The audience is certainly encouraged to laugh at Kathner’s horrible productions. However, this docudrama also appreciates *The Glenrowan Affair* as a neglected gem. While it admits that Kathner’s film did receive a dreadful reception in Sydney, it draws attention to its ‘fabulous’ premiere in Benalla. Actually, it claims that Kelly descendants appreciated the film in ways that city slickers could not. But not surprisingly,
this is an absolute and categorical lie. Not only did Kelly descendants not appreciate this film, they lobbied to see it banned in ‘Kelly Country’. They argued that the Dan Kelly escape myth was unfounded and deliberately offensive. Reports indicated that every time the withered Dan character appeared on screen, the audience booed and hollered.\textsuperscript{35}

This paper began by asking why \textit{The Glenrowan Affair} is so awfully Bad. While its answer is varied, all roads lead back to its peculiar director, Rupert Kathner. ‘Rupe’ (as his friends knew him) was a bold and arrogant individual who wanted to defy the Australian film industry by creating his own franchise. The fact that he chose to immortalise Ned Kelly suggests his own attraction to iconic Australian symbols and persuasion by bogus myths. \textit{The Glenrowan Affair} is not a good film – indeed, it is awfully Bad. Yet, ravelled in all its Badness is the story of Rupert Kathner. Fittingly, Kathner’s story shares more than a hint of resemblance to Ned Kelly. While the bushranger fought 50 armed officers at Glenrowan, Kathner’s own kamikaze mission attempted to single-handedly renew the country’s suffocating film industry. Suitably in his film, he plays Ned during the Glenrowan siege. Masked by the iconic helmet, Kathner’s gallant battle ends with the Policeman hollering “we got him”.

On 31 March 1954, at the age of 50, Rupert Kathner succumbed to a brain haemorrhage.\textsuperscript{36} Kathner never gave the Australian Film industry its rebirth, nor did he block the floodgates from Hollywood. Still, like Ned Kelly, he left a legacy that seems to grow in stamina as the years pass. Kathner may be championed in \textit{Hunt Angels} as a great unsung Aussie hero, but similar to \textit{The Glenrowan Affair}, that is the stuff of legend and untruth. Nevertheless, in the neglected history of Australian B cinema, Rupert Kathner deserves his rightful place as one of its more loyal servants. In a fascinating career, he managed to produce five feature films and numerous shorts. And regardless of the fact that his movies regularly played at dumping houses for B Pictures, they all screened in a time when Hollywood films dominated Australian theatres.\textsuperscript{37} If only Kathner had the talent to complement his enthusiasm, then perhaps he would be celebrated among the likes of Ken G. Hall. Still, for every inch of Badness, \textit{The Glenrowan Affair} remains a pleasurable delight for lovers of Bad Cinema.

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NOTES


5 At this time, each state regulated its own censorship approval. See Ina Bertrand (1978), *Film Censorship in Australia*, University of Queensland, Queensland.


10 8 July 1948, *Film Weekly*


12 *Smithy* was retitled ‘The Southern Cross’ in Britain and ‘Pacific Adventure’ in America.

13 Ned’s actual armour is now on permanent display at the State Library of Victoria.


15 19 August 1951, ‘The Glenrowan Affair’, *Sunday Herald*


17 At this time, few directors were game enough to depict indigenous Australians. Yet Kathner often featured aboriginals as an important component of the Australian outback. See *Phantom Gold* (Rupert Kathner, 1937) and *Racing Luck* (Rupert Kathner, 1941).

18 This film is available for download from the NFSA website: http://www.nfsa.gov.au/.

19 Rupe W. Kathner (1945). *Let’s make a movie*, The Currawong Publishing Com-
pany, Sydney: 13


15 August 1932, ‘On Our Selection’, *The Sydney Morning Herald*.


For more on this case see Richard Evans (2004), *The Pyjama Girl Mystery: A True Story of Murder, Obsession and Lies*, Scribe Publications, Melbourne


Marion Delros (3 July 2005), ‘Two of the Ned Kelly Gang Survived Ambush and Lived on for Years’, *Independent on Sunday*: 25.


Brian McFarlane, ‘Ned Kelly Rides Again... And Again And Again’, *Screen Education*, 41: 27.

Veronica Kelly (1997), Annotated calendar of plays premiered in Australia 1870-1890, University of Queensland, Queensland: 48.


Graham Seal (2002), *Tell ’em I Died Game*, Hyland House, Melbourne
