THE

Chronicles of Early Melbourne

1835 TO 1852.

HISTORICAL, ANECDOTAL AND PERSONAL,

BY

"GARRYOWEN,"

AUTHOR OF "THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN."

"Palman quam meruit, tulit."

CENTENNIAL EDITION.

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE RIVER YARRA: ITS FALLS, PUNTS, BRIDGES, AND NAVIGATION.

SYNOPSIS:—The Yarra River Described.—The Yarra Falls.—The First Puntman, William Watts.—First Punt at Richmond.—Murder of Monahan.—"Paddy" and "Polly" Byrne.—The Melbourne Bridge Company.—The First Bridge Across the Yarra.—Prince's Bridge.—Laying the Foundation Stone.—Public Demonstrations.—Particulars of Construction.—Opening of the Bridge.—Grand Processional Display.—Collapse of the Richmond Bridge Company.—Port and River Navigation.—Mr. Amman's Scheme.—Mr. Blackburn's Suggestions.—Porpoises in the Yarra River.—A Disputed Point.—Mr. Robert Russell's Opinion of "The Falls."—Drowning of Young Batman.

THE Birr-arrung (water coursing through mist and umbrageousness), as aboriginally designated, but accidentally named the Yarra Yarra—*Anglice*, Flowing-Flowing—by Mr. Charles Wedge under circumstances elsewhere narrated, was, when first seen by white men, a stream shrouded in romance, and wrapped in a grand grotesque wildness, to which its waters and its banks within the Melbourne circuit have long been strangers. From the spot whereon Melbourne was afterwards built to the Saltwater River confluence, the Yarra Yarra flowed through low, marshy flats, densely garbed with ti-tree, reeds, sedge, and scrub. Large trees, like lines of foliaged sentinels, guarded both sides, and their branches protruded so far riverwise as to more than half shadow the stream. The waters were bright and sparkling; and, wooed by the fragrant acacias, shaking their golden blossom-curls, how different in aspect and aroma from the Yarra of to-day—a fœtid, festering sewer, befouled midst the horrors of wool-washing, fellmongering, bone-crushing, and other unmentionable abominations! Some of the contiguous timber attained to a considerable height in the region of the present Queen's Wharf, and the Yarra basin constituted a natural reservoir which, viewed from the adjacent eminences, offered a spectacle for which eyes would now seek in vain. The Eastern and Western, the Emerald and Batman's Hills formed an immense cordon of she-oak, gum and wattle tree forests, which it could hardly be imagined would ever succumb to the fire and the axe of civilization. As for herbage, it luxuriated everywhere, and two persons still living, who walked through un-streeted Melbourne in 1836, have informed me that in the places now known as Collins, Bourke, Elizabeth, and Swanston Streets, they waded through grass as green as a leek, and nearly breast high. The blacks, the emus, the bell birds, parrots, and magpies had the northern quarter all to themselves, for the kangaroos mostly affected the southern side of the river, satisfied with the immense scampering area afforded them throughout that then practically illimitable region. The Yarra also swarmed with a sort of black fish, bream, flounder, and herring, which afterwards became a source of much sport to European anglers. The porpoises used not only to venture out of the Bay into the Saltwater River, but were sometimes rash enough to indulge in an aquatic stroll as far as Richmond. The Yarra Falls were primarily a rocky ledge barring the river, but in the centre was a fissure sufficiently wide to permit small laden boats to ascend at high water, and such had been known to do so occasionally. The salt water flowed up the river sometimes as far as Studley Park and into Gardiner's Creek. Shoals of sharks would now and then, like a hostile squadron, take a reconnoitering look in at Sandridge and Williamstown, and seals have been caught at the place now known as Fisherman's Bend. For years after the white occupation an excursion up the river was most enjoyable; along by the new Botanic Gardens and round towards Studley Park and the Yarra Bend, which, with two or three nooks in the Merri Creek, were the favourite haunts for the aborigines—"the forest primeval," tenanted with trees of every age and condition, which had weathered many thousands of storms.

Boating pleasure parties contributed one of the earliest modes of recreation for the few persons sufficiently affluent to indulge in such a luxury; and the following account of one of these excursions on the 1st March, 1839, extracted from the *Port Phillip Gazette*, will best convey to the mind of a present reader

some notion of the locality of which I am now giving a brief and cursory description:—"The spirit that dwells on the wavelets of the Yarra Yarra, if we may use so bold a metaphor, must have gazed up from his sedgy throne in mute astonishment when he beheld the gay, though strange and intruding, company of foreigners that swept up the stream of his ancient domain on a late joyous occasion. We can imagine the rapid and changing shades that chequered his sea-green countenance when he heard the light musical laughter and beheld the beaming of the bright eyes that starred themselves in the waters of his own silent stream, as it were to mock the deep repose from which they had awakened the river god; heedless of his indignant looks, and the wondering gaze of large-eyed 'loobras,' who ran from spot to spot to scan through the mingled foliage of the wild vines and mimosa the movements of the white man's canoes, the boats with their varied freights floated away from reach to reach, until they closed upon the destined theatre of future merriment. We might dwell upon the happiness and gaiety of the scene that followed—the cool tent where the ladies reposed—the sward that bent beneath their 'many twinkling feet'—the dainty viands spread beneath the shade of the ancestral trees—the devoted gallantry of their attendant squires—the flash of the wine cup and the melody of song, till we fell into despondence over the comparison which the cares of our every-day money-seeking life present to those scenes of unrestrained mirth and pleasure; but it is a part of the philosophy of life which we anxiously cherish to avoid these painful contrasts. Sufficient to say that night came down upon Yarra's stream before the long flotilla was again moored, deserted, and in silence under the shadow of the town houses."

The writer of this stilted effusion I take to be the once gay and jovial George Arden, the *Gazette's* editor at the time, and though the "flash of the wine cup" glitters through the diction, enough of simple prose remains to show that the Yarra was then a wildly fascinating place.

The first survey of the river was made early in 1839 by a Mr. Nutt, an assistant surveyor. He penetrated to a distance of 112 miles, and so great was the river's sinuosity that he roughly estimated the point he had reached to be in a straight line not more than fifty miles from town, but it was certainly much less. A station taken up by Messrs. W. and D. Ryrie was the sixty-mile limit. Mr. Robert Russell, the first principal officer of survey, made short occasional trips riverward; but in 1844 Mr. R. Hoddle, the then head of the Survey Department, traversed a considerable portion of the Upper Yarra country, and submitted an interesting report upon the subject. The Upper Yarra region attracted little or no attention until the gold discoveries impelled adventurous diggers to enter its fastnesses.

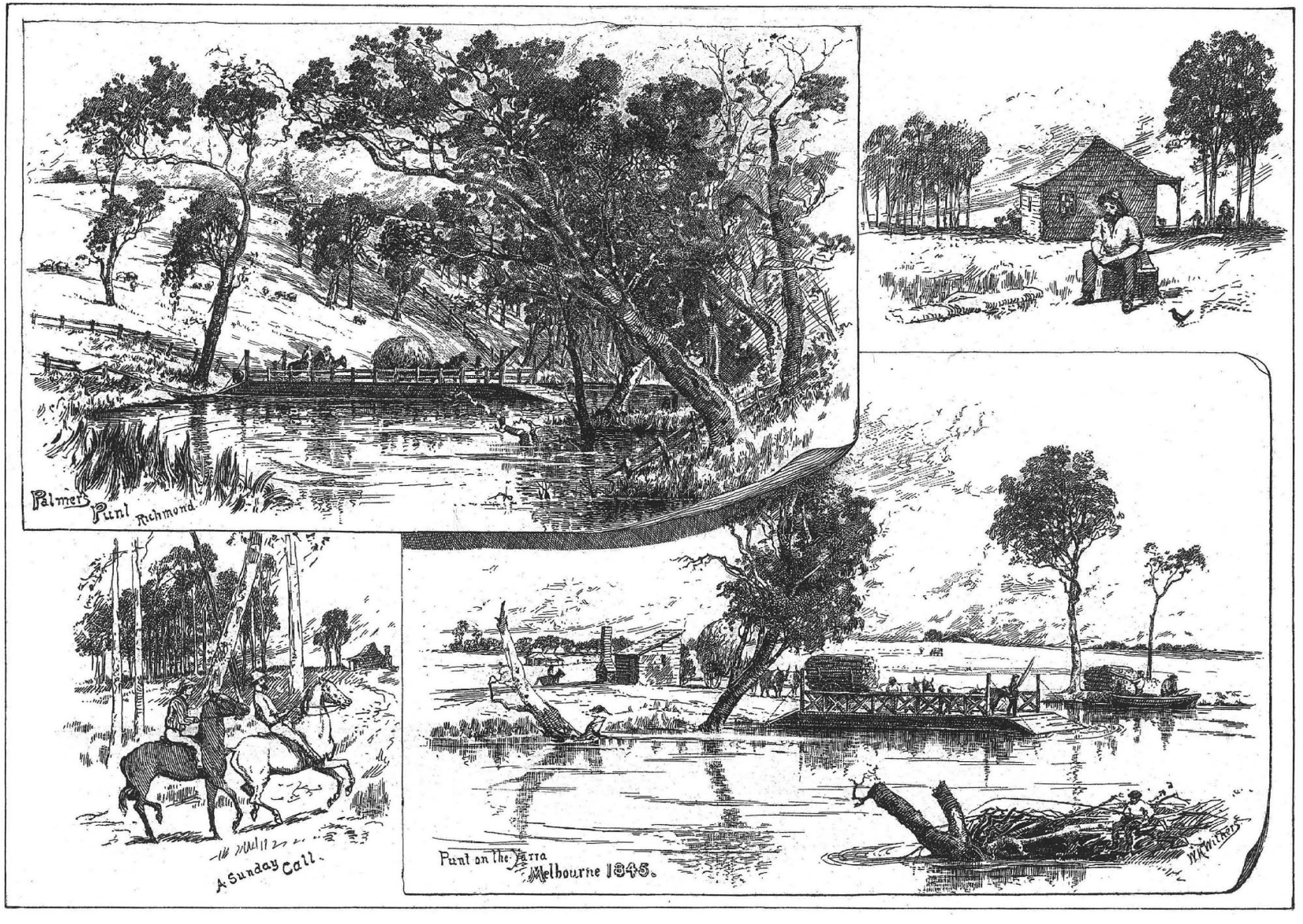
On arriving in Port Phillip, I was an expert swimmer for many years, and, one hot summer day, jumped into the Yarra, in the vicinity of the now Punt Road ferry. The river was deep, and down I went, but was astonished to find that my ascent to the surface was impeded by a kind of suction drawing me downward, and it required all the muscular power in my body to get up again, when I effected a safe landing, and never after ventured into Yarra running water. Several instances have occurred where some of the best white swimmers in the colony suddenly and unaccountably lost their lives in this river. As for the blacks, they are amphibious by habit and necessity, and no one ever heard of one of them meeting such a fate.

THE "FALLS,"

So long spanned by the well-known bridge of that name, mark a spot of some historical interest, as it was there the first attempt was made of anything like a public work in the colony. The "Falls," and not the river, ought to be known as "Yarra Yarra," which is the Aboriginal appellation for a rapid, or any rush of water over rocks. Though fresh water was obtainable above the "Falls" at certain hours, the salt-water impelled by the tide rendered it so brackish as to be often undrinkable. Therefore, an effort was made to stem the deleterious up-flow, and in 1839 a weir, or dam, of the rudest kind was thrown across the "Falls." It was formed of stone, mud and mortar, by the labour of a convict road-gang, and in August the *Port Phillip Gazette* wrote of it as "simple, neat, and substantial," and equestrians were "requested not to ride on it," being dangerous alike to man, horse, and embankment. The "substantiality" of this undertaking soon gave way, and ere a year had passed the matter was brought so prominently under the notice of Governor Sir George Gipps on his visit to Melbourne in 1841, that His Excellency not only directed the

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Palmers Punt Richmond
A Sunday Call.
Punt on the Yarra Melbourne 1845.

construction of a new breakwater, but volunteered to prepare a specification for the same. Sir George, be it known, was a Captain of Royal Engineers. Though shortly after His Excellency's departure this projected breakwater was commenced, owing to the stinginess of the Government, or other unknown cause, the Vice-regal design was never worked up to, the thing was scamped, and turned out more than half a failure. The brackishness of the water was partly reduced, but the supply was noxious, and anything like good water was not to be procured until the Yan Yean advanced to working order. The boiling process worked off the saline insalubrity of the water to a great extent, and the river did not reek with the disgusting contributories which in a few years commenced that pollution which, increasing with time, at the present day has transformed the waterway into a *cloaca maxima* of festering impurities. The Town Council was subject to spasmodic fits towards abating the universal nuisance, but the "vested interests," and the absence of adequate legislative authority, completely paralysed intentions excellent in themselves. The only other natural breakwater within miles of Melbourne was the "Falls" at Studley Park, remarkable as a once favourite crossing-place for cattle, and a station for herring fishing, much affected by the ancient anglers.

PUNTS.

The primitive European mode of crossing an Australian river was a contrivance at once simple and easy of execution. A dray without wheels, made water-tight by tarpaulin, was launched through the agency of a small rope looped round the main rope across the river, and the requisite quantum of haulage, the transit was accomplished. The first punts were not unlike a couple of huge bullock-drays fastened together. The first man to experimentalise with a punt over the Yarra at Melbourne was a Mr. William Watts, and the crossing place was about half-way between Swanston and Russell Streets. He did so under license, by which he was authorized to charge puntage rates. Watts launched his punt on the 15th April, 1838, and it was christened "The Melbourne" by his daughter breaking a bottle of champagne against one of its sides, after which there was a plentiful distribution of grog on the spot. In honour of so important an event, however, there was a stiff jollification at the town taverns in the evening, when no such nonsensical stuff as "Sham-pain," but stiff fiery rum, and not the best of half-and-half, formed the bibations. Of all the merry-makers on that memorable though not very remote occasion, I know of but one now alive and well able to crack a bottle of champagne in Melbourne to-day, viz., the veteran Thomas Halfpenny, the Studley Park Ranger, whose good-humoured face has already peeped out in these CHRONICLES.

The first punt "spec." seems to have succeeded with Watts, for in 1839 he established another over the Saltwater River near Footscray, where he also purposed opening a public-house; but as a license would not be granted, he disbanded the punt, and the Saltwater remained unpunted for some time. The Melbourne punt continued at its work, and a second one was added; but on the formation of the Melbourne Bridge Company, the punts passed by purchase to that co-partnery, and remained in operation until superseded by a wooden bridge. Dr. (afterwards Sir J.) Palmer, who had early established himself at the now St. James' Park, on the Yarra, was the first to place a punt over the river at Richmond.

At the time when the Melbourne punt flourished there was a small settlement known as the Brickfields, south of the river on the flat, running from the Government House Reserve round by Emerald Hill, and this place was the resort of a drunken, bloodthirsty, thieving crew, by whom several nocturnal depredations were committed. One night in 1842, a policeman named Rody Monahan, whilst on duty near the place was set upon by some of the brickfielders, and pitched into the river, where his body was found after several days' search. It was thought that he had interposed to quell a drunken row, and lost his life in consequence. Three men were apprehended on suspicion of the crime, but were released through want of evidence; and though the Bridge Company offered a reward for information towards bringing the offenders to justice, nothing ever came of it.

FERRIES.

Trans-riverine locomotion by boat was established contemporaneously with the punting. The first *Charon* that plied close to the "Falls," was an ancient Irish Celt, known as Paddy Byrne, who lived close by

the Southern terminus, with an only daughter named Polly. They were both in their way public favourites, and when the father would be asthmatically or rheumatically disposed, as occasionally happened, Polly officiated as "skipper" with skill and liveliness. This ferry continued until the erection of the recent Falls Bridge, after "Paddy" had gone to stretch his bones in the old cemetery, and "Polly" somewhere else to the chronicler unknown. The keeper of the second ferry was, in 1839, one John Matthews, by no means so much an identity as either Paddy or Polly Byrne, and during the great Christmas Eve flood of that year, he had a miraculous escape from drowning. His boat and himself were swept from their moorings, and he would certainly have come to grief, but for his gallant rescue by a couple of sailors.

Bridges.

Considering the daily increasing importance of Melbourne, the punt system was abolished, and a bridge over the Yarra substituted.

Melbourne Bridge Company.

Committee :—Messrs. D. S. Campbell, P. Mayne, J. Sutherland, J. J. Peers, J. B. Were, F. McCrae, M.D. Secretary and Treasurer :—Mr. Donald Gordon McArthur.

This company, established 22nd April, 1840, with a capital of £5000, in shares of £10 each, had for its object the erection of a bridge across the Yarra Yarra, in a line with Elizabeth Street. The committee contracted with Mr. John Augustus Manton, civil engineer, for the construction of an elegant, and substantial iron suspension bridge, to be finished within sixteen months from the date of the contract, and to cost £4500. The Governor signified his willingness to lay before the Council a Bill securing to the company a toll upon the bridge for the space of twenty-one years.

The company's shares were taken up, and it was agreed that £150 a year should be paid to the Government for the privilege of punt-plying. After this the punt charges were on a loaded dray, 2s. 6d., 1s. for each gig, and 2d. for a foot passenger. In 1842, the Government increased the annual rent of the punt to £200, and required the company to supply two constables to be always on duty there. The company and their engineer appear not to have got on amicably about "the elegant and substantial iron suspension bridge to be furnished within sixteen months," and a hitch occurred in the obtaining of a private Bill securing them in the toll for twenty-one years, for they stuck to the primitive punting for several years.

At a meeting of shareholders held on the 15th April, 1845, in the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, it was decided to have a fixed bridge. There was much controversy between the Superintendent (Latrobe) and the Bridge Company as to where the bridge was to cross the river. Latrobe favoured the end of Elizabeth Street, whilst the company preferred Swanston Street. At Elizabeth Street the water was twenty feet deep and the bottom composed of thick mud, whereas at the other place the depth was not more than seven feet, with a hard gravelly bed, and this led to the abandonment of the Elizabeth Street motion. Tenders were invited, and Mr. Alexander Sutherland's was accepted. According to contract he was to complete the bridge, approaches included, for £400, and the first pile was driven on the 9th June. When his work was finished he found he had so far miscalculated in his estimate that it cost him £530, and for the £130 at the wrong side of his ledger he made an ineffectual appeal to the company. The bridge crossed the river in a slanting direction towards Edwards' boathouses, and (in 1883) I saw some of the old piles remaining where originally put down. In January, 1846, the bridge was leased to a Mr. R. A. Balbirnie, and it remained in the company's hands until superseded by the opening of a free Government bridge in 1850.

There was one circumstance connected with the old bridge, which ought not to be passed over *sub silentio*. During its existence it had but one keeper, who was as well-known as the river itself. Patrick Doherty, was intrepid and humane, and had been instrumental in his time in saving eight persons from drowning. The new bridge being free to the public, the toll-gatherer lost his occupation, and a subscription amounting to £25 was raised in recognition of his past conduct and on the 23rd of December, 1850, a presentation was made on the new bridge, when the Mayor (W. Nicholson) handed Doherty the "pony,"



Old Ferry House Melbourne.



Hawkyers first Printing Office.

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in a purse, and with Messrs. William Hull, J.P., and John Hood spoke in the most laudatory terms of the ex-bridge-man's gallantry. Doherty soon after became a licensed victualler, and he died leaving a widow and five children.

PRINCE'S BRIDGE.

The necessity for the erection of a suitable permanent bridge at length compelled the attention of the Government, and as it was a matter likely to entail considerable expense, it was referred for consideration by a Select Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales. Mr. David Lennox, an officer of experience was despatched to Melbourne to obtain reliable data, and the Committee (24th September, 1845) recommended "that a bridge of one arch with a span of 150 feet, estimated at £10,000, should be erected over the Yarra, at a spot opposite to or in the vicinity of Swanston Street, Melbourne." Lennox's plan of the bridge was approved by the Superintendent (Latrobe), and the Government lost no time in acting upon the report of the Legislature. It was decided that the bridge should be begun on the same day, and with much the same ceremony as the long-talked-of, long-expected, and sadly-required Melbourne Hospital. The several public bodies who promised to co-operate in the one undertaking were invited to be equally obliging to the other, and the event was in every sense a gratifying success. As the procession of the Hospital has been fully described in another chapter, it is only necessary to notice here the special circumstances connected with the laying of the foundation.

After the Masonic Brotherhood and other Societies were arranged in the places assigned to them, the proceedings commenced by the Rev. A. C. Thomson, Masonic Chaplain, offering a prayer composed by himself for the occasion, after which he delivered the following invocation :—

"May the great Architect of the Universe permit this work to be carried on successfully to its completion; and make this bridge serviceable for the design of its erection, that by its means the bounties of Providence may come in to the people of this place, to their welfare, and to the glory of His holy name."

Masonic response—"So Mote it be."

The stone, previously adjusted, was then partly lowered, and Brother Frederick Lord Clay, as the Junior Worshipful Master, having received a bottle containing various coins of the realm from His Honor the Superintendent, deposited it in the stone, and also a brass plate, the inscription on which was read by Brother John Stephen, as Director of Ceremonies. It was thus :—

THE FOUNDATION STONE
Of
This Bridge Over the Yarra Yarra River, at Melbourne,
Was Laid on the 20th Day of March, A.D. 1846,
By
HIS HONOUR CHARLES JOSEPH LATROBE,
Assisted by
The Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Freemasons,
In the Ninth Year of the Reign
Of
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.
Governor of New South Wales,
SIR GEORGE GIPPS, Knight.
Superintendent of Port Phillip,
HIS HONOR C. J. LATROBE, ESQ.
Resident Judge,
HIS HONOR WILLIAM A'BECKETT, ESQ.
Mayor of Melbourne,
HIS WORSHIP J. F. PALMER, ESQ.
Superintendent of Bridges,
DAVID LENNOX.

A silver trowel was next handed by Senior Worshipful Master A. H. Hart to His Honor, who spread the mortar, after which some verses of a psalm were sung.

The corn was then scattered, some oil and wine poured on the stone, and another invocation was offered by the Chaplain, as follows:—

"May the bountiful hand of Heaven ever supply this Province with abundance of corn, wine, and oil, and all the necessaries of life; may He whose mighty hand encompasses Eternity be the guardian and protector over this infant city and its inhabitants; and may this building which spanneth the waters be long His protection—long preserved from peril and decay."

Masonic response—"So Mote it be."

His Honor the Superintendent observed that as this was in fact the only bridge which for many years would probably be constructed over the Yarra, he wished that it might be distinguished by the name of "Prince's Bridge," in honor of the Prince of Wales, who he hoped would yet be the Sovereign of the Australian colonies.

Mr. E. J. Brewster, M.C., and a member of the Masonic Body, delivered an address, in the course of which he expressed the satisfaction entertained throughout Port Phillip at the commencement of a great and useful public undertaking, and hailed it as the forerunner of similar works urgently required throughout the district. It was impossible not to consider the period when this bridge was being erected as most auspicious. After a long night of suffering and distress Port Phillip had arisen with resuscitated energy and vigour; never was it in a more healthy condition; and when the failure of crops with which it had pleased Providence to afflict other portions of the earth was considered, it should be remembered with thankfulness that here the full horn of plenty had been poured out. The bridge will be the means of uniting two of the most fertile portions of a country justly designated "Australia Felix," and be of incalculable advantage to the commercial interests of Melbourne. He concluded thus:—"Having looked before us, if we would now look upwards, and for a moment view the vast arch extended over our heads, we will at once see how meagre and transitory is the proudest structure of man when compared with the everlasting handiwork of the Great Architect of the Universe. But this is a Masonic suggestion, and reminds me that we have now to proceed to lay the foundation of another building; this is more directly personal, and for our own benefit,—that for the purpose of benevolence. In both, Masons are peculiarly interested, being from time immemorial the promoters of charity and the disseminators of the useful and liberal arts. It only, therefore, remains for me on the part of that Order, the basis of whose constitution is, to fear God, honour the Queen, and love one's neighbour as one's self—to tender you, Sir (the Superintendent) our grateful acknowledgments for the invitation which has afforded us an opportunity of participating with you in the performance of this day's ceremony; and in conclusion, to offer our supplications to the Supreme Architect of the Universe that this work, so favourably commenced, may rise in beauty, harmony, strength, and honour, to the country, to the satisfaction of you, Sir, its founder, and to the credit of our ancient Fraternity."

His Honor the Superintendent said he sincerely trusted that the bridge about to be erected would yet be traversed by thousands of the children of the present residents in the Province. He expressed his thanks to the different Fraternities honouring the occasion with their presence, especially the St. Patrick Society, the Temperance Society, and the Masonic Body.

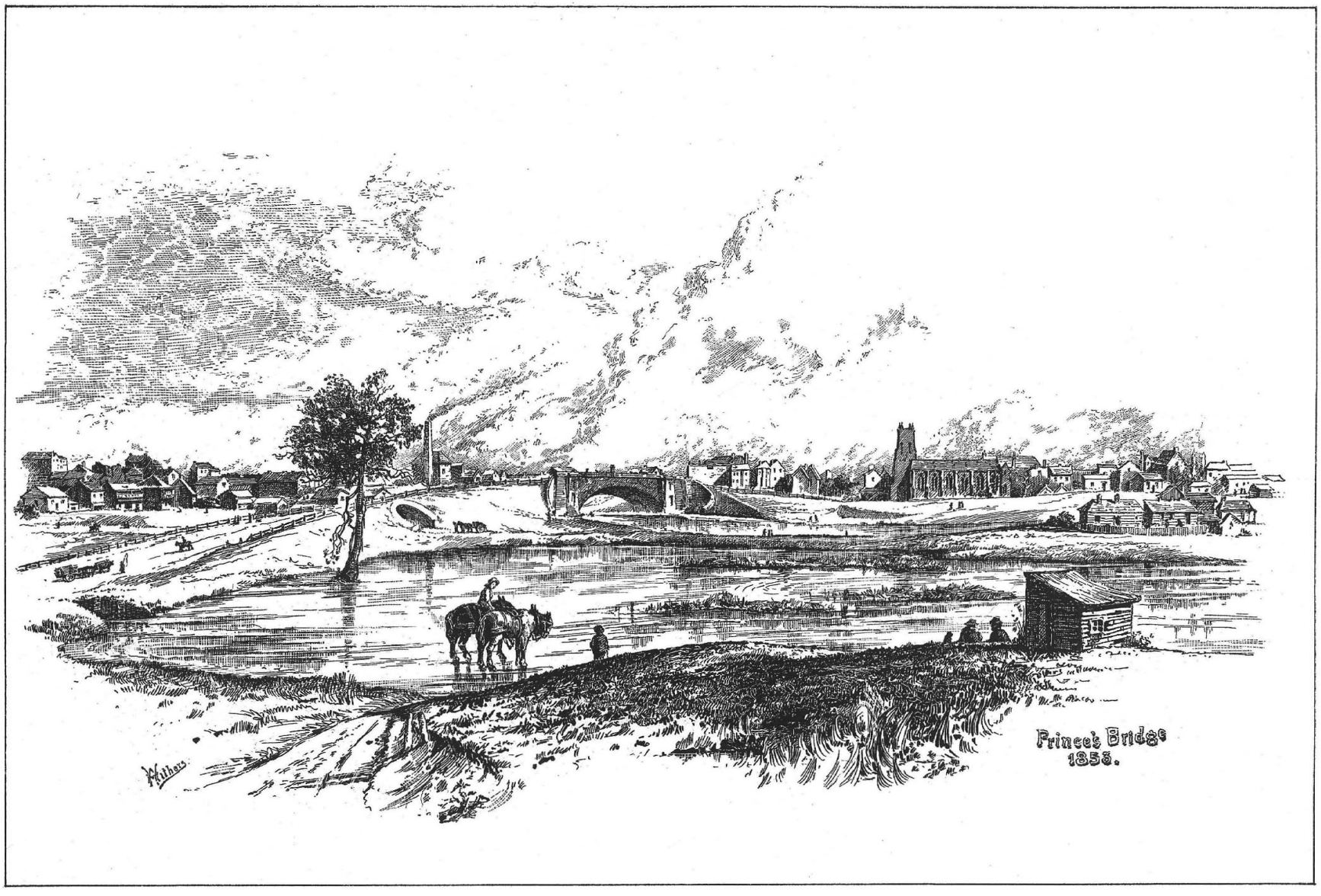
At the conclusion of these observations, three loud cheers were given for the Queen, with three for the Superintendent. The "National Anthem" was then chanted by all present, and that portion of the day's work concluded, the assemblage proceeded to assist at the foundation of the Hospital.

The Masons and Oddfellows held high carnival that evening in honour of the joint ceremonies of the day, but the bridge was paid an unique and special compliment by the Chief-Constable (W. J. Sugden) entertaining the members of the police force at a dinner in the *Market Square Hotel.*

The bridge was 150 feet span and 30 feet in width, and the following is an estimate of the probable outlay:—Digging foundations, &c., £500; making and putting up centring, £800; 27,000 cubic feet of cut stone in the arch, of granite, at 2s. per foot, £2700; 10,660 cubic feet of cut stone in the abutments, of bluestone, at 1s. 6d. per foot, £799 10s.; 5959 cubic feet of cut stone in the frieze, cornice, parapets, &c., at 2s. per foot, £595 18s.; 4847 perches of building stone in abutments, wing-walls, &c., at 6s. per

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Prince's Bridge
1853.

perch, £1454 2s.; 6665 perches of building and mortar, at 6s. per perch, £1999 10s.; 67,200 cubic yards of embankments at the two ends of the bridge, at 1s. per yard, £3360. Total, £12,209.

The recent discovery of a stone quarry at Corio (Geelong), suitable for the work, would, it was expected, reduce the gross amount by £2000. The troubles of the bridge, however, soon commenced, the first stumbling-block being the stone contractor, who declared he had under-tendered, and was dilatory in keeping up the supply. Little advance was made until August, when it was ascertained that, instead of £12,000, the probable cost would be £20,000, and instead of being finished in three years, as expected, it would take five. It was first intended to proceed with one-half of the arch, but some local engineers having expressed disapproval, the Bridge Superintendent changed his mind, and went on with the whole. During 1847 it dawdled away, the subject of scornful and disparaging comment; but at the commencement of 1848 there were no less than twenty masons hammering away on it! On the 10th February the arch was half finished, and when completed it would be the largest in the colonies, and, with only one exception, the largest in Europe. Its span would be 150 feet, whilst the span of the main arch of London Bridge was but two feet more (152). The material was granite and bluestone; some of the granite blocks weighed one and a-half tons, and it took eight bullocks two days to drag one of them to Melbourne. The granite was well-grained, in no manner inferior to the Scotch article. On the 7th September the second portion had so far progressed that the process of "keying" took place at 3 p.m., in the presence of Superintendent Latrobe, when the Union Jack was proudly unfurled. The arch was an elliptical span of 150 feet, the crown being but thirty feet above the water. It was the flattest ever thrown, only one-fifth of the altitude, whilst the celebrated bridge at Neuilly, in France, of 120 English feet span, rose from the spring to the crown of the arch more than a fourth of the entire span. The centre arch of the new London Bridge was the nearest approach in dimensions and contour to the Melbourne one, but the crown of that arch was 35 feet above the springing of the intrudos, or nearly one-fourth, and one-third of the extreme span. For strength the lower tiers of stones were set so as to project inwards eighteen inches on each side, leaving a clear span of 150 feet. The breadth of the arch was thirty feet, and, estimating the weight of each cubic foot of granite used in construction at 168 lbs., or 1½ cwt., there were 23,490 cubic feet for the solid contents of the arch, which would weigh over 1260 tons. On 19th April, 1850, the last "cap" stone was placed on the bridge, an event signalized by the sprinkling of a legion of Union Jacks and other flags all over the structure. The amount expended to date was £12,000. A most wanton act was perpetrated in the vicinity of the bridge on the 14th July, 1850. The Superintendent had a small wooden building for an office, and this was feloniously fired. The place contained a plan of the bridge and several documents of value. A reward was offered for the detection of the perpetrators, but to no effect.

The bridge was formally opened on the 15th November, 1850, with the grandest processional display witnessed in the colony, a description of which will be found amongst the Separation rejoicings on one of "the three white days." Lennox well sustained his reputation by the manner in which this first stone bridge was built, for in durability it has had no equal in the colonies. On the 26th September, 1851, it was lit by three lamps on each side.

I was under an impression that the design for this structure had been prepared by Mr. David Lennox, a Superintendent of Bridges, despatched from Sydney, but I have now reason for believing that it was the handiwork of Mr. Charles Laing, the second Town Surveyor of Melbourne. It appears that the Public Works Committee of the Town Council, acting in conjunction with a delegation from the District Council of Bourke in 1844, offered a premium for plans and estimates for a bridge over the Yarra. The structure was to be on elliptic arches, and, though there were more than a dozen competitors, the design adjudged deserving of first prize so deviated from the conditions of the plans that a writer of the time declares its acceptance to be "a shameful injustice," as it was a plan "which cannot by any possibility be tortured into anything approaching to elliptical." As to this old structure Mr. Russell thus gossips:—

"Concerning the stone bridge at present under condemnation (I wish I had the power to grant a reprieve), you may be aware that a premium was offered, and this design was accepted. It was not quite in accordance with the terms of the advertisement, as will be seen by the letter in the *Port Phillip Herald* of June, 1844, forwarded herewith; but it is nevertheless well constructed, and, being one of the largest span,

should rather be doubled in width, and dry arches formed on either side for traffic, than have to give way to iron and ornamentation.

"I enclose copy of a letter sent by myself to the Town Council, with my design, in which I was assisted by the late Mr. Samuel Jackson. We got the second prize. The following memo (6th June, '44) was also forwarded in connection with the plan submitted :—

"'In the accompanying design the viaducts on either side of the river are so arranged as to support the arch of the bridge.

"'These viaducts, or dry archways, are, moreover, available for communication through the raised roadway, which is intended to be filled up from the line of Flinders Street on the one side, and back to the rise on the south side of the river, giving additional value to the Government land in the latter situation. The estimated cost of this bridge, including viaducts, is £12,000; the formation of roads as approaches is estimated at £600; the filling-up approaches at £1000.' There was a wooden bridge also constructed, whilst the stone one was progressing, and in July, 1845, I have an entry of payment received by me on account of superintendence of same." The undertaking here specified is manifestly the Company's pile bridge, previously described.

New Prince's Bridge.

The Prince's Bridge of 38 years ago being a thing of the past, it will be interesting to place in juxtaposition a few particulars connected with the inception, progress, and opening of the magnificent structure which has succeeded it in the same place. Explanation, if not apology, is needed for this step, as only under exceptional circumstances could the apparent solecism of including herein events that happened nearly forty years after the Chronicles are supposed to close, be pardonable.

One of these exceptional circumstances will be found in the connecting link that the bridge forms between the past and the present—the Omega of engineering skill and colonial enterprise. Another circumstance is the perfect contrast (not at all favourable to the latter) presented by the opening demonstrations of the two bridges. And to these may be added a third, that a similar course has been adopted herein with regard to other Institutions, in the material advancement of which a noteworthy public interest is taken.

Previous "rejoicings" and grand "processional displays" that took place at the opening of the old Prince's Bridge in 1850, have been alluded to. But it must be confessed with humiliation, that there is no material with which to rejoice or make display in connection with the opening of the new bridge. True, there was a kind of demonstration at the laying of the foundation stone of the latter; but even that had its heart-burnings, for the "powers that be" and the "power that would be" clashed considerably. There was a good deal of talk, and not a little correspondence in the public press, upon the questions of right and etiquette to be observed. On one hand it was held that the Government of the day should have elaborated the occasion as one, the importance of which would have warranted it being identified with at least a public, if not an universal, celebration. On the other hand, His Excellency the Governor was spoken of as being the most appropriate celebrant of a performance that will live in our colonial history. But it is difficult to arrest the influences of personal vanity, or to counterpoise the temptations of private caprice; and so the contractor's own whim carried the day.

One of Melbourne's most popular mayors (Mr. J. C. Stewart, member of a firm of Solicitors) reigned over the metropolis in the year 1886; the anniversary of his wife's birthday was fixed as the day on which to "lay the stone," and the lady herself was the chosen means by which the work should be performed. The compliment was an exceedingly appropriate one, which it need not be said was as gracefully accepted; but the proposal came from the wrong quarter. The Government was robbed of its opportunity (for it has not been upheld that the contractor was right in usurping the functions of the Ministry and the public, whose business he was engaged to perform), notwithstanding Mr. Stewart's assertion that Mr. Munro's "selection had met with the approval of the Government." The matter was personal to Mr Munro—nothing more—a fact that stripped it of its inherent political and commercial significance. What the legal aspect of the question may be is outside my province to argue; but as questions of taste and palpable duty,

I think there can be no difference of opinion that both were violated. Had the contractor merely desired to make merry with the "troops of friends" he undoubtedly possesses, the occasion would have been a sufficiently legitimate one, without the addition of plumes borrowed by French leave, and if I add that the foundation arrangements appeared to give satisfaction to an exclusive *coterie*, and that the occasion was allowed to sink to the level of a semi-private jollification, simply from the exercise of good feeling, and a correct taste on the part of the public, it was, nevertheless, understood that the Governor would lend the additional *prestige* of his office and presence at the opening ceremonial.

And this had its justification, inasmuch as the construction of this bridge was a *ne plus ultra* undertaking in the heart of the metropolis of the Colony, over the destinies of which His Excellency presides as the honoured representative of the Queen-mother of the son after whose patronymic the bridge is specially named.

But, as the time arrived, local jealousies again cropped up, and instead of the jubilation we were led to expect, the opening event was allowed to pass unhonoured and unsung—that is, save and except the gathering of a political Minister's *clientèle*, and consumption (by them) of the cold meats remaining from the Mayor's ball held the night before in the Melbourne Town Hall.

The sum of this humiliating state of things is nearly complete. Suffice it to note that Mr. Contractor Munro once more stepped between duty and inclination, and sacrificed the former to a momentary gratification of the latter. The Government could not negotiate for the final ceremony until the work had been placed under their control, and the contractor could not hand over the bridge until it was finished. The Governor was powerless to take action unsolicited. Mr. Munro, doubtless, courted any additional *kudos* that might come in the search for popularity, but the people would have experienced a conjunctive satisfaction if His Excellency could have driven over the structure in state (which he did) and declared it open for public traffic at the same time (which he did not). The "double event" might have come off, but that it was forestalled by the contractor personally inviting the Governor to cross the bridge (before its completion) with his retinue, on his road from Government House, on the opening of Parliament. This, of course, gave umbrage to the "powers that be," and once more the "power that would be" triumphed. The Government rather inconsistently, not to say pettishly, held that the Governor's drive across (which, in reality, he was merely invited to do for comfort's sake, to avoid the mud-pools in the St. Kilda road), constituted a virtual "opening" of the bridge. Still the Minister of Public Works was deputed, subsequently, to enact the hollow farce of walking on to the new highway, and proclaiming a fact the public already enjoyed, for traffic had been going on for some time.

There was no gathering of the Masonic and other bodies, as on the opening of the first Prince's Bridge; no prayers for a blessing; no bands playing; no colours flying; no "enthusiastic rejoicings of the inhabitants;" no "Union Jack proudly unfurled," as of old time. The Ministry were represented by a solitary subordinate member of it, whose senseless punctilio has cast a shadow over an event which should have been emblazoned on the scroll of years to come, with all the pomp and circumstance of a glorious, if not a mighty, achievement; and the Prince's Bridge of 1888 will remain alike a monument of the Colony's energy, wealth, and progress; a reproach to the supineness of a captious Government; and a silent testimony of the selfishness of a favoured few, who, by their secluded libations to Bacchus, cast ridicule on what should have been an enthusiastic democratic demonstration by the people.

Laying the Foundation Stone.

