



Medical History

Newsletter

AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND SOCIETY OF THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE INC

A0031554W

Fourth Series

Number Sixty-one

May 2018

THE PRESIDENT'S PAGE

As we move through the first half of 2018, behind the scenes your Executive has activities underway. In reviewing and building on existing practices, we are adapting to a digital environment. The payment of annual memberships online has been introduced successfully and is welcomed, going by feedback from members who've chosen it. The online payment system, we anticipate, will aid membership processing and reporting, in conjunction with a revised membership database. We encourage members to take up online payment, while alternative payment methods remain on offer.

Some members will be receiving the *Medical History Newsletter* electronically for the first time, having chosen that option. The newsletters are also accessible via the ANZSHM website. We are conscious that some prefer the newsletter in hard copy and delivery will continue by postal mail for these members.

Health and History continues to be an important vehicle for promoting the Society. Through our relationship with JStor, a digital library through which users around the world can access the journal content, *Health and History* delivers a healthy financial return reflecting its readership. The day-to-day administration of *Health and History* has been undertaken by its three Editors, Hans Pols, Cathy Coleborne and Peter Hobbins, with support from other Society members. In recent years, increasing interest from scholars has inevitably increased the editors' workload in processing submissions. We are pleased to announce that the Society has secured the services of an Editorial Assistant, Gemma Smart, for the journal's day-to-day administration, under the direction of Hans Pols. Gemma will be the first point of call for enquiries about the journal and we welcome her to the role.

Readers may be aware of the fate of 'Campbellfield', a cottage on a largish block in the Sydney suburb of Minto. It was built before 1820 by the colonial surgeon, Dr William Redfern. The property was sold in 2014. Since

then, this relic of Australian colonial life and medical history has remained unoccupied and fenced off, while plans to construct a medical centre and child care centre on the site were considered by the local council. The council rejected the proposal, but in early 2017 their decision was overturned by NSW's Land and Environment Court, although conditions were applied to the development.

In March 2018 we were disappointed to learn that Redfern's cottage was destroyed by fire, the cause of which is unknown. NSW Branch members, including Charmaine Robson and Louella McCarthy, lobbied vigorously to retain the historic dwelling. On behalf of the Society, I thank the members concerned, for their advocacy on the importance of Redfern's role in Australian medical history.

On a brighter note, the July conference of the Australian Historical Association in Canberra presents an opportunity to network with colleagues in the broader discipline of history. We have past editions of *Health and History* at hand and will make them available to conference goers. Thanks and congratulations go to Angeline Brasier and Cathy Coleborne, convenors of the ANZSHM stream at the AHA meeting, for their liaison with the conference organisers and programming of ANZSHM papers. A draft program is available at http://history.cass.anu.edu.au/aha2018#acton-tabs-link--qt-aha2018_quicktabs-ui-tabs1

During the AHA conference week, the Society's AGM will be held. We look forward to seeing you in Canberra.

Madonna Grehan
mmgrehan@bigpond.com



ALL ABOUT OURSELVES

Members of the ANZSHM describe their life, work and interests

How could I turn down Derek's invitation to contribute to this column as a 'younger member' of ANZSHM? Although I just miss out on his definition of 'venerable', I thought that the journey to a new (if late) career pathway by a (supposedly) mature student might be of some interest to the readers.

I became interested in medical history completely by accident, and after a long and circuitous route. While I have always had a deep interest in history and archaeology, particularly in how ordinary people in the past lived their lives, I did not realise there was such a thing until I was at university. At high school, history was 'boring' and I did not choose it as a subject because the 4th and 5th Form curriculum at the time only examined twentieth century political history. To me, this was not far enough back in time to be called history! My interest then lay in the early medieval period of Britain, which was simply not an option at a decile 1 school in South Auckland. Being young and foolish, and as the prospect of going to university was out of the question (no student loans in those days), I pushed my interest to the back of my mind, left school as soon as I could, and got on with other things in life.

Through life's ups and downs and a sometimes wayward course, I worked my way into a senior administration role for a large, multi-national civil construction and engineering company. Yet not having a recognized qualification of any kind continued to bother me. My passion for history and archaeology never left me but kept bubbling to the surface. After a watershed year at the age of 39, I decided that if I was going to do anything about it, it was now or never. So, I packed up and headed to Dunedin to study archaeology at the University of Otago.