This event took place on Tuesday, the 7th September, 1886, and the *Melbourne Argus* of the following day thus reports the proceedings:—

"The weather in the morning was threatening, but rain did not fall until after the ceremony, which was performed under pleasant and auspicious circumstances. Admission to the enclosure surrounding the site of the bridge was by ticket. The persons invited were admitted at the gateway on the northern side of the river, and crossed by a temporary footbridge to the spot at which the foundation-stone was to be laid on the southern side. The massive stone was suspended on a movable crane over the abutment on which it is to rest. Planks were laid down on the excavated area around the stone, and on the

platform above there were seats for spectators, who assembled early in large numbers. Over the wooden framework of the bridge streamers of flags were hung. The display of bunting was profuse, and gave a festive appearance to what was otherwise a somewhat sombre scene. A band, kindly lent for the occasion by Mr. R. K. Montgomerie, of the New Brewery, West Melbourne, was present, and relieved the tedium of waiting by selections of music.

"Punctually at 12 o'clock the Mayoress of Melbourne (Mrs. J. C. Stewart) arrived, and was greeted with cheers by those inside and outside of the enclosure. The Mayoress was accompanied by the Mayor and the Town Clerk (Mr. Fitzgibbon), and was received at the entrance by the contractor (Mr. D. Munro). Amongst the gentlemen present were the Chief Secretary (Mr. Deakin), the Commissioner of Customs (Mr. Walker), the Commissioner of Public Works (Mr. Nimmo), the Minister of Education (Mr. Pearson), the Postmaster-General (Mr. Derham), the Minister of Defence (Mr. Lorimer), the President of the Legislative Council (Sir Jas. MacBain), Colonel Sargood, Mr. F. Ormond, Mr. C. J. Ham, Mr. Simon Fraser, M.L.C.'s, Mr. T. Bent, Mr. J. B. Patterson, Mr. G. D. Carter, Mr. E. L. Zox, and Mr. J. W. Peirce, M.L.A.'s, Mr. W. H. Steele (Inspector-General of Public Works), Mr. C. Le Cren (Secretary of Public Works), Representatives of the contributing Municipalities, and Messrs. Green, Dobbie, and Gall (members of the Adelaide Chamber of Manufactures).

"Everything being in readiness for the ceremony, Mr. D. Munro called upon the Chief Secretary to address the assembly.

"Mr. DEAKIN said,—'Mr. Mayor, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is rather more than 40 years since the foundation-stone of the first Prince's Bridge was laid on the other side of the Yarra, and he would have been a bold man, I fancy, who on that day would have ventured to predict that even within a century that handsome and substantial structure would be removed in order to make way for a still finer and more imposing bridge. Under no ordinary circumstances could such a change in so short a time have been well imagined; but the circumstances of Victoria have not been ordinary. They have been entirely unprecedented, and in a space of less than half a century the Government and the City Council of Melbourne and the Councils of its now existing suburbs are called upon to face quite a new order of things. Forty years ago Melbourne had 12,000 inhabitants, and the colony as a whole had only a population of 33,000. To-day Melbourne has 365,000 inhabitants, and the colony has a population of more than 1,000,000 within its borders. (Cheers). Such a change in so short a space of time, I suppose, has not been witnessed in any other part of the world. Then there was great rejoicing at the commencement of the construction of a bridge which cost £20,000, and which took four years to complete. To-day we celebrate the laying of the foundation-stone of a bridge which is to cost £150,000, and which, we expect, will be completed in less than two years. Judging by the progress which the contractor has made, I think we are well justified in that expectation. At the same time, we cannot afford to despise the day of small things. On the contrary, one of the chief obstacles to the construction of a bridge sufficiently magnificent to meet the demands of modern Melbourne was the fact that the existing structure was a beautiful, and in its way, a splendid structure. There was the greatest regret at even the idea of cancelling such an old land-mark—one which had so many associations clustered around it, and which had so well fulfilled its purpose. It was not until we were able to connect this question of the Prince's Bridge with the larger question of the river improvement, and permanent protection from floods, that we saw any means whatever of enabling a new bridge to be built. Consequently, we resorted to that device.

"'When I had the honour, in 1883, to be Minister of Public Works, I introduced a Bill into the Legislative Assembly to authorize the construction of a temporary bridge in place of the old bridge, because it was felt that as long as the old bridge stood before the eyes and in the hearts of the people of Melbourne there would be no chance of getting a new bridge. We obtained the necessary permission to have the old bridge removed, and the Public Works department determined then to put up such a structure as would not satisfy the people for any long period of time. That innocent piece of strategy has justified itself, and that structure is now to be superseded by one worthy of our metropolis. The cost and the importance of this work have been greatly increased by the fact that it is part of our great scheme of river improvements. There are many here who can

remember the time when from where we stand to the Immigrants' Home behind us was one rolling river of turgid water, carrying haystacks, and occasionally cottages, down to the sea, and those who witnessed the flood of 1878 do not wish to see the same thing again. (Laughter.) Since then the work of river improvement has been carried on with such rapidity that 7,000 tons of solid rock forming a wall across the river have been removed from the spot on which we stand, and 43,000 tons removed from the site of the other wall lower down, so that altogether 50,000 tons of solid rock have been taken out of the river. In addition to that the superficial area of the water way, which under the old bridge was 300 square feet, will be increased under the new bridge to 4,000 square feet. According to the testimony of Sir John Coode the work done in connexion with this bridge, the widening of the river to 300 feet, the removal of the rocks, and the making of the new cut, will give us the only possible preventive of future floods. In that way, therefore, as in other ways, the ceremony of to-day marks an important advance, and we may congratulate ourselves upon it. Not long ago we celebrated the iron wedding that it was hoped would knit Victoria and New South Wales more closely together. Now the Mayoress is about to lay the foundation-stone of a bridge in which, by the marriage of stone and iron, we shall have the north and south banks of the river wedded together for all time to come. We shall have the divisions of north and south Melbourne very largely removed, and the spot where we stand may at no distant date be almost the centre of a great and prosperous city. It is looking forward to greater Melbourne, of which we may regard this as the first important work, that I have now the pleasure and privilege of addressing these few words to you to introduce the ceremony which the Lady Mayoress will at once perform.'" (Cheers).

"Mr. D. Munro then read the following address to the Mayoress :—

"'To Mrs. Amelia Henderson Stewart, wife of James Cooper Stewart, Esquire, The Right Worshipful the Mayor of the City of Melbourne.

"'Dear Madam,—

"'I have pleasure in asking you to perform the gratifying and auspicious ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of this The New Prince's Bridge.

"'The reasons which have led to its erection in lieu of the handsome stone structure which has been removed to give it place (namely, the insufficiency of the latter to the requirements of the increased and constantly increasing population and business of this the capital of Victoria, its suburbs, and the country southward of the Yarra, and the determination to obviate recurrence of injury from floods, and to increase the usefulness and sightliness of the river by widening its waterway, and by deepening and removing obstructions from its bed), are unmistakable proofs of local energy, and progress.

"'Whilst the enterprising spirit of the Government and Parliament of the Colony, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the City of Melbourne, and the Mayors and Presidents and Councillors of the other contributing Cities, Boroughs, and Shires in planning and providing funds for a structure of such noble dimensions, is evidence of present prosperity, and unlimited faith and confidence in the future of our country.

"'Personally, whilst conscious as none other can be of the weight of the obligation so incurred, I am proud that it has fallen to me to contract, and become responsible, for the carrying out of this important national work; and in asking you to perform the interesting task of laying the foundation-stone, I feel sure that to none can the occasion be of greater pride than to you who were born in this city, and, it is pleasing to remember, on a day of which this is the anniversary, and of which I take opportunity to wish you many happy returns.

"'I beg your acceptance of this trowel for use in, and as a memento of, this ceremony.'*

"The trowel presented to the Mayoress was made by Mr. H. Newman, of Melbourne. It is a very fine example of colonial art. The blade is of silver, and bears the arms of the Colony and of the City of Melbourne, together with a well-executed view of the new bridge. The handle is of

* There is no signature to the document, but it is understood that the expressions are Mr. Munro's.—ED.

blackwood, mounted with gold, and upon it are two gold shields bearing the monograms of the Mayoress and the contractor, very prettily worked in enamel of different colours.

"The MAYOR (Mr. J. C. Stewart) in acknowledging the gift on behalf of the Mayoress, said,—'Mr. Munro, I thank you very sincerely for the high compliment you have paid to Mrs. Stewart and to me as the Mayor of Melbourne in inviting her to perform the interesting and pleasant ceremonial duty of laying the foundation-stone of the new Prince's Bridge; for your expressions of personal respect and good wishes as to her birthday, with which your invitation is accompanied, and for the handsome present you have made to her, which will be treasured as an heir-loom by us. It is gratifying to know that, apart from the personal considerations which have influenced you, your selection meets with the concurrence and approval of the Government and of the Municipal Bodies interested in the work; and I need scarcely add that in the circumstances it affords the Mayoress the greatest pleasure to comply with your request. I may be pardoned for expressing my individual opinion that the duty could scarcely have been more appropriately entrusted to anyone else. My wife was born in this city, almost in view of the present site, and here her life has been spent while the bridge, when completed, will be wholly within Melbourne. It seems to me, therefore, to be only in harmony with the policy, according to which the laws of this Colony are made and administered, and which aims at securing the pride of place to our native products, that the honours of the occasion should be conferred on the first native-born Mayoress of Melbourne. For the first ten years in the history of the Colony, viz., from 1835 to 1845, the provision for crossing the river was by punt only. The first bridge, which was of wood, and placed a little higher up the river than the site of this bridge, was like the previous punts, private property. It was commenced on the 9th June, 1845, and with its approaches cost the company for which it was built £400, but to the unfortunate contractor, Mr. Alexander Sutherland, £500. Tolls were charged for its use until the opening of the Prince's Bridge, which was built as a free bridge, at the public cost, by the Government of New South Wales, of which this colony, then the district of Port Philip, formed part. The estimate and vote for the work was £10,000, but the actual cost approached nearer to £15,000. The choice of its design was chiefly that of the Superintendent of the District, afterwards the first Governor of this colony, Charles Joseph Latrobe, Esq. It was a single arch of stone, 150ft. in span, less by 50ft. than the Grosvenor-bridge at Chester, of which it was nearly a *fac simile*, but still one of the largest stone arches then existing, and of very light, graceful, and artistic appearance. Its materials were local basalt and granite. The superintendent of the work was Mr. David Lennox, and the builder was Mr. Patrick Reed, who, like Mr. Sutherland, complained that the price received did not repay him his expenditure. The foundation-stone was laid, and the bridge, in honour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, was named 'Prince's Bridge,' by Mr. Latrobe, on 20th March, 1846, and was opened by that gentleman on 15th November, 1850, amidst the enthusiastic rejoicings of the inhabitants at the news received two days previously of the passing of the Act of the Imperial Parliament, authorizing the separation of the district from New South Wales, and its erection into the Colony of Victoria. The City of Melbourne, then included the present Cities of South Melbourne and Fitzroy, the Boroughs of Port Melbourne and Hotham, and parts of the City of Collingwood and of the Boroughs of St. Kilda and Brunswick.

"'I fervently hope that, under the Divine Providence, the work may, in your enterprising and able hands, be completed without loss of life or property, and I do not doubt but that the association of your name with this great national and local undertaking, will recall memories only as pleasing as that of the ceremony in which we are now engaged.' (Cheers.)

"The Mayor then placed in a cavity in the stone a bottle containing a parchment recording the event, copies of the local newspapers, and several coins of the realm. The Town Clerk read the inscription on the parchment, which was as follows:—

"'The foundation stone of this bridge over the Yarra Yarra River at Melbourne, built (instead of a former structure of stone, but of smaller dimensions), at the joint expense of the Government of Victoria, the Corporation of the City of Melbourne, and the Corporations of the Cities of South Melbourne and

Prahran, the Boroughs of St. Kilda and Brighton, the Shires of Caulfield, Malvern, and Moorabbin, was laid, and the said bridge was named, like the former, after his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 'Prince's Bridge,' by Mrs. Amelia Henderson Stewart, the wife of the Right Worshipful the Mayor of Melbourne, on the anniversary of her birthday, the seventh of September, A.D. 1886.

"'In the fiftieth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria.

"'In the third year of the Governorship of His Excellency Sir Henry Brougham Loch, Knight.

"'In the Premiership of the Honourable Duncan Gillies, M.L.A.

"'The Hon. John Nimmo, M.L.A., Commissioner of Public Works.

"'James Cooper Stewart, Esquire, Mayor of the City of Melbourne.

"'Robert Wright, Esquire, Mayor of the City of South Melbourne.

"'R. A. Forbes, Esquire, Mayor of the City of Prahran.

"'Frederick Wimpole, Esquire, Mayor of the Borough of St. Kilda.

"'J. F. Hamilton, Esquire, Mayor of the Borough of Brighton.

"'Richard Dawson, Esquire, President of the Shire of Caulfield.

"'R. G. Benson, Esquire, President of the Shire of Malvern.

"'David Abbot, Esquire, President of the Shire of Moorabbin.

"'William Henry Steele, Esquire, Inspector-General of Public Works.

"'Designed by J. H. Grainger, Esquire, Architect.

"'The Contractor (under contract entered into during the Commissionership of the Honourable Alfred Deakin, M.L.A., now the Chief Secretary of Victoria), David Munro, Esquire.'

"The Mayoress then gracefully laid the stone, assisted by Mr. W. H. Steele (Inspector-General of Public Works), Councillor Wright (Mayor of South Melbourne), and Councillor Forbes (Mayor of Prahran). The ceremony having been successfully completed, the Mayoress declared the stone well and duly laid, and named the structure 'Prince's Bridge.' The band played the National Anthem, and, at the instance of the Commissioner of Public Works, cheers were given for the Queen, the Prince and Princess of Wales, the Governor, the Mayoress, and the Contractor. Mr. Munro called for cheers for Mr. Nimmo, which were heartily given, and the proceedings closed."

THE OPENING CEREMONY

Is thus reported in the *Age* of Friday, October 5th, 1888.

"At noon yesterday the new Prince's Bridge, which has been built across the Yarra in a line with Swanston Street, was officially and formally opened by the Commissioner of Public Works (Mr. John Nimmo, M.L.A.). Prior to the hour appointed for the opening to take place, some 2000 persons assembled at the city end of the bridge, where they were kept in check by Inspector Pewtress and a small force of police. At noon precisely the Mayor of Melbourne, Alderman Benjamin, accompanied by the members of the City Council, arrived on the bridge in four carriages. They drove along a clear space through the crowd, and on to the centre of the bridge, where the Commissioner of Public Works, together with a number of officers of his department, who have supervised the work; the contractor, Mr. David Munro, and a number of members of those Municipal Councils which, with the Government and the City Council of Melbourne, have contributed to the cost of the structure, met them. The vehicles were driven across the bridge, and subsequently a halt was made in the centre of the structure, by the carriage containing the Commissioner of Public Works and the Mayor of Melbourne. Mr. Nimmo then declared the bridge open for public traffic. He expressed the pleasure it gave him to meet there the Representatives of the Municipalities which had contributed to the cost of the structure. He had invited them to be present to inspect the bridge, and he congratulated them on its noble appearance. He believed there was only one bridge in the world of a greater width than the new Prince's Bridge—(Mr. Munro, Senr.: "No, there is not one")—and that one was in Dublin. He considered that all concerned might feel proud of the work they had combinedly accomplished, and it afforded him the greatest satisfaction to declare the bridge open for the use of the public.

"The public assemblage, which had been restrained by the police, was then permitted to cross the bounds at which they had so far been detained, and flocked to all parts of the bridge, cheers being given for the Minister of Public Works and the Mayor of Melbourne.

"The gentlemen who had taken an official part in the opening ceremony, then adjourned to the Town Hall, where they were entertained at luncheon by the Commissioner of Public Works.

THE LUNCHEON.

"About 150 gentlemen were present, and Mr. Nimmo presided, having on his right the Mayor of Melbourne, Mr. William Westgarth, Mr. T. Bent, M.L.A.; Mr. David Munro, Mr. Munro, Sen., and Mr. E. G. Fitzgibbon. On the left of the Chairman were the Mayor of South Melbourne, Councillor T. Smith; the Mayor of St. Kilda, Councillor S. E. Jeans; the President of the Shire of Malvern, Councillor A. E. Clarke; and the President of the Shire of Caulfield, Councillor James Ballantyne. The remaining guests comprised members of the Municipal Councils contributing to the cost of erecting the bridge, and officers of the Public Works Department. The luncheon was excellently served by Mr. Skinner. The usual loyal toasts having been honoured, the Chairman proposed success to the new Prince's Bridge, and read an official *précis* of the history of the bridge as follows:—

"'On the 22nd July, 1878, the City Council of Melbourne passed a resolution, undertaking to be liable for one-third of the cost of a new bridge in the line of Swanston Street. On the 9th August, 1878, at a deputation to the Government on the subject, the City Council was informed that the Government would also contribute one-third, and provision was made on the Estimates for £350 for competitive designs of the new bridge. On the 12th February, 1879, the Inspector-General of Public Works recommended that the position, lines, and width of the river at the site of the bridge should be decided on before the plans of the bridge were prepared. On the 3rd April, 1879, at the urgent request of the Mayor of Melbourne, the Minister of Public Works decided that competitive designs be invited at once, leaving the width of river and the position of bridge to the judgment of the competitors. On the 8th April, 1879, competitive designs for a new bridge over the Yarra in line of Swanston Street were invited to be sent in by the 17th June, the author of the first approved design to receive a premium of £200, and the author of the second £100. In July, 1879, a Board was appointed to select the two best designs, consisting of Messrs. J. B. Patterson, M.L.A., Minister of Public Works (chairman); Joseph Storey, M.L.A., Mayor of Melbourne; John Holton, City Councillor of Melbourne; John Boyd, Mayor of Emerald Hill; W. H. Steele, Inspector-General of Public Works; and Edward Turner, Engineer of Roads and Bridges, Public Works department. On the 1st August, 1879, the Board awarded that the designs bearing the mottoes "Premier," and "Albert Edward" were the first and second respectively, and on opening the letters bearing the mottoes, the first bore the name of Messrs. Jenkins and Grainger, and the second those of Messrs. Temperley, Edwards, and A. M. Henderson. On the 21st July, 1879, the Inspector-General of Public Works represented that the measures for improving the River and removing the "Falls" reef so as to give relief from floods should precede or be included in the scheme for the new bridge, and it was decided to refer the question to a professional Board, so as to have the width, depth, and lines of the river, and also the site of the new bridge definitely fixed. This Board (usually termed the Bridge Board) was formed in May, 1880, and consisted of Messrs. W. H. Steele, Inspector-General of Public Works (chairman); T. Higinbotham, Engineer in Chief of Railways; W. Elsdon, Engineer, Railway Department; Joseph Brady, Engineer, Harbour Trust; John Nimmo, M.L.A.; A. K. Smith, M.L.A.; W. C. Watts, City Surveyor, Melbourne; and Sydney Smith, Town Surveyor, Emerald Hill; with Mr. E. G. Fitzgibbon as Hon. Secretary. On the 3rd September, 1880, the Board reported, giving the definite width, depth, and lines for the river, advised the removal of the reefs, fixed the site of the new bridge, and recommended that the bridge be gone on with. On the 16th September, 1880, the Minister of Public Works directed that the bridge be proceeded with in accordance with the Report. On the 20th October, 1880, as the Engineer in Chief of Railways asked that additional width be given to Flinders Street Station ground over that afforded by the lines

recommended by the Board, the Minister asked the Board to meet and consider the question; and on the 10th December, 1880, the Board reported to the effect that if the Government considered the additional ground worth the cost that would be entailed there was no objection. On the 19th January, 1881, the new line on the north side of the river, as desired by the Railway Department, was therefore adopted. In the conditions of competition it was provided that the author of the first design might be requested to prepare the working drawings of the bridge, and Mr. J. H. Grainger, having represented that such design was prepared by himself, applied to be entrusted with their preparation and that was acceded to on 10th March, 1881. On the 22nd November, 1881, the plans were completed by Mr. Grainger. On the 26th January, 1882, the plans were forwarded to the City Council and approved, and afterwards forwarded to the Emerald Hill Council. On the 19th May, 1882, the Minister of Public Works asked the Board to again meet and report, as it was stated that the views of the Railway Department as to the extent of ground required for station purposes had been now modified. In May, 1882, Messrs. R. Watson, W. H. Greene, A. J. Skene, and W. Cain were added to the Board, as Messrs. T. Higinbotham and A. K. Smith had died, and Mr. W. Elsdon had resigned. On the 30th May, 1882, the Board, after ascertaining the views of the Railway Department, reported and recommended that the original line of river and site of bridge referred to in the Report of 3rd September, 1880, should be adhered to. On the 8th August, 1882, the Board again reported, fixing the gradient for the north approach to the bridge so as to give headway for the railway traffic under the structure. The above Reports were approved, and Mr. Grainger was directed to make the necessary alterations to the plans of the bridge consequent on the change of site. On the 18th August, 1882, at the request of the City Council, a roadway 24 feet wide was provided for on the south bank of the river, and granite or bluestone was substituted for Stawell stone in the face-work of the masonry of the bridge. Tenders were invited for the new bridge, exclusive of the south approach, on the 21st March, 1883, and the tenders were opened on the 7th June, 1883. The lowest, £128,000, was not accepted, being considered too high. On the 9th August, 1883, Mr. Grainger received the balance of his commission for the preparations of the plans of the bridge, and his connection with the Department, and the work of the bridge then terminated. On the 31st August, 1883, it was reported by the Inspector-General that, in view of the occurrence of a flood while the piers of the new bridge were being built, it was necessary that a temporary bridge be erected and the old Prince's Bridge removed, so that an outlet might be had by removing part of the reef under the old bridge. This was approved by the Minister of Public Works on 12th October, 1883, and tenders were invited for the erection of a temporary timber bridge and the removal of old Prince's Bridge. These tenders were opened on 1st November, 1883, and the contract was taken by Mr. W. Halliday, for £6695, and was completed about 1st August, 1884. The year 1884 and the early part of 1885 appeared to have been occupied in negotiations between Mr. Deakin, Minister of Public Works, and the various local bodies south of the Yarra, with reference to the amounts to be contributed by them towards the remaining one-third of the cost of the bridge. It was decided that when fresh tenders were invited the work should include the south embankment and the widening and deepening of the river adjacent to the bridge. The preparation of the plans of the south embankment, the widening and deepening of the river, and the modifications of the plans of the bridge rendered necessary by the cable tramway passing over it, were now entrusted to Mr. F. M. Hynes, C.E., of the Public Works Department. On the 29th May, 1885, tenders for the new bridge were invited, and the tenders were opened on the 27th August, 1885, the lowest being that of Mr. David Munro, for £136,998. The contract was signed on 16th November, 1885, and the work proceeded forthwith.

"'The cost of the bridge is contributed as follows:—The Government, one-third; City Council of Melbourne, one-third; City of South Melbourne, £10,000; City of Prahran, £10,000; Borough of St. Kilda, £10,000; Shire of Malvern, £2500; Borough of Brighton, £2000; Shire of Caulfield, £2000; Shire of Moorabbin, £1000. The names of the officers of the Public Works Department who have been engaged on the works of the new Prince's Bridge are as appended:—W. H. Steele, Inspector-General; W. Finlay, Superintending Officer; F. M. Hynes, Engineer; C. Catani, Assistant Engineer; J. Bell, Inspector of Masonry (killed by falling into the coffer dam in August, 1887);

J. Bowman, Inspector of Masonry; D. E. Spence, Inspector of Iron Works; J. Middleton, Assistant Inspector of Iron Works.'"

The following condensed review is from *The Argus* of the 3rd October, 1888 :—

"Probably no engineering work has ever been carried out in the Colony in connection with which so many difficulties had to be overcome. In the first place excavations had to be made to widen the river, the material from which was deposited in the south approach. The first attempted was that down stream, between the present bridge and the railway bridge. Careful inquiries were made as to the usual height of floods, and a bank of the requisite height was erected around the excavation, after which work was commenced, a gullet being put in, and a track laid from this under the temporary bridge, and up into the bank. Great difficulty was experienced with pipes and drains here, as they crossed the excavation in all directions, some drawing water from the Yarra for use in the paper mills, and some discharging it.

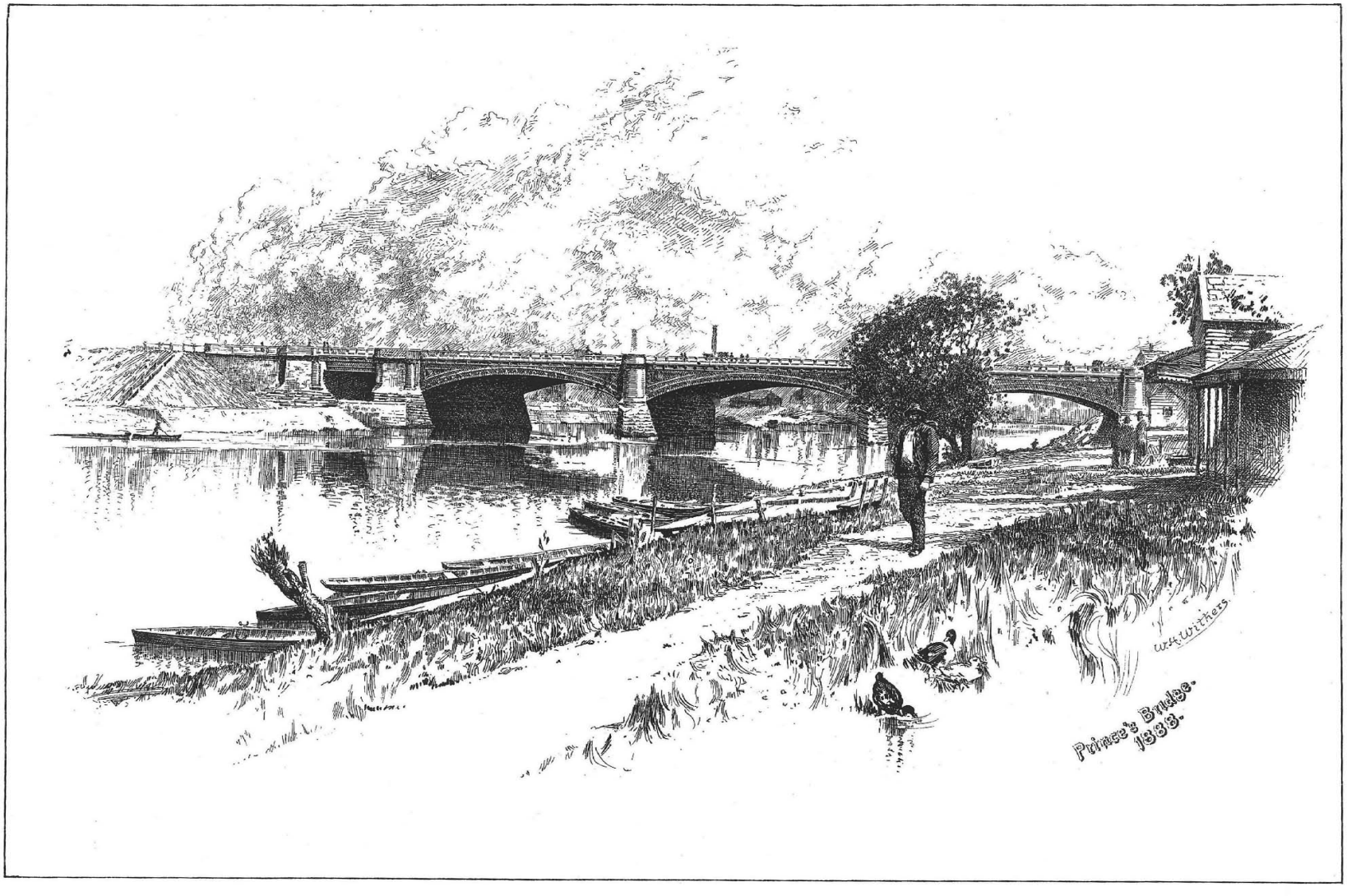
"In May, 1886, cracks were observed in the bank left between the river and the cutting, but as there was still a large amount of material to be removed the bank was shored up. On the 10th, however—a very wet day, the river rising considerably, and cracks showing in many places along the bank—the rails and sleepers and other plant and materials were removed out of the cutting, and at seven in the evening the bank collapsed and the water rushed in. From this cutting 44,000 cubic yards of earth were taken. To the north of the boatsheds was a much larger cutting, from which altogether 70,000 cubic yards were removed. The water was allowed to break into this on the 23rd May, 1887; but another cutting in front of the boat-houses was filled by a high flood in the Yarra on the 11th July, before the work of excavation was completed. Centrifugal pumps were fixed, and as soon as the flood-waters began to fall the pumps commenced work and rapidly emptied the cutting. Other excavations were also carried out on the north side of the river, and on the south side, reaching from the northern face of the southern-most pier to the face of the river abutment, and for the various piers and abutments, and containing in all 44,000 yards of earth and 13,000 yards of bluestone rock. A portion of the work was done by dredging, but mostly by ordinary excavation, the material being removed in trucks, which were drawn up an inclined plane by a powerful winding-engine. In all, 224,000 yards of earth and rock were removed, most of it going into the embankment of the south approach. It is said that the site of the present bank was occupied by old clay-pits, but, at any rate, it proved a very bad foundation for the vast weight put upon it. The estimated quantity required for this bank was 140,000 cubic yards, but on account of repeated subsidence over 200,000 cubic yards have been swallowed up in it. It runs up to 30ft. high, and provides for a roadway 90ft. wide.

"The bridge in appearance very strongly resembles the Blackfriars Bridge, London. It has unquestionably a fine appearance, and, with the roadway, forms a noble approach to the city, but there are Engineers in the city who declare that as fine, or even a finer design might have been carried out for less money.

"In the construction of the bridge itself 150,000 cubic feet of bluestone ashlar, 11,500 cubic yards of rubble, 6,000 cubic yards of concrete, 13,000 cubic feet of Malmsbury stone, and 3,000 cubic feet of granite have been used. The majority of the bluestone was obtained from the contractor's quarries at Footscray, which were opened for this purpose, a siding being laid into them from the Sandhurst line, and a siding to the site of the bridge from the Prince's Bridge Station yard. The largest stones used weighed seventeen tons in the rough, and these finished may now be seen in the cutwaters on the piers, just below the granite columns. The Malmsbury stone—a finer, softer, and cleaner species of basalt, used for the carving and the more finely-finished work—was obtained from the contractor's quarry at Kyneton, and the granite from Mr. Blight's quarry at Harcourt. In that quarry blocks of granite can be easily cut beside which Cleopatra's Needle would be a toy. Blocks, 120ft. long and 30ft. square, can be obtained without difficulty. Before ordering this stone, however, enquiries were made in all the granite-producing countries of the Old World—in the Pyrenees, France and Spain, in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. The prices quoted were high, and no firm would undertake to supply the large columns in less than two or three pieces.

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W. H. Withers
Prince's Bridge.
1933.

"The City Council insisted on each of the large columns consisting of a single stone. The stones were easily obtained in the quarry, but the task of conveying them to the work was more difficult. The bridges and culverts between the quarry and the Castlemaine Station were most carefully examined, and very elaborate preparations made and precautions taken. The large blocks were packed upon heavy waggons drawn by twenty-four horses, and were landed without serious accident on four large trucks which had been specially strengthened and prepared. A special train was formed, and run at a slow speed at a time when all other traffic could be conveniently stopped. On arrival at the site of the work, a twenty-ton crane was ready to unload the huge stones, and special machinery was employed to polish them. None of the granite-polishing firms in the colonies had the necessary plant for working these columns. The contractor was, therefore, compelled to construct his own, and many ingenious contrivances had to be originated to overcome the unusual difficulties. It is stated that so large a surface was never before polished at one time. By means of the powerful plant available these stones were all fixed in position with little difficulty, and without any casualty. This plant consisted of three Goliath travelling cranes, of 45ft. span, and capable of lifting twenty tons and travelling on a high staging side by side the whole length of the bridge works.

"The iron for the bridge was specially rolled, and workshops were erected at South Melbourne for the construction of the girders for this and the 'Falls' Railway Bridge. There are altogether 1,000 tons of wrought iron in the bridge—the iron for the rivets of which, if placed on end would reach thirty miles—and about 200 tons of cast iron.

"A somewhat detailed description of the new bridge will doubtless be interesting. The bridge consists of three spans of 100ft. each, and a land span of 24ft. at the south end, and measures in all over abutments about 400ft. in length. The width between the parapets is 99ft., 63ft. being occupied by the tramway, carriage-way, and side channels, leaving a footpath 18ft. wide along each side. The abutments, piers, and wing walls are built of bluestone, with concrete foundations resting on solid rock. The three main or river spans of the bridge are in the form of segmental arches, having a rise of 10ft. at the crown, each arch being formed of 10 ribs constructed of plate and angle iron, and having a depth of 3ft. at the springing and 2ft. 6in. at the crown. The top boom, spandril, filling, and bracing, consist of angle T and plate iron. Over the longitudinal ribs transverse plate-iron girders, 12in. in depth, are placed, spaced generally about 5ft. 3in. apart. These girders, in the case of the roadway, carry the bent plates which form the constructional part of the floor of the bridge. In the case of the footpaths, longitudinal rolled iron bearers are introduced over the cross girders, with the object of gaining the additional height required, and the floor-plates are secured thereto. The main longtitudinal ribs to the land span of the bridge are straight wrought-iron plate girders, the cross girders and super-structure being of the same construction here as the river spans. Over the bent floor-plate, concrete is filled in, brought to a regular surface, and finished with a 1in. layer of cement mortar. Over this the tram and carriage-ways are laid with red gum blocks, and the footways formed of Seyssel asphalt with a kerbing of bluestone. After the design for the bridge had been adopted, special provision had to be made for the accommodation of the cable tramway, which necessitated the lifting of the roadway to the extent of 5ft. 2in., and the parapets were increased in height from 3ft. 3in. to 3ft. 9in. The face-work to the arches and girders of the bridge, also to the spandrils and the parapets over the openings, as well as over the wing-walls, are of cast-iron. The caps and parapets over the abutments, piers, and pilasters to the wing-walls are of stone, with carved enrichments, harmonizing with the cast-iron work. The south approach to the bridge is carried over an embankment, which is more than 30ft. in height at the highest point. The original width of the river at the site of the bridge at ordinary times was about 130ft. It has now been increased to about 316ft."

Richmond Bridge.

The floods used to pummel the shaky old punts in which Dr. Palmer speculated at Richmond, and two of them having gone off on an excursion towards the end of 1849, a company was started for the erection of a bridge there in February, 1850, with a capital of £3000, in 300 £10 shares. A Provisional

Committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. James Simpson, J. F. Palmer, William Hull, A. M'Lachlan, J. D. Pinnock, George Annand, H. Miller, O. Browne, J. W. Cowell, J. M'Intyre, and T. H. Power; W. Highett, Treasurer, and George Hull, Secretary; but beyond a little preliminary flourish nothing was done.

The Port and River Navigation.

From an early period the question of facilitating the intercommunication of Melbourne and Hobson's Bay engrossed the attention of the trading portion of the community. There were three plans considered, viz. :—Railway communication, a canal from Melbourne to the beach, and the deepening of the river channel. Each scheme had its ardent advocates, but the canal, or "cut," was the greatest favourite with the majority; and no public question ever had more ventilation, though it was one upon which only high professional ability was qualified to give judgment. The Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe) took a deep interest in it, and two engineers (Messrs. Garrard and Manton) were employed to make a survey of the river, and the following schemes were presented:—

Mr. Amman's Scheme.

On the 5th September, 1851, a public meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institute, on a requisition to the Mayor (Nicholson) "to take into consideration the propriety of constructing a jetty and a railway between Melbourne and the Beach (Sandridge) for the landing and the better transit of goods and passengers from the shipping, and to form a company for carrying out the same." The attendance was an influential one, and from a newspaper report of the time the following details are gleaned:—

Mr. Amman, a civil engineer, considered it would be a grave mistake either to undertake the removal of the sand bars in the river or to cut a canal. He had made a careful examination of the river, but would recommend the construction of a railway. The jetty he proposed to erect would extend 900 feet into Hobson's Bay, where five fathoms of water would be found. The line would pass on the left side of the lagoon, and he estimated the expense at £16,000. He also suggested the connection of Williamstown and the North Beach by means of a suspension bridge; this would render Hobson's Bay one of the first harbours in the world, and make communication between Williamstown, the Bay, and the City so easy as to supersede the desire to bring up vessels of heavy tonnage to the Melbourne Wharf. The jetty was to consist of five arches of 30 feet span each, and 1800 piles of various dimensions for the work. He would have two rooms of 18 feet each as a station at the Beach, and also an engine-house. The station at Melbourne to be 160 yards long by 60 yards wide. The viaduct was to cross the river at the dam ("Falls") and to pass over towards Emerald Hill—a distance of 800 feet. For the £16,000 he would undertake to furnish one first-class carriage, two second ditto, and one engine of 16 horse-power. The length of the railway would be one mile three-quarters and three chains, with a width of 21 feet, and the weight of iron to be employed would be 270 tons. Only 180 yards of earth would be required to be removed near Emerald Hill to carry out the work; and by means of portable trams he would guarantee to bring the goods to the very doors of the merchants in any part of Melbourne. This absurd proposition was actually not only discussed with seriousness, but a Committee of shrewd, hard-headed business men was appointed to report upon its feasibility. The names so nominated were Messrs. A. H. Knight, W. F. Rucker, G. Annand, J. Hodgson, W. Mortimer, J. O'Shanassy, H. Miller, J. S. Johnston, D. Young, J. Hood, R. Kerr, Thompson, and J. Duerdin. Whether this Committee investigated the matter does not clearly appear, but on the 15th September a prospectus was issued for the establishment of "The Melbourne Railway and Jetty Company," with a capital of £16,000 in 3200 shares of £5 each, first instalment payable £1 5s. per share. The Provisional Directors were: Messrs. William Clarke, J. G. Foxton, R. S. Gregory, J. Hood, W. Hoffman, G. Nicholson, J. Orr, and A. Thorpe. Bankers: Bank of New South Wales; Engineer: W. M. Amman; Solicitor: John Cunnington; Secretary: H. Patteson. It was intended to apply for a grant of land, and also for an Act of Incorporation—intentions that were not fulfilled.

Mr. Blackburn's Suggestions.

The City Council having requested Mr. James Blackburn, the City Surveyor, to report "on the proposed improvements in the mode of communication between Hobson's Bay and Melbourne," that officer presented a document (dated 21st November, 1851) which treated the important question in an exhaustive and masterly manner. He was in favour of a "cut" commencing at Prince's Bridge, going in a straight line until it terminated at Hobson's Bay, about a quarter of a mile northward of the jetty at Sandridge, in soundings of 20 feet deep at ordinary low tides. The entire length of the "cut" was to be 4928 yards, of which 792 would run through the shallows which margined the Bay. The river dam ("The Falls") was to be removed, and the tide would flow, as it originally did, up as far as Hodgson's punt (near Studley Park bridge). If this were done 8,448,000 cubic feet of water would ascend the river bed every tide, a quantity capable of increasing the velocity of the discharge by at least 42 feet per minute. After entering with technical minuteness into various dimensions of the project, and dealing with certain objections, a map and sections prepared by a Mr. Garrard, who surveyed the river for the Government in 1848, was produced. The estimated cost of "cut," banks, pier heads and silt was £113,365. The report provided for a wet dock to occupy the site of the Yarra basin, with dam and wharf extending from Elizabeth to King Streets. It would have an area of 15a. 2r. 28p., and a water frontage of 3531 feet, with a permanent depth of 21 feet, sufficient to prevent even the largest vessels from grounding. It should be surrounded by a wall, entered at three points, viz., one opposite the Custom House, and one at either end—east and west. Against the wall sheds should be erected, and in front of them, between them and the basin, quays, and wharves, 120 feet wide at the least. The dock, including wall, sheds, platforms, and two locks, would probably cost £62,500, or a total for the entire works of £176,000. The cost of lighterage of goods, and conveyance of passengers and supplies to and from Hobson's Bay, was some £25,000 per annum, which, at fourteen years' purchase, was £350,000. The propositions were described as—(1) A railway, (2) The improvement of the river, and (3) A canal. The railway was to begin *(a)* by a jetty at Williamstown, and, keeping by the western bank of Hobson's Bay and the Yarra, terminate at Raleigh's warehouse in Flinders Street; or *(b)* commencing in the same way and place, running along the western bank of the bay to mouth of the Yarra, there to cross on piles with a swing bridge in one of the channels, and thence proceed in a direct line, terminating on the south bank of the Yarra, opposite the Custom House; or *(c)* to form a jetty in the head of the Bay on the eastern side, and to lay down a railway, thence to a terminus either on the north or south side of the Yarra, near Prince's Bridge.

The Colonial Architect's Report.

On the 25th October, 1851, the colonial architect, Mr. Henry Ginn, presented a report on the improvement of the Port of Melbourne. The several schemes referred to him by the Government for examination and opinion were—

No. 1.—A railway over the land between Hobson's Bay and Melbourne, with a mole for sixty ships; or, the same line of railway, with a wharf at the Beach but no mole.

Estimated cost with mole...	£207,230	Piled wharf	£115,280

DETAIL OF COST OF WHARF.

Railway, 2 miles 1 furlong 8 perches	£7400
Branch lines, turntables, etc.	380
Bridge over the Yarra at Melbourne	8000
Engine-house, sheds, and offices at Melbourne, and sheds at the Beach ...	1500
Circular wharf at Beach	98,000
Total ...	£115,280
Mole with flood-gates, hydraulic engine, etc.	£159,950

No. 2.—A wharf at Williamstown in connection with a railway to Melbourne, the wharf to be faced with stone; or a wharf at Williamstown, in connection with a railway to Melbourne, the wharf to be piled. Estimated cost, with wharf faced with stone, £110,376. Estimated cost, with piled wharf, £85,688.

DETAIL OF COST.—Railway, £19,308; branch line and turntables, £380; bridge over the Yarra at Melbourne, £8000; engine house, offices, and sheds at Melbourne. £1100; swing balance bridge near mouth of river, £22,000; offices and sheds at Williamstown, £1000; wharf at Williamstown for twenty-two ships, £26,000; branch roadways from wharf to land, £7900.

No.3.—The forming of a new channel for the river, from Humbug Reach, estimated expense, £28,062.

No. 4.—The deepening the present course of the river, and forming a cut through the bar near Williamstown. The same, and forming a cut through the mud bank at its mouth. Estimated expense through bar, £34,333; estimated expense through mud bank, £81,568.

No. 5.—A canal from Melbourne to Hobson's Bay. Estimated expense, £56,109. And fender wharves at the Bay and Melbourne, £45,000.

This last scheme was the one which he recommended for adoption, not only on account of its cost being less than the others, but what was of more importance, the great accommodation it would provide for the shipping of the port, and the formation of docks and warehouses, which must eventually enhance the value of the adjacent land by more than the cost of the entire scheme.

Nothing definite was done until after the gold discoveries, when the changing conditions of everything applied the necessary stimulus to private enterprise and the Melbourne and Hobson's Bay Railway Company was formed. Their line from Melbourne to Sandridge commenced in January, 1853, was opened in September, 1854, with a result which will form an interesting item in the modern history of Melbourne, and doubtless, before the lapse of many more years, Melbourne will behold the realization of the three river dreams, over which her inhabitants talked and ranted and raved in the days that are passed.

ADDENDUM.

Whilst the Yarra chapter was quietly flowing through the *Herald*, the writer has been honoured with half-a-dozen communications, three of which raise some questions, and one of them notably supplies a few facts so interesting (though in no way impugning the general accuracy of my narrative) that I am induced to append this postscript, as a means of making special reference to them.

One correspondent, whilst expressing admiration of the sketch in general, confesses himself sceptical as to the veracity of the assertion that porpoises not only travelled up the river, but even ventured to show their noses at Richmond. He was in the settlement in 1836, and he never beheld or heard of such an excursion. In reply, I may say that the first intimation I had about the Yarra porpoising was from the late Mr. W. F. Rucker, who died in 1882. He assured me that he saw porpoises more than once popping about in the Yarra basin at the wharf, and when I ventured to express doubt, he declared positively there could be none. Two other old colonists confirmed this statement, and there is still alive at Kew a gentleman (whom I am authorized, if necessary, to name), who with his brother (recently dead) carried on a lucrative wood-cutting business some miles up the river, and not only once or twice but a score of times, were porpoises, not in shoals, but twos and threes, passed and repassed between Melbourne and the present bridge at Richmond, the connecting link between a Church and a Chapel Street. The "Falls" in its primitive state, presented no obstacle to their advance, for, as already stated, there was in the centre of the ledge of rocks a rift sufficient in width for a small laden boat to pass through; and whatever a vehicle of this class could accomplish in water, it is not assuming too much that a porpoise could do the same. As to the rift or fissure, its existence is questioned; but against this I place the averment of Mr. Thomas Halfpenny, of Studley Park, that he not only saw it but saw the boats pass through it. I have also in my possession a copy of the first sketch made of the "Falls" in 1836, and the rent is marked on it plainly enough.

But there is one of my correspondents who cannot be dealt with so summarily, for there is no man in the colony so competent to treat of any olden topic which he takes in hand. This is Mr. Robert Russell who has laid me under many obligations for rare and valuable information placed at my disposal. Mr. Russell from the day he landed in Port Phillip in 1836, kept a voluminous diary, and is able thereby to give chapter and verse to sustain every allegation he puts forth. As his letter refers

to several subjects, I shall run through the points on which it touches, *seriatim*, and there need be no apology for quoting largely from it, for the old waifs disinterred are both racy and readable.

Several theories have for years been indulged in as to the course that constituted the original bed of the Yarra, and where it discharged into the sea. It has been confidently asserted that primarily the Yarra cut a waterway from a point at the southern side opposite the Gas Works, and penetrating the intervening flat, found its outlet through the Sandridge Lagoon; whilst others have maintained that its present course has been its course always. A third speculation, and, to my mind, the most probable is, that, at a remote period, the Yarra separated its waters below old Melbourne, and a channel since filled up found an outflow at Sandridge when the large swampy, scrubby, snaky area from the beach round by Fisherman's Bend and back by the Southern bank of the river was what is geographically known as a delta. Mr. Russell thus writes:—"You are probably aware that a tradition existed among the natives that at one period a great earthquake came which caused a change in the course of the Yarra. My informant was a Mr. John Cobb, a very old colonist, at present in England. The natives of Geelong told him that the present harbour was once dry land, and described the undulating motion caused by the earthquake. The river, they said, emptied itself near Cape Schanck, and in the cave there resides an evil being, entitled "Plenty Sulky," who caused all the disturbance. Be this true or false, it always appeared to me that the ledge of boulders at the Melbourne "Falls" is but the edge of an extinct volcano."

I have before mentioned the circumstance of a native black being rarely if ever known to be drowned in the Yarra, in consequence of the perfection acquired in what was to the aboriginal race not merely an accomplishment but a necessity, viz, the art of swimming. The children (male and female) were inured to the creeks and rivers almost as soon as they could toddle. They were pitched in like balls, watched for a short time, and the youngsters soon learned "to paddle their own canoe." They could perform wondrous feats in swimming and diving, and the mode of water-travelling was unlike the European system, as the swimmer instead of lying flat on the water, went on his side with hand struck out from the shoulder as a steering apparatus, and the other hand and feet acting as powerful propellers. Alluding to my previous reference to many mishaps occurring on the Yarra, Mr. Russell writes:—

"The drownings which have occurred in the Yarra are, as you know, numerous. The first I remember was that of a blackfellow. Mr. C. H. Le Souef and I were sculling our little boat across, when we saw what we took to be a black dog in the water, but on pulling it up we found a blackfellow attached to the shock of hair. It was in Dr. Cussen's time, and it was found that intoxication had been the cause. Subsequently a Mr. Gall, of Messrs. Campbell and Woolley's establishment, came to his death by the same undercurrent of which you speak in the *Herald*. He was said to have been a good swimmer. The only son of John Batman, playing on the brink of the 'Falls,' was also accidentally drowned. He was very young. It is melancholy to think of his dead body being carried down by the tide and sweeping round the very hill that bore his father's name."

In re the "Falls" Mr. Russell thus writes:—"Many of the first arrivals crossed in our little boat, which was tied to a stump just above the 'Falls,' and the danger of the short passage when the river was up was considerable. Not unfrequently the boat was carried down the 'Falls,' and Winters (our man-servant) was occasionally out of sorts. The 'Falls' was first encountered by Captain Lonsdale. I declined having anything to do in the matter. His construction was of wood and stone mixed, and was swept away one fine morning. When Sir George Gipps arrived on a visit to Melbourne (he was a bit of an engineer) he tried to mend matters, and, after taking a long look at the *débris*, decided on the stone construction (curving downwards) which now in its turn is to be removed.* A letter was published from the then Town Surveyor—whose name I forget—objecting to such obstructions because they would cause the filling up of the basin, owing to the non-scouring of the river in the time of flood. In 1844 a peculiar sight was afforded below the 'Falls,' when the 'floating baths' of Dr. Palmer left their moorings and appeared swimming in the stream."

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* The "Falls" has been (1888) removed in the construction of the New Falls Bridge.—ED.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE ANTI-TRANSPORTATION CAMPAIGN.

SYNOPSIS:—Preliminary Remarks.—The Pentonvillians.—Importation of Convict Labor Advocated.—Arrival of the "Royal George" with "Exiles."—Monster Meeting against Convict Labor.—Barney Reynolds Addresses the Meeting.—Arrival of the "Thomas Arbuthnot."—More "Exiles."—Another Monster Meeting.—Resolutions against Convictism.—Arrival of Two Plague Ships.—Sympathy with the Cape.—Sympathy with Van Diemen's Land.—Anti-Transportation League.—The League and Solemn Engagement.—Liberal Subscriptions in Support of.—The Council of the League.—Mr. J. C. King, Delegate to England.—Official Declaration of Independence.—Political Separation from New South Wales.—Convictism a thing of the Past.

IT would seem like a dispensation of Providence that the plague of convictism was averted from the genial clime and sunny shores of Port Phillip. As the Southern portion of the Penal Colony of New South Wales, it was originally the intention of the British Government to constitute it a depôt for the reception of a quantum of the deported prison scum of the Home-country, and for that purpose the Collins' expedition of 1803 was despatched to make a beginning. If Colonel Collins had settled further up the Bay, turned into Corio Harbour, or squatted on the Yarra, his crop of felonry might have taken such root in the soil as to render it a matter of difficulty to extirpate it; but he drifted into the sandy, unpromising Sorrento, and conceived such a poor idea of what he saw about him that, on his urgent representations, the infant establishment was transferred to Van Diemen's Land. It is alleged against Colonel Collins that personal, or even sordid, motives prompted his action in the matter, but no sufficient proof has been adduced to warrant so serious an imputation. It may, therefore, be assumed that he was actuated by a sense of duty, based upon a very superficial knowledge of the country. The Province had a second narrow escape on the occasion of the attempted settlement of Western Port, in 1824, when the discouraging appearance of the surrounding scrubs and swamps again exercised the function of a guardian angel, and once more the proximate evil was averted. From 1836 until 1840 the gaunt spectre was not laid, but obtruded its tainting shadow, and flapped its unwholesome wings. When Captain Lonsdale was deputed to officiate as "Commandant" at Port Phillip he was more of a Convict Superintendent than anything else, and he brought with him all the appliances (except secure barracks) with which to control a small establishment. The very limited community consisted then mainly of two classes, viz., the free settlers and merchants (or, rather, the agents of Sydney, Hobart Town, and Launceston commercial houses), and the free by servitude or convict expirees. Between two and three hundred ticket-of-leave holders were poured into the place and distributed through town and country. This number would, no doubt, have been largely increased but for the want of sufficient means to keep a lawless horde under proper restraint. There were no buildings to be found capable of use for a prison barracks of any extent, and the Government was so niggardly that it shrunk from incurring the outlay necessary to provide a substantial receptacle for the safe custody of criminals. But the influx of Bounty Immigration, and the exodus from the British Isles, decided the issue, and Fate finally pronounced that the future Victoria should be unsoiled by the contagion of a penal colony. The ticket-of-leave men scattered about were gradually called in from assignment, and returned to bondage. *En passant*, it may be well to mention that originally Port Phillip prisoners under sentence of transportation were shipped off to Sydney, next to Hobart Town, and subsequently to Sydney again.

THE PENTONVILLIANS.

In the course of the year 1844, one of Fame's fabled hundred tongues wafted over the sea a vague intimation that it was intended to inflict upon the Province, what was, to all intents and purposes, a modified system of convictism. The intelligence was received with incredulity and uneasiness; but a

fixed determination predominated that a prison contingent to the population would be resisted in every practicable way. The question, however, was removed from the region of suspense by the arrival, in the Bay, on the 15th November, of the "Royal George," from England, with an assorted sample of twenty Pentonville* "exiles." Though shipped under the guise of "emigrants," they were simply convicts, who, having served a certain period of their sentences in the Penitentiary at Pentonville, obtained pardons, conditional upon their leaving England. It was stated that they had come out under engagement to a cabin passenger; but this was a point never satisfactorily cleared up. They were to receive wages, and would not be amenable to the stringent conditions imposed upon ordinary "ticket-of-leave" men. Such an unexpected event created quite a sensation, and the first note of opposition was struck by the Town Council, which lost no time in memorialising the Home Government in the matter.

Through some explicable apathy, there was no public demonstration to second the well-timed action of the Corporation, and no doubt, miscalculating the bent of public opinion, or encouraged by the inaction prevailing, a number of squatters, and others interested in pastoral pursuits, had the hardihood to venture upon a public meeting, to commend the course pursued by the Home authorities. This gathering (which professed to emanate from persons interested in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour, and endeavoured to induce the Government to forward Pentonville exiles suited to country pursuits), was held on the 17th December, at the *Royal Hotel*, Collins Street, and Major William Firebrace was appointed Chairman. Mr. Edward Curr moved a resolution affirming "that in the absence of the ordinary means of obtaining free immigration, the introduction of a number of the class of men from Pentonville Penitentiary, denominated 'exiles,' would be beneficial to the country." This was seconded by Dr. Bernard, a passenger by the "Royal George," who so identified himself with the "exiles," as to lead to the belief that he was either the person reported to have "farmed" them, or was in some other way specially interested in the matter. But the advocates of cheap labour were not to have it all their own way, for a small opposition mustered, and was led by Mr. William Kerr, who vehemently denounced both movement and movers, and declared that the people would resist to the uttermost any attempt to introduce convictism, no matter in what form. Dr. Palmer moved, as an amendment, that a public meeting be convened by the Mayor for the 9th January, for the consideration of the question, and he was supported by Messrs. J. L. Foster, N. Black, A. Cunninghame, and others, but it was negatived, and the motion carried with a slight alteration.

The squatting move acted like an exploded bomb in waking up public feeling, and a numerously-signed requisition was presented to the Mayor (Mr. H. Moor), by virtue of which a meeting of the inhabitants was held on the 23rd December. The Mayor presided, and addresses were delivered by Messrs. W. Kerr, J. A. Marsden, J. P. Fawkner, John Stephen, Michael M'Culla, Stephen Donovan, and George Were. Resolutions were passed condemning the introduction of prisoners or expirees, Pentonville or otherwise; that it would be a wanton act of injustice to sanction such a step, and declaring that the former meeting did not, by any means, represent (as purported), the inhabitants of Port Phillip.

Meanwhile, the authorities in Downing Street, not caring much how the convict offal of British prisons could be got rid of, despatched intermittent batches of the euphoniously named "exiles" in such manner as they thought would, by degrees, reconcile the colonists to the infliction. In so doing, they were, no doubt, covertly encouraged by the settlers, their London friends, and the large home wool houses interested in Australia. Free immigration had ceased, and a continuous supply of free labour cut off. Stockmen, shepherds, and shearers, must be had at the lowest possible figures; the lower the better—and those interested in station property (save a few honourable exceptions), cared little from what region, upper or lower, the labour came, provided they got it at a minimum. As to the "exiles," the supposed engagement in England was all nonsense, for the moment they landed from the ship, they were free to follow a good or evil course *ad lib.* Some of them started fairly enough, and subsequently lived a new life. One of them, in a few years, owned a chemist's shop in Collins Street, and was elected to the Town Council, and aspired to the Mayoralty, but did not get it. A wealthy, over-fast publican, whose glib tongue and "shouting" ways, raised him to an Aldermanic chair, was a remarkable instance how a man

* Pentonville is to London what Pentridge is to Melbourne.—ED.

can, at times, jump out of the gutter, but he lost his equilibrium, and soon collapsed. Others of them turned out capital police officers, and there are four of them now (1883), enrolled in the Colonial Magistracy.

In 1846 the New South Wales Legislature favoured a return to transportation under certain limitations, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies was only too ready to oblige, conditionally, upon the colonists being satisfied to receive it. A despatch to such effect having been published, the Pro-transportationists of Port Phillip rushed rashly into a public meeting and clamoured loudly for cheap labour. Whether it consisted of "exiled" convicts, or what was known as conditionally pardoned prisoners from Van Diemen's Land, did not matter. It was a favourite plan of theirs to pack a meeting of a score of these wool-growing wide-awakes, in some Melbourne hotel, get up a grandiloquent memorial, and post it away in Tooley Street tailor style, as the protocol of "We, the people of Australia Felix," etc., etc.

Some of the newspapers occasionally denounced the underhand work, and impunity finally so blunted the edge of discretion that those who hungered after convict labour at length summoned courage to venture out of cover, and presented a requisition to the Mayor to convene a public meeting on the subject. This move broke the spell of inactivity by which the people generally were bound; a powerful opposition sprang into life, and it did not subside until the question was effectually settled. The first shot fired scattered the Pro-transportationists in every direction, and from its effects they never recovered. It assumed the form of a "monster" meeting held in the Queen's Theatre (Queen Street) on the 1st March, 1847. The theatre was crowded with the more prominent personages of the evening, and the issue to be pronounced upon was put plainly and unmistakably as to "Whether convicts should be admitted in any shape, and upon any conditions."

The Mayor (Mr. Henry Moor) was appointed Chairman, and in opening the proceedings he declared that, "As for his own part, he must say that he for one was not prepared to consent that this Province should become the receptacle of British criminals upon any terms, and he hoped the time would be far distant ere Port Phillip would be converted into the Penitentiary of Great Britain."

The enthusiasm of the assembly was unbounded, and the thrilling and heart-gushing applause with which the several speakers were frequently interrupted left not a shadow of a doubt as to the uncompromising earnestness with which the struggle (supposing there to be one) would be fought out to the end. Addresses, in tone and lauguage as unmistakable as the cheering, were delivered by Dr. Peter McArthur, Messrs. W. F. Stawell, E. E. Williams, John O'Shanassy, William Kerr, Sidney Stephen, Wm. Hull, H. W. Mortimer, Major St. John, and Bernard Reynolds. The first and principal resolution adopted was, viz.:—

"That whilst this meeting acknowledges and sincerely regrets the scarcity of labour in this district, and the injury to prosperity resulting therefrom, it cannot under any circumstances entertain any proposal for a system of importation of British criminals, considering, as this meeting does, in the declaration made by the Legislative Council of the colony, in 1844, 'That the moral and social influences of the convict system, and the contamination and vice which are inseparable from it, are evils for which no mere pecuniary benefits would serve as a compromise.'"

Another resolution was also passed, thanking the Governor (Sir C. Fitzroy) for promising to recommend a renewal of free emigration to the colony, an intimation to such effect having previously emanated from His Excellency.

During the proceedings two remarkable episodes occurred. At one period, Mr. Edward Curr, who was on the platform, moving to the front, commenced to address the meeting, when he was overwhelmed with a torrent of disapprobation from every part of the building, consisting of hooting, hissing and yelling, He was a straight built, slightly stooped, rough, red-faced old man, with hair well bleached into greyness, and he scowled on the multitude with such a fixity of solid grimness that, in his general appearance. he might be likened to a Polar bear, got up for the occasion in man's habiliments. He would not knock under, for he was plucky and obstinate to the backbone, and for several minutes he gesticulated at the curious exhibition of dumb show, for, though his action was seen and jeered at, not a syllable of what he uttered could possibly be heard. In the midst of this clamour out jumped before the curtain Mr. E. E. Williams, who, like an English bull-dog, tackled the bear in such a style that the old agitator

withdrew with the utmost reluctance and ill-grace. The reason for this warm reception of Mr. Edward Curr, who in other respects had proved himself a staunch friend to the Province, was his known sympathy with previous "hole-and-corner" proceedings, and his anxiety, as an employer of labour, to procure that article by any means, not caring much about its quality, provided he could have as much as he required, and at a low figure. But the speech of the evening was delivered by (so the orator styled himself) "an humble bushman from the Plenty." After the principal resolution had been proposed and seconded, there appeared at one of the side wings an ungainly, slouching figure of a rustic, garbed in a blue-serge shirt, who with a cabbage-tree hat clumsily carried in one hand, delivered an oration in a soft, mellow tone of voice, with a well-attuned inflection, and an emphasis which at once rivetted attention. His speech, evidently well prepared and committed to memory, was both argumentative and rhetorical. The thunders of applause which it called forth were positively deafening, and, figuratively speaking, the "house" was absolutely brought down by the following passage :—

"For the inconsiderable inconvenience to a few, will you sacrifice the welfare of the multitude? Will you imitate the antiquated folly of the Egyptian priests who sacrificed bullocks to blue-bottle flies? Will you agree to inundate your land with a cataclysm of immorality? Will you agree to receive such men as a Jeffrey, who violated the mother, and then dashed out her infant's brains while the unconscious innocent was smiling on its brutal murderer? Or will you agree to receive such men as the cannibal Pearce, who, according to his own dying confession, devoured the flesh and muscles of seven of his fellow creatures?"

The speaker afterwards became well known as "Barney Reynolds," who delivered other addresses, both on political and temperance subjects, but no other effusion of his equalled his first. "Barney," for one night at all events, grew into a star of the first magnitude, and he and his Anti-transportation speech formed the chief item of town talk for the following week. One of the newspaper proprietors offered to take him on his staff, but "Barny" had no notion of chaining himself to the unending toil of a newspaper office, and afterwards found his way to California, whence no tidings of him were ever received.

At this period of the agitation the *Argus* fought vehemently against the reception of convicts under any possible circumstances, in which it was followed, but in a more measured style, by the *Herald*. The *Patriot* had been "got at" by the Pro-transportationists, and advocated diluted felonry, whilst the *Gazette* was see-sawing from one publication to the other.

The "Thomas Arbuthnot" arrived from Portsmouth on the 4th May, 1847, with a cargo of 288 "exiles" from the great prison depôts of Pentonville, Parkhurst, and Millbank. Rumours as to the ingenuity and cleverness of this large mixed batch soon spread abroad, and the stories told of their doings on board occasioned much uneasiness to the public. During the voyage out they started a newspaper, under the loud-sounding and menacing designation of the *Thunderbolt*. Like Fawkner's first journal, it was in manuscript, but very unlike it in other respects, as some of its articles (in prose and verse) displayed an ability so marked as most decidedly to make it compare favourably with any journal then printed in the colony. The great fault with this penal production was that its tone was too good to last; and its ethics were pitched in too high a key, considering the sources from which the inspiration was drawn. As a counterblast to the literary engine, the ship also brought out a completely organized gang of burglars, with a captain and all necessary equipments, such as an extensive variety of skeleton keys, pick-locks, files, jemmies, and trifles *ejusdem generis*. The *personnel* of the "exiles" was no less remarkable, for in their "roll call" mustered a licentiate of the Church of Scotland, a barrister, half-a-dozen other legal mongrels, two doctors, and a Lieutenant of a Line Regiment. Amongst them also was William Whitelaw, declared to be the individual who, at the Canterbury riots, arrested the madman Courtenay, *alias* "Thom," the moment after he had shot the officer. This compatriot, though expatriated for his country's good, strangely enough brought out such strong recommendations that the great Anti-transportational Mayor (Moor) actually placed him in the Town Police. After landing in Melbourne the "Thomas Arbuthnotians" soon forgot or unlearned the moral teachings of the *Thunderbolt*, for, instead of betaking themselves to honest labour, before a week was over some daring robberies were perpetrated with a skill that defied the vigilance of the police, and the "exiles" when spoken of were classed under the generic term of "Penton*villains*," irrespective of their having come from either Millbank, Parkhurst, or Pentonville. About fifteen

hundred of this undesirable fraternity found their way into the district, and, with a few exceptions, turned out a bad bargain.

In June despatches were received from Mr. Archibald Cunninghame, previously relegated to the Mother-country as a Pro-Separation and Pastoral Delegate Missionary, from which it appeared that he had so far exceeded his instructions as to advocate the transmission of "exiles" to the colony. *Ultra vires* action of this kind gave much dissatisfaction, and to apply the break as soon as possible to Cunninghame's unwarranted behaviour, it was brought under the consideration of a meeting of the Delegate Fund subscribers, who were supposed to direct and control Cunninghame's movements in England, when, on the motion of Mr. W. Kerr, seconded by Mr. J. O'Shanassy, a resolution was passed disavowing the action of the delegate in promoting the emigration of what he termed "Free Convicts," and peremptorily instructing him to render no support to any such or similar movement in future.

A notification appearing in the *Arbroath Guide*, and reprinted in the Melbourne newspapers, caused a fresh alarm. It was in effect that the British Government had determined upon establishing a penal settlement at Portland (Port Phillip), and by means of prison labour erecting such fortifications and defensive works there as should render it a second Gibraltar. The English journal had evidently substituted one Portland for another, for the assertion was either a mistake or a hoax; at all events, nothing further was ever heard about it.

Still the cheap-labour advocates would persist in their underhand work, trying by every conceivable means to obtain convict labour either from England or Van Diemen's Land, and causing misrepresentations to be made to the colonial authorities in London; yet all their efforts and manœuvres were resultless. As to the general mass of the people, convictism, under any device and in any guise, was to them thoroughly obnoxious. Then there was the Legislative Council of New South Wales, where "squatterocracy" was predominant. That body used to get pretty well muddled in dealing with the Transportation question. It was either blowing hot or cold, and once, in 1848, in a fit of lukewarmness, it addressed the Secretary of State agreeing to the introduction of convicts holding tickets of leave, or conditional pardons, provided an equal number of free immigrants were also sent. In 1849 Sir C. Fitzroy received a despatch expressing the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government with the scheme, and on the receipt of this intelligence a public meeting was held on the 6th March in an open space where now the Town Hall stands, and an immense crowd collected at 2 p.m. The Mayor (Mr. W. M. Bell) presided, and the speakers, in addition to the Chairman, were Messrs. Wm. Hull, R. A. Balbirnie, Sidney Stephen, John O'Shanassy, Bernard Reynolds, William Kerr, J. S. Johnston, Richard Heales, J. P. Fawkner, and Henry Langlands. Resolutions were passed (1) Expressing astonishment, alarm, and indignation that, notwithstanding previous public declarations against convictism or exilism, the British Government contemplated constituting the Province a penal settlement: (2) That Transportation to the colony would be absolutely ruinous, as stopping the supply of a virtuous and industrious population, as well as degrading to the people: (3) Recording the determination of the inhabitants of the Province to resist the landing of convicts on their shores: and (4) Appointing as a deputation the Mayor, Messrs. S. Stephen, W. Hull, J. Simpson, William Kerr, and Dr. M'Arthur to wait upon the Governor (from whom a visit was expected) on his arrival, and request him to transmit the resolutions to the Queen, and also to impress upon him the necessity for preserving the public peace, and following the example of the Governor at the Cape of Good Hope, by prohibiting the landing of convicts (should any arrive) until Her Majesty should be correctly informed of the wishes of the community.

In the course of the proceedings strong hints of a resort to physical force, if necessary, dropped from some of the speakers, but were checked by the Chairman.

Prior to the holding of the meeting it got abroad that the occasion would be turned into an opportunity for making a covert attack upon the Superintendent, who was the reverse of popular in certain coteries. As an example it was stated that he was a staunch favourer of Transportation, when in reality he was altogether the other way, as was subsequently testified by Sir C. Fitzroy. For this reason Messrs. Stawell, Williams, and others foremost in weight and influence, kept aloof and even two of the deputation (Hull and Simpson) declined acting.

A Magisterial Pronouncement.

In a little more than a week after the foregoing an extremely important declaration of opinion was obtained. The Mayor, and Mr. Simpson, Warden of the County of Bourke, issued a joint circular, convoking the Town and Territorial Magistracy to speak out on the Transportation question, and on the 15th March twenty-four Justices of the Peace assembled at the Police Court, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

"That the introduction of convicts to Port Phillip under any designation, or in any manner whatever, as contemplated by the Secretary of State, is, in the opinion of this meeting, unacceptable to the great majority of all classes of the community, and injurious to the moral and social interests of the colony."

During the Governor's brief sojourn in Melbourne, an interview between His Excellency and the Magistrates took place on the 19th March, and the result was very satisfactory. Sir Charles Fitzroy declared that in consequence of the state of feeling prevalent, and the strong representations made to him by Mr. Latrobe, he had decided that on the arrival of any convict ship in port, the captain should be instructed to proceed with his freight to Sydney. It was further understood that in such event the convicts intended for Port Phillip should be deported to the Cockatoo or Norfolk Island depôts, pending the final decision of the Imperial Government.

Some time after the holding of the meeting in 1847 it was the subject of conversation, and innuendo in the newspapers, that no official acknowledgment of the resolutions had been received from the Secretary of State. His enemies attempted to cast blame upon the Superintendent, but Mr. Latrobe bore it quietly, depending on time to place him right with the public. This was done through some disclosures made at the interviewing of Sir Charles Fitzroy, from which it was made apparent that through carelessness or treachery, the resolutions had never been officially transmitted from the meeting to the Executive. The culpability was then sought to be shifted from the Superintendent to the Chairman (Mr. H. Moor.)

A public meeting was held in consequence at the Mechanics' Institution on the 26th March, 1849, with the Mayor (Mr. Bell) as Chairman, when two resolutions were passed, viz., (1.) "Censuring Mr. Moor for his carelessness or culpability;" and (2.) "Thanking Superintendent Latrobe for his exertions in supporting the public opinion of the country against the introduction of transportation." Mr. Henry Moor had some very bitter enemies amongst a certain section of the community, and they watched every opportunity by fair and unfair means to blacken his character. With respect to the omission to forward the resolutions in question to the proper quarter, though *primâ facie* the Chairman should have done it, when it was known that he had a large professional business as a solicitor to attend to, the other principal promoters of the movement must certainly be regarded as accessories after the fact.

The settlers in the far west of the Province were in a state of high dudgeon at the effects of the agitation in the Capital. For some months it was known that prison ships would be despatched direct from England to Port Phillip, and it was to provide for such an expected emergency that Governor Fitzroy was induced to order that the criminal cargoes should be moved on northward. Sixty or seventy settlers in the Portland quarter prepared a memorial to the Governor, praying that the valuable labour of the convicts should not be lost to Port Phillip, and that the ships on their arrival in Hobson's Bay, instead of going on to Sydney, may be directed to go back to Portland, where their passengers would be cordially welcomed, and their services cheerfully availed of. The memorial was referred to the Superintendent, and its prayer was unceremoniously refused.

Arrival of Two "Plague" Ships.

Melbourne was frightened from its propriety on the morning of the 8th August, 1849, by the appearance in the Bay of the "Randolph," from Woolwich, with a full cargo of convict prisoners and "exiles," guarded by detachments of the 11th and 58th Regiments. Superintendent Latrobe had previously despatched orders to the Pilot Station that on the ship's arrival she was not to enter the Heads, but proceed to Sydney. His mandate was disregarded, but upon imperative instructions being re-issued, the ship sailed away for her new destination on the 11th.

Such an untoward event renewed the public uneasiness; and on the 20th a public meeting was held at the Queen's Theatre, to enter a further protest against a possibility of the introduction of transportation. The Mayor (Mr. W. Bell) acted as Chairman, and speeches of a most determined character were delivered by Messrs. Lachlan M'Kinnon, Colin Campbell, William Kerr, R. A. Balbirnie. Thomas Wills, J. A. Marsden, J. S. Johnston, Thomas M'Combie, Henry Langlands, Dr. Greeves, Dr. Thomson, Captain Webster, and the Rev. A. M. Ramsay. Several resolutions were adopted, and it was decided to transmit Petitions to the Queen and both Houses of Parliament.

On the 14th December, 1849, another harbinger of evil appeared in the arrival of the ship "Adelaide" from Hobart Town, with 281 convicts for Port Phillip, but against this visitation the Superintendent was prepared. He dispatched a messenger express to the Heads, with positive instructions that the ship was to come no further. She remained off Queenscliff for four days, and then followed in the wake of the "Randolph." Thus again was the dire shadow of the impending evil driven off.

Sympathy with the Cape.

In the difficulty of finding some British Dependency whereon to discharge the contaminating forces of British crime, an attempt was made to foist convictism upon the Cape of Good Hope, but there resistance even more unflinching than in Port Phillip was offered, and the floating prisons were obliged to sail out of Table Bay, and bring on their freight of human depravity to Van Diemen's Land, the inhabitants of which island were now bestirring themselves to stem the pestiferous issues with which they were being overwhelmed. When news of what had been accomplished at the Cape travelled to Australia, the Anti-transportationists of Melbourne deemed it desirable to give all the moral support in their power to a movement similar to that in which they had themselves engaged. Consequently on the 28th February, 1850, a public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute for the expression of sympathy with the Cape Colonists "In their noble efforts to avert the tide of convictism, with which the Home Government were attempting to degrade and ruin their free and prosperous settlement." The Mayor (Dr. Greeves) presided; energetic and eloquent speeches were delivered by the Chairman, the Rev. Dr. Lang, Messrs. William Kerr, J. S. Johnston, William Nicholson, George Annand and others; and a vote of sympathy was passed with acclamation, and ordered to be forwarded by the Chairman to the leaders of the agitation at Cape Town.

A Threatened Revival.

Towards the close of the year efforts were made to procure the sanction of the Legislature of New South Wales to the renewal of transportation, whereat a fresh wave of alarm swept over the land. This induced the most enthusiastic demonstration that was ever held in Melbourne. It was unmistakably a forcible expression of public feeling, and from the tone of the speaking, and the status of most of the speakers, its importance as a general utterance of the collective voice of nine-tenths of the entire community could not be gainsaid. Between 3000 and 4000 persons assembled in front of the then new Police Court in Swanston Street. The Mayor (Dr. Greeves) was voted to the chair, and the immense gathering was addressed by Messrs. W. F. Stawell, A. F. Mollison, C. H. Ebden, W. M. Bell, J. O'Shanassy, W. Hull, J. P. Fawkner, L. M'Kinnon, J. A. Marsden, C. Campbell, T. M'Combie, and Captain G. W. Cole.

The first resolution was the adoption of a petition to the Legislative Council praying

That the sanction of the Legislature will not be given to the importation of convicted felons in any form or under any designation whatsoever, to this colony or any part of it; and even should it be resolved to exempt this district from participation in such an infliction, that the Council will not by re-degrading the Colony of New South Wales into a penal settlement, make it necessarily a curse to the future colony of Victoria.

The second resolution enunciated,

That as Her Majesty's Government have solemnly and explicitly pledged the public faith that transportation should not be resumed to the colony, without the express consent of its inhabitants; and as it is the unanimous wish of the entire body of the colonists of Port Phillip and of the great mass of the inhabitants of the other portions of the colony that the transportation of convicted felons to this colony, or any portion of it, should be at once and for ever abandoned—This meeting declares their

conviction that any renewal of the proposal to send convicts here would be eminently calculated to weaken their allegiance to Her Majesty's Government, and that it is their firm determination to resist any measure tending to a consequence so much to be deplored.

The meeting also expressed its deep sympathy with the colonists of Van Diemen's Land for their suffering under the present state of that island, occasioned by the continuous influx of British criminals. It tendered a hearty concurrence and co-operation in their endeavours to procure a total cessation of transportation to any of the Australian colonies, and appointed the following permanent Committee to act as may be found necessary, viz., Messrs. Henry Langlands, Germain Nicholson, William Nicholson, William Stawell, Colin Campbell, William Kerr, W. U. Tripp, W. M. Bell, Richard Heales, A. F. Mollison, J. S. Johnston, Octavius Browne, William Westgarth, Henry Moor, C. H. Ebden, Lauchlan M'Kinnon, W. K. Bull, John O'Shanassy, William Hull, Dr. John Dickson, and Major Mercer.

Furthermore it was declared to be a betrayal of trust for any of the Port Phillip members of the Legislative Council to vote for the renewal of transportation to the colony of New South Wales. The Chairman was instructed to transmit copies of the several resolutions to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and to the Provincial representatives in the Sydney Legislature.

Anti-Transportation League.

Great efforts were being made in Van Diemen's Land to banish the evils of transportation from that island. It was proposed to organize a league to which the co-operation of the various Australian colonies would be invited, the Rev. John West, and Mr. P. W. Weston were appointed Delegates to prosecute an Anti-transportation Crusade, and their early appearance in Melbourne was announced. The Port Phillipian Anti-transportationists, sensible of the advantage of powerful combined action, were only too willing to help in every way in their power, so preliminary meetings were held, a Committee appointed, and the Mayor (Mr. W. Nicholson), with Messrs. William Westgarth, and W. M. Bell, nominated as the Melbourne Delegates. A Conference was held on the 1st February 1851, at the Queen's Theatre, where the Van Diemonian Delegates attended, who brought over with them a League Banner to be unfurled on the occasion.

The Mayor of Melbourne presided, and introduced the Rev. Mr. West, and Mr. Weston, and announced Messrs. William Westgarth, M.L.C., and W. M. Bell, with himself, as Mayor of Melbourne, as the individuals chosen by the inhabitants of Victoria to represent her interests in the cause. The Rev. Mr. West read the following

Constitution of the League.

The object of the League is to secure by moral means only, the Abolition of Transportation to the Australasian Colonies. All who sign the League and Solemn Engagement to be members.

Organization.

The governing body of the League to be constituted by Delegates, assembled in Conference, and appointed by the several colonies as hereinafter provided.

The Conference to appoint and approve of the various measures to be adopted during the year following their meeting.

The Conference to appoint annually an Executive Board; also, a permanent paid agent to travel through the colonies, and, under the directions of the Local Councils, to hold meetings and otherwise to promote the business of the League.

On the nomination of the Council, the Conference to appoint representatives of the League in London, who shall be authorized to employ agents who, by means of the Press, public meetings, and all other lawful methods shall concentrate public opinion in the United Kingdom, on the object of the League.

The Conference before separating to determine the next place of meeting, at which the Executive Board shall report. The Board for the year to be composed of residents in the colony where the last meeting of the Conference was held.

In the several colonies Councils shall be chosen by the members, to consist of nine persons.

The Councils shall appoint the Delegates to the Conference. Non-residents may be chosen as Delegates.

The money contributed in a colony shall be under the exclusive control of the Local Councils. The Local Councils may appropriate money for the disposal of the Conference, to be expended in general and special purposes. Money so appropriated

shall be remitted before the meeting of Conference to the Bank of ——— there to be placed at the credit of the Treasurer of the Delegates.

The Council may grant money to the Executive Board of the Conference in any emergency.

Each Council shall appoint representatives in England, consisting of gentlemen resident in the United Kingdom, to be called the London Board of the Australasian League, with whom the Colonial Executive Board of Conference shall correspond.