Material culture has always been my first love. Picking through the debris and detritus of a society's lifeways, trying to fit the pieces together like a jigsaw puzzle and then interpreting how the population lived, fascinates me. Unfortunately, after two years of anthropology, the realisation that I was both too old for digging holes (the suggestion of getting a digger in didn't go down well), and that mathematics and statistics are not strong points made me re-evaluate what I was doing. I then decided that I would be an 'archaeologist of paper', and consequently changed my major to history.

I was working full-time for the School of Pharmacy as a personal assistant to two Pharmaceutical Science professors while completing my degree part-time, one paper per semester. My grades were pretty good, and although I had thought to just complete the degree that I had always wanted, my lecturers

at the Department of History and Art History at Otago strongly suggested that I should consider Honours. Again, another watershed event early in 2014 caused me to re-evaluate options, and after graduating in December of that year, I entered the Honours programme full-time in 2015. I won the William Downie Stewart prize for best dissertation, so maybe they had a point.

It was while working for the School of Pharmacy that I realized that medicines (therapeutics) and those who worked with them were missing from World War I historiography. Medicine supply to New Zealand during World War I became the topic for an essay I was writing for a practical history paper, which consequently became my first published paper in *Health and History* (2015). The idea for a PhD project developed from this. After a post-honours period working at Dunedin Public Hospital, I applied for a scholarship and entry to the programme in mid-2016. My application was accepted, and I am currently half-way through my doctorate, investigating the role and experience of military pharmacists in the ANZAC forces during the Great War (1914-18).

My interest in medical history continues to deepen, and I consider myself very fortunate indeed to be able to be involved in this fascinating field of history. Illness, wellness and issues of health affect us all. Examining these aspects of the lives and societies of people who have gone before is an exciting journey that I am enjoying immensely.

Lea Doughty
lea.doughty@otago.ac.nz



MEMBERS' NEWS

Welcome!

Julie Collins (SA)
Mary Sheehan (VIC)

Persistence Pays

Dear Derek, thanks for the review of my latest book in the last Newsletter. Unfortunately there were no contact details with the review and I wondered if you could insert a little postscript with my email and website www.jdpauill.com.au in the next issue. I had a request from a NZ reader when the book was first launched and successfully filled that order.

John Paull
jdpauill@intas.net.au

ISHM NOTES



The 46th Congress of the ISHM is fast approaching 3-7 September 2018. The congress will be held in the beautiful old buildings of the Nova Medical School, Campo Martires da Patria, Lisbon. There will be optional guided tours to Coimbra and Porto on 8 and 9 September. Early bird registrations close at the end of July.

Accessing the website has been an issue but that now seems to be tidied up. Go to the website <http://www.46ishm.com/> and explore. The conference organisers, Iventos, can be accessed through that site for registrations etc.

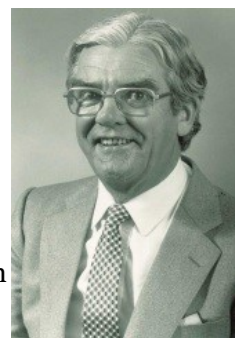
Portugal has a long and fascinating history, not the least of which is the connection with the early maritime exploration history of Australasia.

Brian Reid
bandlreid@bigpond.com

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

President's Page	1
All About Ourselves	2
AMPI News	4
New Zealand lacked the muse?	5
RACP Library	6
New Finding Aids	6
A Tasmanian Treasure	6
Blast from the Past	7
Journal Watch	7
AHA Conference 2018	8

BRYAN GANDEVIA PRIZE



The Bryan Gandevia Prize for Australian Military-Medical History, worth \$5,000, is awarded every two years for an outstanding honours, masters or doctoral thesis. Previous winners are Dr David Henderson (The internment of Germans in Second World War Australia), Dr Michael Molkentin (Australia, the Empire and the Great War in the air) and David Woolley (Not yet diagnosed: Australian psychiatric casualties during the Kokoda campaign, 1942).

Applications for 2018 close on 30 June. For further information contact Dr Karl James, Military History Section, Australian War Memorial, GPO Box 345, CANBERRA ACT 2601, email: gandeviaprize@awm.gov.au.

Bryan Gandevia, a respiratory physician, published numerous articles and books on medical history from 1947 until his death in 2006 and was a founding member and inaugural president of the Australian Society of the History of Medicine in 1986.

UPCOMING CONFERENCE

The Centre for Global Migrations, based in the University of Otago, is hosting a conference entitled 'Migration, Health and Humanities', from 26-27 November 2018. The organisers include ANZSHM members Lea Doughty and Susan Heydon.