To secure the objects of the League £20,000 shall be raised in five instalments, the first payable immediately, and the rest in equal sums on the 1st day of January in each following year.

The Rev. Mr. West said that himself and colleague, Mr. Weston, appeared there as the representatives of Van Diemen's Land. Their object was to cause transportation to cease to the Australian Colonies, and he proposed

That this Conference of the Delegates of the Australian Colonies do now form an Australian League, for the prevention of the transportation of convicts to any of the Australian Colonies, and adopt the foregoing as their League and Solemn Engagement.

It was seconded by Mr. William M. Bell, and carried unanimously.

The Banner of the League was next unfurled amidst three hearty cheers. It was of blue ground, with the stripes and cross of the National Union, and the addition of four stars on the ground work.

Mr. Marsden read the address of the Conference to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. It presented in pointed and eloquent terms the statement of the case for the Colonies against the formidable infliction they were engaged in combating. It thus concluded :

We address the words of supplication not of threatening. A few short years, and that which is now a grievance will grow into a quarrel ; but those eternal laws which justify our appeal must secure its triumph. By instant concession, an act of justice will become a monument of Imperial clemency. But these colonies are solemnly pledged, each to the other by their mutual interests—their future destinies—their fellowship of weal and woe—and now by their League and Solemn Engagement, to achieve the freedom of their common country.

This was adopted, as was also " An Address to the Colonists of Australia," similarly couched.

This closed the general business of the Conference, and those present resolved themselves into a public meeting, when several energetic speeches were delivered, and the following resolutions agreed to :—Proposed by Mr. Henry Moor, M.L.C., and seconded by Mr. W. F. Stawell—

That the transportation of British criminals to the Australasian colonies has become deeply injurious to their welfare and reputation, and ought to be terminated.

Mr. W. Westgarth, M.L.C., proposed, and the Rev. J. West seconded—

That as it is desirable to unite the colonies in a moral and legal resistance to the transportation of criminals, this meeting desires to express its hearty concurrence in the formation of the Australasian League, and its approval of the documents called the League and Solemn Engagement, and the Constitution of the League as adopted by the Conference.

Proposed by Mr. W. M. Bell, and seconded by Mr. P. Weston—

That it is the conviction of this meeting that the great evils inflicted by transportation are unknown to the people of England, that the Address to the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, adopted by the Conference, be approved as conveying the wishes of the colonists to their fellow subjects.

Dr. Greeves proposed, and Mr. Richard Heales seconded—

That the Committee for the Abolition of transportation be requested to enrol the members of the League, to open subscriptions for the promotion of its objects, and to set in motion the machinery prescribed for the Constitution of the Victorian branch of the League.

Mr. William Kerr proposed, and Mr. J. A. Marsden seconded—

That this meeting earnestly recommend to the Australian colonies the objects of the League, and that the Address now read be recommended to their serious consideration.

Three cheers were given for the Queen, and the meeting terminated.

At the conclusion a German gentleman read an address from his fellow countrymen, bewailing the misfortune they were under of being made subservient in many instances to convict masters ; and proposing, as a *dernier réssort*, that we should re-embark for England any convict that arrived here.

Subjoined is the now forgotten, but historically interesting, document as adopted :

The Australasian League.

"The League and Solemn Engagement of the Australasian Colonies, Declared by the Delegates in the Conference held in Melbourne, 1st February, 1851.

"Whereas, in 1840, by an Order-in-Council, the practice of transporting convicts to New South Wales was abandoned by the Crown: And Whereas, by divers promises the Government of Great Britain engaged not to send convicts from the United Kingdom to New South Wales, New Zealand, Victoria, or King George's Sound: And Whereas, by an Act of the British Parliament, transportation to South Australia was positively prohibited: And Whereas, Lieutenant Governor Denison, in 1847, declared to the Colonists of Van Diemen's Land, Her Majesty's most gracious purpose, that transportation to that island should be discontinued: And Whereas the colony of Van Diemen's Land has been deeply injured by the pouring in of enormous masses of transported offenders: And Whereas divers and repeated attempts have been made to depart from the letter and spirit of these promises: And Whereas the avowed object of Her Majesty's Secretary of State is to transfuse the convicts disembarked in Van Diemen's Land through the Australasian Colonies, and thus to evade the spirit of the promises and Act of Parliament so made: And Whereas large tracts of land have been purchased by the colonists from the Crown, many millions of capital invested in improvements, and many thousands of Her Majesty's subjects have settled in Australasia on the pledged faith of the Crown not to disturb their social welfare by the importation of crime: And Whereas the native Australasians are entitled to all the rights and privileges of British subjects, and to the sympathy and protection of the British nation: And Whereas many and varied efforts have been made to induce Her Majesty's Ministers and the British Parliament to terminate the practice of transportation to these colonies, but without success—Now, therefore, the Delegates of these colonies, in Conference assembled, do declare their League and Solemn Engagement, to the effect following:—

"That they engage not to employ any persons hereafter arriving under sentence of transportation for crime committed in Europe.

"That they will use all the powers they possess, official, electoral, and legislative, to prevent the establishment of English prisons or penal settlements within their bounds; that they will refuse assent to any projects to facilitate the administration of such penal systems, and that they will seek the repeal of all regulations, and the removal of all establishments for such purposes.

"That they solemnly engage with each other to support, by their advice, their money, and their countenance, all who may suffer in the lawful promotion of this cause."

So far everything went in a most encouraging manner, and as the most unerring indication of the public pulsation, the following gentlemen subscribed one hundred guineas each to the League Fund:—The Mayor (W. Nicholson), W. M. Bell, W. Westgarth, M.L.C., Jackson, Rae and Co., G. S. Brodie, Henry Moor, M.L.C., W. F. Stawell, Hugh Glass, Fulton and Smith, Joseph Raleigh, Heap and Grice, Bear and Son, Charles Williamson and Co., Germain Nicholson, Dal. Campbell and Co., John Dinwoodie, Matthew Gibson, Mickle and Bakewell, John M'Donnell, Turnbull Brothers, J. R. and J. Murphy, George Ward Cole, Alison and Knight, Dalgety, Gore and Co.

The roll was soon swelled to thirty, irrespective, of course, of lesser subscriptions; and it would be impossible to have a stronger criterion of public spirit and earnestness. In these times of semi-million acres and large capitalists, thirty "one-hundred guinea" donations may be sneered at, and held of small account; but comparing the condition of the then Port Phillip with the now Victoria, the population, trade, developed resources, and individual wealth of the two periods, it will not be an exaggerated estimate of the test of 1851 to multiply by ten, and imagine 300 of the colonists of to-day subscribing one thousand guineas each to ransom the country from some looming public calamity! It is difficult to conceive any possible contingency that could cause such an opening of purse strings. If Doomsday were approaching, and a postponement of the Last Judgment could be negotiated, such an event might happen; but nothing short of some such extreme visitation could produce a corresponding result.

A Council of Nine.

The next important step was the election of an Executive body of nine members to administer the affairs of the Victorian Branch of the Australasian League, and much interest was excited as to the selection. The Rev. J. West, with Messrs. W. F. Stawell, W. W. Tripp, and W. Kerr were appointed a Sub-Committee; the election to be held on the 21st February, the voting to be by ballot, and the Van Diemen's Land Delegates (West and Weston) to officiate as Scrutineers. There were seventeen candidates, and the following were elected:—William Westgarth, M.L.C.; William Kerr, William Nicholson

(the Mayor), Dalmahoy Campbell, George Annand, W. F. Stawell, William M. Bell, J. S. Johnston, and John Hood.

The Council of the League held its first meeting on the 22nd February. Mr. William Nicholson was appointed President of the Melbourne branch, to act during his Mayoralty; Mr. Westgarth, Honorary Secretary; and Mr. W. M. Bell, Honorary Treasurer. Messrs. Nicholson, Westgarth, and Bell were nominated Delegates to an Australasian Conference, to be holden at Sydney, and Messrs. Westgarth, Bell, and Kerr were commissioned to proceed to Geelong on the 3rd March to secure the co-operation of an Anti-transportation Committee which had been appointed there. It was also decided to despatch to England some Port Phillip resident, "possessed of the requisite colonial experience, general ability, and official diplomatic training," as a Delegate from Victoria, for the purpose of promoting the objects of the League.

On the last day of February the League Fund amounted to £4795 15s., and numbered amongst the contributors 34 at 100 guineas each, 9 at 50 guineas, 1 "fifty-pounder," 5 of 25 guineas, 23 at £25, 1 of £15, 2 ten guineas, 3 "ten-pounders," 5 at 5 guineas, and 5 "five-pounders."

THE DELEGATE.

The appointment of a Home Delegate was now the question of questions, and speculation was on the *qui vive* as to whom would be given what was believed to be both an office of much importance and handsome emolument, as times were then. The terms and remuneration of the post were anxiously discussed in the Council with closed doors, and much reticence was observed on the subject. It transpired, however, that the Delegate's tenure of office was to be for three years, at £600 per annum, and the cost of transit to England and back paid. The appointment was to be made on the 21st March, and an unaccountable degree of mystery was maintained about it. This reserve went so far that, at the Council meeting on the election day, it was resolved to observe absolute secrecy, not only as to the voting, but even the names and number of candidates for the office, of which there were nine. At length the event came off, and Mr. J. C. King, the Town Clerk, was declared to be the chosen vessel. At the same meeting Mr. H. Moor was appointed Delegate for the coming Sydney Conference, *vice* the Mayor, who was unable to leave, owing to the pressure of business engagements. A London Board of Co-operation was also nominated as the Victorian representatives, on which would be Lord Ashley, Sir William Molesworth, and Mr. William Ewart, M.P.

The selection of Mr. J. C. King elicited a loud storm of disapprobation, and it was at once denounced as a gross job, to promote one partizan and provide another (Mr. Kerr) with a billet in the to be-vacated Town Clerkship. Some men of note withdrew from the League, and the most important secession was that of Mr. Stawell as a member of the Council. It was currently believed that King's election led to this step, though the reason assigned in the published letter conveying Mr. Stawell's resignation to the members of the League was "that he could not serve them with advantage by continuing in a useless minority."

King was the reverse of a public favourite, and, indeed, outside a small clique, he was in nowise popular. An Irish Northerner, he was declared to have taken a degree at a British University, and, though a man of liberal education, was extremely illiberal in other respects. On arriving in Melbourne he commenced business as a commission agent; he kept a Servants' Registry Office, and acted as Government Auctioneer for a short time prior to taking the Town Clerkship. A small factionist even before he entered the Corporation employment, he was always the focus of petty intrigues there, and the consequence was that he carved out unpleasant times for himself. He was badgered, abused, and found fault with, often for no reason, but as often for much; and there were times when it was alleged that the small duties of his office were much in arrear. A pale-faced, mild-looking man, when he innocently gazed at you through a prominent pair of spectacles, one would take him to be a much milder-mannered man than he was in reality, and not at all the individual capable of concocting the rancour and animosity with which his opponents declared he was absolutely surcharged.

Amongst the candidates for the appointment of Delegate from the League were some two or three of higher social positions, more general ability, and likely to be more acceptable to the public than Mr. King; but he was strong with the Scotch influence, and the Caledonian preponderance in the Council carried the day. The *Argus* was loud in sounding his praises, and great were the predictions risked on his behalf, none of which were realized, for as a Delegate he was far from a success. He resigned the Town Clerkship, and on the 29th March a thinly-attended public meeting was held under the presidency of the Mayor, when, on the motion of Mr. W. Kerr, seconded by Mr. G. Annand, an Anti-transportation Address to the Queen was adopted, with the presentation of which the Delegate was specially charged. Mr. King departed on his mission, duly accredited, but little came of it, probably in consequence of the wonderful and unexpected changes wrought during the year, which rendered a Home Delegation unnecessary, and any revival of transportation to New South Wales, or its introduction to Port Phillip, an utter impossibility. Such was another of the many important results evolved from the bowels of the earth by the gold discoveries.

The League's Council Meetings were at first held with the public locked out, but in April admittance was conceded to the Press. The motto of the colony was an absolute "No surrender;" there should, would, and could be no terms made with the enemy—no quarter, no treaty, no capitulation—the convicts were to be kept out at any and all hazards.

And so the months flew by—the autumn passed, and the winter came, and with it the official Declaration of the Independence of the new Colony of Victoria. No real symptoms of the yellow fever yet, but the first Provincial General Election was coming on, and here the League worked hard to induce the people to make "Transportation" a test pledge with the candidates. Agents were appointed to stump the country, the most notable of them being the mercurial and inflexible, though hot-tongued Captain Harrison.

The Executive Board of the Australasian League offered a gold medal of the value of £10 10s. for an Australasian anthem, capable of being set to music. Yet no bard sufficiently inspired to take the prize appeared. An Address from the League bearing the signature of "William Westgarth, Hon. Secretary," was issued, imploring the electors of Victoria to return no candidate who was not a member of the Confederation. In this manifesto the grave question at issue told with much effect. "Our Legislative Assembly," it justly remarked, "Is our strong right arm in this sacred cause, both because that body stands forth amongst us as a great public example, and because it is the constituted channel by which the views of the colonists are given and recognized by the parent country. Suffer us to hope, then, that on the exercise of your electoral franchise, you will guard against the admission of any advocate of 'Transportation' in any shape or form, or under any name whatsoever, to a seat in our future Legislature. It is now in your power to secure that your representatives shall be of one voice and one mind with you on this great question. Let every candidate be questioned as to his views on this cardinal point. Let no man enter the Council Chamber respecting whose fidelity there exists even the shadow of a doubt."

The appeal to the people resulted as expected, for the verdict of the constituencies was an emphatic declaration against the reception of imported convictism in any possible form, or under any circumstances whatever. But an ally appeared from another quarter, so formidable in its kind as to place it effectually beyond the power of the Imperial Government, to evermore even dream of transplanting convicted British crime to this portion of the Australian Continent. By the commencement of 1852, the fame of the wonderful gold-fields of Ballarat and Mount Alexander was being wafted on the wings of "the Fourth Estate" to every region of the civilized world, and Victoria was becoming the scene of attraction towards which human eyes turned, and hearts throbbed by tens of thousands. The evil spirit of "Transportation" was at length and effectually exorcised by the wand of the gold enchanter, and the ten years' war so gallantly waged by Port Phillip against the insidious and pertinacious foe of the young Commonwealth, was brought to a triumphant termination.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

TEMPERANCE AND TEETOTAL SOCIETIES.

SYNOPSIS.—Inauguration of the Port Phillip Temperance Society.—Formation of the Total Abstinence Society.—Teetotalism Explained.—Mrs. Dalgarno Lectures Against Intemperance.—The Temperance Hall.—Bishop Perry not a Teetotaller.—Formation of the Philanthropic Total Abstinence Society and the Salford Unity.—The Victorian Total Abstinence Convention.—The Father Matthew Society.—"Emerald Hill"—The Origin of its Name.—Founding and Opening of the Father Matthew Hall.—Its Final Dissolution.—Formation of a Rechabite Lodge.

IN 1837 Melbourne was visited by James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, members of the Society of Friends from Hobart Town, and this brace of worthy Quakers were the pioneers of the many praiseworthy efforts made in the colony to stay the progress of intemperance. Even at that early date, and amongst a population numerically small, the evils arising from an excessive indulgence in intoxicating liquor began their baneful effects, and the two individuals named decided upon an attempt to arrest the spread of a plague which, like Milton's Moloch, might be truthfully depicted as,

> ——"besmeared with blood,"
> Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears."——

On the 15th November they inaugurated

THE PORT PHILLIP TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

Being warmly supported by the Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe), the Rev. James Forbes, and others. They made a gallant beginning, and the Society pushed on its good work under many difficulties. Very little is known of its infantine proceedings, and the first printed notice I have been able to find on the subject is a brief record of a meeting held on the 29th October, 1838, at the Scots' School, Eastern Hill. This was the first anniversary celebration, and addresses were delivered by the Revs. James Forbes, and William Waterfield, the first Presbyterian and Independent Ministers. The Annual Report was submitted, and the prospect was the reverse of encouraging. In seven months there had been imported into Melbourne upwards of 2000 gallons of rum and 1500 gallons of brandy and gin (not so bad for a population of 3000 persons), on which the duty alone amounted to £1640. The document concluded with the prophetic enunciation, "That the meeting was assembled at a place likely, at no distant day, to become the Capital of an important Dependency of the British Crown, which may eventually become an influential Province of a mighty Empire."

Another meeting was held in the same place on the 26th March, 1839, the Rev. W. Waterfield presiding. On the motion of the Rev. J. C. Grylls, the first Episcopalian Minister, seconded by Mr. Robert Deane, Solicitor, a resolution was passed, "Declaring the use of ardent spirits for any other than medicinal purposes as altogether unnecessary, and injurious in many respects; and it would be highly beneficial in every society were it discontinued." It would be well for the same Mr. Deane if, in after years, he had adhered to the spirit of this dictum; but so far from doing so, he recognized the use of ardent spirits to such an extent that it ruined him professionally, and subjected him to the animadversions of Judge Willis in open Court. On this occasion Messrs. Waterfield and Forbes delivered very effective addresses. Archdeacon Jeffries, of Bombay, who was on a brief visit to Melbourne, lectured on the "Evils of Intemperance" to a crowded audience in the Scots' School, on the 18th December. In 1840, the Society assumed larger proportions, and it was thus influentially officered:—

Patron—His Honor C. J. Latrobe.

Secretary and Treasurer—Rev. James Forbes, M.A.

Committee—Rev. W. Waterfield, Messrs. Robert Reeves, John Gardiner, Robert Campbell, Wm. Robertson, Wm. Kerr, Thomas Jennings, Henry Kettle, Geo. Lilly, E. M. Sayers, John Thomas Smith, and Robt. Wilson. Of this dozen men some of them afterwards turned out the opposite of total abstainers, and one of them at least did well in pushing the sale of ardent spirits for other than medicinal purposes.

In 1841 the Committee of Management was reduced to ten, viz.:—The Revs. A. C. Thomson, W. Waterfield and Samuel Wilkinson; Messrs. William Kerr, J. A. Marsden, Thomas Napier, Robert Reeves, Abel Thorpe, R. Wilson, and W. B. Wilmot, M.D. Of these two teams only one is (in 1888) alive, viz., Mr. J. A. Marsden. The Society passed into a state of coma, and the cause slept for a couple of years, when it was woke up on the evening of the 22nd October, 1842, by a public meeting in the Scots' School, the outcome of which was the establishment of a

Total Abstinence Society,

On the motion of Mr. Robert Knox, seconded by Mr. John Wade, the following working staff were elected:—

President—Mr. R. Knox.

Secretary and Treasurer—Mr. Wade.

Committee—Messrs. Webster, Allan, R. Heales, Senr., and R. Heales, Junr., Stewart, Hendforth, Chambers, Mason, M'Lennan, Dunn, Willoughby, Dredge, Hinton, Wilkinson, Gallagher, Watson, and Kesterson.

On the 12th April, 1843, the members did not exceed thirty. The Society, however, continued to meet at the Scots' School, and to gradually increase its numbers, until the secession of the Rev. J. Forbes from the Scots' Church rendered it necessary to look out for some other place of Assembly. This originated the idea of purchasing a site, and erecting a Temperance Hall. An active movement was initiated to collect the necessary funds, which eventuated in the buying of an allotment in Russell Street and building a Hall thereon.

Some vitality was infused into the Society during the year 1843, frequent meetings were held, and adherents flocked in numbers to the banner of Temperance or Teetotalism; and here it may not be out of place to refer etymologically to the meaning of Teetotalism, of which several derivations are given. Some trace it to the transition from alcohol to tea-drinking, through which total abstainers pass, and that therefore it is a compression of *tea*-totalism. Others refer its origin to the slang phrase "to suit to a T" (fit to a nicety), an old idea borrowed from the T-square by which a carpenter tests the accuracy of his work; and thus "tee-total" would imply a thorough and precise totality or completeness of abstinence; but the commonly accepted definition is that there was an ardent Total Abstinence spouter in America, who, from the pressure of the tongue against the root of the upper teeth, the process by which a T is pronounced, was unable from a natural stammer to apply a sufficient break-power to prevent a duplication of the T, and as he could never master the word "total," he jerked away with his T—t—t until delivered of his T—t—t—otal—so "teetotal" it became, and as it happened to hit the public taste it so remained, and is now regularly enrolled as a duly naturalized denizen of the grand old English tongue.

Mrs. Dalgarno.

An unexpected fillip was given to the Temperance agitation the following year by the advent of a lecturess of considerable energy and no inconsiderable talent. She was a Mrs. Dalgarno, the wife of a sea captain of that name, the master of the barque "Arab," which brought a cargo from England to Melbourne. By a strange incongruity, though the lady was an abhorrer of grog in every shape and form, her husband's ship was well freighted with the "fire-water," and when it was announced that Mrs. Dalgarno meditated an onslaught upon the practice of brandy-drinking, and all its aiders and abettors, the Melbourne publicans waxed furious, and some of the newspapers inveighed bitterly. At length, on the evening of

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Committee—Messrs. Webster, Allan, R. Heales, Senr., and R. Heales, Junr., Stewart, Hendforth, Chambers, Mason, M'Lennan, Dunn, Willoughby, Dredge, Hinton, Wilkinson, Gallagher, Watson, and Kesterson.

On the 12th April, 1843, the members did not exceed thirty. The Society, however, continued to meet at the Scots' School, and to gradually increase its numbers, until the secession of the Rev. J. Forbes from the Scots' Church rendered it necessary to look out for some other place of Assembly. This originated the idea of purchasing a site, and erecting a Temperance Hall. An active movement was initiated to collect the necessary funds, which eventuated in the buying of an allotment in Russell Street and building a Hall thereon.

Some vitality was infused into the Society during the year 1843, frequent meetings were held, and adherents flocked in numbers to the banner of Temperance or Teetotalism; and here it may not be out of place to refer etymologically to the meaning of Teetotalism, of which several derivations are given. Some trace it to the transition from alcohol to tea-drinking, through which total abstainers pass, and that therefore it is a compression of *tea*-totalism. Others refer its origin to the slang phrase "to suit to a T" (fit to a nicety), an old idea borrowed from the T-square by which a carpenter tests the accuracy of his work; and thus "tee-total" would imply a thorough and precise totality or completeness of abstinence; but the commonly accepted definition is that there was an ardent Total Abstinence spouter in America, who, from the pressure of the tongue against the root of the upper teeth, the process by which a T is pronounced, was unable from a natural stammer to apply a sufficient break-power to prevent a duplication of the T, and as he could never master the word "total," he jerked away with his T—t—t until delivered of his T—t—t—otal—so "teetotal" it became, and as it happened to hit the public taste it so remained, and is now regularly enrolled as a duly naturalized denizen of the grand old English tongue.

Mrs. Dalgarno.

An unexpected fillip was given to the Temperance agitation the following year by the advent of a lecturess of considerable energy and no inconsiderable talent. She was a Mrs. Dalgarno, the wife of a sea captain of that name, the master of the barque "Arab," which brought a cargo from England to Melbourne. By a strange incongruity, though the lady was an abhorrer of grog in every shape and form, her husband's ship was well freighted with the "fire-water," and when it was announced that Mrs. Dalgarno meditated an onslaught upon the practice of brandy-drinking, and all its aiders and abettors, the Melbourne publicans waxed furious, and some of the newspapers inveighed bitterly. At length, on the evening of

the 25th June, 1844, Mrs. Dalgarno held forth in the Scots' School, at a special meeting of the Melbourne Total Abstinence Society, on the demoralizing and woeful effects of indulging in intoxicating liquors. Some of the Licensed Victuallers vowed they would "make it hot" for her, and took the necessary measures for doing so. The moment the lecturess entered, the place was rushed by a band of rowdies led by Mr. Phillip Anderson, landlord of the *Commercial Inn*, which stood on the site of Rocke's Furnishing Warehouse in Collins Street East. Anderson was a stout-built, broad-shouldered Scotchman, with a face ablaze with what some would designate "grog-blossoms," and fists that would not discredit a pugilist. He and a few select followers hit out right and left at the "water-demons," and on the following day Anderson was summoned to the Police Court to answer for his misconduct. The presiding Magistrates were Messrs William Hull and James Smith, and on behalf of the defendant half-a-dozen technical objections were offered. Mr. Hull, one of the Justices, was a wholesale wine and spirit merchant, and, as such, was supposed to entertain (involuntarily no doubt), strong sympathies with the retailers. He was also given at times to the expression of somewhat peculiar opinions from the Bench, and on this occasion indulged in the weakness. He began by doubting the legality of such a meeting as the one held, in a Corporate town, without the sanction of the Mayor, which had not been obtained, and then proceeded to censure Mrs. Dalgarno for presuming to appear on a public platform. He pronounced it as against Scriptural teaching, and at variance with the New Testament, in which St. Paul forbids it. It was stated there that "It is a shame for a woman to speak in public;" and further that "A woman should never speak before men." Hull's colleague, though highly conscientious, was easily "bossed" by a stronger mind, and the result was that the Bench held that no malice had been proved, and dismissed the charge; but rather illogically intimated that the Temperance Society should be protected, and no further molestations of the meetings would be permitted.

A few days after, a Mr. James Buchanan, the keeper of the *Scottish Hotel*, situated where the Gaiety Theatre, in Bourke Street East, stood, casually meeting Mr. Henry Frencham, the then President of the Society, and Town Auctioneer, called him to account for the circulation of calumnious reports about the reputation of his establishment, and Frencham's rejoinder not being considered satisfactory, the publican administered a dose of horsewhip which it took the teetotaller some time to forget. This necessitated another appeal for redress, and before the same Magistrates, who only fined the flagellator 2s. 6d., though cautioning the complainant that as he was a public official, it behove him to keep a civil tongue in his head. Mrs. Dalgarno, during more than one visit to Melbourne, delivered some very effective discourses. A perfect mistress of the subject, she did good service in a cause in which she took a deep interest.

Towards the end of the year 1844 a Total Abstinence Band was established. It formed an agreeable attraction at the meetings of the Society and in occasional public processions. Soon after there sprang into existence an "Australia Felix Total Abstinence Society," which acted as a valuable auxiliary to the other.

The Temperance Hall,

In Russell Street, was the result of continuous exertions prosecuted under formidable difficulties, which reflects undying credit upon the zeal and energy of the early teetotallers. I regret it is not in my power to supply as fully as I could wish any detailed particulars of the foundation of the building. The sources of reference to which I had access are silent on the subject, and a courteous application addressed by me to the Secretary at the Hall was not deemed worthy even of an acknowledgment—a marked exception to the manner in which I have been generally treated in hunting up information for my sketches of Old Melbourne.* I am, however, under obligation to Mr. Edmund Ashley, whose services in promoting the spread of total abstinence in Melbourne have been extremely valuable. I must, therefore, be content with stating that, in the month of December, 1846, the foundation-stone of the Hall was laid by the Right Worshipful Master of the Australasian Kilwinning Lodge of Freemasons, with the Masters of the other Masonic Lodges in Melbourne. The building was completed in September, 1847.

* It only right to note that the Secretary subsequently explained that the author's communication did not reach him.—Ed.

A Bishop not a Teetotaller.

Shortly after the arrival of the Right Rev. Dr. Perry in the colony in February, 1848, the Total Abstinence Society of Australia Felix resolved upon having a grand field-day (or rather evening) in the Temperance Hall, and they booked the new bishop as a certainty to support them. An invitation was consequently forwarded, asking the pleasure of his Lordship's company to preside on the occasion; but, much to the disappointment of all, the ready response expected did not arrive. His Lordship favoured them with a lengthy epistle strongly sympathizing with any movement directed against intemperance generally, but declining to accede to the particular request made upon him to occupy the Chair. He took this course, he wrote, "as he was not (nor did he intend to become) a member of any Total Abstinence Society. He considered wine and beer, equally with bread and meat, the gifts of a Gracious God for the use of His creatures, and believed it to be contrary both to reason and the Scriptures to denounce, as many advocates for total abstinence have done in England, the moderate enjoyment of them as sinful." He did not disapprove, however, of the existence of Total Abstinence Societies, and without being a member was ready to promote the objects of the Society in any manner he could. In this latter respect his Lordship afterwards amply kept his word.

As a curious statistical remanet connected with the subject of this chapter, I present the following copy of a scrap discovered in an old Melbourne newspaper:—

Return of the number of persons (male and female) apprehended, fined and discharged for drunkenness, before the Melbourne Police Court during the years from 1841 to 1847:—

Year.	Males Fined.	Males Discharged.	Females Fined.	Females Discharged.
1841	1603	86	59	11
1842	1357	110	134	18
1843	412	29	46	5
1844	299	9	41	9
1845	240	14	33	5
1846	370	9	68	3
1847	345	9	70	3
	Totals 4626	266	451	55

It is a singular fact that, of the above period of seven years, the years 1842 and 1843 were ones of such extreme depression that the Province was on the verge of general insolvency; property had become almost unsaleable at any price for cash, and cash was a very scarce article indeed. Relatively, 1845 might be considered a period of revived prosperity as compared with the others.

In 1849 two other non-drinking Fraternities were established, viz., The Philanthropic Total Abstinence Society, and the Salford Unity. On the 3rd June there was a grand Teetotal Festival in the Temperance Hall, at which the Resident Judge (A'Beckett) presided, and extremely eloquent addresses were delivered by him and Bishop Perry. Amongst the other speakers were the Rev. Jas. Forbes, Messrs. R. Heales and Henry Langlands. On the 21st May, 1850, the Salford Unity members strode in procession through the streets to St. Peter's Church, where there was a special service, and the evening wound up with an extensive tea party at the Protestant Hall. In the course of this year Mr. Richard Heales, junr., an ardent teetotaller, as a member of the City Council, protested against the pernicious practice of conducting the Municipal elections in public-houses, and proposed as a substitute places apart from licensed taverns, or booths erected for the purpose. The principle laid down by Cr. Heales was not denied, but much diversity of opinion existed as to the proper remedy to be adopted. The question was referred for consideration to the Public Works Committee, a body not much disposed to do other than shelve it, and so nothing came of the point gained. The truth was "the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors" of the time were to a large extent pecuniarily interested in wholesale and retail spirit-selling, and those who were not in the trade were so partial to systematic "nobblerings," as it was termed,

as to be only too willing to throw cold water upon any project such as Heales was Quixotic enough to believe he could carry under the Civic conditions then existing.

On the 2nd November, 1850, was issued No. 1 of the *Total Abstinence Advocate and Temperance Journal.* It was a small, neatly-got-up four paged weekly publication—3d. per copy—its main object being the advocacy of the distinguishing principles of the Temperance Movement.

In March, 1851, the Resident Judge (A'Beckett) made a valuable presentation of books to the Melbourne Total Abstinence Society, as an expression of his good wishes. On the 17th March a tea-meeting was held by the members of the Salford Unity in honour of Mrs. Dalgarno. After tea the company was resolved into a public meeting, presided over by Mr. Edward Bastings. Several appropriate speeches were delivered, and an Address was presented to the lady.

The Victoria Total Abstinence Convention

Was initiated 25th March, 1851, by a *Soiree* and Temperance Meeting at the Temperance Hall. The Resident Judge presided, over 300 persons were present, and there was the greatest enthusiasm. The Chairman delivered a very eloquent and scholarly address, and was followed by Messrs. R. Heales, Reid, Bastings, and others. Geelong was visited by a deputation from the Convention on the 21st May, when a numerously attended meeting was held in the theatre, Malop Street. Mr. R. Heales officiated as the Chairman of the evening, and a resolution was passed by which the Geelong Total Abstinence Society was pledged "to public identification with the objects of the Convention, and co-operation with it in order to the advancement of its interest."

Dr. Mingay Syder, from the University of Giessen, arrived in Melbourne in June, and delivered at the Temperance Hall three interesting lectures on *(a)* "The Voice of Science," *(b)* "The Nature and Properties of Alcoholic Fluids," and *(c)* "Their Action on the Human Frame in Health and Disease." He was followed in September by Mr. Justice A'Beckett in an elegant and masterly Essay on "Temperance and Moral Obligations of Sobriety and Industry in the Pursuits of Life." This was printed in pamphlet form, and well merits re-publication.

Amongst the men who gallantly strove in the olden times to oppose the progress of the "Juggernaut of drunkenness"—a monster which has destroyed innumerably more worshippers than the Hindostanee idol so called—a few names stand forth in bright relief, and no sketch of the early struggles against intemperance would be complete that did not mark them for honourable mention. They are the two Richard Heales (father and son), William Wade, Robert Knox, Thomas Watson, William Nish, and William Webster, all of whom I think are now dead.

The Father Matthew Society.

An institution though not necessarily restricted in its membership to the Roman Catholic persuasion was mainly composed of such, and indirectly controlled by the Roman Catholic Clergy. It was fenced by a certain exclusiveness (implied though not expressed), and, therefore, though engaged in the promotion of a common purpose, acted so far apart from kindred bodies, as to render a separate notice of it desirable. Though as moderate a drinker as Bishop Perry, Father Geoghegan, the first Roman Catholic pastor, so highly appraised the beneficial effects of total abstinence, that in his efforts to propagate them, he drew no fine distinctions between Temperance and Abstinence, and at an early date initiated a St. Francis Total Abstinence Society. Under the already described Bounty system of emigration, there was a large influx of the Irish element to Port Phillip during 1839 and the two succeeding years. Many of these Southern Celts had, before leaving the Green Isle, "taken the pledge" as it was termed, personally from Father Matthew, the Hibernian "Apostle of Temperance," and they brought with them their pledge-cards, which each regarded as little short of a consecrated amulet, that would act as a spell in influencing for the better his future career. Several of them afterwards lived for thirty, even forty years in the colony, bearing their pledges unbroken to the grave, and a few of those strong, unflinching teetotallers still survive in Victoria. Such were the materials whereon the untiring priest relied for co-operation, and not in vain. In 1844 the

movement acquired considerable numerical importance, and the meetings were held in a schoolroom erected rearward of the St. Francis' Presbytery in Lonsdale Street. Probably in consonance with the light-hearted elasticity of the Irish temperament, the Father Matthewites went in strongly for outside spectacular display —such as processions, picnics, and excursions. A band was formed, which acquired more celebrity than that of the Society before referred to. The functions of this musical combination were somewhat mixed, being partly lay and partly ecclesiastical, for on special occasions it used to assist at the church services.

The first bandsmen were Mr. John Cosgrave, (late City Treasurer), then (in 1844) a smartly-made well-shaped, good-looking juvenile, who performed on the clarionet; Mr. John Mansfield, now a serious-faced, white-haired "Geelongoose," proprietor of one of the best-established bakeries in "The Pivot," who worked a trombone; four strapping youngsters known as Phelan, Egan, Connor, and Conlon, (a compositor), operating on various instruments, the whole concluding with Mr. J. P. ("Jerry") Dalton, who thundered away on a big drum. The Society's first street demonstration was on the 22nd January, 1845, when 150 of them marched forth with band and banners, wended their way to the then grassy and well-wooded Richmond Paddock (now the cut up and disfigured Yarra Bank), where they bivouaced on the fragrant bank of the river, drank "billied" tea brewed in big pots, and crammed themselves with sandwiches, cakes, and ginger beer, returning in the evening, blowing and half-bursting specimens of total abstinence.

On Easter Monday (24th March) there was a grand "Father Matthew" procession through the principal highways of Melbourne, and after "doing the town" the members adjourned for refreshments to the St. Francis' school-room, finishing with a dance in a tent pitched on the Church reserve; and amongst a number of admiring outsiders were the then Resident Judge, the Honorable Roger Therry, and his better half. The Society has now so far succeeded as to number 600 members, and the funds looked so promising that there was some notion of building a "Father Matthew" Hall.

Emerald Hill.

Towards the close of the year 1845 it was determined to have a "Father Matthewite" picnic on a then beautiful, houseless, grassy and accaciaed emience at the sonthern side of the river, and this event derives some importance from its having led to the naming of the place as Emerald Hill. This nomenclature, though of no more account than the naming of any other locality in the colony, has led to some controversy in consequence of the appearance of two or three claimants for the honour of bestowing the designation, which was then as appropriate a one as could be devised. The following in brief is a true and correct history of the incident. Mr. W. C. Conroy, now of Lygon Street, Carlton, called at the *Port Phillip Herald* office to procure the insertion of an advertisement in that paper. Mr. E. Finn, one of the literary staff, was there up to his eyes in "proofs," and as he was a tolerably ready penman, he was asked to write the notice, and at once complied. While so engaged, looking up he queried, "Where's this picnic to be held?" and Conroy replied, "On the hill over the river." "But," rejoined Finn, "We can't well put that in an advertisement, we must give the place some name." "Then," laconically struck in Conroy, "You may just call it what you like," and Finn, after musing for a few moments exclaimed, "Well then if I may do so, I will, and here goes, as it is a beautiful green hill it shall be named 'Emerald Hill.'" The suggestion met with general approbation, the designation was adopted and embodied in the advertisement which duly appeared; the green name stuck to the green place, and no other name was at that time more appropriate. The Hill was covered with a rich sward, green as the freshest shamrock; no houses in sight except those of the then small Melbourne; trees scattered about, and the whole eminence encircled by shining lagoons, the sparkling sea, and growths of scrub and ti-tree along the Sandridge road-side, and away to Fishermen's Bend.

The Emerald Hill of 1845, aboriginally a kangaroo ground, and afterwards a sheep-walk, has grown into an incorporated city, displaying substantial evidences of the astounding progress of Victoria. The time has arrived when the propriety of changing its name has been considered by its Municipal authorities, and much difference of opinion prevails as to what should be the new designation. Several have been suggested, all of them inappropriate, and the least suitable is the one likely to be chosen. It is seriously proposed to call it South Melbourne, and if this notion be carried out, a flagrant mistake will have been made for two reasons, viz., that it is simply conferring on a special portion of a district a nomenclature by

which the whole district is already officially known, for the primary appellation of all the area between the Yarra and the Bay was South Melbourne. Again, if it be so-called, it will be nominally reducing it to a part and parcel of Melbourne, a subordinate adjunct of the principal city. To my mind, there are two—and only two—names by which the new city should be known. If styled "Emeralda" the break in the two words of the primary name would be removed, and its traditional affinity preserved; or what could be more becoming than to affix to it a meet companion name for Melbourne, by calling it Grey, as a posthumous compliment to the statesman who administered the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, at the time that Port Phillip was transmuted into the independent colony of Victoria? The first mentioned would be unquestionably the better; but most assuredly, if any regard exists as to the proprieties of the case the "South Melbourne" idea will be sunk in the Albert Park lake. It is noteworthy that three-fourths of the Australian metropolitan cities have been nominated after historical British personages.*

Mission to Geelong.

A branch Society had been formed in Geelong, and it was arranged that on the 17th March, 1846, the Melbourne Fraternity should proceed there to assist at a joint demonstration. The "Aphrasia" steamer was chartered, and on a fine Saturday forenoon the streets of Melbourne were again tramped by several hundred members with music and banners, scarves, rosettes, and medals (a new decoration). The "Geelongers" were in blue paraphernalia, and after a landing was effected, the allied armies executed a combined march through the streets, the blowing and clashing of two loud bands banishing for the time all drowsiness from a quarter never subject to fits of insomnia. They rendezvoused at Raleigh's store, and Messrs. Daniel Rooney, Robert Hayes, James Wallace, Patrick McDonough and others spoke, or rather "spouted," like so many vociferating whales. The strangers experienced much hospitality during their stay, and on the Sunday visited the Barwon, winding up the evening with an *encore* of the previous night's performance, and on Monday returned to Melbourne.

On the 19th August, 1846, the foundation stone of the first Roman Catholic Church at Geelong, was laid, and the Melbourne "Father Matthew" Society was invited to co-operate. Of course there was a willing compliance, and some of the incidents are subjoined.

Another great day was when the Society, with its brass band, chartered a steamer to Geelong to assist at laying the foundation of St. Mary's Church, Father Walshe being resident priest. Old Corio was taken by storm, and the band playing through the streets caused a flutter in the Wesleyan dovecot, it being Sunday. In the evening the scarcity of provisions became a palpable fact, our visit being unexpected, except by a few, to whom it did not occur, I suppose, that teetotallers had any inside man to provide for. A large unoccupied store, with a few bundles of straw, served for bedroom for a good many, while they had to go only about twenty feet to perform their ablutions in the silvery waters of Corio Bay.

The teetotallers fared less plenteously upon this than on the occasion of their previous visit. Probably the church authorities, who certainly ought to have made some commissariat arrangements for the visitors, concluded that as there was a "spiritual abundance" there should be no "temporal vacuum."

The "Father Matthew" Hall.

As the year further advanced there was sufficient cash in hand to commence the erection of a building for the use of the Society, minus the land; and as there was no chance of obtaining a site from the Government, Dr. Geoghegan, the Society's Patron, gave a slice of the St. Francis' reserve for the purpose, and here the initial ceremony was performed with all the honours in the beginning of October. At an early hour a procession started from the Roman Catholic schoolroom, and after perambulating the streets, returned to the site, when the customary forms were observed, Dr. Geoghegan being the principal officiator. In the cavity was placed a bottle containing one of the Society's medals, and a scroll of parchment thus inscribed :—

* Emerald Hill is now (1888) officially known as South Melbourne, thus completing the four cardinal divisions of the Victorian Capital.—Ed.

THE FOUNDATION STONE
Of
FATHER MATTHEW'S BRANCH OF THE PORT PHILLIP
TOTAL ABSTINENCE SOCIETY'S HALL
Was laid at Melbourne on this fifth day of October, A.D. 1846,
By the
VERY REVEREND PATRICK BONAVENTURE GEOHGEGAN,
In the Tenth Year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty,
QUEEN VICTORIA.
GOVERNOR OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
SIR CHARLES A. FITZROY.
SUPERINTENDENT OF PORT PHILLIP: HIS HONOR C. J. LATROBE, ESQUIRE.
PRESIDENT: MR. DANIEL ROONEY. SECRETARY: MR. JOSEPH PELLEY.
TREASURER: MR. HUGH CAIN.

The Rev. Mr. Cotham, a Van Diemonian visitor, delivered a suitable address, and, after a collection of £20 towards the Building Fund, the assemblage dispersed until evening, when there was a Society's Ball, at a new store in Queen Street, belonging to Messrs. Turnbull, Orr and Co., and four hundred "ladies and gentlemen" enjoyed themselves until long after the cocks commenced crowing.

Through great difficulties, and with a praiseworthy persistence, the erection of the Hall was proceeded with, and by various devices, justifiable under the circumstances, it was finished, though not until nearly two-and-a-half years had elapsed. At length, on the 12th March, 1849, it was opened by a public meeting, the chief feature of which was a truly excellent exhortation from the Rev. Dean Coffey, one of the staunchest friends it could possibly have. On the succeeding St. Patrick's Day the members marched in procession through the streets with band and banners. An immense crowd accompanied, and Judge A'Beckett received the compliment of a serenade.

And so the "Father Matthew" Society went its way, attracting by its good example many adherents to its ranks, and favourably regarded by the community as a moral agency through which much good was effected. One of its last appearances in public was at the laying of the foundation stone of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick, in April, 1850, where it formed the chief scenic attraction; but decadence soon commenced, and its end was annihilation.

Prior to the commencement of their building, the "Father Matthewites" were advised by prudent friends not to build their Hall on church land, to which it would not be possible to give them a legal tenure. The reserve was specially granted for the erection thereon of a place of worship, a minister's residence, and a school-house. No one knew this better than Father Geoghegan, and it is difficult to imagine how a man of his sagacity and conscientiousness could have so far acted *ultra vires* as to permit any portion of the granted land to be devoted to the purpose of a temperance edifice. No one who knew him would for a moment attribute any motive but the most thorough *bonâ fides*; but there was an absence of prevision in his mind when he consented to the expenditure of funds raised for a special purpose. Certainly the foundation stone was laid before the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop, when Father Geoghegan was exercising the functions of Vicar-General, but this in reality could not materially affect the question. On the assumption of his high office by Bishop Goold, the administration of the Diocese passed away from Dr. Geoghegan, and he consequently must be held blameless for what followed—that is, if any person were in reality blameworthy. No full public explanation of what happened was, so far as I know, ever given, and, therefore, there may have been circumstances in existence which, if known, might not only clear away doubts, but completely exonerate those who were instrumental in transferring the "Father Matthew" Hall to a purpose for which, as was publicly believed, specifically it was not intended. All that was generally known was that when the place was required for a Roman Catholic School-house, its name of "Father Matthew" was changed to that of St. Francis, and the Society had to turn out, like Adam after his fall,

> "The world before it were to choose
> Its place of rest, and Providence its guide."

But it was an evil day for the Society when this happened, for Providence seemed to have deserted it. The displacement caused a scattering of its members, and the social changes wrought by the gold discoveries in 1851-2 completed its disruption. Some of its most indefatigable disciples passed over to the enemy, embarked in the business of Licensed Victuallers, and made large fortunes by vending the spirituous and fermented abominations they had previously denounced. Others tottered into drunkards' graves, or died paupers in the Benevolent Asylum; whilst a few treasured in their hearts' core their pledges inviolate, and an organization founded under the almost canonized name of Theobald Matthew, the illustrious Cork Friar, has long since dwindled into a small dim memory, doubtless to be soon not only forgotten, but absolutely unknown, in the colony, except for its present resuscitation.

THE RECHABITES

Made their first appearance in an Association formed at Geelong in June, 1847, when a Mr. John M'Minns succeeded in establishing a Lodge or Tent at a Temperance Coffee-house there. Three months after, Mr. George Wright was appointed to the office of Chief Ranger, and Mr. J. M'Clure, Secretary. Rechabitism does not appear to have taken much root in the Province until after some years of the golden era, but that it has since thriven is evidenced by the fact that, according to the Registrar's Statistics of Friendly Societies, on the last day of 1880, the Independent Order of Rechabites numbered some 155 branches and 5161 members in Victoria.

POSTSCRIPT.

It is a source of much gratification to me to reflect that the various communications I have received confirm the general accuracy of my sketches, and testify to the impartial spirit in which they are written. I am in receipt of one from an old colonist of much intelligence, who, by enterprise and industry, has attained an assured position of wealth and respectability, and from it I am induced to make the following extract:—"I have carefully read all your articles, and, as one of the early residents, feel much interested in your CHRONICLES. I have not missed one of them from the first, and would suggest, when you have done writing such interesting accounts of Old Melbourne, you should publish them in book form, and I am certain they would have a large circulation. I would look upon such a book as containing the most complete information of this, the great, good, and prosperous colony of our adoption. Respecting the Temperance Hall in Russell Street, of which you have treated, there are a few facts, not obtainable from any printed reports, deserving of publicity. Towards the end of 1852, the late well-known popular Richard Heales purposed proceeding, with his wife and family, to England, and, as he felt a deep interest in the Hall, he left satisfied that a liability owing to a Building Society would be paid during his absence by certain individuals charged with the duty of seeing after it. The payments were not kept up as they ought to have been, and Heales' return was so timed that he arrived just as the Building Society was about to sell the property to satisfy the mortgage held over it. Heales at once came to the rescue, and, with the assistance of Mr. William Forsyth, the encumbrance was removed, and the Temperance Society secured in a property now ranking amongst some of the first in Melbourne. The Saturday night entertainments were initiated by Richard Heales and a few friends, to attract young men from the pernicious allurements of the public-houses. Concerts in a small way were given, in which amateurs assisted. They gradually grew into popularity, and in course of time thoroughly established themselves in public favour, and acquired the dimensions they now present. The original building was too small for the rapid progress witnessed, and hence its replacement by the spacious edifice now so extensively patronised, and which works so much good in its own way. Richard Heales has gone the path of all flesh, leaving after him few so gifted with the qualities essential in a good man and true citizen."

APPENDIX.

In 1839 there arrived in the Province an enterprising immigrant, the head of a family of youngsters, who in after years were amongst the most industrious and deserving members of the community. One of

the juniors was a wee recently-trousered imp of a boy only a few years old, though he is now a sedately good-humoured and well-to-do citizen, of the modern Antipodean Babylon, known as Melbourne, the centre-piece of a wide circle of friends and more profitable cordon of customers. He drives a brisk and lucrative business in one of the busiest city thoroughfares, and of all the old colonists with whom I have conversed anent the by-gone incidents of lang syne, he is gifted with the most precise and tenacious of memories, giving, without reference to journal or diary, the date, day, hour, names and minute particulars of the most trifling occurrences of long ago. To him I am indebted for some amusing refreshers of ancient reminiscences—waifs, either forgotten or not known to me, and of which no mention was to be found in the files of musty newspapers and manuscripts amongst which I have been wading for the past two or three years. Having consulted him on the subject of the foregone chapter, I was favoured with a written tract, which on perusal is so brimful of interesting trifles that I am induced to append it, with an expression of regret that my informant's inherent modesty is so strong that I am prohibited by special request from disclosing his name.

"Temperance Societies."

"Associations for the promotion of Temperance were early formed in Melbourne. So early as the year 1842 meetings for this object were held in the Scots' Schoolroom, Collins Street East, at which Messrs. R. Heales, J. Wilson, and others were the speakers. The cause advanced, and eventually land was purchased in Russell Street (where one of the most commodious buildings in town now stands), and a comfortable Hall erected, in which weekly meetings were held. As it was found to be advisable to provide attractions for the meetings, a band of music was formed in 1847, which numbered over twenty performers, and gave great satisfaction on its first public appearance. On each Tuesday evening, when the public meeting took place, the band paraded the streets for upwards of an hour, and attracted an audience which more than filled the hall. Among the many speakers who took part in the meetings was a lady, Mrs. Dalgarno, wife of the captain of the ship "Lochnagar," who, when her husband was in port, invariably attended, and did all in her power to advance the cause of temperance. The "Lochnagar" was sailed as a temperance ship, and afforded much gratification to passengers and crew. Mrs. Dalgarno is dead, but her husband, Captain Dalgarno, is (I believe) still (1888) living at Williamstown.

"Richard Heales was a consistent advocate of temperance, and to him chiefly is the colony indebted. Another popular speaker was known as 'Teetotal Bill,' who had been a prize-fighter and navvy in England. His descriptions of his former life were most graphic. He spoke in the Yorkshire vernacular, and his appearance at the meetings invariably drew a large attendance. The members of the band were unselfish, and gave the proceeds of their services to the Society for the purchase of new instruments and towards defraying the debt on the Hall. After a time, as Bandmaster Tickle became unsteady, an old Peninsular veteran named M'Kee supplied his place until 1849, when the Messrs. Hore arrived in the colony. They were the first to introduce saxe-horns here. They formed a quartette, consisting of P. Hore, first horn; J. Hore, second; S. Hore, tenor; and R. Hore, Senr., bass. The Melbourne Total Abstinence Society was not the only one existing in Melbourne in the early time, for many of our Irish colonists had had vivid remembrances of the great Apostle of Temperance in the green Isle, and formed a Fraternity Society bearing his name. Some will still remember the genial Dean Coffey, who often endeavoured to gain the adhesion of his fellow countrymen to the good cause. He was of fine stalwart proportions, being a head and shoulders above the ordinary people (as Saul was among the Hebrews), and had a splendid voice. It was no ordinary treat to hear him sing, 'It was a Friar of Orders Gray.' It has often been remarked that a great feeling of kindliness as a rule prevailed in the olden times among the people of Melbourne, but which quite passed away after the gold discovery, when there was such an influx of strangers from all parts of the world that the old element was quite swamped. In 1840 the sole representatives of the three leading denominations (Rev. A. C. Thomson, Episcopalian Church; Rev. P. B. Geoghegan, Roman Catholic; and Rev. Jas. Forbes, Presbyterian) might have been frequently seen arm in arm perambulating Collins Street, and they cordially united in all good works."

CHAPTER XL.

THE MELBOURNE INN-KEEPERS AND THE LICENSING MAGISTRATES.

SYNOPSIS:—The Early Liquor Laws.—The First Hotel.—"Johnny" Fawkner, the First Grog Monopolist.—The Fawknerian Dicta.—Demolition of Fawkner's Groggery.—Fawkner's Second Hotel.—Locale of Fawkner's First Newspaper.—Melbourne Hotels.—Synopsis of the Licensing Law.—"Sticking Plasters."—The Counter Lunch.—The Dead House.—Halfpenny, the First Whisky-seller.—Melbourne Hotels in 1840-42.—"John Barleycorn."—Licensing Bench Vagaries.—Official Corruption.—The Pressman bribes the Major.—Vale Major St. John.—Panegyric on the Licensed Victuallers.

THERE is, perhaps, no more amusing, though intricate study, than an investigation of the primitive legalized grog-selling in New South Wales, of which, when a penal colony, Port Phillip was a part and parcel. The first notification is contained in the *Sydney Gazette*, and dated "Government House, 1st October, 1800." Under this no person was allowed to sell spirituous liquors, and any person landing spirits or wines from any ship without a written permit from the Governor, was subject to the pains and penalties of selling without a license. On the 27th October an Order was issued authorizing the Magistrates to recommend persons suitable to hold annual licenses, and on the 1st November gambling and drunkenness were prohibited in public-houses, and no liquor could be sold between the drummer's evening "tattoo" and the next day's sunlight. On the 10th April, 1801, an Ordinance was promulgated commanding public-houses not to open on Sundays from dawn of day until 9 p.m. Subsequently annual licenses were granted from the 1st November by the Justices, when a publican was bound in recognizances as to good behaviour of two bailmen of £10 each, and himself in £20. Any unlicensed grog-vendor incurred not only fine and imprisonment, and a forfeiture of his stock-in-trade, but the house could be pulled down about his ears. By an Act passed on the 8th February, 1825, by the Governor-in-Council, no person could sell malt, spirituous, or fermented liquors, in less quantities than five gallons, without a license, grantable by the Justices in Quarter Sessions, and not valid unless approved by the Justice residing nearest to the house to be licensed. The applicant should also be provided with certificates of recommendation from the Minister of the Church of England, should there be one officiating in the district, the Chief-Constable, and three respectable householders. This worked so inconveniently that it was soon repealed. It is an almost incredible fact that in that barbarous age the British currency was ignored in the licensing system, as 100 dollars formed the premium for a spirits and beer license, and 20 dollars for the beer privilege singly.

By an Act, 7 George IV., No. 2 (20th February, 1826), the publican's general license was charged £25 per annum, and the Governor was empowered to determine the number of licenses to be granted in each town; and by Clause 15 it enacted "That whenever a Coroner's Jury shall find that a death has been caused by intoxication in a public-house, the keeper of such house shall be deemed from the date of such finding to be unlicensed, and no new license shall be granted to him." In October, 1835, the law was amended, authorizing one qualified Justice to grant licenses.

Such was the state of the Licensing law in 1836, when the "Settlement," now known as Melbourne, began gradually to expand, and that unvarying concomitant of civilization, a public-house, became not only a desideratum, but a necessary evil. To fill the vacuum the inevitable "Johnny" Fawkner was prepared to offer his services; but the difficulty was how to obtain a license. The Police Magistrate (Captain Lonsdale), a timid martinet, unwilling to risk any consequences he could not foresee, was reluctant to grant the Magisterial certificate upon which a license could issue from the Sydney Treasury: and even had he done so there was a difficulty which absolutely rendered the issue of a publican's license a legal

impossibility. The Act required that after the granting of a certificate recommending a license, such certificate, with the £25 license fee, should be received at the Sydney Treasury within fourteen days after date, and in the then irregular and slow-going sailing transit between Port Phillip and Sydney, this indispensable could not be complied with. Practically, then, the law was a dead letter, or rather there was no law, and there could be no legalized retail liquor traffic. This state of things, therefore, was growing intolerable. The Yarra water was at times so unpalatable that the brackish fluid would be all the better for a mixture with a little *aqua vitæ*. There was no want of grog wholesale in some of the stores, but what was the use of this for people longing for "nips." The grocers could not yet sell "single bottles;" nor any one in quantities under five gallons. The people were Maine Liquor-lawed, *ex necessitate;* but as "Necessity has no law," the would-be rum and beer bibbers grew discontented. Fawkner at last declared he would face the emergency, and chivalrously opened a public-house. He could not be said to be a "sly"-grog seller, for there was no slyness about what he did; and it could hardly be said that he violated any law, for there was no law practically in existence. He became in fact what might be termed "an innkeeper on sufferance," and he so continued until others announced that they should do likewise. The Police Magistrate did not well know how to act in such an awkward conjuncture, but he awoke slowly to the expediency of granting license certificates, though in law not worth the paper they were written on. In this manner "Johnny" Fawkner and a couple of others were "certificated," though "unlicensed" publicans, out of which arose a dilemma to be removed only by a Bill of Indemnity, and consequently, in September, 1837, the Legislature of New South Wales passed an Act validating the licenses irregularly issued upon the Port Phillip certificates, and discharging the holders from any penalties incurred. The Police Magistrate at Melbourne was also empowered to grant regular licenses, instead of having a roundabout recourse to head-quarters.

The First Hotel.

Fawkner's Tavern was built on a portion of the Custom House Reserve, rearward of the present building, towards the intersection of William and Little Flinders Streets, on about the spot long used as a telegraph office. The place was then the side of a green hill, gently sloping towards the river. The house was erected of quartering and broad palings, with a half-paling, half-shingle roof and hard-wood flooring. It was more properly one-and-a-half than two-stories in height, for the second or upper compartment was an attic, subdivided into bedrooms or "sleeping ovens," close enough in winter, but stuffy, stifling, and almost unendurable in the hot season. The ground floor contained six apartments or divisions, the front quarter facing the river was specially reserved for the accommodation of the most respectable customers. The bar was at the back, and over the door was elevated a signboard, on which was daubed rather than painted a row of large unevenly-sized, ill-proportioned letters, which a stranger after some hesitation deciphered to be *Fawkner's Hotel.* This hostelry was for a time largely patronized, for that very best of reasons that there was no other place to go to; and Fawkner (who in after years was wont to inveigh loudly against anything savoring of monopoly) was then the sole grog monopolist in the country. Here he established a queer sort of *table d'hôte* (or, as he translated it, "table hotty"), over which he invariably presided himself, and in distributing the viands he was not only capricious but peremptory. One had to take whatever the host gave him, fat or lean, under or over done; the whimsical taste of the carver was alone consulted, and if any eater dared to have a choice or opinion or taste of his own, the knife and fork were twirled in his face, and he was snarlingly told that if he did not like what he got (though too good for him) he had better clear out and go elsewhere, the irascible little Boniface being well aware that his "elsewhere" meant "nowhere." Never was there a more inflexible adherence to the well-known adage of *de gustibus non est disputandum*, for no parleying was permitted, and there was no appeal. But there was a more unpalatable accompaniment. Fawkner indulged in an incessant chatter upon the few public topics of the time, and as his views occasionally took very peculiar turns, and his temperament was not the most tolerant, he would brook no contradiction; the Fawknerian dicta should be gulped down with the eatables and drinkables, and if a wry face were made, an expression of dissent uttered, or a negative head-shake ventured at, the knife and fork pantomime, an invitation "to make tracks" was the result, and direct

personal abuse was resorted to. Take the following as a laughable illustration which I had from one of the actors:—Mr. W. F. A. Rucker, the second earliest of the commercial world of Melbourne, used to dine every day at Fawkner's public table, and on one occasion "Johnny" would only give him a certain part of a joint to which he knew Rucker had an antipathy, and when the latter begged to be helped to something else, Fawkner "ho hoed" and laughed in his face, declaring that what he had been offered was good enough for him, and not a bite of anything else should he have even if he starved. Rucker rose and quitted the room, and had a tent rigged up as a personal board and lodging house on a convenient slice of the wharf. The next day was very hot, windy, and dusty, and whilst Rucker was discussing a chop dinner under canvas, a tremendous squall came rolling along over the hills, and taking the tent at the rear, swept it and the limited prandial appliances into the river, the proprietor having much difficulty in clearing himself of the *disjecta membra*, and so escaping, if not a possible drowning, an absolute ducking. Recovering his legs he beheld with regret his appetizing grill disappear to feast the fishes, and with a sigh was obliged to confess that after all, bad as Fawkner's *menu* was, a hungry man might go further and fare worse. He went back, made his peace with the hotelkeeper (always easily mollified), and remaining there with meek resignation, took "Johnny's" pot-luck without a murmur until he was able to procure more comfortable quarters.

Fawkner was not long the only Licensed Victualler. *Fawkner's Hotel*, (some of the materials for which had been fashioned in Van Diemen's Land and imported for the purpose) was thrown together by the rough bush carpenters or handy men of the time, and was little more than a clumsy and comfortless booth. It was put up on a piece of Government land "jumped" for the occasion before a scrap of the township was sold. In 1837, Fawkner visited Launceston, leaving the "hotel" in charge of a friend named Evans, and several acres of wheat nearly fit for the sickle, between the Yarra and Emerald Hill. "Johnny" had no sooner turned his back on Port Phillip than Evans sublet to one Smith, who was determined "to have and to hold" the premises against all comers, the redoubtable Fawkner included. Smith also appropriated the crop of golden corn, and by aid of some of the military, who were allowed at times to do odd jobs of work for the civilians, had it reaped and stooked. On Fawkner's return, Smith refused not only to admit him, but point blank declined to give up the premises. The land was "no man's territory," and until the Government chose to turn him out he would not budge an inch. No law of ejectment as yet ran in the district, and in such a case, "possession" which is said to constitute "nine points of law," where land laws are in operation, was everything here. Fawkner blustered and raged, snarled and swore, but all to no purpose. Smith for the time had the whip hand of him. Fawkner at length corked up the residuum of his wrath, apparently "bested," but mentally vowing he would have another try for what he believed to be his—legally perhaps not, but in equity assuredly. Two or three nights after, the place was stormed by Fawkner at the head of a band of Van Diemonian sympathizers, well primed with rum, who assailed the stronghold as if they were so many battering rams, and for a time it was thought the whole concern would collapse and be the grave of its defenders. Smith, apprehensive that he should have to stand a siege, was not quite unprepared, having a strong defensive force, and after some hours' sharp work (in which there were several cut heads, bruised limbs, and damaged faces, but no killed), the Fawknerians, by escalading the windows forced their way into the parlour. Fawkner then had this place so securely barricaded against ingress, as to render it unassailable except by fire—a measure which Smith could not resort to without destroying the whole concern. Next morning, after leaving an armed guard in possession, "Johnny" with the rest of his retainers sallied over the river, and brought as many of the corn sheaves with them as would more than half fill the parlour. In this improvised barn he set a couple of threshers to work, who were to be relieved by relays of fresh flailers, and they were to hammer away day and night without intermission, making as much noise as possible. The din was increased by the loud babblement of the crowd that gathered outside to listen to the fun, and the result was that Smith, anxious to escape the probable horrors of a lunatic asylum, vacated the tenement, and Fawkner was reinstated by stratagem. But Smith had his revenge in another and unexpected manner. Mr. Henry Batman had laid down in the Market Square the wooden framework of a house, in which he resided for a short time. He sold this to Smith, who had it removed across the street, where it formed the foundation of the *Lamb Inn*, a tavern which soon acquired a popularity which seriously damaged Fawkner's business. A sensational end awaited Melbourne's first

"groggery." The Government required the reserve where it stood, for the erection of a Custom-house, and in order to part peaceably with Fawkner, the tenement was purchased for £100, with the stipulation that Fawkner was not to re-build there. The materials, subsequently sold to someone else, were re-constructed in Market Street, and rented by Blanche, a gunsmith. On the 24th December, 1839, the "Sporting Emporium," as it was called, was blown up by the accidental ignition of some powder carelessly laying on the counter, and produced the horrible tragedy described in a former chapter.

FAWKNER'S SECOND HOTEL.

At the second Melbourne Government land sale (1st November, 1837), Fawkner became the owner for £10 of the half-acre allotment at the south-east corner of Collins and Market Streets, on which he put up a wooden and brick building for an hotel, and on the erection of what was afterwards the Club House at the corner, the old affair was turned into the printing office where the *Patriot* was published for many years. The Club House was subsequently metamorphosed into the *Shakespeare*, and after numerous amplifications reappears now before the public as the *Union Club Hotel.*

Fawkner's Hotel was in its day the principal place of entertainment in town, and No. 2 was a vast improvement (though that is not saying much) architecturally, and from every point of view, on No. 1. Yet this old-forgotten inn has associated with it two historical reminiscences, for which the most pretentious hotel of to-day would wish for in vain. It was here, on the 1st January, 1838, Fawkner started the first newspaper, not printed, but written, in the colony—The *Melbourne Advertiser;* and here was made the first attempt, humble enough in its way, to form our first reading-room. Though Fawkner had little of the *litterateur* about him, he was a voracious reader, and one of his hobbies was to affect to provide good *pabulum* for the mind, and corporeal and intellectual refreshments were therefore served up at the hotel. For the grosser aliment 1s. per drink was charged, and a free read was thrown in as ballast. The *Melbourne Advertiser* will be more fully noticed elsewhere, but from its first number (the only one in existence) I have copied the following literary curiosity. It is in Fawkner's penmanship; the etymology and punctuation are also his, and it is the first advertisement of the kind issued in Port Phillip :—

FIRST ESTABLISHED HOTEL IN MELBOURNE.

FAWKNER'S HOTEL

Supplies to The Traveller and Sogourner

All the usual requisites of a Boarding House and Hotel of the very best Quality

Being mostly laid in from the First Mercantile House in Cornwall V D Land

In addition to which there will be found Mental Recreation of a High Order

There are provided 7 English and 5 Colonial Weekly Newspapers

Seven British Monthly Magazines Three Quarterly British Reviews up to July and August 1837

A very choise Siliction of Books encluding Novels Poetry Theology History Philosophy Chemistry &c.

N.B. A late Encylopidia

The use of Any of these Works will be free to the Lodgers at the Above Hotel.

The two great weaknesses, or perhaps rather strong points, in Fawkner's composition (and he was a voluminous newspaper writer) were a desire to "capitalize" immoderately, and rarely to put down the brake from start to finish. As for colons, semi-colons, and such trifles he would not condescend to notice them. At periods he was even reluctant to make a stop, and skipped over them oftener than otherwise.

In 1838 there were 8 Licensed Victuallers in the Province, viz., 7 in the town and 1 in the interior. The names of those original Bonifaces were :—MELBOURNE—J. P. Fawkner, *Fawkner's Hotel*, Collins Street; William Smith, the *Lamb Inn*, Collins Street; Thomas Halfpenny, the *William Tell*, Collins Street; Michael Carr, the *Governor Bourke*, Little Flinders Street; Michael Pender, the *Shamrock*, Little Flinders Street; J. H. Umpleby, the *Angel Inn*, Collins and Queen Streets; William Harper, the *British Hotel*, William Street. THE GOULBURN RIVER—John Clark, the *Travellers' Rest.*

The population of Port Phillip was then 3500, including 430 women and children, which would give one tavern for about every 440 individuals. In August 1882, there were in Victoria 4312 publicans' licenses, beside 317 grocers', and 79 for the sale of colonial wine; and assuming the population at 900,000, there would be a Licensed Victualler for every 200 persons, including women and children, of whom there was an infinitely larger proportion than in 1838.

Little Flinders Street was considered the best business thoroughfare in the olden time, but a few years witnessed a great change. Mr. Michael Pender was the first to open a small sod-built public-house there, wherein he laid the foundation of a large fortune. Bonwick describes him as coming from Launceston "an industrious, saving man, who brought over one of the earliest bullock teams, which he employed in cutting, carting, and selling bush hay at £1 a load. His wife then attended to the inn." The same Pender bought a half-acre of land running from Collins Street to Little Flinders Street, for £19. On the frontage to the latter street he erected his *Shamrock*, and on the Collins Street part was built in after years the *Royal Hotel*, subsequently re-named the *Criterion*, and now the site of the Union Bank. Pender acquired a large quantity of valuable city property, and continued through life "a saving and industrious man." He had three sons-in-law at one time established in public-houses, and he died some years ago, leaving a good circle of grandchildren to inherit his well-earned and well-minded wealth. The *Governor Bourke* was situated in Little Flinders Street, at the corner of the now Bond Street, whilst Harper's *British Hotel* was in William Street, near the southern corner of Little Flinders Street. Halfpenny's *William Tell* was in the first instance a wattle-and-daub cottage hovel where the Theatre Royal now flourishes; but the stand was then so bad for business, in consequence of *its distance in the bush*, that he took the earliest opportunity of having his license transferred to another one-story holding on the eastern portion of "The Block," within a few yards of Queen Street. Halfpenny has outlived all his contemporaries by many years, and his colonial career has been one of exceptional activity. "Disbarring" himself about 1847, he obtained the appointment of Chief-Constable at the Wimmera, then a wild and boundless district.

A queer quaint-looking building was put up off Collins Street, rearward of the Bank of New South Wales, and it was called the *Royal Exchange*. It was subsequently moved out in an enlarged brick form on a line with the street, and kept first by a Mr. Davies, and subsequently by a mercurial sort of Scotchman named Campbell. At the north-eastern junction of Queen and Collins Streets, a Mr. Umpleby kept a tavern rather inappropriately named the *Angel*, and the *Royal Highlander* was opened in Queen Street (western side, half-way between Little Collins and Collins Streets) by an individual of the very un-Highland, though not un-*kelt* ish name of "Jemmy Connell." It was afterwards moved to the "wharf," under the management of a thorough Scotchman known as "John Shanks." As not irrelevant to the subject under treatment, it may be worth while to present the first printed advertisement for an hotel tenant. It is extracted from the *Melbourne Advertiser*, 9th April, 1838, and thus reads :—

> TO LET,
>
> For a period of five years, those handsome premises known as the *Angel Inn*, situate at the corner of Queen and Collins Streets, containing 3 parlours, 4 bedrooms, hall, billiard room 35ft. by 20ft., and 16ft. high, 3 upstairs rooms—all furnished in the first possible style—tap-room 30ft. by 12ft., large kitchen and oven, with servant's room, out-buildings, &c. To be let with furniture to a respectable tenant for £250 a year, payable quarterly, but good security would be required.

For such a promising investment, which looked much better on paper than in reality, I am unable to record whether or not an eligible offer with a secured rental was obtained.

Such might be styled the original taverns of Melbourne, the majority of them being built of wood and brick or wattle-and-daub, with coarse shingle roof covering, brick or clay chimneys, and planked or slabbed, and sometimes earthen, floors. As the number increased, improvements were gradually introduced both in the construction and furnishing, and substantial two-story premises soon put in an appearance. The builders were not over particular in working to the street line, and the houses would be thrown up not only feet, but yards in from what was afterwards a footway; a place supposed to be at a street corner or in a particular street would be perched on a plot of open ground some distance from both. The tavern-keepers

were partial to swinging sign-boards as the most effectual mode of signalling to the passers-by by day, as the guttering sickly tallow or oil lamp did by night.

On the 26th September, 1838, the Act of Council 2 Vic. 1 No. 18 was passed, and commenced operations on 1st January, 1839. By it the license fees were :—For general license, £30; night license, to keep open after 9 p.m. until 12, £10; billiard table, £10; retailing wine and beer, £10; ginger or spruce beer, £2; and £1 for selling on board a steamer on its passage. All licenses were to be granted in Petty Sessions in April, and to date from the 1st July of each year. Transfers between different persons or houses might be made at other times, as well as *pro tem.* to fairs, races, and places of amusement, but at no greater distance than ten miles, if out of the district of the licensed person. No publican could, under a penalty, have in or about his house any skittle ground, or ball court, or any dice, cards, bowls, billiards, quoits, or other implements used in gaming, or permit the use or exercise of such or other unlawful game; but the holder of a billiard license might allow the game to be played all the year round, except on Sunday, Good Friday, and Christmas Day.

Sunday trading was permitted from 1 to 3 p.m. only as regarded the sale of fermented liquors. No spirits could be legally vended, but beer might be bought for consumption off the licensed premises, where nothing could be drank. Good Friday and Christmas Day were subject to similar restrictions. The non-consumption proviso used to be frequently evaded by fellows bringing out their foaming pewters into the streets, and then and there absorbing the contents. The Sabbath trading soon came to be as great a farce as it is now. All public-houses might remain open from 4 a.m. to 9 p.m. from 1st October to 31st March, and from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. during the other six months of the year; holders of night licenses to keep open until 12 o'clock; and the sale of spirits out of Melbourne was prohibited. If a publican sold liquor to a married person whose intemperance was known to be of injury to his family, he was liable to a penalty of £5, and the same consequence followed the allowing of wages to be paid in the hotel, or the selling or serving grog to prisoner servants, except medicinally or by the permission of the master, and even then only to the extent of half a gill (glass) in six hours, or one gill in twenty-four hours. Any person giving intoxicating liquors to an Aborigine was liable to a £5 fine. There was also a heavy ascending scale of punishment for drunkards. A first offence was punishable with a fine of from 5s. to 20s., or, as alternatives, not more than twenty-four hours' solitary confinement on bread and water, or a twist on the treadmill not to exceed twelve hours. Repeated offences received augmented punishment upon each successive conviction, not exceeding in the whole the amount or period specified, multiplied by the number of convictions. Thus, for a twentieth appearance, an incorrigible drunkard could be fined £20, and on non payment either twenty days' solitary or half the time "milling."

Every publican should keep a two-burner lamp constantly lighted over his tavern door from sunset to sunrise, or pay from £1 to £5 for every default, unless it could be proved that the extinction was caused by accident or boisterous weather; and every licensed house should contain two sitting and two sleeping rooms *plus* the appartments required for family occupation, together with stabling, hay, corn, or other "wholesome or usual provender," sufficient for at least six horses of travellers. There was likewise a provision for preventing any offence against decency, and, should any of these requirements be discontinued, two or more Justices had power to void the license. No tavern could have ingress or egress except in the street or streets named in the license, and the permission of any other passage or entrance cancelled the privilege. No liquors adulterated or mixed with deleterious ingredients could be sold under a fine of from £10 to £50, and publicans were to have their names legibly painted in three-inch letters, with the description of the license held, constantly and permanently remaining, and plainly to be seen and read on a conspicuous part of the house. Such were some of the principal provisions of the then Act; in addition to which certain customs were rigidly observed, which worked well, and would do even better at the present day. These were so recognized by public opinion that a Magistrate, in other respects corrupt enough, would not dare to disregard them. For instance, no license would be issued for "dead men's shoon," and persons who married publicans' widows could not trade under the name of the buried husband, as is now the case (1882). I could point out hotels in Melbourne where a dead man's name has been paraded over the doorway for nearly twenty years, and a second publican husband has been thriving on the mouldering bones for more than one-half that time. If a widow applied for the renewal of a license of her "dear departed"

in the olden time she would get it, but if she coupled again, the dead would be so far respected that the new husband's name should go up on the signboard instead of the old one. That interesting and far from uncommon specimen of humanity, vulgarly denominated a "grass," but more properly termed a "grace" widow, would, during the voluntary or compelled absence of her worse half, vainly seek the distinction of a Licensed Victualleress, for she would have no chance of it. No bachelor or spinster could obtain a license, and I was present on occasions in the Police Court when such applications were postponed to afford parties (male or female) an opportunity of tying the nuptial knot. After a week, a fortnight, or longer, had elapsed the adjourned hearing would be resumed, and, on the Bench receiving satisfactory assurance of the performance of the marriage contract, the license would be granted. No husband or wife living apart would have the slightest chance of being publicans, and no married man would be allowed to hold a license and engage in any other established business or calling, leaving his wife to conduct the hotel. At the present time (1882) in this colony individuals are in the Commission of the Peace—sleeping partners in taverns of which their wives are licensees; and one of these hostesses has recently been convicted of Sunday trading, in which the J.P. Benedict so misbehaved as to compel his withdrawal from the Magistracy. Such a scandal under the old system was reduced to an impossibility. Furthermore, no person could hold a license for more than one hotel, and the public-house "farming," now "run" by brewers and wholesale spirit sellers, which tends so much to demoralize the modern retail liquor traffic, would not be tolerated. The early merchants and proprietors of breweries frequently assisted a person into a public-house, and might own (in freehold) an hotel or two, but their tenants were *bonâ-fide*, and very different from the class of impecunious subordinate helps who now work scores of groggeries of which they are as little the principals as the beer-engine they manipulate—nay, much less—for that is a fixture, whilst the so called tenant is an animated chattel that could be pitched into the street at any moment.

In the primitive days, and indeed for several years after, the public-house business was the most thriving of the retail callings in the colony, and I hardly ever knew an instance of failure where the landlord was sober, the drinkables reasonably good, the place kept tolerably clean, and the attendance ordinarily civil. One or two writers on those bygone times have waxed very funny over the way business used to be done in the old Melbourne taverns, but much of their pleasantry is either gross exaggeration or pure invention. In a sketch of this kind I cannot well ignore altogether the romancing in question; but, whilst embodying the substance of what are wholly or partly *canards*, I shall add corrections based both upon ocular evidence and information obtained from persons engaged in public business in Melbourne at the time when the marvels related are stated to have occurred.

The "Sticking Plasters."

For several years the publicans' harvest consisted chiefly in fleecing (or "lambing down," as it was technically termed) the stockmen, bullock-drivers, shepherds, and shearers who made periodical trips to Melbourne for a "spree," or to "knock down their money." These fellows worked harder than horses in the bush, and spent their money like asses in town. When their six or twelve months' engagement was up they left the station where they were employed in great glee, with orders for their wages upon some commercial house in town, and, unless stuck up and robbed at some of the unlicensed pot-houses on the way, they flew at once to their favourite drinking places in Melbourne, and deposited their orders with the landlord, who drew upon his casks and bottles as long as the amount of the "bit o' writin'" would "run it." These orders came to be known as "Sticking Plasters," but I never could see the applicability of the phrase. One of the writers referred to explains it, because "they used to be stuck up in the bar until the amount was said to be drunk out." This I believe to be incorrect, for I have more than once seen how the orders were operated upon. They were not "Sticking Plasters," though they infused fresh blood into the landlord's takings. As far as the bushmen were concerned, they might certainly be styled "blisters," for they "burned" their pockets while they had them. The landlord no sooner clutched the "plaster" than he had it changed for cash. The customer was then credited with the amount, the "shouting" commenced, and the spree continued until about half-a-crown balance remained, which was handed to the bushman after his burst with which "to absquatulate" to the country, and commence upon the compounding of another

"plaster" six or twelve months after. During the "melting" process—*i.e.*, the spending—almost every person entering the bar was invited to join in the "drinkings," but loafers or spongers were comparatively few in those times. Gooseberry cham (sham)- pagne was uncorked by the half-dozen, rum taps flowed, and beer-bottles popped—beer-engines had not yet made their appearance.

The "counter lunch" of the period was (if the analysts are to be trusted) quite *sui generis*. None of your wafer-like sandwiches, or bread and pulverized cheese, or a biscuit and diminutive sheep's tongue, but a plentiful cask of raw salt herrings placed glistening before you, of which you might eat till you were tired, and without stint; no fear of being pulled up by a stingy landlord or pert-tongued, forehead-fringed barmaid. The more was devoured the more was drunk, and as drink was then one shilling all round, the herrings were by no means a bad bait wherewith to hook the thirsty flatheads. It was setting a sprat to catch a mackerel with a vengeance.

THE "DEAD HOUSE."