Themes include: How might the Humanities improve health in migrants? How can Humanities research improve health concerns for globally mobile health professionals? In what ways can a focus on the Humanities improve cultural competence in relation to migration? How can interdisciplinary collaboration improve health in migrants?

For further information see <https://secure-www.otago.ac.nz/conferences/global-migrations-2018-nov/>

EDITOR'S COLUMN

Contributions to the Newsletter are always welcome. The next deadline for copy is 15 August 2018. Copy should be sent to the editor, Derek A Dow at d.dow@auckland.ac.nz. Suggestions for changes to the format or content are always welcome.

Colonial Medical Poets

In writing poetry for publication, colonial doctors aspired to entertain and to delight their audience. Today's readers, particularly those more familiar with modern poets like the American physician William Carlos Williams, may find colonial writers superficial. They did not peer into the darker recesses of medical life, or 'speak of the underground stream' – to quote Williams. They kept their profession and their writing separate. They preferred conventional topics like courtship and family life, religious experience, and the beauties of nature. And they revelled in the use of classical, literary and biblical allusions: this was, after all, the age of Romanticism, and Victorian piety.

Colonial medical poetry began in earnest with the arrival of Thomas Richards (LSA 1823), who reached Tasmania with his wife and child in 1832. An energetic and talented amateur editor and writer, Richards contributed copiously to several Hobart Town magazines and newspapers in the 1830s and 1840s. His published work included poems written in a light, classical style, described by his biographer in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* as 'disciplined, but uninspired'. Today his reputation as a creative writer rests largely on his more innovative short stories.

The next generation of medical immigrants, arriving in the 1850s, included several amateur poets. Of these the most notable, for the sheer volume of his published verse, was John Le Gay Brereton MD (not to be confused with his son of the same name, who was a professor of English literature). He published a first book of poetry in England in 1857. Two years later he emigrated to New South Wales, and three more books of his poetry were published in Sydney. The earlier work contained his much-admired lyric poem *Prince Legion*, along with love poems, nature set in wild and remote places, and nostalgic reminiscences in verse. The three later volumes gave epic voice to his somewhat obscure religious beliefs, in blank verse occasionally reminiscent of Milton.

The most eccentric of the colonial medical poets was the melancholic Edward Wardley MRCS, who came out from London to Sydney in about 1853, having, as he wrote, 'frittered away my best years in useless regret, indifference, or apathy'. He became an unsuccessful gold miner, then briefly a successful brewer, and between times a reluctant country doctor in northern Victoria and southern New South Wales. He eventually settled down as medical officer, and later superintendent, at the Tarban Creek Lunatic Asylum near Sydney, where his creative spirit emerged into the light of day.

Wardley used poetry and prose alternately in his sentimental autobiographical novel, *Confessions of Wavering Worthy* (1864). His father appears in it as Diffident Worthy. A later work, humorously titled *Lectiones Tarbanæ, or Tall Talk at Tarban Creek* (1870) comprised verse and essays which he wrote to read to his patients. In these recitals he explored 'the capacity of the lunatic mind to join in intellectual occupation and be diverted'. Interestingly, two whole chapters of *Confessions* addressed the question of whether the author himself was insane, concluding in the negative. Much of his verse in *Confessions* recalled, sometimes with undisguised bitterness, the author's unrequited love for a young woman named 'Mary' (whether she was real or imaginary is not entirely clear).

The colonial medical poetry most celebrated in its day was the work of Patrick Moloney, a talented Victorian of Irish descent. Moloney became one of the first two graduates in medicine from any Australian university, awarded the Melbourne MB in 1867. He served as an honorary physician at the Melbourne Hospital, and for a time as editor of the *Australian Medical Journal*. A skilled and popular speaker and writer, whose poetry appeared in the *Australasian* under the pseudonym 'Australis', seventeen of his sonnets were later reprinted under his real name in an anthology of prose and verse published in 1879. Seven were later included in Walter Murdoch's *Book of Australasian Verse* (1924). His favourite theme was love and courtship, combining stylised scenarios with some inventive uses of traditional imagery.



SONNET XV

Why dost thou like a Roman vestal make
The whole long year unmarriageable May,
And, like the phoenix, no companion take
To share the wasteful burthen of decay?
See this rich climate, where the airs that blow
Are heavenly suspirings, and the skies
Steep day from head to heel in summer glow,
And moons make mellow mornings as they rise;
As brides white-veiled that come to marry earth,
Now each mist-morning sweet July attires,
Now moon-night mists are not of earthly birth,
But silver smoke blown down from heavenly fires.
Skies kiss the earth, clouds join the land and sea,
All Nature marries, only thou art free.