Another usage grew up with the old hotels, *sic fabula loquitur*, which the latter day ones might well retain, *i.e.*, the attaching of a littered room or *dead-house*—not the dreary-looking ghostly morgue, where suicides or accidentally made corpses are laid in state, but a secure, unwindowed, comfortably-strawed exterior apartment, into which the bodies of those who got dead drunk by day or night were stowed away, and suffered to rest in peace and sleep off the debauch. The "dead-house" was kept tidy and comfortable, and freshly strawed every morning. It is a mistake into which some of the old chroniclers have fallen to suppose that this "morgue" was the resting-place of any of the country customers of the hotel, for it was nothing of the kind. Every tavern then had its special connection, and the "Plaster-men" got to take to particular houses, and invariably patronized them when "ran-tanning." This class of benefactors the publicans took good care not to offend, and accordingly, when a man's "plaster" was nearly exhausted, he received the balance as travelling money, got a free breakfast, and cheerfully departed with a light heart and a still lighter pocket. The "dead-house" in reality was a humane institution for the accommodation of "casuals" helplessly intoxicated, who, instead of being tumbled out of doors, were "bedded down" for the night. Even if all this mortuary rubbish were correct, there would have been nothing colonially original in such a course, for it was only reviving a custom that prevailed in "Merrie England" in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when gin was the rage in London instead of beer; and Smollett declares that painted boards were put up, inviting people to get drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for twopence. The London gin-houses provided the accommodation of cellars laid down with straw, into which those who got helpless on the new favourite tipple might retire until consciousness was restored. If a man gets over-intoxicated now in a low class hotel he is hustled to the door, and, with a hand or foot, precipitated into the streets. A policeman may find him in the channel and take him either to the lock-up or the hospital, and cases have occurred in Melbourne where people have died from the exposure or injuries so received. Though the moderns may laugh at the old system, there was a dash of humanity in it, which might well be followed in more recent times.

Now with respect to the trio of fanciful yarns here reproduced, one only of them has a partial semblance of truth, *i.e.*, the "Plasterers," with the modifications given. As to the countered barrel of raw salt herrings, I may say that I have never seen one exhibited. The "dead-house," or littered morgue, I believe to be just as apocryphal as the salt herring. I never saw either the inside or outside of an hotel "dead-house," and I do not believe such institutions ever had an existence in connection with the ancient public-houses. I have recently conferred on this subject with Mr. Thomas Halfpenny, of Studley Park, who was a licensed victualler in Melbourne from 1837 to 1847, and I have his concurrence in the statement I now make. It is not without some hesitation that I shatter the spicy little fictions, so readable and laughable, only they are not facts; but *magna est veritas* is my motto in these CHRONICLES, and the delusions in question must be annihilated.

"JOHN BARLEYCORN."

Usquebaugh, (*Anglice* "Whisky") was not only undrunk, but unknown for years in the early taverns of Melbourne. Rum, gin, brandy (dark, there was no pale) and beer were the commodities retailed. The

favourite tipple of the bushman was mixed brandy and ginger-beer—a "spider," as it was called—for which 1s. 6d. was charged, and this was the shouting that was liked by the publican, for there was much profit, and it rapidly filled the till. A treat for three was usually half-a-pint of brandy and three ginger-beers, for which 4s. 6d. was the reckoning, and half-a-dozen shouts of this kind made up what could not be termed an "unconsidered trifle." On the 15th November, 1839, the ship "William Metcalfe" arrived from England with Mr. J. B. Were as a passenger. It was his intention to engage in commercial pursuits in Melbourne, and the merchandise which he brought out included some Cork whisky and Waterford porter. The whisky was from a then famed distillery in Cork, presided over by a Mr. Jerry Murphy, and in some short time Halfpenny, of the *William Tell*, purchasing two puncheons of the stuff, was the first man to vend whisky at the bar in Melbourne. For years after it was not much affected, for the rum and brandy and "Old Tom" maintained their ground, and whisky was in no great demand as a public-house draught until after the gold revolution.

I have often heard it asked how Halfpenny's tavern obtained the un-English appellation of the *William Tell*, commemorative of the supposititious Swiss apple-shooter. It happened in this simple way: Half-penny fancied that a good deal lay in a taking name, and anxiously cast about for one. He was acquainted with a young man, the only Swiss resident of the time, who was subject to most depressing fits of *maladie du pays*, the home sickness for which his countrymen are proverbial. When he heard what Halfpenny required, he entreated the Irish Cockney to name his intended groggery after the idol of his own hero-worship, and this was done.

At the Annual Licensing Session, held on 21st April, 1840, the following publicans' licenses were granted for Melbourne:—Little Flinders Street, 5; Collins Street, 4; Little Collins Street, 2; Bourke Street, 1; Elizabeth Street, 1; Queen Street, 2; William Street, 1; Little Bourke Street, 1. One license was accorded to Williamstown. In 1842 the Annual Licensing Session excited much interest, as there were many new applications. The Justices were—Messrs. James Simpson, P.M., F. A. Powlett, G. D. Mercer, E. J. Brewster, William Verner, William Furlonge, Drs. S. Martin and F. M'Crae. The population of Melbourne proper was estimated at 4400; Newtown (Collingwood), from 1200 to 1500; and Williamstown, 680. The result of the sitting was to increase the town licenses by 13. There were three applications for authorized grog shops at Collingwood, which were opposed by Mr. James Montgomery, Solicitor, on behalf of the respectable inhabitants, who backed him up with an anti-license memorial. There was a disposition to grant one license for the place, but as there was no constable there to look after the publican, the whole were refused. At a special Sessions held in October, Mr. David Lyons obtained one for a house on the Heidelberg Road, to be known as the *Travellers' Rest*, which he opened on the 8th November. This, the first Collingwood nobbler mart, was for many years a popular refreshment stall for people indulging in strolls out of town. It was situate in Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, on the site of the (now King's) College facing Faraday Street.

In connection with some of the older taverns there was an excrescence known as the "tap," often disreputable and disorderly in its way. It was in fact a second bar, and sublet to a person who usually ministered to the lowest class of customers. Though a palpable violation of the Act of 1838, it was permitted until 1842, when "taps" being adjudged public nuisances, were peremptorily abolished.

In 1844, the New South Wales Government proposed to increase the general license fee to £100 a year, at which much wrathful feeling was expressed by the retail liquor traders and the notion was abandoned. An attempt was made to establish a Licensed Victuallers' Society, but it failed through a split in the ranks. It is a singular incident that there were as many licensed hotels in Melbourne in 1846 as in 1849, though at the latter period the population had received an addition of over twenty per cent. Melbourne of itself then numbering 20,000 inhabitants.

Licensing Bench Vagaries.

The Act incorporating the town of Melbourne in 1842, restricted the jurisdiction of Justices of the Peace in an important degree. Hitherto the magisterial function was territorial, limited by the boundaries of Port Phillip; but now there was a distinct town and district jurisdiction, and a magistrate was debarred

from adjudicating on the town Bench, unless his name was on the Burgess Roll, and he resided within seven miles of Melbourne. Further, in adjudications under the Licensed Victuallers' Act, no Magistrate, directly or indirectly connected with the ownership of a house licensed, or for which an application was made, or engaged in the wholesale liquor business, could take part; and such prohibitions after a time virtually drew all Bench matters appertaining to hotels into the hands of three Town Magistrates, viz., Major F. B. St. John, Dr. W. B. Wilmot (the Coroner), and Mr. James Smith (Savings' Bank Secretary). Smith and Wilmot were men of undoubted integrity, who always fancied they were doing right, even when the opposite was the fact; but St. John was in nowise particular whether right or wrong, *so long as it paid.* He gradually introduced a system of "backsheesh," and worked it profitably for some years, when the abuse grew so notorious, that open exposure followed, and ended in his downfall. Details of the Major's misdoings are treated of in another chapter, and only a few supplementary items will be here added. Major St. John having tasted of the illicit loaves and fishes, his appetite increased, and the Licensing Bench festered into such a hot-bed of corruption, that applicants would not apply even for a permit to keep open for a single night, without first considering how it could be made right with the Major, for he soiled his hands with everything. There was no difficulty in the giving, for every donation, even the smallest, was received willingly, if not thankfully by him, either through the post, by personal service, or at his residence.

When the Major lived in Brunswick Street, a room at the rear was known as the *sanctum* (referred to elsewhere), the window of which looked into the yard. Outside the aperture was a fixture not unlike one of the drinking troughs to be seen opposite certain taverns, and into this receptacle as letters into a post office pillar, might be "posted," any favours intended for the Major, and no pillar was ever cleared so regularly, for it was continuously watched, especially in the morning, the best time for depositing the offerings. But the Major's "takings" were not restricted to his licensing business, for as Crown Land Commissioner, he controlled the management of, not only the squatting stations, but wood-cutting, brickmaking, loam carting, and other avocations. From everything coming within his official purview, he would try and make something, and the anecdotes recounted of his sharp practices might be noted by the hundred. Gross petty acts of injustice would be perpetrated, for in the case of rival disputes about run boundaries, or areas of brick ground, or publichouse licenses, the value of the *douceur* carried the day. An auctioneer "knocks down" the *highest* bidder, but Major St. John "floored" the *lowest.* I append a few examples: A carter who wished to secure a contraband load of wood, would meet St. John in the morning in Brunswick Street, and say, "Good morrow, Major; I'm a poor man, with a large family, and we have'nt a bit of fuel in for the winter. God bless your honour, and let me get a few logs of dead wood at the Merri Creek or over the river." The response was, "All right my man, do as you want. But, by the way, I am out of firewood too, as well as you; do you mind?" The man would depart, take two loads for himself and drop a third in the yard at the Major's mansion. A canny Frenchman, resident in an outskirt of Melbourne hit upon a very polite and gentlemanly mode of making matters mutually agreeable. Whenever he wished for any small favour he would drop a sovereign into a large snuffbox, and (of course, as if by the merest accident) intercepting St. John, would execute a profound salaam, and extending the viaticum, with a tap and a comical grin entreat the Major to do him the very great honour of accepting a pinch of his latest Lundyfoot. St. John, smilingly acquiescing, would open the box; but instead of applying the proxy for the "titillating dust" to his nose, would quietly drop it into a vest pocket, with a nod and a wink, and an exclamation "that it was very capital snuff indeed." The ice so broken, induced such a thaw in St. John's disposition to be accommodating, that "Frenchy" had only to ask what he wanted without much risk of a denial. Another time the Major would be accidentally waylaid by an applicant for a publican's licence, who would be told to write down all the particulars and send it to Collingwood. This was done accordingly either in person or by post, with a reminder in the shape of a remittance, about which nothing would be said in the communication, though its purport would be well understood, and not forgotten. Where there were no conflicting interests the Major invariably gave valuable consideration for what he received; but where there were opposing influences, he stuck to the client who gave the most, and ruthlessly cast the other overboard.

There was a newspaper reporter of the time, who, prior to an annual licensing session, made as much money as a Chamber or consulting lawyer, or any police office Attorney; for well knowing how

the Major was to be "managed," he advised in a way that always brought success. I have heard him over and over repeat the following almost incredible story :—"On an occasion there were two applicants for new hotels, each erected on an opposite street corner, either of which was sure to be licensed, but certainly not both. One of the suitors retained the smartest Attorney in practice, and the other the newspaper man. The latter advised his client to keep quiet, and finish his house, so as to make it look as smart as possible, and come to him on the Saturday prior to the Tuesday in April, when the Yearly Sessions were always held. In the interim the adviser, who had special means for acquiring information about the Major's clandestine operations, found out that the applicant who had the Attorney in his pay had in addition to the professional fee, presented the Major with his compliments in the substantial form of a ton of hay, resting securely in the conviction that now everything would go right. On the second applicant turning up on the Saturday as promised, he was advised on the following Monday to deliver a ton and a-half of hay in Brunswick Street, and on the same morning a letter was transmitted through post anonymously advising of the bounty, who sent it, and the *quid pro quo* expected. The Licensing day arrived, the rival applications were heard, and he who relied solely on the superior dead-weight of hay, minus a lawyer, completely checkmated the other, notwithstanding all the fervid eloquence of his advocate."

The green wattle-tree grove, which at the time bloomed between Spring Street and Collingwood, was a favourite trysting place for the Major and some of his customers. A bush track ran from Collins Street through the Parliament Reserve, and the Major, mounted on a grey horse, might be daily seen riding home from the Police Court, about 3 p.m. Anyone wishing audience of His Worship might have it here without interruption, and curious interviews not unfrequently took place. The "gentleman of the Press" already mentioned often saw the Major here. They were well-known to each other, and sometimes St. John would unbend so far as to invite the other to accompany him to Brunswick Street, and have some brandy and water. Once the amateur licensing practitioner was not consulted until literally the eleventh hour, the day before a licensing meeting. It was a case of emergency, and should be settled at once. Accordingly, about 2 o'clock, the journalist sauntered over the Eastern Hill, and posting himself against a huge tree trunk, pulled out a cigar, and whiffed away. He had in his pocket an *honorarium* for the Major, wrapped in a memo. as to what it was there for, the whole tied as a small paper parcel and superscribed, "Major St. John, Brunswick Street." In about half-an-hour the Major, on his Rosinante, hove in sight, and when he reached the point where the smoker was cloud-blowing with a second cigar, something like the following scene ensued, in detailing which, for convenience sake, I shall refer to the pedestrian journalist simply as "A":—

The Major.—"I say, why did you leave the Police Court so early to-day? From the way I saw you bundle up your papers and flit, I thought there must be something in the wind with you."

A.—"Oh, I was bored to death with those monotonous wages cases, through which you and 'Old Whistle' (Mr. J. Smith) were poking. I was up at the office until cock-crow this morning, and I wanted to get a breath of fresh air."

The Major.—"Hem—ha! Was that it, eh? This is a fine airy place, is it not? Come, walk along home with me; I'll give you a drink."

A.—"Much obliged, Major; but I'd prefer not. Thanks all the same to you for your well-meaning hospitality; but I've had enough for to-day at the *Market Square Hotel*."

The Major.—"Oh, you had, had you. All right, then; if you don't like to come, you can do the other thing."

A.—"You need not go to the trouble of telling me that, Major; but look you here, the queerest thing in the world happened since I came out. At the foot of that tree beyond I found this suspicious-looking little packet (drawing it out from his pocket) addressed to you in a free running hand. I could hardly resist the temptation of opening it to see what was in it, for by its feel it contains something substantial."

The Major (growing excited and slewing his horse half round) said :—"Look you here, you fellow; hand me over that directly, if, as you say, 'tis for me. If you dare open anything addressed to me—do you see that gaol up there on the hill? I'll soon have you safe enough there; d—— me if I won't!"

A.—"Major, please keep your bounce for the Police Office, for I don't want, and shan't take any of it. The parcel is not sealed but only taped; and even if I did open it, perhaps I should not learn more than I know. Here it is, safe and sound. Take it home, and if there be any lesson in it to be learned, be sure not to forget it."

The Major clutched the parcel, and vowing if he had A. in the Police Office he would commit him for his insolence, rode away. The enclosure consisted of three golden miniatures of Queen Victoria, and half a sheet of notepaper, with the name of an applicant for the licensing of a new house, the street, where situated, and its intended designation. The following day Mr. So-and-So obtained his license.

Messrs. Wilmott and Smith could sometimes be "hooked" unconsciously to themselves, for there were no two more upright men in the Province. Neither of them would accept a bribe, in any manner or form; but though sagacious, far-seeing, and utterly incorruptible, their temperaments were tinctured with a haziness that imparted a gentle dulness to their minds. When on the Bench they might be compared to what is known in America as a "spike team," or in English stable slang as a "unicorn." St. John unwinkered and wide awake, being "fly" to everything, as leader. Of anything like *finesse* in influencing decisions they never dreamed, and thus they imperceptibly and innocently fell into traps laid for them. The *modus operandi* originated with the Mr. A. already mentioned, or perhaps it should be termed an invention of his. It was this:—Some two or three months before a Licensing day, the intending applicant was to open an account at the Melbourne Savings' Bank, of which Smith was the Secretary and Actuary, and continue paying in a small deposit on the days in each week open for receiving money. Smith could not bring himself to believe any regular Savings' Bank customer capable of evil; and if all the sins in the Decalogue were debited to one of that class, so long as he did not begin to withdraw, some absolving impulse in the Smith bosom moved towards him. Therefore, if a Savings' Bank depositor applied for a license (though Smith would maunder a few words about the unrighteousness of the calling), he could never think of interposing any opposition. In this way an individual, in himself pre-eminently good and religious, was involuntarily biassed so far as to acquiesce in St. John's freaks; for to directly oppose him he could rarely, even under any circumstances, muster sufficient moral courage. By something of an analogous process, Wilmot, the Coroner, was prescribed for. He secured a very limited private practice, and about the time when the Savings' Bank bait would be laid for the one magistrate, the other would be called in to attend the wife, aunt, mother, mother-in-law, or child of the future applicant. Some of the most arrant instances of malingering were managed in this way. The patient underwent a short process of rehearsal, and when the Doctor was announced the invalid jumped into bed, and there was no difficulty in imposing upon the amiable, mild-mannered Æsculapius, who possessed a Roman nose and wore a pair of large spectacles, both of a pronounced type, and as a rule did not see far beyond either of them. When the application came on for hearing, the Doctor was there as an emollient to facilitate its safe transit, without the most remote notion that he had been "physicked" for the purpose.

It was also believed that a certain Chief-Constable was in league with St. John, and that they used to divide the winnings. It was said of this party that on certain days he used to leave a peculiarly-made shooting coat, sported on State occasions, on the table in the small room of an hotel, near the Police Court, into the pocket of which would be dropped, as into a poor-box, the "peace offerings" destined for him. He would keep a sharp look-out on intending contributors, and the moment he saw a person emerge from the sanctuary, he would pop in to empty the pocket, so that no interloper could have a possible chance of fingering the booty. These suppositions were far from groundless, though I fancy the takings were solely appropriated by the coat-owner, for St. John did not care about going halves with anyone. He worked individually and not in partnership, and if a favour were to be bought from him he should be treated with as a principal.

Many who read this chapter will, doubtless, hold up their hands in deprecation of the official immorality here described. Statutably, at the period I write about, bribery was an indictable offence, but from the circumstances existing during St. John's career, a usage sprang up which gave a *quasi* common-law sanction to his misdoings. Everyone, so to speak, was cognizant of all this; yet it was not prevented. A person wishing for a license was denied justice unless he sought it in a manner which was certainly not generally approved, though very generally resorted to. St. John's misdoings were known, not only amongst

the commonalty, but in the select circle of the Melbourne Club, where he was facetiously spoken of under the *alias* of "Tippo," (Tip Oh !), the paternity of which *alias* (it could not well be called a pseudonym) was attributed to no less a personage than the Superintendent of the Province (Mr. Latrobe). Of course, his Honor only chimed in with what he believed to be a general joke, and would hesitate before taking any step to ruin a man in St. John's position. At length, when "Johnny" Fawkner "bell'd the cat" at the public meeting, previously noticed, the Superintendent taught St. John that he was not to be trifled with, and even then Fawkner was only able to adduce testimony barely sufficient to prevent St. John getting a verdict, and the legal altercation terminated in a drawn battle. It was a disastrous result, however, for the plaintiff, whose race was run in the Province, and Port Phillip was well rid of him.

As this is the Major's last appearance in these CHRONICLES (unless, perhaps, an incidental reference to his name), I dismiss him by stating that he was a scion of the noble English House of Bolingbroke, was born in 1797, and held a Major's Commission in the 52nd Regiment. After his departure from the colony he applied unsuccessfully for some other appointment, and was eventually admitted to the refuge provided for impoverished gentility, known as the Military Knights of Windsor, where he died 24th July, 1866.

RACE LICENSING COMPLICATIONS.

In 1851 Teetotalism assumed a short-lived importance, chiefly owing to the exertions of Mr. Richard Heales, who had a seat in the City Council. An impression gained ground that, if no intoxicating drinks were sold at the Melbourne Racecourse during the annual meeting, the social habits of the people would be much improved, and several underhand influences were brought to bear against a dozen Melbourne publicans, for permission to erect drinking booths on the course. The Flemington race ground was without the city boundary, though the applicants were city publicans, and a question arose as to whether Territorial Justices could vote. This was referred for the opinion of the Government Law Adviser (Mr. Croke), who held that it was a matter in which city Licensing Justices only had jurisdiction. A special meeting of Magistrates was convened to consider the question of booths or no booths, and on a division Teetotalism triumphed, for the voting was :—

For—Captain R. Jacomb, Messrs. A. M'Lachlan, H. Moor.

Against—The Mayor, Mr. W. Nicholson, Dr. Wilmot, Messrs. R. W. Pohlman, Jas. Simpson.

Non-voter : Mr. James Smith. Absent : Mr. E. P. Sturt, Captain Hutton, and Dr. Greeves.

Action of this kind, without precedent in the colony, occasioned widespread dissatisfaction. But though the city publicans were baulked in their desire to cater for the race-going public, the city Bench could not bind the district one. Flemington was in the county of Bourke, and a number of district publicans accordingly sent in applications for permission to sell on the course, and so the teetotal battle had to be fought over again upon a more unfavourable field. There was a strong muster of the Terrritorial Magistrates, and the division thus resulted :—

For—Messrs. C. Payne, R. Jacomb, W. Thomas, T. Baillie, W. Taylor, M'Credie, W. H. Wright, R. H. Bunbury, E. P. Dana, E. P. Sturt, W. Firebrace, C. J. Griffith.—12.

Against—Messrs. J. Simpson, R. W. Pohlman, P. M'Arthur, W. B. Wilmot, Benj. Heape, G. Playne, G. A. Robinson, J. Smith, A. F. Greeves.—9. Majority for, 3.

The Chairman (Mr. Simpson) objected to the voting of Messrs. Baillie and M'Credie, as they were not Justices of the County of Bourke, notwithstanding which they voted. The Chairman then declared he should adjourn the meeting until the next day, and meantime obtain legal opinion on the point. This was done, and the legal dictum was that the gentlemen objected to possessed a Territorial jurisdiction, and their votes were valid. Twelve applications were accordingly granted, conditional upon the booths being kept open only from 12 to 3 o'clock of each day of the meeting, an absurd restriction, which was not adhered to.

LICENSED VICTUALLERS' ASSOCIATION.

In the beginning of 1850, the necessity for some united action on the part of the Melbourne publicans forced itself urgently upon the members of the trade. On the 14th October a public meeting was

held at the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, Collins Street, for the inauguration of the Society. Mr. Henry Addison was elected to the Chair, and Mr. John Cosgrave, to the Vice-chair. Every person in the room was a publican's license holder, and it was agreed that all present should be deemed members, after which the door was closed.

It was determined that the Association should be styled "The Licensed Victuallers' Society of Port Phillip for the protection of the rights and interests of the Licensed Victuallers, and to afford assistance in case of accidents and necessity." None but Licensed Victuallers should be considered eligible as members. A reward of £5 was to be paid for every successful prosecution in the suppression of illicit spirit selling, and the committee was empowered to refund police-office fines to convicted publicans under certain circumstances. Mr. W. J. Sugden was elected President without opposition. Mr. John Cosgrave, Vice-President, Mr. Michael O'Shea, Treasurer, and Mr. Henry Addison, Secretary. Messrs. M. O'Shea, M. Gallagher, T. Ryan, P. Costelloe, P. M'Grath, M. Curtain, John Fitzgerald, Robert Newstead, T. M'Niece, Rody Heffernan, Henry Lineham, and W. Balch, were elected Committee-men.

On the 3rd April, 1851, there was a general meeting of the Society at the *Supreme Court Hotel*, Latrobe and Russell Streets. There was then before the Legislative Council of New South Wales a Bill for the Amendment of the Licensing Act, and resolutions were passed as to the desirability of prohibiting the sale of liquors in less quantities than four gallons by wholesale dealers, and for the sale of even one that they should be obliged to take out a license, and allowing Licensed Victuallers to sue in the Common Law Courts for any debts contracted with them for the supply or consumption of refreshments. The President was requested to communicate these views of the meeting to Mr. George Robert Nichols, of Sydney, the Member having charge of the Bill. It was also agreed to engage a "respectable" solicitor to guard the interests of the Association, at a stipend of £50 per annum, and £1 for every additional member thenceforth obtained until the remuneration reached £100 per annum. To meet the necessary expenditure each member should pay the annual sum of £3 10s. 6d., and the fee of £1 on every transfer of a license.

Taken as a body, the Licensed Victuallers from 1836 to 1851 constituted a segment of the community which did it credit, for they were as a rule honest and honourable, public spirited and charitable. Before Melbourne possessed an Hospital or Benevolent Asylum, the publicans' hands were daily in their pockets to alleviate distress; and when any unfortunate met with an accident, and there was no Institution to receive him, the publican would take him in, and not only provide medicine and medical comforts, but even discharge the doctor's bill, though the old medicoes were not exacting in this respect. In the initiation and maintenance of Public Charities there were no more free-handed helpers than the hotel-keepers. Several of the ancient Bonifaces were amongst the most intelligent of the Melbournians, and in after years some of them made their mark, not only in the City Council, but in the Victorian Legislature, the most notable instances being Sir John O'Shanassy, Dr. A. F. A. Greeves, Messrs. J. P. Fawkner, J. T. Smith, and J. S. Johnston. Of course there were black sheep occasionally in the flock, as there will be in flocks of every condition, and for all time; but the exceptions were numerically few.

CHAPTER XLI.

FUEL, LIGHT, AND WATER.

SYNOPSIS:—Early Searches for Coal.—The Early Days of Lighting.—Mr. William Overton, the Introducer of Gas.—The Rev. John Allen's Gas Lectures.—The First Gas Company.—First Water Company.—The First Water Supply Scheme.—Arrival of Mr. James Blackburn.—Etymology of the "Yan Yean."—Melbourne's First Supply from the Yan Yean.

FIREWOOD.

IN Early Melbourne coal was a luxury unobtainable and uncared for, and fire-grates or stoves in dwellings, with but few exceptions, were unknown. The fire-hearth was spacious, the wood-logs in abundance, and so the cold winter nights passed over in cosy, though rough, enjoyment. In summer the fires would be banished out of doors, and such was the general carelessness manifested that it was little short of miraculous that serious accidents did not frequently occur. A traffic in firewood necessarily became a primitive industry, and wood boats plied on the Upper Yarra; but the principal business was done with the bullock-drays laid on from the suburbs of South Yarra, Richmond, and Collingwood, the Merri Creek and adjacent places. Dead timber was to be found anywhere; but after a time tree-felling had to be resorted to. The removal of trees was effected under regulations issued by Commissioners of Crown Lands, and, in the Melbourne Circuit, Major St. John exercised all the powers of a petty despot in a most capricious, though not illiberal manner. A good load of wood could be obtained for five or six shillings, though the rate reached as many pounds during the two or three years following the gold discoveries in 1851.

COAL.

Since the European occupation of the Province, a belief existed that both gold and coal would be found sooner or later in this portion of the Australian continent; but to coal, as the most urgently required article, public attention was specially devoted. It was a frequent topic of discussion in the columns of the early newspapers, though not until the 4th March, 1841, was there any concerted action towards the discovery of a payable coal field. Some indications of the mineral having been unearthed by a Mr. Cameron, the leader of a private exploring party, and the exhibition by him of some specimens declared to have been found at Western Port, created a mild *furore*, and a public meeting was forthwith held "to determine the practicability of working the mines recently discovered." It came off at the *Royal Hotel* in Collins Street, and the Chair was taken by Mr. Arthur Kemmis, then a leading (but long since deceased) merchant. Cameron was in attendance, and submitted a very glowing *vivâ voce* report. If a tithe of it were reliable, there could not be the shadow of a doubt of the exhaustless black diamond treasures awaiting only the co-operative power of men and money to be exhumed. His statement afforded unmixed satisfaction—so much so, indeed, that though only £500 was the sum required "to bore for coal, and make such other examination as may be necessary," more than that amount was subscribed in the room. If the result proved as anticipated, a company was to be formed. A practical miner, named Watson, and four men were equipped with all needful means and appliances, and despatched to Wilson's Promontory, and the places adjacent, where by drifting, sinking and boring the problem was to be solved. It was afterwards said that this Watson had given out that he had previously discovered a splendid coal field close to the water's edge, and by such deception had humbugged everyone connected with the movement. The expedition eventuated in a decided failure; though there could be no question of the presence of coal,

and of good quality, omitting the question of quantity; but no vessel could approach within eighteen miles of where a shaft had been sunk, and it would require an eighteen-mile railway to bring the coal to a place of shipment.

In the course of the year rumours became rife about coal findings at the Barrabool Hills, 50 feet below the surface, and the *Geelong Advertiser* went into fits of ecstasy about the future of the district, but nothing ever came of it. In 1842, some men were employed sinking a well on land at Pascoe Vale, belonging to Mr. H. G. Ashurst, and at a depth of 80 feet they struck a vein of coal 3 feet thick, but it never led to further disclosures. Frequent intermittent reports were made of coal and other mineral discoveries in divers places until 1848, when it was alleged that a large and valuable coal-bed had been found at Loutit Bay, and at the beginning of 1849 the Superintendent (Latrobe) despatched Mr. Foote, a surveyor, to make an examination, from which it appeared that there existed at Loutit Bay indications only of lignite; the working of this would not pay the cost of transit. This announcement was received with incredulity by the Geelongites, who sent off a local examiner to test the accuracy of Foote's statements. The result of this led to Foote being instructed to return and resume the investigation. He did so, and in the course of his second inspection found some coal appearances. The Geelong people now said there was not only coal, but copper and other minerals abounding at the Cape Otway ranges and along the coast; so in June, 1849, steps were taken to organize a Geelong Coal Company, and provide funds for a thorough mineral survey of the neighbourhood of Loutit Bay; but beyond the preliminary "blowing" matters went no further. Still the atmosphere was not thoroughly purged of the mineral rumours, and the Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe) manifested much interest in any possible coal discoveries that might be made, and promised all the co-operation in his power for any project initiated with a reasonable prospect of success; but he consulted the Law Adviser, who appeared to think that Crown lands could not be leased for other than pastoral purposes; but this view was not upheld by the Sydney Law Officers, and, in consequence, the reservation of coal on the part of the Crown was abandoned by proclamation.

Early in 1850 reports were rife that some *bonâ-fide* coal discoveries had been made in Western Port. Money was getting plentiful, and a spirit of enterprise was active in Melbourne; so, notwithstanding the first *fiasco* there, it was seriously determined that Cape Patterson should have a further, and, if possible, a fairer trial. A public meeting, presided over by the Mayor (Dr. Greeves), was accordingly held at the *Royal* on the 4th June. The speakers were Messrs. Henry Moor, Robert Langlands, Wm. Nicholson, A. H. Knight, B. Heape, C. H. Ebden, Wm. Highett, etc., and it was resolved that prior to the formation of a company, a "Preliminary Expense Fund" be raised by subscription. A Mr. Anderson, introduced as a practical scientific man, handed in a written statement, from which this extract is taken:— "I have no hesitation in saying that in Western Port coal is equal to the best samples of Newcastle. It is a bituminous coal, possessing in a moderate degree the caking property, containing scarcely a trace of sulphurous pyrites, making an excellent coke, leaving a very small portion of ashes, so that it is well adapted for every purpose. In one respect it seems superior to the Newcastle coal I see landed here in Melbourne. Though some of it readily breaks into small cubical fragments like coarse gravel, very little of it crumbles into the almost palpable dust of which whole cargoes of the other seem chiefly to exist." He estimated the expense at 3s. per ton at the pit's mouth; carriage by railway to the shipping, rather under than over 1s. per ton; freight to Melbourne in a suitable class of vessels, 8s.; wharfage, 1s.; and payment to Government for the privilege of working the ground, 6d. per ton. The capital required, according to his calculations, would be from £16,000 to £20,000, and the annual sale of coal would be, say, 25,000 tons; 10 per cent. on the capital would add another 1s. or 1s. 6d. per ton, and about 1s. would defray the cost of Melbourne management. The company, he believed, could have the coal free of charges of every kind for 16s. per ton. Anderson's report was generally concurred in by Mr. G. H. Wathen, an engineer, according to whose statement the coal measures at Western Port, beginning at or near Cape Patterson, the Eastern entrance to that harbour and opposite to Phillip Island, extended almost uninterruptedly along the coast as far as the River Tarwin, a distance of thirty miles. The coal deposits, of which there were three distinct layers, were associated with strata having the appearances usually indicative of this mineral. The thickness of the first seam was given as 1 foot 8 inches, of the second as 3 feet 4 inches, and the third as

1 foot 8 inches. The middle and most important of these strata was represented as consisting of excellent coal. He also estimated that if coal could then be supplied reasonably in Melbourne, a consumption of 20,000 tons annually might be reckoned upon for steam engines, foundries, etc., which quantity might be increased to 30,000 by consumption in private dwellings. It was supposed that a company could supply the town at the rate of 16s. per ton, which was 14s. less than the price of coal brought from the River Hunter. The amount of preliminary cash required was put down at £700, of which £500 was subscribed in the room. Mr. Frederick Cooper, a Collins Street chemist, was nominated Treasurer, *pro tem.* It was agreed to appoint, from subscribers of £10 and more, a Committee of twelve to direct and supervise an efficient search party. Eighteen candidates offered themselves for election, and from them the following were chosen :—Messrs. Henry Moor, J. R. Murphy, F. Cooper, G. W. Cole, A. H. Knight, C. H. Ebden, William Highett, Henry Langlands, W. U. Tripp, Captain Stanley Carr, with the Mayors of Melbourne and Geelong. This dozen of individuals represented every important interest—mercantile, monetary, manufacturing, squatting, and a dash of the legal element thrown in. It possessed shrewdness, practical sagacity, and good sense, yet notwithstanding, the affair proved a complete take in. The exploring party went, and so did the Preliminary Fund, and, though the former returned, the latter was *non est.* It all ended in fizzle. No progress report ever turned up, and so far from anything in the shape of a coal deposit being forthcoming, not even a cinder remained as a memento of the expedition.

Light.

Oil and tallow for several years contributed the nightly radiance, in whose flickering, sputtering glare the colonists were content to live, and breathe, and have their being. They could not have had very enlightened times of it; but as they could obtain no better substitute they had to make the most of things as they came, and comfortably and contentedly they did so. The original lamp was composed of wick and tallow, seething in something like a shallow tin dipper; until oil stepped in to help and improve; and these blinking burners were mostly affected by the butchers and the hotel bars and kitchens. The only out-of-door street lighting was the compulsory lamp which every licensed victualler was by law obliged to keep burning over or near the tavern's principal doorway, and such *quasi*-luminaries were oftener stone blind than otherwise. Tallow candles performed all the household and most of the shop duty until wax-lights appeared. At concerts, public entertainments, and other evening gatherings, candles were stuck in tin sconces nailed to wall or partition, and occasionally something would be attempted by swinging a chandelier from the ceiling and manning it with waxes. Slowly gradual improvements crept in; more taste was displayed in the "get-up" of chandeliers, lamps, and sconces; the tallow lights began to wane, and oil and candles of superior quality were introduced. The old Queen Street Theatre had a good deal to do in making matters better, for its proprietor (Mr. J. T. Smith) was endowed with an energy which he was never loth to employ for his own and (incidentally) for the public convenience. He was the forerunner of street lamp lighting, as he applied the proceeds of a Theatrical Benefit to the erection of half-a-dozen lamps in Queen Street, which so shamed the Melbourne Corporation that, through its agency, general street lighting was not long in following.

Gas.

What an amusing incident that Collingwood, which was destined to become the grand *entrepôt* for the production of political gas, should be the place whence emanated the first notion of supplying Melbourne with gas-light. Yet such was once indubitably the case. Towards the close of 1844, a sturdy blacksmith named George South established his forge in a small house in what was then known as the Western Road boundary of Newtown, at its junction with William Street—places now designated respectively, Nicholson and Moor Streets in the City of Fitzroy. South's place was the now Dr. Hewlett's corner. He was a man of some education, had a smattering of chemistry, and, being of an active turn of mind, his smithy was more of a laboratory than anything else. He practised experiments in carburetted hydrogen, and the idea flashed upon his mind that he should be the "gas-lighter" of Melbourne.

His studies were pursued with renewed zeal, his experiments multiplied, and at length he publicly intimated his ability to supply portable gas at a low price. He guaranteed that for a few pounds the requisite apparatus for gas burning could be fitted up. He flew to the newspapers with some of his samples, which, on being tested, were pronounced to have produced satisfactory results, and great illumination was predicted as the consequence. South's plan was to manufacture the gas at his forge, and supply it by the foot the same as kerosene is now sold by the gallon. After some consideration, however, people began to think that the project was too "gassy" for any practical results. It was declared that it could not be safely utilized, and at times might not be only inconvenient, but dangerous; for if persons became accustomed to portable gas, they might go about with a flask or "pocket-pistol" primed with an explosive substance. And so poor South and his portable gas were chaffed out of the public mind and soon forgotten.

There is now (1888) living near Melbourne Mr. William Overton, an old colonist, as firm and wiry in appearance as if he meant to live for another quarter of a century. Coming to Hobart Town as a sailor in 1832, he came over to Melbourne a few years after, settled down, and remained here. He is a Lincolnshire Englishman, and in 1838 opened the first confectioner's shop in a wattle-and-daub hut in Collins Street, pitched next the new Bank of Victoria. He manipulated the first buns and lollipops for the sweet-mouthed adults and juveniles of the period, and prospered accordingly.

Overton had with him a Mr. David Hill, a Scotch partner, who did not come off quite so well, for once, in going through his round of customers, tumbling out of a vehicle he broke his neck, thus acquiring the distinction of being the first Victorian martyr to the vagaries of a baker's cart.

In course of time Overton moved into larger premises in Swanston Street; next, southerly, to the now extensive auction mart of the Brothers Ham, and here it was that gas was first lit in Melbourne on the evening of the 23rd July, 1849. Whether South's long-exploded portable gas notion lingered in Overton's mind I cannot say, but the confectioner got so "gas-bitten" that he determined upon demonstrating that oil lamps and tallow candles were not in accordance with the brightening spirit of the age. Overton got South to construct a retort and gasometer for him, and the expectations of both were amply realized. Overton had two shops, viz., a baker's and confectioner's, and the whole premises were lit up in a style that gave general satisfaction to an immense crowd of persons thronging the street in front to witness the novel exhibition. The gas burned well, but Overton did better; for no run on a bank could exceed the rush for cakes and candies on the memorable occasion. The Overton success kindled a rage for the new element, and applications were made to him to illuminate other places of business, with which it was not in his power to comply. Nothing was talked of but the establishment of a Gas Company, and Overton lost no time in adopting practical means for effecting so desirable a consummation. Going at once to Mr. F. D. Wickham, a Solicitor, he instructed him to prepare a Prospectus, and with this in his pocket Overton soon gathered around him a few smart business men, who entered heartily into the project. The most prominent amongst them was Mr. John Hood, a once well-known chemist, who, having a fair share of common-place volubility, was an effective ally in demonstrating the benefits of the new undertaking.

Gas Lectures.

But there was another who acted as a powerful auxiliary in educating the public upon the advantages of gas-light, and the feasibility of successfully founding a company for the purpose. This was the Rev. John Allen, a Dissenting minister, who was as much interested in the solidification of carbonic acid gas as in Scriptural Expositions, though he was well familiarized with both, and he delivered two exceedingly interesting lectures on the subject in the Mechanics' Institute. In his second discourse, on the 19th August, 1850, he advocated the speedy introduction of gas into the city. For £3 12s. 6d. cost of candle or oil light, a gas-light of an infinitely superior quality could be obtained at £2 15s. He had carefully estimated the expense of lighting the city with gas, and the whole expenditure would not exceed £8000, viz., £2000 for a building, and £6000 for the necessary machinery, service and branch pipes to the houses. All the materials requisite were on the spot, and procurable in a short time.

He had calculated the yearly profits realizable:—320 tons of coal would be required, which, at 18s. per ton, was £288; an extra 100 tons to carbonize, at 18s., £90; manager, clerk, overseer, stoker, and two lamp-lighters (say), £430; wear and tear of machinery, £200; dividend on outlay of £8000 at 15 per cent., £1200; surplus fund, £57, making a total of £2265. This sum would be raised by £1920 worth of gas at 12s. per 1000 feet; 200 tons coke, at 30s. per ton (below its value), would bring in £300; coal tar, which would readily sell at £8 per ton (say), £30, and ammoniacal fuel, £15; total, £2265. Such an abstract of the lecturer's figures, no doubt, will elicit a smile of amused incredulity to-day. But Mr. Allen was quite serious when he spoke, and all who listened to him seriously considered what he said.

The First Gas Company.

A public meeting was held on the 28th of August, 1850, in the same building, to consider the means necessary "to form a company to supply gas to the City of Melbourne." It was convened by the Mayor (Dr. Greeves), and was well attended. Resolutions were agreed to (1) Affirming the necessity existing for the establishment of a Gas Company; and (2) Appointing a Provisional Committee to make necessary initiatory arrangements. This body consisted of Messrs. W. M. Bell, William Overton, J. B. Webster, Frederick Cooper, Nathaniel Dismore, William Williamson, William Clarke, Edmund Westby, Andrew Russell, C. H. Dight, G. Nicholson, John Hood, Robert Kerr, William Westgarth, Francis M'Donnell, A. H. Hart, Thomas M'Combie, Joseph Clowes, William Anderson, John Knight, J. T. Smith, John Hodgson, W. J. Sugden, and Rev. John Allen.

The basis upon which the company was to be conducted provoked much difference of opinion. The City Council offered the use of some land for the works upon conditions of which Overton disapproved; and he also opposed the payment of fees to the Directory until the company should supply gas to the public. Upon both of these points he could not obtain even a seconder, and finally, after procuring the entry of his written protest on the minutes, he left the room. This accounts for the absence of Mr. Overton's name as a candidate at the election of officers that eventually took place, and thus it happened that the man who first effectually struck light in the gas movement, found no place in the organization of which he was the founder.

At length the Prospectus was officially promulgated on the 18th September. The City of Melbourne Gas and Coke Company was to be erected on a capital of £20,000 in 4000 shares of £5, with liberty to increase the amount conditional upon three-fourths of the proprietary acquiescing. The management was to be vested in twelve Directors, to be chosen by the shareholders. The holding of 20 shares was the Directory qualification. No individual could hold more than 100, and dividends were not to exceed 20 per cent. The company was to be considered formed when 2,000 shares should be allotted. Within four days after the issue of the Prospectus 1558 shares were applied for.

The first meeting of shareholders was held on the 25th September, to which the Provisional Committee presented a most encouraging Report. The deed of settlement was also submitted, and adopted.

The first election came off at the Mechanics' Institute on the 9th December. Mr. John Hodgson officiated as Returning Officer, with Messrs. Michael O'Shea and Samuel Goode as Scrutineers, and the Rev. J. Allen, *pro tem.* Secretary, as Poll Clerk. It resulted thus:—

Committee (12).—Elected: Messrs. John Hood, A. Russell, W. M. Bell, A. F. A. Greeves, H. Moor, M.L.C., J. M. Smith, W. Williamson, D. S. Campbell, N. Guthridge, M. Lynch, Robert Smith, Abel Thorpe. Rejected: Messrs. James Barwick, F. M'Donnell, J. R. Pascoe, R. Robinson, E. Barker, Geo. Milne, J. Pittman, Luke Chambers.

Trustees (3).—Elected: William Westgarth, M.L.C., William Stawell, John Hodgson. Rejected: D. Benjamin.

Auditors (2).—Archibald M'Lachlan and George Annand.

Secretary.—Elected: John Allen. Rejected: C. O. Le Souef, W. S. Gibbons, H. Patterson.

Solicitor.—Elected: W. U. Tripp. Rejected: E. Sandwell.

Bankers.—Elected: Bank of Australasia. Rejected: Union Bank.

There was some difficulty in obtaining a suitable site to commence operations. At length a portion of land was purchased between Collins and Little Flinders Streets West, in a marshy flat, where the first gas works were erected, and whence the first gas was supplied to a portion of the town. Finally there was a movement to the Yarra Bank, where the present establishment flourishes. In the course of the next year premiums were advertised for plans for gas buildings, Mr. Charles Laing obtaining the first (£25), and Mr. Charles Mayes the second (£10). A gratuity was voted to Mr. F. A. Allen for a gaswork model, a gift from him to the company. An Act of Incorporation was sought from the first Legislative Council of Victoria, but in the first instance unsuccessfully, for, though "The Melbourne Gas and Coke Bill" passed through all its other stages, its third reading was negatived on 5th January, 1852. It had better luck the next Session, when it became law.

The Rev. John Allen remained Secretary for some time, until the increasing business of the concern led to his retirement. In their Fourth Annual Report to the shareholders for July, 1854, the then Directors stated:—"Before concluding their Report your Directors cannot refrain from alluding to the services rendered to the company by their present Secretary, Mr. John Allen. They remember that from the first commencement of the company up to the present time, save for a short period at the time of the gold discovery, he has been connected with it, and devoted the whole of his valuable time to the promotion of its interests at a salary barely sufficient to pay house rent. Recently an addition has been made, but they hope that when the company's works are available and producing, his labour will not be forgotten."

WATER.

The Melbourne water question exhumes some very queer remembrances. Originally the city was solely dependent upon the Yarra water, which was frequently unfit for man or beast. In hot weather it was likened to a compounded dose of lukewarm water and Glauber salts; and though it was physic one would hardly throw to the dogs, the people of Melbourne had to swallow it, though often rectified with large dashes of execrable rum or brandy. Perhaps this rendered it more palatable; but, diluted or undiluted, the Yarra draught was a bitter one to imbibe. No doubt the river was, in one sense, pure enough, for it was free of the hundred abominations it now receives from those *emporia* of native industries, Richmond and Collingwood. Originally the beverage was only procurable at such hours of the morning and evening when the tide had receded—periods anxiously watched by a new order of tide-waiters. Yarra water was first obtained only by bucketting, but the impossibility of supplying the increasing requirements in this way led to the establishment of pumps by private enterprise, and the institution of a water-carrying trade. The "Falls" opposite Queen Street were soon utilized, and one of the first works executed *pro bono publico* was the raising of the natural rocky obstruction to such a height that whilst it did not impede the downflow of the river, it prevented to a great extent much of the saline admixture forced up by the tide, for even salt water does not run up-hill. But the damming was never properly done. It was patched and peddled in such an imperfect manner that, though it improved the water supply to a considerable extent, it never cleansed it of that brackishness which rendered it so distasteful and injurious to health. At intervals along the north side of the river's bank, from the "Falls" to below the site of Prince's Bridge, ran a line of rudely-constructed pumps, from which the water was discharged into barrels mounted on carts, and delivered to householders at so much a barrel, ranging (according to the times) at from 2s. to 10s.; 3s. a load was the average rate. In the case of a building contractor requiring any considerable quantity, he would be supplied at 1s. or 1s. 6d. per barrel. In each dwelling-yard there was placed, close to the gate, a receiving barrel, into which, by means of a hose and a square opening cut in the fence, the waterman used to empty the liquid element. One load of water per week sufficed for the majority of families, and, presuming a load to be delivered on Monday, its residue was the reverse of pleasant drinking on the Friday or Saturday following, by which time many of the household barrels contained an unsavoury sediment of mosquitos, centipedes, spiders and cockroaches, dead, alive, and dying.

In December, 1839, a Mr. A. Langhorne struck a spring well at Williamstown—an event which it was declared would ensure the rapid rise and prosperity of that township. Others turned up at Brighton

and Richmond, and were hailed with as much rejoicing as would greet a new goldfield in after years. But the early spring heads about Melbourne appear not to have been thoroughly established, for the wells were easily set out of order, and three of them (at Flemington, the Merri Creek, and Brighton) took a fancy to disappear altogether. Even in 1848 a Melbourne newspaper thus bemoans a fresh-water mishap which occurred at Richmond on the 29th February, Leap Year day :—

"Scarcity of water.—The inhabitants of Richmond are put to their trumps in consequence of the most extraordinary scarcity of water, for it is anticipated that shortly there will not be a single drop in the township, nor within such reasonable distance that the inhabitants can obtain a supply. The last unfortunate circumstance which happened was that of a bullock dray getting too near the brick work of the only well in which drinkable water was to be found, and sending the whole of the superstructure to the bottom of it, by which the spring became choked up, and, what is astonishing, although the rubbish has been cleared, and every effort used to obtain water from the same spot, yet from this accident the spring has been diverted in another channel, and thus the people are deprived of their last resource of obtaining water in the neighbourhood."

A Water Company

Was started at a public meeting held at the *Lamb Inn*, Melbourne, 25th May, 1840, for taking into consideration the means of affording to the town a better supply of water. The Rev. James Clow presided, and the following resolutions were agreed to :—

1. Moved by Mr. A. M'Crae, seconded by Mr. W. Meek: "That for the purposes of affording a better and cheaper supply of water to this town, a Joint Stock Company be formed, intituled 'The Melbourne Water Works Company,' the capital whereof shall consist of £20,000, to be raised in 2000 shares of £10 each."

2. Moved by Mr. J. B. Were, seconded by Mr. Robert Russell : "That the affairs of the Company be managed by a Board consisting of a Chairman and twelve Directors, chosen annually by the shareholders from among such persons as may hold ten shares; and that at all meetings of shareholders persons shall possess one vote for every share held, and that no person be allowed at any time to hold more than 100 shares."

3. Moved by Mr. J. Hagen, seconded by Mr. J. Hodgson: "That, in order to carry the proposed plan into operation, it is necessary to appoint a Provisional Committee of Management for the purposes of taking the opinion of professional men as to the site for the works and the best manner of executing the same; of advertising for plans, and appointing such engineer as shall in their opinion offer the best; of opening a share-list, and receiving the deposit that may be agreed upon ; and further to apply for an Act of Council giving the Company all necessary powers."

A Provisional Committee was nominated to give effect to the wishes of the meeting, but, like other butterfly notions of the time, after the initiatory flutter no more was heard of it.

The First Water Supply Scheme.

The relations subsisting between the water-carters and the consumers were never of the most amicable character, because the one side had a certain kind of monopoly, and were not very numerous in consequence of the capital required to start a horse, cart, barrel, and hose, and could, therefore, be often safely impudent and extortionate. The squabbling in the rights-of-way between the housewives and the carriers was incessant, and the public discontent, as the population increased, became universal. As to the large water consumers, though they employed their own carts, they had to buy from the pump-owners. It was, therefore, expected that, on the incorporation of Melbourne, the Town Council would take up the water question ; but that embodiment of paltry factionism had too much to do in small intrigues about jobs and elections. At length, in June, 1847, the water question was referred for the special consideration of the Town Surveyor, who prepared a scheme which was approved by the Public Works Committee, and presented to the Council. This scheme suggested the construction of an aqueduct at the terminus of



XMAS
1841.

How we got our water.

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Elizabeth Street near the river, and connected with it was to be a large filter composed as to three of its sides of wood, with the fourth (the next to the river) of iron. This receptacle was to be filled with gravel, and through this the water would filtrate into a capacious tank, which would communicate with six pumps under Corporation control, and thus would be supplied sufficient fresh water for the then requirements. This clumsy scheme was considered crude and unreliable, and sank into oblivion.

In 1849 there arrived in Melbourne a man whose name was, in after time, to be inseparably connected with the water supply of the City. He was Mr. James Blackburn, a civil engineer, possessed of considerable knowledge of hydraulics. Perceiving how Melbourne was fixed about its water, he associated with himself Mr. Frederick Cooper, a well-known druggist, and they resolved themselves into a private water partnership. The nature of their project will be best understood by the perusal of an extract from a Melbourne newspaper of the 28th July:—

"Water.—A gentleman named Blackburn, an engineer, lately arrived from Van Diemen's Land, is forming an establishment which will be of considerable advantage to the City, so far as a supply of pure water is concerned. Mr. Blackburn, having procured certain premises at the junction of Elizabeth Street with Flinders Street, and obtained the sanction of the Town Council to bring the water from the Yarra to the locality alluded to, has sunk a well in which the water is received; a two horse-power steam engine pumps the water into extensive reservoirs overhead, from which hoses are connected, and by which the water carts (seven at a time) will be supplied at the low figure of one penny per load. Independent of the wear and tear of the drays and horses in crossing Flinders Street, the drivers will be saved the labour of pumping, and in case of fire there will be no delay in procuring a supply of water. The best feature in the new arrangement is that all the water delivered at Mr. Blackburn's establishment passes through a large tank filled with charcoal and sand, and through which it is filtered from all impurities."

This water firm displayed such promptitude in perfecting their arrangements as to be able to commence the business of filtered water sellers on the 5th September, when they disposed of 100 loads on the first day. In obtaining the privilege of sinking pipes from the river they stipulated not to charge more than one penny per load for their purified fluid, but they coolly clapped on fifty per cent.—a three half-penny rate—which was denounced by the water-carters and others interested in the old system, and the intervention of the City Council was sought to prevent such an imposition. Blackburn, in his defence, admitted the increase, pleading in extenuation that he had been forced into it by his partner; but in less than a month the objectionable half-penny was knocked off, and only the penny per load charged. Blackburn, having accepted the post of City Surveyor, withdrew from the firm, which still held on, and so far increased its business that in December the average sales were 700 loads per diem; but the undertaking did not bring a fortune, a large proportion of the community persisting in patronising the worse, in preference to the better, article. In this very unsatisfactory manner was the water supply muddled until after the separation of the Province from New South Wales, when the Government could no longer shirk so vital a question, and the first extensive improvement in the water line was the erection of proper pumping machinery on the river at the extreme end of Spring Street, and corresponding works in that huge-looking square reservoir opposite Apsley Place. Some process of filtration was introduced, and the water distributed by the carriers until our present permanent water power was brought into play.

It is a fact worth mentioning that the steam engine of this establishment was worked by a Scotchman named W. H. Stevenson. He had been for more than a quarter of a century an *employé* in the department of the Legislative Council, and died in harness in 1882.

The Yan Yean.

In 1850 the sanitary condition of Melbourne engaged the attention of the City Council. Several nostrums had been from time to time propounded, and the newest project was that of a Mr. Rosson, C.E., to supply Melbourne with water from the Yarra above the Studley Park Falls. The Council had in its employ an officer than whom there was then no person in the Province more capable of giving practical advice in such an important emergency. He was accordingly commissioned to report generally on the

subject. Funds were voted, and a Special Committee was appointed to render him any co-operation necessary. This occurred on the 26th June, 1850, and Mr. Blackburn set to work and performed his difficult task in a masterly manner.

His Report was submitted on the 9th August, 1851, and from it first originated the idea of drawing the water supply of Melbourne from a beautiful valley embosomed in the Diamond Creek and other ranges some twenty miles from town. It was then known as Rider's Swamp, but afterwards called Yan Yean, the native name of the locality. I have long believed this designation to be a misnomer, slightly orthographical, but material in meaning. I first visited the Yan Yean in 1859, in company with Mr. William Thomas, a once well-known Assistant Protector of Aborigines, now several years dead. From him I learnt that aboriginally it meant "a young man," and that the place was once a favourite retreat for the tribes of that quarter, but he could not tell me further. I subsequently often endeavoured to trace what possible etymological reason there could be for naming such a spot "the young man," and I adopted as a hypothesis that in all probability the vale of Rider's swamp used to be selected by the Aborigines as a theatre for the frequent performance of the rite of *Tib-but*, an extraordinary sort of hair-cropping, clay-daubing, skin-dressing, and tooth-breaking operation, by which a native youth when he arrives at puberty is propelled from the boy into the "young man," or, in other words, *Yan-Yeanized*. My belief is that the proper native name of the place is *Yan Yan*, after the chief so called, one of the eight Aboriginal magnates who sold the country to Batman. Rider's swamp formed portion of Yan Yan's territory.

Blackburn's proposal found much favour with the Lieutenant-Governor (Latrobe), though, for the time, it was considered an expensive undertaking. The scheme consisted in turning the valley into a sheet of water. Surrounded on three-fourths of its area by an amphitheatre of hills, by means of an embankment it would be absolutely enclosed, and, fed by the rainfall, the drainage of an extensive watershed, and by the River Plenty, the valley could be transformed into a lake covering a surface of 1300 acres, 2½ miles in diameter at its greatest width, a maximum depth of 25½ feet, and a circumference of nine miles. The water was to be conveyed by pipes to Melbourne. With certain modifications the Blackburn scheme was adopted, and on the 18th February, 1853, the Act 16 Victoria No. 39 of the Victorian Legislature was assented to, establishing a Board of Commissioners. Mr. Blackburn was appointed Consulting Engineer, but he died soon after the commencement of the undertaking. He was succeeded by Mr. Matthew Bullock Jackson, by whom the reservoir was completed. I often felt surprised that the Yan Yean works turned out to be such a great success under Mr. Jackson, who left the colony many years ago. I believe that much of the success was justly due to Mr. C. J. Griffiths (long dead), who, though not a professional, possessed considerable ability as a civil engineer, and, unlike other amateurs, knew well how to apply it. He devoted himself heart and soul to the Yan Yean, and saw that the work was well and properly done. It would be fortunate if another Griffiths were able to give a wrinkle or two to our engineers, for, by all accounts, there is no country in the world where water-works have been so expensively spoiled as in Victoria. Of the Yan Yean the colony may well feel proud, for, though it cost an immense sum of money, it has proved to be a good speculation.

There are two laughable incidents in connection with the Yan Yean worth noting. During the progress of the work there were several ill-boding prophets in Melbourne who predicted that the whole thing would prove a thorough failure—that the reservoir was in the wrong place—that it would either dry up or burst through the embankment and drown Melbourne. Foremost amongst the croakers was an old and worthy citizen, Dr. Wilkie, successful as an obstetrician, but very so-and-so as a politician, though for several years a member of the Upper branch of the Legislature. The doctor exhausted goodness only knows how many quires of foolscap and bottles of ink in demonstrating to a mathematical certainty that the Yan Yean never could, would, or should answer the purpose for which it was designed. Mr. James Murphy, a partner in one of the principal brewery firms, who once for a short time represented Melbourne in the old Legislative Council, had also a great "down" on the Yan Yean, and the prime Parliamentary effort of his career was a notice of motion—in fact, a vote of want of confidence—in the project; but his motion was not carried, and the Yan Yean was not obliged to abdicate. These were the two chief Cassandras of the time, with this difference—that the Cassandra of old foretold truly the Fall of Troy, but was not believed; while our Melbourne Cassandras were false prophets amongst unbelievers also.

The work, which was four years in progress, was commenced on the 20th December, 1853, when Lieutenant-Governor Latrobe turned the first sod. The official ceremony of turning on the water was effected by Acting-Governor Major-General Macarthur, 31st December, 1857, and from New Year's day, 1858, the formal opening may be dated. On its completion the total cost of the Yan Yean was £664,452, and £90,606 had been expended on works of temporary supply. The embankment was 3159 feet long, 31 feet high at its highest point, 170 feet in width at the bottom, 20 feet at top, with slopes of two to one towards the land, and three to one to the water. Its supposed containing capacity was 6,500,000,000 gallons, or something more than a three years' supply for 200,000 persons at the rate of 30 gallons each per diem. This quantity of water was to be supplied from the rainfall over an area of 4600 acres, exclusive of the reservoir, the drainage of 600 acres through a water-course connecting the Plenty River and the Lake, and some 40,000 acres, comprising what was known as the Valley of the Plenty. The Plenty River was linked to the reservoir by a 440 yard tunnel through a hill, and then by an open cut from the stream. The water in the Yan Yean, at the highest level, stood 600 feet above high tide in the Yarra, and was conveyed to Melbourne by 19 miles of piping, the pressure in which was reduced by several valves. With all its shortcomings and capriciousness in the quality and quantity of the fluid it supplied, it has been both the best abused and most generally useful public servant the City of Melbourne ever had, and, as the first great public work constructed in Victoria, is a remarkable example of judiciously-directed enterprise.

CHAPTER XLII.

PORT SHIPPING.

SYNOPSIS.—Batman and Fawkner the Founders of Victorian Commerce.—Fawkner the First Ship-owner.—Harbour Nomenclature.—Fawkner's First Lighter.—The First Custom House.—Arrival of H.M.S. "Rattlesnake" with Governor Bourke.—Arrival of H.M.F. "Conway" with Bishop Broughton.—Captain Fermaner's Reminiscences.—The First Yarra Steamer.—Despatch of the First Wool and the First Mail for London.—Early Ship Signalling.—The Pioneer Steamers.—The Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company.—Visit of Captain Sir Everard Home.—Launch of the "Jane Cain."—Postscript.—An Old Colonist's Maritime Reminiscences.

BATMAN and Fawkner were the founders of our commerce, the schooners (the "Gem" of the one and the "Enterprise" of the other) being the first two crafts laid on in the port, so, as Fawkner purchased the "Enterprise," he was our first ship-owner. Batman and Fawkner were also our first traders, because from the beginning they were engaged in trade or traffic of some sort. Batman became an importer, and was for some time the principal merchant or storekeeper, whilst Fawkner was a kind of "Johnny All Sorts," and dabbled in everything. Batman's establishment was a substantial shed-like construction, erected on portion of the site of the now Western Market, where he carried on the affiliated avocations of wholesale and retail storekeeper, shipping agent, bill discounter, broker, and money-lender, in addition to some squatting speculations. His town business was attended to by one or more of his seven daughters, efficiently aided by Mr. Willoughby, his son-in-law. The other earliest merchants were Messrs. W. F. Rucker, S. Craig, J. Hodgson, J. F. Strachan, P. W. Welsh, F. Nodin, and J. M. Chisholm. What the settlement most feared in its babyhood was a dearth of flour. But the shadowy spectrum of an incoming schooner, when descried some miles off Williamstown, would cheer up the drooping spirits of the fistful of a populace to a state of jubilation, and the messenger of plenty was always accorded a heartfelt welcome.

Grimes made the first survey and prepared the first chart of the Bay; but in 1836, Captain Hobson, whilst on a trip from Sydney to Melbourne in H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," instituted a more thorough examination.

It may be as well to state here that the whole of the harbour was named Port Phillip, after Captain Arthur Phillip, the first Governor of New South Wales; and its upper portion or head Hobson's Bay, after the Captain Hobson just mentioned. Two well known localities at the Heads were designated Points Nepean and Lonsdale, the first in compliment to Sir Evan Nepean, of the Admiralty, and the other to William Lonsdale, the first Police Magistrate and Commandant of Port Phillip. The nomenclature of Queenscliff has undergone some amusing nominal alterations. It was first called Whale's Point by Captain Woodriff, Commander of the "Calcutta," the principal ship of the Collins Convict Expedition of 1803, in consequence of its formation resembling the head of a whale. It was also known as Shortland's Bluff, after Lieutenant John Shortland, a naval officer, who in 1788 accompanied "the first Fleet" to Sydney as Government Agent. Sorrento, when it formed the infant penal settlement of Collins, was officially known as Sullivan Bay and Sullivan Camp, after Mr. John Sullivan, an Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Williamstown was in the first instance named Point Gellibrand, after the Van Diemen's Land lawyer of that name, who figured conspicuously in the land-grabbing negotiations of Batman with the natives, and was the first to perish a supposed victim of Aboriginal assassination.

Williamstown, which would unquestionably have been selected as the chief township but for a want of anything approaching fresh water, was for a brief period a place of more importance than

Melbourne. The live stock imported was landed there. For some time no provision whatever was made for the safety of vessels navigating the Bay and river, and the discharge of cargo at the appointed places was accomplished under every imaginable disadvantage.

The First Lighter.

"Johnny" Fawkner—though he could in after years affect the aristocrat when it suited his vanity to do so—was prone to the snobbish indulgence of disinterring a period when he toiled in a saw-pit in Van Diemen's Land, and used to take pride in himself as a "top sawyer." Were there nothing else to be ashamed of in his pre-Port-Phillipian antecedents, no need to blush at this, but when persons seek to make too much capital from humble beginnings, the overdoing develops into the ridiculous. Fawkner was just the sort of man for a new settlement, practically a more useful member of an incipient community than Batman, for he had health, energy, pluck and perseverance; a disposition to be doing something, and a mind so fertile in resources through the vicissitudes of colonial life, that failure in one respect was succeeded by fresh efforts in another. He was the first to place a buoy in the harbour, and, when in 1836, there was a difficulty in discharging the schooners, Fawkner essayed to mitigate the inconvenience. Procuring a whale-boat he placed it on the river as a lighter to convey goods to the few storekeepers establishing themselves around the Western Market square. This vehicle he "skippered" himself, and his first crew consisted of Thomas Halfpenny and John Harrison. Halfpenny has lately told me that the river sailors would be worried almost to distraction by the myriads of mosquitoes swarming and swooping down upon them in clouds. Fawkner would grin and yell like a Bedlamite, but, nevertheless, had the comfortable assurance that the venture paid, for his lighterage scale of charges was heavy. Halfpenny declares that for a time Fawkner pocketed the incredibly enormous remuneration of £20 per ton for water carriage from the Bay to the town. Though positive as to this amount, I cannot resist the conclusion that his memory must be at fault, for such a payment appears to be preposterous. In 1852-3—the raving gold fever years—river lighterage did not rise above £7 or £8. As evidence, however, that the Fawknerian enterprise answered its helm pecuniarily, may be cited the fact that the whale-boat was soon replaced by one of ten tons burden, and commanded by Halfpenny, whose chief officer, or rather man of all work, was named Cotter, a brother of Dr. Barry Cotter, historically inscribed as Melbourne's first practising physician. Increasing trade led to improved lighterage accommodation, and Fawkner's second contrivance had to make way for its betters.

The First Custom House

Was a curiously shabby out-at-elbows affair, and the first person who appeared as a public benefactor in his solicitude to provide for the safety of the harbour was the inevitable Fawkner. In August, 1836, it is recorded "that he had beacons placed at his own expense;" and in the first number of his manuscript newspaper, issued in January, 1838, there appears the following characteristic advertisement:—

> WANTED by the commercial world at Williamstown and Melbourne about forty beacons (good tea-tree stakes would answer) to mark the channel for the outer anchorage to this town. Whoever shall perform the service shall be entitled to *public thanks*.

In 1838 the Sydney *Government Gazette* contained the important notification of a call for tenders for three wooden buoys for the Bay; and in 1839 it was announced that there was to be a floating light near the Heads, and the arrival of a pilot was anxiously expected. The predecessor of the present staid-looking lighthouse at Williamstown was a wooden structure, erected in 1840, though it could not be lighted up until a lamp was transported hither from Van Diemen's Land.

Fawkner's *Melbourne Advertiser* (9th April, 1838) complained of the wharfage neglect by the Government. At Williamstown, it declares "that persons who land must wade ashore through water

and mud, or else pay for being carried through it." It averred that the Fawknerian free beacons or buoys originally fixed in August, 1835 (1836 ?), had been twice renewed at Fawkner's expense, but the boatmen used to destroy them for their own benefit. Masters of craft coming up the river had to send a boat ahead, sounding all the way, and though vessels paid port charges, there was no Government pilot.

In 1839 Melbourne was proclaimed a free warehousing port, though Geelong and Portland were not freed until 1848. Though there were as yet no such nocturnal conveniences as old boilers or gas pipes providing gratuitous "shakes down" for belated vagabondism, the wharf loafer had already come to the front, and a regulation or bye-law was issued—a sort of Curfew law—warning off all loiterers after sundown, who were liable on apprehension to a fine. This and the other requirements of the time will be best ascertained by the publication of a waif, the first of the kind in Port Philip.

Wharf Rules and Regulations.

1.—Vessels are to remain no longer than six days alongside the wharf.

2.—The Commanders of vessels at the wharf and in the basin, are to keep a watch on board during the night, and not to allow any disorder on board.

3.—No person allowed to loiter on the wharf after sunset.

4.—No nuisance to be committed, and no rubbish or filth to be landed on the wharf.

5.—No timber, or bulky article of any description, to remain within twenty feet of the wharf's edge, nor to continue more than four days on any part thereof.

6.—No wood to be cut, or lime burnt, on the wharf.

7.—Boats are not to be permanently stationed at the wharf, and only to be there for temporary purposes.

8.—No light goods, or such as are subject to depredation, to remain on the wharf after sunset, unless under charge of some person appointed by the owner.

9.—No cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, or goats, are suffered to remain on the wharf, except for the purpose of landing or embarking.

10.—Any person violating any of the above regulations, is subject to a fine of twenty shillings.

This ukase was, with some modifications, extended to Williamstown.

On the 26th October, 1835, the "Norval," chartered by the Batman Association with 500 sheep, arrived in the Bay, and the stock was landed at Gellibrand's Point (Williamstown). In the same vessel arrived 50 pure Hereford cows, consigned to Dr. Alexander Thomson, the afterwards well-known Geelong identity.

In April, 1836, the "Francis Freeling" arrived from Hobart Town with 800 sheep, purchased by Mr. Joseph Sutherland for two guineas each, and they were disembarked on the coast, some half-way between Point Henry and Indented Head. Half of them died through drinking salt water, and the rest were rushed and carried away by the blacks, though a large proportion were subsequently recovered through the exertions of Mr. Sutherland, Mr. F. Taylor, and others of the party.

The "Prince George," revenue-cutter, and H.M.S. "Rattlesnake," arrived with Government officers from Sydney in 1836. Mounts Martha and Eliza were so named by a "Rattlesnake" lieutenant, after Mrs. Batman and Mrs. (Captain) Lonsdale.

The barque "Stirlingshire" arrived from Sydney on the 6th October with a curious combination of Customs and Survey officers, a head constable, a detachment of soldiers, and a gang of labour convicts. Mr. Robert Russell (1888) remains the sole surviving member of this remarkable expedition.

In January, 1837, the "Indemnity" and "Henry," with sheep, arrived from Launceston. The quadrupeds were landed at a place named Point Henry after one of the vessels. On the 3rd March, 1837, H.M.S. "Rattlesnake" made its appearance with Governor Sir Richard Bourke and his suite from Sydney.

On the 14th September, 1837, the "James Watt," the first steamer, arrived from Sydney, bringing as passengers Captain Fyans (the first Police Magistrate at Geelong), Dr. Cussen (the first Colonial Surgeon), and Mr. John Hodgson (well-known in after years in several public capacities).

An advertisement in the first number of Fawkner's manuscript newspaper *(Melbourne Advertiser)*, 1st January, 1838, announced the projected departure in the following month of the fine fast-sailing ship, "Hartley," 400 tons, for London; but this intention was not carried out.

The same publication (15th January) records that on the 21st December, 1837, during a heavy gale, the "Thistle," from Launceston, parted both her chains at Port Fairy, but that "the presence of mind so inherent in our brave seamen was possessed by Captain Mills," who succeeded in getting sail on the vessel, and ran his ship so high on the beach as to save everything on board.

The "Eudora," from Van Diemen's land, arrived 10th November, bringing as visitors two worthy Quaker missionaries, viz., George Washington Walker and James Backhouse, who, during a short stay, exerted themselves laudably to render the few residents God-fearing and temperate, but they did not succeed quite so much as they deserved.

In April, 1838, H.M.F. "Conway" (Captain Bedon) arrived from Sydney, with Bishop Broughton as a passenger. The frigate remained some days in the Bay, and was visited by most of the townspeople, who were much pleased with the courtesy shown them. It is reported that the ladies were especially smitten "by the very kind and flattering behaviour of the officers." On the 18th the captain entertained the two or three Government officers of position in town at dinner, and next day started off with the Bishop for Hobart Town.

I was recently interviewed by an "old salt," who supplied me with a variety of curious information, from which I select the following for present publication:—His name is David Fermaner, a native of Lewisham, in Kent, was bred to a seafaring life, and on 17th March, 1833, he arrived in Sydney, as one of the crew of the ship "Lady Nugent," with convicts. In June he passed on to Launceston, and whilst in Van Diemen's Land, knew Batman, Fawkner, and other ancient historical personages. In 1834, being employed on a whaling cruise, the vessel in which he served put into Portland, and he was there in November when the Henty party landed. During the subsequent years he was engaged in the Intercolonial trade, with an occasional turn at whaling, and on 24th December, 1837, whilst on board the "Thistle," schooner (the vessel in which the senior Henty voyaged from Swan River), she was wrecked in a gale at Port Fairy. The skipper (J. B. Mills), not being much of a sailor, Fermaner, who was mate, did the best he could, but the craft had to be abandoned, whilst the captain, mate, and two seamen named Ferris and Jennings, struck out in a whaleboat for Hobson's Bay, where they arrived in safety. Fermaner was the first licensed waterman at Williamstown, and in 1842 was appointed by Governor Gipps, pilot at Port Albert. As such, and as Acting Harbour-Master, he continued in the Public Service until 1876, when he was superannuated on the plea of old age, though now (1888) over 70 years of age, he is smart, wiry, active, and apparently as capable of work as if twenty years younger. He assures me that the "James Watt," referred to in the shipping chapter, a good sized paddle-boat, was the first steamer that traded between Melbourne and Launceston so early as 1838. Previously engaged between the Clyde and London, the vessel was despatched to Australia to ply between Sydney, Launceston, and Melbourne, but there was not sufficient business, and after making two or three trips to Melbourne, the "Watt" was sent on to China. Captain Fermaner also relates the following circumstances:—A whaling captain named S—— (name forgotten), whose brother now resides in the neighbourhood of Mount Macedon, wishing to transfer his family with some bullock-drays and stores from Sydney to Melbourne, chartered the schooner "Sarah" (then at Williamstown), for the purpose. When sailing for her destination the "Sarah's" long-boat was forgotten at Williamstown, and the craft herself went her way and was never after heard of. A brig, named the "Britannia," was soon after driven ashore near Frankston, but being got afloat, was brought up the Yarra and refitted for service. As she had no long-boat, the one belonging to the "Sarah" was procured and placed on board. The "Britannia," with a cargo of wool, was despatched to Sydney, but instead of going there she came to grief on the way and disappeared. The long-boat was picked up at sea by a revenue-cutter sent from Sydney in search of the "Sarah" and "Britannia," neither of which vessels was ever after seen or heard of. The "Sarah" and the "Britannia" were two of the five vessels mentioned in Chapter 43 as having been wrecked in or near Bass's Straits in 1839–40, and in one or other of which was the white woman, afterwards detained by the Gippsland

Aborigines. Captain Fermaner is now at Williamstown, in charge of the yacht "Taniwha," belonging to Mr. P. Turnbull, the only survivor of a once well-known old mercantile firm in Melbourne.

The First Yarra Steamer

Was not inaptly named the "Firefly," William Pearson, Commander; and on the 28th October, 1838, she commenced to ply as a regular daily trader between the ports of Melbourne and Williamstown. She condescended to carry passengers for 2s. 6d. per head each way; goods 8s. per ton; and towing vessels for £5 per job. This apology for a steamboat was a half-rotten, incommodious old tub, more disposed to buzz than to fly, and with more smoke than fire in its composition. She lumbered away for a time, not much to the advantage of either her proprietary or the public; yet she continued in possession of the river until January, 1840, when her flying was put an end to, her fires put out, and her engine put to more profitable use by being transferred to a sawmill at Brighton.

In November, 1838, a Captain Tobin started business as a private pilot, and his first engagement was to bring the Launceston schooner "Industry," from Launceston, to the Melbourne wharf. The craft drew eight and a-half feet of water, and Tobin got through his work very creditably on the 20th.

On the 3rd January, 1839, there arrived the barque "Hope," from Sydney, with 130 immigrants (including 30 women and 50 children), a detachment of military, and four recently appointed assistant protectors of Aborigines. The four officials imported between them families amounting to twenty-two children, an acquisition in peopling an infant colony.

The first wool ship for England was the "Thomas Laurie," for London, on the 15th January, 1839, with 400 bales, and other cargo valued at £6,500. This vessel carried home the first direct English mail.

In May, 1839, the "Industry" arrived from Launceston with a cargo of flour, just in time to avert a famine, as the stock of flour was almost out, and the price was £59 per ton.

The "Louisa Campbell," barque, Buckley, for London, cleared outwards on the 30th May, with 740 bales wool and 25 tons bark. On the evening previous Captain Buckley was entertained at a public dinner in the *British Hotel*, William Street, at which Messrs. H. N. Carrington, W. Meek, J. Hodgson, P. W. Welsh, C. Williams, and others attended.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the two first vessels sailing direct from British ports arrived in Hobson's Bay on the same day (17th June, 1839), and both grounded coming up from the Heads. They were the barques "Midlothian," from Leith, and the "William Bryan," 500 tons, from London. These mishaps occurred through want of pilots. The Scotchman was in first.

On November 11th the "Strathisla" arrived from Adelaide with 50 Timor ponies.

November witnessed two arrivals which, from the future of some of the colonists who came in each, are deserving of special mention, viz.: On the 12th the "Parkfield," barque, from Sydney. Passengers: Mr. and Mrs. F. Manton, and 3 children, Mr. and Mrs. James Montgomery, and 4 children, Mr. and Mrs. R. Ocock, and 4 children, Messrs. R. Deane, Parbury, S. A. Donaldson, Jas. Cooke, R. Barry, Brewer, Rose, R. Brown, A. Hogue, W. F. Mollison, Murray, Mason, J. Brown, Chisholm, Webster, Marshall, Sewell, Simpson, N. Black, with 26 in the steerage. 15th.—From Plymouth, having sailed 24th July, the ship "William Metcalfe" (Phillipson) with emigrants. Cabin passengers: The Rev. J. Y. Wilson, wife and two children, Miss Barber, Messrs. John and George Coldham, J. B. Were, wife and two children, D. Jennings and wife, G. Playne, T. W., P., and H. Cobb (3), F. Forbes, G. Thomas, A. Suchet, A. and G. Arden, T. Dunsford, A. O'Mullane, M.D., Surgeon-Superintendent. Intermediate: Mrs. C. Liardet and five children, Mr. J. Orr, five sons and one daughter, Messrs. H. and J. Scott, R. Wyld, John Matthews, Jane Cross and Rhoda Newell (Messrs. Were and Jennings' servants). Steerage: 157 adults and 28 children, equal to 168 adults.

If the cabin, intermediate, and steerage passengers in these two ships were put together and shaken up, there would be found amongst them, as the sequel proved, as strange an agglomeration, good and bad, as could well be imagined. Some of them acquired high name and fame, and their

lives form part of the history of this new country; others of them ran to seed as swindlers and bolters, whilst two of them attained the grey hair stage in the seclusion of Pentridge.

Trade was rapidly increasing, and in the early part of 1840 twenty vessels used to be seen at one time in the harbour; but much inconvenience was felt through the want of an accredited pilot, and ship signalling stations at Melbourne and Williamstown.

On 6th January the brig "Caroline," 200 tons, from Sydney, made her way to the Melbourne wharf, and as she was the largest vessel that had up to that time ventured so far, she fired a salute to commemorate an event so notable.

On the 26th June, 1840, a notification was issued from the Harbour-Master's office, signifying that "after the 1st August, 1840, a plain stationary light would be shown from sunset to sunrise from a lighthouse erected on the extremity of Gellibrand's Point, Williamstown, Hobson's Bay, visible five leagues in clear weather from any safe position to the southward."

The Flagstaff.