Stephen Due
stephendue@gmail.com

New Zealand lacked the muse?

There is little evidence that poetry was either an accomplishment or an outlet for New Zealand's colonial doctors. Perhaps the most striking exception was George Eveleigh MRCS LSA 1835 who cut his literary teeth as editor of the *Indian Journal of Medical and Physical Science* in 1843, a role which he soon relinquished to leave India for health reasons. Eveleigh then practised in South Africa, where he claimed an expertise in mineralogy which did not bear fruit. By the time Eveleigh settled in New Zealand in 1879 he was also the author of *Science revealed: a poem, descriptive of the works of creation and the truth of scripture record* (1863), with an expanded edition in 1875. His 1887 New Zealand obituary mentioned his various publications, without passing judgment on their merits.



George Eveleigh (1812-87).

It appears that few New Zealand colonial doctors felt inspired towards poetic endeavours, even though some had it in their blood. Thomas Burns of Dunedin, who gained the Scottish Triple Qualification (LRCPed LRCSEd LFPS 1888) in 1888, was a grand-nephew of Robert Burns, the internationally acclaimed Bard. Thomas, it seems, was of a more practical bent, with some of his colleagues recalling his exploits during the South African War of 1899-1902: 'He wasn't a chap who ached to sit in a tent at the rear of the firing line juggling with Number Nine pills, but rather liked to smell the cordite and be in the van.'

In contrast to this, the military life brought out the poet in one of Burns' near contemporaries, Alfred Clark, who qualified through the same Edinburgh portal in 1892. Clark, a Dorset man, arrived in New Zealand in 1908 and worked as a radiologist in Auckland until 1916, a role which resulted in two amputations on his right arm.

During WW1 he served with the New Zealand Medical Corps on hospital ships and in Egypt, France and Germany. In 1918 Clark edited *My Erratic Pal*, a volume of verse allegedly 'dating back almost to his school days in Dorset, of one who fought with the New Zealand Mounted Rifles in Gallipoli, and eventually died from wounds received at Katia'. The suspicion at the time, and later, was that Clark himself was the author.

Another Otago-born contemporary of Burns and Clark, William Mill, was also educated in Edinburgh, where he graduated MB CM in 1891. Mill returned home when his health failed and tragically died of tuberculosis in 1897, aged 31. An extended obituary in the *Dunstan Times* claimed that 'Had he determined to devote himself to literature or journalism he would have scored, for he possessed literary genius far above the average, and he was known among his friends at college as "The Humourist".' In support of this the writer quoted the verses which Mill penned after the death of John Mainwaring Brown, the University of Otago's first Professor of English, who died in the ranges around Lake Manapouri in 1888.

IN MEMORIAM

*Comrade, farewell! The day of life is ended.
The night is come;
Death, chilly Death, his icy hand extended,
And brought thee home.
Breathless and still, away from friends thou'rt
lying
Deep in the snow;
Around thy bed the biting winds are sighing,
Plaintive and low.
The rushing mountain streams are loudly
singing
Requiem to thee ;
The tall green pines, in wavy motions swinging,
Make melody.
No sound is heard save the lone weka's calling,
Mournful and shrill,
From out the gorge when evening's cloak is
falling
Around each bill.
Across the snow the Christmas bells are ringing,
But not for thee;
Thy Christmas came not, all its pleasures
bringing,
Ere thou wert free.
Comrade, farewell! Thy day of life is ended,
The night is come;
Death, chilly Death, his icy hand extended,
And thou art home.*

RACP LIBRARY

The History of Medicine Library, housed on the ground floor of 145 Macquarie Street, is a valuable resource for Fellows, trainees, medical researchers and members of the public. As can be expected with a building of Macquarie Street's age and heritage, over the decades there has been a degree of gradual moisture ingress at different periods. As a result, the Library has been closed to all members, researchers and members of the public while the entire collection is moved to storage offset so that assessment and remediation work can begin. While the exact duration of closure is unclear at this point, the collection will be returned in a staged manner throughout 2018 and early 2019. The College regrets the inconvenience, but asks for understanding in helping us preserve our important collection of medical texts and artefacts for the future.



The RACP as depicted in the Medical Journal of Australia in 1951.

A TASMANIAN TREASURE

The Collection of Medical Artefacts, also known as COMA, has recently been transferred to the Jane Franklin College in Hobart. Comprising more than 3,000 surgical and other items ranging from the 1850s to the First World War, the collection is available for viewing by appointment. COMA president Dr Philip Thomson is a long-time ANZSHM member. For an brief outline of the collection see <https://www.gluseum.com/AU/South-Hobart/1475840315844542/COMA-Tasmania>.

NEW FINDING AIDS

State Archives and Records NSW has extended work on two important finding aids to items held in its collections.

A team of volunteers has indexed almost 29,000 nurses who appear on the following registers: Register of Midwives 1926-1954, Register of Infants' Nurses 1926-1954, Register of Psychiatric Nurses 1926-1954, and Register of General Nurses 1946-54.

The State Archives also holds photographs of doctors who registered with the Medical Board of New South Wales (series NRS 9873). These are being progressively digitised and many of them will be incorporated into the searchable database 'Beyond 1914 — The University of Sydney and the Great War project', which is an extensive database of biographies and archival information about members of the University community involved in the First World War. Over 600 doctors from the University of Sydney were involved in the First World War. Many of those doctors had previously submitted photographs which survive as part of the State Archives Collection.

Reference copies of the photographs of these doctors can be obtained, but at a price. And the price apparently varies according to which website you look at!

On <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/45567432/doctors-photographs-copy-order-form-state-records-nsw> the tariff is stated as \$10 per photograph, supplied as digital image and a 4' x 6' print, costs \$10, plus a series of additional charges — a \$15 administration fee, \$10 postage and handling, and an additional \$3.65 for overseas orders.

Go into <https://www.records.nsw.gov.au/.../Doctors%20Photographs%20Order%20Form.pdf> and the figures comes up as \$8.30 per photograph, with \$16 for administration, \$11.70 for delivery and \$4.00 for overseas orders.



BLAST FROM THE PAST

Medical History Australia 25 years ago

Randall Albury's presidential column for May 1992 made an impassioned plea for cross-fertilisation for the 'relatively new' ASHM, by establishing links with similar overseas organisations, citing the American Association for the History of Medicine in particular. As a reminder of how far communications have advanced in the past quarter century, he noted that he might find it 'a little more difficult' to keep abreast of ASHM business whilst on sabbatical in the USA but 'I expect that the almost universal availability of fax machines these days will help keep any problems of communication to a minimum'. With the advent of cheaper air travel, such cross-fertilisation, in the form of attendance at other societies' conferences, has become more affordable and easier to arrange over the years.

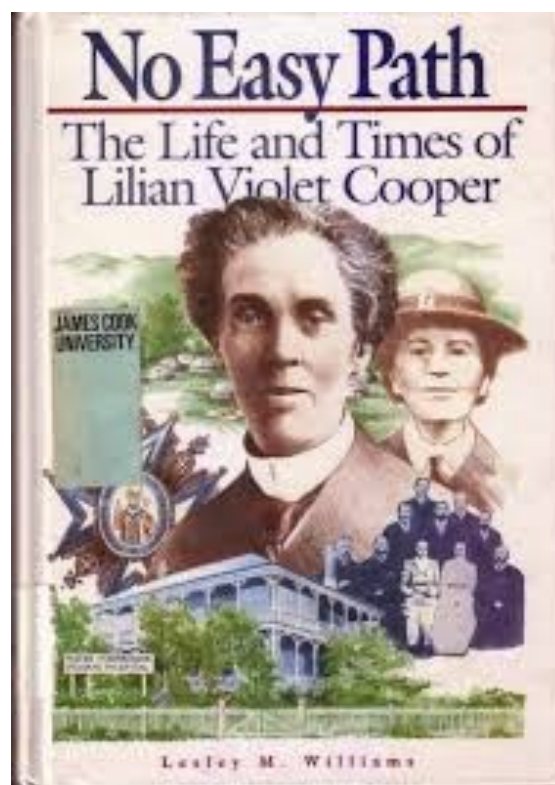
The newsletter also reported that the Auckland Medical History Society had agreed in principle to support a journal of Australian and New Zealand medical history. It would be another six years before the first issue of *Health and History* made its appearance.

In the absence of a local journal the newsletter included short reviews, under the heading 'Notes on New Books'. In May 1992 there were four such items, all dealing with biographies of Australian doctors. Two were about internationally recognised figures, the virologist Macfarlane Burnet and Adelaide-educated Hugh Cairns who went on to become first Nuffield Professor of Surgery at Oxford. A third recounted the life of William Milligan, an army doctor and one of the first residents of the Swan River colony in Western Australia.

The fourth volume under review examined the life and career of Lilian Cooper, Queensland's first woman practitioner and the first female FRACS. *No Easy Path* also dealt with Josephine Bedford, described in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (1981) as Cooper's 'lifelong friend' and in Cooper's Wikipedia entry as her 'long-time companion'.

Recent commentators have been more forthright in claiming the two women as part of the gay community, with the QWERTY girls, Aleathea Monsour and Kate Forde (who describe themselves as partners in both life and music), developing a musical based on Lilian Cooper's life, with some funding from the Brisbane City Council. It is not clear how far the project has progressed but two of the songs can be found on <https://qwertygirls.com/musicals/lilian/>.

Communication has come a long way since the days of 'almost' universal fax machines.



JOURNAL WATCH

James E Bennett and Chris Bricknell, 'Surveilling the Mind and Body: Medicalising and De-medicalising Homosexuality in 1970s New Zealand', *Medical History*, April 2018, 62.2: 199-216.

An examination of a socio-historical process which occurred throughout the English-speaking world, placing events in New Zealand 'within a trans-national framework to explore the circulation of medical theories and the critical responses they were met with'. For a precursor to this see JE Bennett, 'Keeping the Wolfenden from the Door? Homosexuality and the "Medical Model" in New Zealand', *Social History of Medicine*, 2009, 23: 134-52.

Philippa Martyr & Aleksandar Janca, 'A matter for conjecture': leucotomy in Western Australia, 1947-70', *History of Psychiatry*, 2018, 29(2): 199-215.

A study conducted by ANZSHM member Philippa Martyr, in collaboration with the Winthrop Professor of Psychiatry and Head of the School of Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences, University of Western Australia, 'in the context of wider national and international trends in psychiatry'.

A DATE FOR YOUR DIARIES—AUCKLAND December 2019

New Zealand has been the venue for three previous medical history conferences, the first of which was organised in Hamilton in 1987 by the late Dr Rex Wright-St Clair. Rex's efforts inspired two further conferences in Auckland in 1994 and 2005, both convened by Professor Linda Bryder who will again assume this role in 2019, assisted by our two NZ councillors, Dr Derek Dow and Ms Ella Arbury, long-time Society member Dr Kate Prebble, and Dr Katrina Ford.



AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE 2018

The Australian Historical Association Conference for 1918 will be held at the Australian National University, Canberra, from 2-6 July. Medical history has a significant presence this year, with 27 papers on the opening day, arranged under 6 broad headings: Pregnancy and Parenthood, Public Health, Biography and Memory, Professional Women, Mental health, Disease and Solution, Education and Discovery, Faith and Healing, Lessons of War.

The subject matter is broad-ranging and includes, inter alia, the National Childbirth Trust, vaccination against the Spanish influenza in 1918-19, nurse recruitment in the Boer War, public health and northern Australian Aborigines, student responses to dissection in the medical

school, the gold treatment of syphilis, faith healing in Graeco-Roman times, WW1 pharmacy history, and chiropractic in 1970s Victoria.

Seven other medical history topics are interspersed throughout the programme, including a study of Neil McConaghy (Australian-born founding member of the International Academy of Sex Research), the Fremantle Lunatic Asylum, Swiss medical missions in WW2, and disloyal doctors in South Australia 1914-18.

Twelve of the 40 listed speakers in these two categories are current ANZSHM members, which offers considerable scope to recruit others to our ranks. Looking at this programme, medical history is alive and flourishing in Australia.

Medical History Newsletter is the news bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Society of the History of Medicine Incorporated, distributed to all members without charge. It is published quarterly, in the months of February, May, August and November. The opinions of the authors of articles in this *Newsletter* are their own, and are not necessarily the views of the editor or the publisher, Australian and New Zealand Society of the History of Medicine Inc. Every care is taken in the preparation of the *Newsletter*, but the publisher can accept no responsibility for any errors or omissions. Edited and compiled in Auckland; Printed and posted in Melbourne.

Correspondence related to this issue of the Newsletter should be addressed to the Editor, Dr Derek A Dow, Dept of General Practice, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, NZ. E-mail: d.dow@auckland.ac.nz

Enquiries about membership of the Society should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, ANZSHM, PO Box 4092, University of Melbourne VIC 3052. E-mail: anzshm@anzshm.org.au

For the latest information, visit the ANZSHM Internet Website: www.anzshm.org.au

LETTERS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND ARTICLES ARE WELCOME, PREFERABLY IN ELECTRONIC FORMAT.

DEADLINE FOR THE NEXT ISSUE WILL BE 15 AUGUST 2018.