One of the eminences which enabled a not unerring peerer into futurity to predict that the Melbourne of no distant date would be a seven-hilled city, is the area now known as the Flagstaff Gardens at West Melbourne. Originally it was known as Burial Hill, from the establishment there of a small cemetery wherein half-a-dozen individuals were provided with a last earthly resting-place. It was a bleak, shelterless hillock, *away in the country*, and absolutely treeless. It was for a time difficult to decide as to the best position for a signal-station. Batman's Hill was suggested, but it was too low, and the timber-growth between it and the beach was then such as to impede the view to Williamstown, where a responding signal-station was to be founded. The site of the now New Law Courts was also mentioned, but the elevation was thought to be insufficient, and so finally the north-western Hill was selected. In September, 1840, was commenced what was regarded as an important public work. The staff was raised and rigged in form like the mainmast of a ship, and on the 13th it appeared in full dress, with the ensigns of various nations flaunting in the breeze from truck and yardarms, and ribbons in profusion coiling round and fluttering from the upper cordage. It was a fine Sunday, so the whole town turned out to look at and admire all the finery, dancing in wild confusion between earth and sky. Ere the end of the month it was officially intimated "that from and after the 11th October, the time would be indicated by the hoisting of a black ball, and dropping it at noon." But the elaborate, semaphoric, and chronometrical arrangements contemplated, were speedily disarranged by an amusing miscalculation of the required staff altitude; and when the signalling test was submitted to practical application, the spars were found to be too low for the Bay signalling. Matters, therefore, had to remain in abeyance until loftier timbers were obtained. The unshipped materials were transhipped to Williamstown, where they were raised, and did the flag-flying work tolerably well for a while. The code of signals by which the Melbourne establishment was worked, is now to be found only in some three or four old Directories in the colony. They were ten in number, and though difficult enough to be remembered, the old inhabitants were, as a rule, well versed in such nautical lore, as everyone then felt a keen interest in shipping arrivals, especially those from British and European ports, for by such means only was intelligence from the fondly cherished Home-country to be obtained. A ship in sight was proclaimed to the townspeople by a chequered flag raised to the masthead. When the class of vessel was ascertained the flag was struck and a ball hoisted on the yard, and its position east or west told the rig of the approaching visitor. For a Queen's ship the Union Jack was flown in addition to the ball over the indicating flag; and for an emigrant vessel (most prized arrival of all) there was a chequered flag added to the indicating one.

When a vessel anchored during the night, or arrived too late to be signalled in the evening, the ball was lowered; the flag remained on the yard two hours afterwards; and the flags were hoisted as soon as the particulars could be ascertained in the morning, and remained in suspension for two hours.

The indicating ensigns were thus distinguished :—

FLAGS.

1. Red—England.
2. Red and White divided horizontally—London.
3. White and red ditto—Liverpool.
4. Red and blue ditto—Scotland East.
5. Blue and red ditto—Scotland West.
6. Blue—Ireland.
7. White—Europe (Continent).
8. White and Blue, divided horizontally—America, North.
9. Blue and white ditto — America, South.
10. White and blue, divided vertically—Africa.
11. White and red—Asia.

PENDANTS.

1. Red and yellow—Sydney.
2. White and yellow—Hobart Town.
3. White, red, and yellow—Launceston.
4. Yellow, blue, and white—South Australia.
5. Blue, yellow, and red — New Zealand.
6. Blue—Swan River, King George's Sound, or any port of Australia.
7. Blue and yellow—Port of Australia Felix, West.
8. Red and yellow chequered—ditto East.
9. Blue, yellow, and black—Whaling, or South Sea Islands.

Many a cherished recollection of times past is associated in the minds of the few surviving old colonists of 1888, with this Flagstaff Hill, as it was the pleasantest outside place in Melbourne for a Sunday or week-day evening stroll. The reported incoming of an English ship would draw crowds there, and they stared with anxious, wistful gaze as the ship beat up the harbour, yearning for the home letters, of which she might be the bearer, of good or evil news, the harbinger. In the June of 1847, quite an unprecedented occurrence took place, for on one day no less than five English vessels arrived. People could scarcely believe it possible, and the next day the newspapers crowed themselves hoarse, and in grandiloquent notes of interrogation, vauntingly demanded if ever such a thing had been known in the Australian colonies, and prognosticating almost incredible consequences for Port Phillip in future. In five or six years after (1852-53), through a totally uncounted agency, Port Phillip waters were rushed by the mercantile marine of the civilized globe, and Hobson's Bay was frequently anchoring ground for hundreds of vessels of every country and flag.

THE PIONEER STEAMERS.

The beginning of December, 1840, witnessed an arrival, the most remarkable of the *notabilia* of our early shipping annals, for on the 5th, the steamer "Clonmel," 250 horse power, and 500 tons, made her appearance in Hobson's Bay. She was sent from England for the Sydney, Melbourne and Launceston trade, and her coming was hailed as a significant indication of the importance which the Australian colonies were assuming in the commercial mind of the Mother-country. The most exalted notions were entertained as to what the "Clonmel" would do for Port Phillip—notions doomed to be shattered in the wreck of the steamer, which occurred on her second trip from Sydney. She left Sydney on the 1st, and made the passage here in seventy-two hours. The day after her arrival (Sunday the 6th) was scorchingly hot, and crowds from Melbourne had a broiling tramp of it through the burning sands to Sandridge to view the interesting stranger. The "Clonmel" left for Launceston on the 7th, returning on the 14th, and steamed back to Sydney on the 16th, but she did not enter Port Phillip waters again. The fares by her to Sydney were thus notified :—Ladies, £12 12s.; gentlemen, £12 12s.; on deck, £6.

On the 9th January, 1841, the "Augustus" barque, 160 tons register, arrived, being the first three-master berthed there. The second river steamer was the "Governor Arthur," a small craft, which was laid on between Melbourne and Williamstown, making two trips each day (except Sunday).

Fares:—cabin, 3s. 6d.; forecastle, 2s.; and freight, 10s. per ton. In May, a Mr. F. Pitman, one of the mercantile fraternity evinced sufficient public spirit, to have a small stage or platform formed at the wharf or mud bank, to enable vessels to discharge—a privilege conceded only upon payment of £1 10s. each. The same month great fears were entertained for the safety of the "Augustus" (before mentioned), which had sailed from Sydney. She turned up all right, after being thirty-four days out. Provisions and water had run to so low a level with her that on her arrival the last bag of biscuits was nearly eaten, and for three days the only beverage procurable was bottled ale.

A second steamer arrived from London, which shared a better fate than the "Clonmel." This was the "Corsair," 450 tons, *viâ* Adelaide, on 28th May, in charge of Captain Fox, an ex-East India Company Officer. She was placed on the Melbourne and Launceston route, with very beneficial results to all parties interested. The "Sea Horse," 500 tons, Captain Ewing, soon followed, as a regular trader between Melbourne and Sydney. The first steamer between Melbourne and Geelong was the "Aphrasia," leaving one day and returning on the morrow. The fares were £1 cabin and 12s. steerage, with a scale of freights, sliding from £1 10s. for a horse to 5s. for a dozen of poultry. She left on her first trip amidst the plaudits of hundreds of spectators, and made the passage in five hours, allowing for some delay in taking in firewood in lieu of coal. The inhabitants of Geelong were so beside themselves on her appearance in the (then) beautiful bay of Corio, that they honoured the event with a *feu de joie* of musketry.

Attempts were gradually made to erect small premises for boat repairing, and by degrees, three of these not considerable establishments acquired the nominal distinction of being known as docks. One was owned by a Mr. Charles Chessel, another by a Mr. Kell, and a third by a Mr. Kruse. The scanty requirements of the port were efficiently ministered to, and so early as 1842 we hear of a spruce little steamer, the "Vesta," being fitted up at the south bank of the river, and launched there in the presence of several hundred spectators. She was imported by Mr. Frederick Manton, an early merchant and mill proprietor in Flinders Street.

The Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company.

Directors for Melbourne—J. D. Lyon Campbell, P. W. Welsh, Arthur Kemmis, Hugh Jamieson, G. W. Cole, W. Langhorne, C. Howard, J. Graham, and J. Cropper, Esqs.

Directors for Geelong—G. D. Mercer, A. Thomson, D. Fisher, and N. A. Fenwick, Esqs.

Directors for Sydney—W. S. Deloisse, and E. Manning, Esqs.

Secretary and Treasurer—Arthur Kemmis, Esq.

Agents—Messrs. Arthur Kemmis and Co.

This Company was established in January, 1840, with a capital of £20,000. The first steamer, the "Aphrasia," was built at Williams River, New South Wales, and arrived in Melbourne in the early part of 1841. Other vessels were chartered, and during the few years the Company existed, it contributed much towards accommodating and increasing the business of the port.

At end of 1841, the following steamers were in the Melbourne trade:—

The "Sea Horse" (Captain Tallan), twice each month between Melbourne and Sydney.

The "Corsair" (Captain Bell), chartered by the Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company, twice a month between Melbourne and Launceston, suiting as far as practicable her days of departure to the arrival of the "Sea Horse."

The "Aphrasia" (Captain Lawler), the property of the Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company, twice a week between Melbourne and Geelong, leaving the former at 10 a.m. every Wednesday and Saturday, and starting on return same hour on Thursdays and Mondays.

On the intermediate days, the "Aphrasia" plied between Melbourne and Hobson's Bay, chiefly in bringing the cargoes of vessels to Melbourne.

The "Governor Arthur," twice a day on week days only, between Melbourne and Williamstown.

On the 1st May, 1842, the "Vesta," belonging to F. Manton and Co. was put on between Melbourne and Williamstown—on week-days three trips *per diem*, and a trip to Geelong every Sunday.

The following notice from *Stephen's Immigrants' Almanack* for 1842, in reference to the early Port Philip steam communication, is well worth reprinting, and cannot fail to be perused with interest at the present period of quick and frequent passages and low fares:—

STEAM VESSELS.—Steam communication between Sydney, Port Phillip, and Launceston. In order to afford every facility to passengers between the above Ports, the following arrangements will be as nearly as possible observed:—

The "Sea Horse" will leave Sydney, 8th, Melbourne, 15th, Sydney, 24th, Melbourne, 31st, of each month.

To agree with the above, the "Corsair" will leave Melbourne, 15th, Launceston, 22nd, Melbourne, 31st, Launceston, 7th, of each month.

FARES:—"Corsair"—Cabin passage, exclusive of wines, spirits, &c., £6; Steerage passage, exclusive of wines, spirits, &c., £3. "Sea Horse"—Cabin passage, exclusive of wines, spirits, &c., £12 17s. Steerage passage, exclusive of provisions, £5.

The "Aphrasia" starts for Geelong every Wednesday and Saturday, at 9 a.m. Leaves Geelong every Monday and Thursday, at 9 a.m. FARES.—Cabin, exclusive of refreshments, £1; Steerage, exclusive of refreshments, 10s.

"The Governor Arthur" quits the Queen's Wharf daily at 9 a.m. and 3 p.m., and Williamstown at 12 noon and 5 p.m. FARES.—Abaft the funnel, 3s. 6d.; Before the funnel, 2s. 6d.

A pleasurable incident happened on 11th June, 1842, when Mr. Benjamin Boyd, an eminent Sydney merchant, arrived from England in his pleasure yacht, the "Wanderer," 180 tons. She anchored off Sandridge, and many went from town to see her. The owner came ashore, and was made much of, and feasted and fêted by the then Melbourne Club. Boyd's Australian career was brief and brilliant. Of large means and no small enterprise, his intentions in various ways were broad and venturesome, and amongst his projects was the settlement of the territory known as Twofold Bay, where a few ruins, the remains of what was once known as Boyd Town, perpetuate his otherwise forgotten name. In 1850, Mr. Boyd and his "Wanderer" wandered away to California, then giving incipient symptoms of its famed golden eruption, but the master never returned. On the voyage back, the vessel touched at the Solomon Islands, and Boyd's evil destiny prompted him to go ashore on a shooting excursion, attended by a black boy, but nothing after was heard of either of them. They were supposed to have been murdered by the natives, and after futilely waiting for a considerable time and receiving no tidings from the island, the "Wanderer" put to sea and sailed to Sydney. Subsequently, a human scull, declared to be Boyd's, was obtained by a ship-master calling at the island; it was taken to Sydney, where on examination it was conclusively ascertained to be the head-piece of an Aborigine.

WHARF IMPROVEMENTS.

The disgracefully neglected, or rather untouched north bank of the Yarra, was one of the earliest grievances, and so far back as the 11th May, 1839, a public meeting was held, at which a deputation consisting of Messrs. P. W. Welsh, S. J. Brown, and John Hodgson, was delegated to represent to the Police Magistrate (Captain Lonsdale) the absolute necessity for doing something towards rendering the wharf even partially available for landing cargo; and though he promised to do all in his power (which was but little), nothing came from the remonstrance, until the authorities began to feel so much ashamed that a commencement was made in the way of some slight improvement, and in September a few piles were driven as a small beginning. Some trifling change for the better was very reluctantly and tediously effected; but, in 1842, private enterprise endeavoured to remedy, in a small degree, Executive neglect, by Captain Cole and Mr. James Dobson starting the construction of private wharves on purchased land off south-west Flinders Street.

A somewhat rare cargo of live stock arrived in the Bay in October, per the "Georgiana," barque, from Rotty and Timor. She started with a freight of 112 ponies, but no less than 78 were lost during the passage.

3rd December, 1842 (the Saturday after the first Town Council elections), is noteworthy in consequence of its being the first occasion of a steamer pleasure trip down the Bay. The "Corsair" was put on for that purpose, and, as a Municipal commemoration it was well patronised. The fares were—Saloon, 15s., and 12s. 6d. for families; second cabin, 10s. 6d. and 7s. 6d. A *déjeuner a la fourchette* was included.

On the 23rd June, 1843, H.M.S. "North Star," 26 guns, Captain Sir Everard Home, arrived from China, and the Commander and Officers were welcomed by a grand ball, got up specially in their honour by a private assembly then in being. The festivities came off at the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, Collins Street, and passed off in an exceedingly gratifying manner.

Towards the end of 1846, the machinery of the old "Governor Arthur" steamer superannuated, was taken out and worked in a new steamer belonging to Captain G. W. Cole; it was called the "Diamond," and plied for years between Melbourne and Williamstown.

On 27th January, 1848, the "Jane Cain" (the property of Captain James Cain, a well-known merchant) was launched from the South bank of the Yarra basin in the presence of some 5,000 persons. For the occasion a sumptuous lunch was provided on board for over a hundred visitors.

In January, 1849, a jetty was commenced at Sandridge; and in a year was completed. It was 400 feet long by 15 feet wide. Its cost was about £1,000, and at high water the small steamers lay at the end in about 8 feet of water.

On the 7th November the "John Thomas Foord," 790 tons, from Plymouth with immigrants, anchored in the Bay. During the voyage there were several deaths from cholera, and she was ordered into quarantine.

In December the keel of a steam dredge, to cost £1,150, was laid down at Chessel's, intended to be employed in deepening the Yarra.

At the commencement of 1850 there was being manipulated behind the gaol the granite stones for a lighthouse tower, under a contractor named Morgan. It was to be of circular form, 13 feet in diameter, and about 10 feet in height. Several years previously, a jetty had been commenced at Williamstown and the piling was only now finished. It was 220 feet in length, and there was a 6 feet of water depth at low tide for 50 feet.

In 1850, the "Victory," from Glasgow, was stranded off Point Lonsdale. The parties could not agree as to the amount of salvage to be paid, and, under an English Statute then in force, a Board composed of Messrs. R. W. Pohlman, B. Heape, and E. Westby, was appointed to adjudicate, when the following award was made: £115 to the master and crew of the Government schooner "Apollo," £145 to the master and crew, and £250 to the owners of the "Aphrasia" steamer.

Captain G. W. Cole had built at Kruse's yards, a smart little screw propeller named the "City of Melbourne." It was launched on the 20th February, 1851.

Towards the close of the year a well-merited compliment was offered to Captain George Gilmore, of the steamer "Shamrock," a favorite trader between Melbourne and Sydney. He was entertained at a public dinner, and presented with a handsome sovereign testimonial, commemorative of his having accomplished one hundred trips between the two capitals.

No record can be found of the inward and outward shipping before 1837. In that year, the inward tonnage numbered 12,754, as against 13,424 tons outward. In 1851 there were 712 arrivals of 129,426 tons, against 658 departures of 111,005 tons.

Harbor Dues.

The following were the first enforced in Port Phillip:—

For every vessel under 100 tons.....	£0	5	0
„ of 100 tons, and under 200 tons.....	0	10	0
„ 200 tons, and under 300 tons.....	0	15	0
„ 300 tons, and under 400 tons.....	1	0	0
„ 400 tons, and under 500 tons.....	1	5	0
„ 500 tons, and upwards.....	1	10	0

CUSTOMS CHARGES.

For every steam-vessel, employed in the coasting trade, from one port of New South Wales to another 1s. 3d. entry, and 1s. 3d. clearance.

For every vessel registered in Sydney, and so employed, if above fifty, and not exceeding one hundred tons, 4s. entry, and 4s. clearance.

For every such vessel so employed, if above one hundred tons, 10s. entry, and 10s. clearance.

For every ship or vessel, 15s. entry, and 15s. clearance.

LIGHTHOUSE DUES.

	s.	d.
On every ship or vessel above fifty, and not exceeding one hundred tons, employed in the coasting trade, from one port of New South Wales to another	2	0
On every steam-vessel, the ton register measurement	0	0¼
On every other ship or vessel, the ton register measurement	0	2

POSTSCRIPT.

An old colonist has favoured me with a maritime memo, written from memory, and full of interesting gossip. Though there may be discrepancies between it and my own published *résumé*, it will be found substantially correct, and extremely readable. It may also be mentioned that some of the incidents detailed are dated later than 1851, the period when my CHRONICLES are supposed to terminate :—

"One of the earliest, if not the first, passenger vessel which arrived in Port Phillip was the ship 'John Barry,' from Sydney, which cast anchor in Hobson's Bay, on 1st March 1839, after a fine run of 10 days.* She conveyed to this colony a large number of passengers, including Dr. Patterson, the first Immigration Agent here. A few weeks prior to this, a large number of emigrants had arrived in New South Wales, which caused employment to be very scarce; and, as the new settlement at Port Phillip was opening up then, the Government offered a free passage to any who wished to try their fortunes there. Some hundreds availed themselves of this opportunity and took passage in the 'John Barry,' and among these were natives of England and Wales, Ireland, north and south, with Scotland, including the Highlands. Amongst the Caledonians were five families named Macdonald, and the captain numbered them off as Macdonald No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. There was only one small steamer, named the 'Firefly,' running from Hobson's Bay to Melbourne, and as the terms were too high, the captain landed the men and boys at Liardet's Beach (now known as Sandridge) whence they walked into town; while the women, children and luggage were put in the largest ship's boat and towed up the Yarra by a smaller craft manned by eight sailors. Their progress was slow, and it was 11 o'clock at night before the basin was reached. Much difficulty was experienced in obtaining accommodation, as there was only one small house building in the town then, a two-roomed brick place, situated, and still standing in a lane opposite the Theatre Royal. The new arrivals had many obstacles to encounter, and provisions were high, flour being £70 per ton. A large schooner named the 'Industry,' from Hobart Town, was then lying in the basin. As the population increased, trade improved, and numbers of vessels arrived direct from England and Scotland, bringing many passengers; but according to the Land Regulations all the purchase-money was devoted to Immigration. In the course of two or three years so many immigrants arrived from home that employment became very slack, and hundreds were out of work. There was much distress, and the Government gave employment to men, making a road from Emerald Hill to Sandridge.

* Another writer—Mr. B. Rose, of Nar Nar Goon—places the "John Barry's" arrival on the evening of the 30th April.—ED.

"Many of the immigrants, including a number of young single women, were located in tents near Batman's Hill, and the services of the latter were offered to any one providing them with food and clothing. During 1840 and 1841, several fine vessels made their appearance in the Bay, including a splendid ship named the 'York,' formerly a frigate in the Government service. Very old colonists may recollect the sensation caused in 1841 by the arrival of immigrants by the 'India,' which took fire on the passage from England to this colony. After burning for some hours, and when several lives had been lost, a French whaler hove in sight and rescued the remaining passengers taking them into Rio Janeiro, whence they were sent on here. They arrived in an utterly destitute condition, but the townspeople soon collected sufficient funds to put them in a comfortable condition.

"During the dull times it was quite an event when an English arrival took place, and the inhabitants would gather *en masse* at the flagstaff to watch the vessel drop anchor in the Bay. Shipping was so sparse then, that at one time in 1846, there were only three schooners and one barque at anchor, and the only occupant of the Queen's Wharf was the 'Ellen and Elizabeth,' a small schooner of 28 tons, which then traded to Portland Bay. The largest sailing vessel that came up to the Queen's Wharf in the olden times was the brig 'Britannia,' which had taken fire in Hobson's Bay. She was bought by a ship carpenter named Watt, and brought up the river; but as there were no means of repairing her in this port, she was patched up and sailed for Sydney, but was never heard of again, and was supposed to have foundered on the Ninety Mile Beach, on the Gippsland coast.

"The first steamer that ever ran on the river was the 'Firefly.' She was succeeded by the 'Governor Arthur,' which came from Hobart Town in 1840, and was worked between the town and the Bay and ran for several years. The next steamer was the 'Aphrasia,' from Sydney, a smart article, which was in the Geelong trade for a time, and was highly thought of by the public. She was used as a lighter up to a few years ago. The first steamer built on the Yarra was the 'Vesta,'* an iron paddle-steamer imported by the Messrs. Manton, from England, and put together opposite the Queen's Wharf. She was launched in fine style, decorated with bunting, crowded with people, and Tickel's band merrily playing 'Off She Goes.' The largest steamer that came up the river in the early times was the 'Corsair,' a paddle-steamer of about 500 tons, which formerly sailed between Belfast and Glasgow. She appeared at the wharf early one Sunday morning in 1841, and surprised the people by blowing off steam. She had come from Sydney on a trial trip, but never tried to come up the river again, as she was aground for three weeks on the bar at the river's mouth on her way back to the Bay, there being generally only a depth of eight feet of water at that time. What a difference from the present time, when large vessels drawing 17 feet can easily come up to the wharves.

"Ship-building to a moderate extent was carried on in these times. A small steamer named the 'Diamond,' built on the banks of the Yarra, was in the Hobson's Bay trade for years; also a smart schooner named the 'Teazer,' and some smaller vessels. But the most ambitious attempt was the building of a barque named the 'Jane Cain,' a vessel of 292 tons register, and intended for the London trade. When the day arrived for her launch, the vicinity of the Queen's Wharf was crowded by thousands of people anxious to see the great event. The Temperance Band commenced playing 'Off She Goes,' and the vessel began to move; but after running a few feet stuck fast, to the great disappointment of the assembled crowd, who after waiting until dark, slowly dispersed, and the 'Jane Cain' remained on the stocks for several days before she was moved off. She made one trip to England, but as she was too deep to come up the river, she was put into the African trade, and lost sight of.

"The first screw steamer seen in the colonies was the 'City of Melbourne,' 139 tons register, built on the Yarra. The engines had been imported for a mill, and at first did not act very well, for

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* I am indebted to Mr. J. J. Lander, of Grey Street, East Melbourne, for the following, which differs slightly from the above:—The very first vessel that was ever built on the banks of the Yarra, viz., the "Yarra Yarra" barge, was an ugly square-head and square-stern sort of structure, that would hardly be used to carry out silt at the present day, but which was very useful and profitable at the time she was engaged in the lightering trade between Williamstown and Melbourne. She was built by Messrs. Manton and Walker, who were at that time in a large way of business in Melbourne as merchants, to do their work until the "Vesta" steamer arrived, which latter was not delivered in Melbourne for over two years after she was ordered. Messrs. Manton and Walker had induced a Captain J. C. Lander, who was connected with them in squatting pursuits in New South Wales (as superintendent of a station there, with an interest in the profits) to throw up sheep-farming to come to Melbourne and take charge of the "Vesta;" but as she was so long on the way they had to find him another vessel, and the building and launching of the "Yarra Yarra" was the result. I think the "Yarra Yarra" was launched in the latter part of 1841.—(THE AUTHOR).

when she started on her trial trip to the Bay she proceeded at a snail's pace, and many thought she would have been a failure; but she did better after a while, and ran to Launceston until she was wrecked on King's Island. She was afterwards usefully employed as a lighter. The swiftest paddle-steamer of the olden times was the 'Thames,' brought from Hobart Town, and ran successfully in the Geelong trade until she was lost off Point Cook. The first screw steamer from the old country that arrived here was the 'Keera,' which came by way of Sydney. The steamer 'Shamrock' for some years was the only regular trader between Sydney, Melbourne, and Launceston, under the skilful supervision of Captain Gilmore. The 'Christina,' brig, Captain Saunders, was very well known between Melbourne and Sydney. Her genial and much respected commander, who was afterwards in the 'City of Melbourne' and 'Clarence' steamers, was, until lately, a resident of this city. The 'Scout,' a clipper brig, Captain Gwatkin, and 'The Raven,' a fine brig, Captain Bell (both of whom are gone) traded to Launceston; and the schooners 'Flying Fish' and 'Circassian' (Captain Smith) traded to Hobart Town. There were other vessels in the Sydney and Tasmanian trades, but those mentioned were the most regular traders. It was quite an event to see two brigs, such as the 'Christina' and 'Raven' at the wharf at the same time, and many would look forward to the time when an increased trade would necessitate a ship canal, and perhaps full-rigged ships might be moored at the wharf. One of the former city surveyors of Melbourne, Mr. Blackburn, made a comprehensive plan of a ship canal which has not been beaten by later schemes."

Mr. Charles Chessell has furnished me with the following:—

"I feel myself particularly well qualified to speak on the subject of the shipping of the early days of Tasmania and Melbourne. I had the ship-building yard at Paddock Point, Hobart Town, where I built the 'Maria Orr,' to the order of William Morgan Orr. This was the first square-rigged vessel built in Tasmania. The frame of the steamer, the 'Governor Arthur,' was forwarded from England to Tasmania. She was built for the purpose of trading between Kangaroo Point and Hobart Town, but as her owner thought that the Melbourne trade would be more profitable, I was engaged to fit her with false sponsons to enable her to carry sail across Bass's Straits. After trading between Melbourne and Williamstown for some time, she took fire, her deck and top sides being burnt. I had settled in Victoria in the meantime, and was again called in to repair her. Her trade, however, never paid, and she was eventually purchased by Captain G. W. Cole, who purposed placing her engine in a new steamboat, the 'Diamond,' which was built by me to his order, and was the first steamer built on the Yarra. Before the 'Diamond' was constructed, Mr. John Manton determined to convert the 'Fairy Queen,' lighter, into a steamboat. With this end in view he placed in her an engine from his brother's flour mill; a brick chimney was built to act as a flue. To celebrate the transformation, a pleasure party assembled on board for the purpose of taking a trip to Williamstown. Starting from near the 'Falls,' the current took her smoothly down the river as far as the junction, the engineer and passengers fondly imagining she was a model boat. But, alas for human hopes! a brisk breeze and the incoming tide now met us, and she immediately came to a standstill. After much excitement and discussion it was decided to put about and return to Melbourne, but the current that helped us down now hindered our homeward journey. Those who formed the party, and if now alive with memories green, will well remember the episode of the man who, to increase the steam pressure of this most peculiar *marine* engine, stood on the weights of the safety valve. They will also see in the mind's eye an excited fireman and passengers pulling the individual off, who was about to give them a gratuitous passage to ethereal regions. The outcome of the trip was that the crew had to track and warp her back to town. It is needless for me to say that the chimney and engine were soon taken out, and she became once more a lighter. The 'Griper,' the first steam dredge built in Victoria, and now used deepening the Yarra, was built by me at Chessell's dock. She was launched in the presence of His Excellency Governor Latrobe. The 'Elizabeth' was the first schooner built on the Yarra. She was constructed by me to the order of Charles Dean. The timbers of this vessel were obtained from the flat near the Sandridge Lagoon."

CHAPTER XLIII.

SHIPWRECKS.

SYNOPSIS:—The First Shipwreck.—Loss of the Steamer "Clonmel."—Arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Michael Cashmore.—Wreck of the "Cataraqui."—399 Persons Drowned.—Succour by Mr. David Howie.—Public Meeting to supply Funds.—Mr. George Coppin gives a Benefit.—Presentations to the Succourers.—Five Graves in a Lonely Churchyard.—Government Memorial.—Alleged Drowning of Mr. Guthrie.—Other Marine Catastrophes.

THE first recorded shipwreck is that of the brig "Britannia" on the 29th March, 1839. She sailed from Launceston in command of Captain Gibson, and passed safely through Port Phillip Heads. Anchor was cast some distance off the Red Bluff (St. Kilda), and about 10 p.m. she drove from her first, and at 11 parted with her second anchor. An attempt was then made to get sail on her with a view to crossing the Bay, but the vessel was driven under the Bluff and ran ashore. The next morning she was high and dry, when her cargo of sheep was discharged, nearly all of them being saved.

It was stated that during 1839 the "Sara," "Yarra Yarra," "Lady Franklin," and "Port Phillip Packet" schooners employed in the Melbourne trade had disappeared at sea, and were never accounted for.

In January, 1840, the "Britomart," from Melbourne to Hobart Town, was wrecked off Cape Portland. Three cabin and several steerage passengers were lost. A chest containing the captain's clothes, register, and £1800 in bills was subsequently picked up on Preservation Island.

Loss of the Steamer "Clonmel."

During the end of 1840, the Melbourne newspapers were loud and joyous in their pæans on the arrival of the "Clonmel," a steamer sent out from England to trade between the ports of Sydney, Melbourne, and Launceston; but the vessel on her third trip to Port Phillip met with a watery grave under the following circumstances:—On the afternoon of the 30th December, the "Clonmel" left Sydney for Melbourne with passengers and crew consisting of seventy-five individuals, and a valuable general cargo. At daylight the 1st January, Cape Howe bore W. S. W., and in the course of the morning Ram Head was sighted, and a fresh departure taken, steering for Wilson's Promontory. The wind was fair, with smooth sea; the course S. W. ½ W., with wind and sea continuing favourable during the day and night. A little after 3 a.m of the 2nd, all the passengers were startled by the ship striking heavily. Rushing on to the deck, breakers were perceived ahead. Finding that the engines were of no avail, orders were given to lighten her by throwing overboard some of the cargo, but without the desired effect, the vessel still surging higher upon the reef. The anchors were then let go, when, after a few more bumps, she swung head to wind, taking the ground with her stern, and bedding herself, with the fall of tide, upon the sand, rolling hard and striking occasionally. During the whole of this trying scene the most exemplary conduct was shown by the crew in obeying the orders of the captain and officers. When daylight made its appearance, it was ascertained that the steamer was on shore on a sandspit at the entrance of Corner Inlet, Gippsland, about half a mile from the beach, between which and the vessel a heavy surf was rolling. Captain Tollervy's conduct had hitherto been that of a careful and watchful commander; he was on deck during the whole of the middle watch, which he himself kept, anxiously on the look out, and was on the paddle-box at the time the vessel struck; but as the night was misty, nothing could be seen beyond the length of the vessel. The captain, on finding all attempts to get the vessel off unavailing, and a strong sea rising with the flood tide, turned his attention to the safety of the passengers and crew. After several trips

by the whale-boats first, and assisted by the quarter-boats afterwards, every soul was landed in safety by 2 p.m., the captain being the last to leave the vessel. A sufficiency of sails, awnings, and lumber was brought on shore to rig up tents for all hands; and everybody set to work to form an encampment. In a short time the female passengers were comfortably camped, having beds placed for them in a weather-proof tent; the male passengers and crew were equally well accommodated by means of spare sails and awnings. Provisions, consisting of live stock, hams, bread, flour, biscuits rice, tea, sugar, wines, and beer, had been landed during the forenoon, and water, though rather brackish to the taste, was found in abundance by digging. The captain next evolved order out of the chaotic mass. Provisions were stowed under a boat turned upside down, to guard them as well from petty depredations as from the weather, and sentinels posted. When order was thus established and provisions distributed for supper, the captain consulted with Mr. D. C. Simson, one of the passengers, and a brother tar, and they agreed upon the desirability, if possible, of starting a boat to Melbourne to obtain succour. Simson, who knew the route, volunteered as leader, and was joined by five others, including Mr. Edwards, of the firm of Edwards and Hunter, and the next morning, amidst the cheers of the derelicts, were launched from the beach by them in the whale-boat. Proceeding to the vessel to lay in a store of provisions, they were nearly two hours before they reached the ship, being every moment in danger of swamping.

Time was short and precious, and so the most should be made of the present. They procured a supply of such provisions as came within their reach, and after hoisting the Union Jack reversed from the mast-head, the boat's crew shoved off, and committed themselves to the care of a merciful Providence. At 8 a.m. of the 3rd they took their departure, outside the bank, steering for Sealer's Cove. The boat was manned by five seamen, and besides oars, had a small lug-sail made out of the awning. Their provisions consisted of biscuit, a ham, a breaker of water, three bottles of wine, twelve of beer, and one of brandy; of the latter article Simson would not take more, dreading its effects upon the crew; but the small quantity was found very beneficial when subsequently administered in moderate portions.

The voyage in the open boat was attended with its own perils, and as it was the first of its kind a narrative of its progress will be interesting.

Shortly after leaving the "Clonmel" the wind came from the westward, and they were obliged to down sail, and after six hours' vain struggling against the wind to reach the main land, were under the necessity of running for one of the seal islands, where was found a snug little cove, into which the boat was steered. Here, after refreshing by a three hours' rest and hearty meal, they again pulled for the mainland, and reached Sealer's Cove about midnight, where they landed, cooked supper, and passed the remainder of the night in the boat anchored in deep water. At half-past three a.m. on the 4th three men were sent on shore to get the breaker filled with water. They had scarcely done so and brought it down to the beach when several natives were observed rushing towards them. The men hurried on board and the boat got under weigh, the wind blowing hard from the eastward at the time. After a severe pull of four hours they were at last able to weather the southern point of the Cove, to hoist sail and run for Wilson's Promontory, which was rounded at 10 a.m., the sea running very high.

At 8 p.m. they succeeded in bringing up in a small bay at the eastern entrance of Western Port, and were glad to get on shore. After a refreshing night's repose on the sandy beach they started the next morning at the break of day, with a strong and steady breeze from the eastward, although they were in imminent danger of being swamped, the sea having risen very considerably, and breaking over them repeatedly. At 2 p.m. they were abreast of Port Phillip Heads, but to their mortification the strong ebb tide caused so much broken water that Simson did not consider it prudent to run over it. A cutter was descried making for the Heads, and bearing down upon her she was found to be the "Sisters," from Launceston, by which they were taken on board and very hospitably treated. Both boat and party arrived in safety at Williamstown at 11 p.m., having been sixty-three hours from the time they left the ship.

The cutters "Sisters" and "Will Watch" were at once despatched for the scene of the wreck, having on board Mr. Lewis, the Harbour Master, Captain Roach, the agent of the "Clonmel," and Lieutenant Russel, with a detachment of the 28th Regiment. The passengers and crew were brought in safety to Melbourne. The mail was also with difficulty fished from the wreck.

Amongst the passengers were Mr. and Mrs. Walker, of Sydney; Mr. Goodwin, of the firm of Hamilton and Goodwin of Melbourne, to whom one-half of the cargo belonged; Mr. Robinson, of the Union Bank, having in his charge £3000 of the Bank's notes for the Melbourne branch, which sum was lost and supposed to have been stolen; Mr. and Mrs. Michael Cashmore, of Melbourne, newly married, and bringing a large quantity of goods for a new drapery establishment intended to be opened at the corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets. There were on board 300 tons of coals and 200 tons general cargo.

It was a stormy honeymoon for Cashmore, and all he saved was his newly won wife and an old silver watch, both of which remained with him, keeping good time for many years thereafter. Much of the uninsured cargo was destroyed, and several local merchants were heavy losers. Captain Tollervy sustained a severe injury to one of his ankles, by the tendon of the joint breaking, and it was thought the foot would be rendered useless for life. The "Clonmel" ultimately became a total wreck; about £1000 worth of cabin furniture, a gig, some spirits, and general stores were saved. The vessel had been insured for £17,000.

Burning of the "Australia."

On the 2nd October, 1840, the barque "Australia" Captain Yule, sailed from Leith for Port Phillip, with five cabin, fifteen steerage passengers, and a valuable freight. Calling at Rio she resumed her voyage, and on the 29th December took fire 600 miles westward of the Cape of Good Hope. The cargo consisted mostly of deals, oakum and tar, and the accident was believed to have been occasioned by friction taking place in the hold. The conflagration broke forth so suddenly about 11 o'clock at night, that the vessel was wrapped in flames as soon as the misfortune was discovered, and it was as much as could be done to save the passengers and crew, leaving the ship to her fate. The long and jolly boats were quickly and safely launched, and with the scantiest stock of provisions all on board passed forth; but before the boats had pulled many yards away, the ship, a mass of raging fire, went down suddenly with a report resembling a salvo of artillery. For eight days and nine nights the two boats wandered away on the world of waters, their unfortunate passengers exposed to the severest sufferings from starvation and the effects of the weather, from which there was no protection whatever. They were so short of provisions that each individual was rationed upon a small allowance of biscuit and a wine-glass of water per day, and Messrs. John Chisholm and Pete, two of the passengers, died from exhaustion. At length the boats sighted the coast of Africa, and after much difficulty a landing was effected upon an inhospitable beach. After traversing the country for about twenty miles they came upon a Dutch settlement, where they were treated with much kindness. The Governor had them forwarded in waggons to Cape Town, where they arrived after an eleven days' journey. The captain, with several of the passengers and crew, returned to England by the first opportunity. Phillips, the mate, and others arrived in Hobson's Bay in the barque "Byker," in the month of April.

Loss of the "Paul Pry,"

A schooner trading between the ports of Melbourne and Launceston. On a return trip (31st August, 1841), a sudden squall coming on, she was laid on her beam ends, and never righted. The passengers were at dinner, which they had to leave unfinished and take to the boats. All hands were saved except a Mr. Waite, who was drowned in getting into a boat, and after much peril and difficulty the party got safely ashore at Sandy Beach, eastward of Cape Schanck. They next made Barker's station late in the evening, in a miserable plight, where every kindness and attention were shown to them, and thence they effected a speedy transit to Melbourne.

An Emigrant Ship Destroyed by Fire.

On the 4th June, 1841, the "India," with 198 persons (crew included) sailed from Greenock for Port Phillip, and proceeded safely until the 20th July, when in 16 south lat. and 33 west long., she speedily came to grief from a very simple cause. The third mate and a boy, were drawing off spirits from a cask below. The mate bungled by accidentally spilling some rum, and the boy did worse by accidentally dropping a lighted candle into the spilled liquor. The whole place blazed up instantaneously, and the mate and the boy rushed shouting on deck, closely pursued by the flames, with which they had a neck-and-neck race. The ship in a short time was on fire from stem to stern, and the greatest consternation prevailed. A French whaler was made out some nine miles to windward, but it was an hour before she noticed the disaster, and then at once steered for the blazing vessel, on nearing which the French boats were lowered, and every help rendered. The "India's" boats were in the meantime got afloat, but the first was rushed and overloaded, when it capsized, and several persons were drowned. The swamping of this boat deterred the French boats from approaching close to the wreck, and it was owing to the activity and bravery of the first mate of the "India" that any life was saved. He was in the boat that turned over, and getting out of the sea into another boat by extraordinary presence of mind and exertion, he succeeded in removing every living soul from the sinking vessel to the French boats, whence they were transferred to the whaler. Many of the refugees were almost naked, as before they were rescued their clothes were burned off their backs. Nothing whatever was saved of either ship or cargo. The unfortunates snatched from a terrible death were landed at Rio de Janeiro, where liberal provision was made for them. Over £1000 was subscribed to present the captain with a gold chronometer (though the mate deserved it better), to refit the shipwrecked officers and crew, and assist the emigrants, but very little of it the last mentioned got. To this fund the officers and crew of the "Potomac," an American frigate then in port, contributed 500 dollars. Seventeen of the passengers, the boatswain, and one of the crew were drowned. The remainder were kept at Rio until means were found of sending them to Port Phillip, and they ultimately arrived in Melbourne, when prompt measures were taken to provide for their relief.

The Schooner "Rover,"

Was under way from Sydney to Port Phillip with a cargo of Government stores, and on the 13th October, 1841, was hurricaned, and compelled to put into Brulee Harbour for safety. A terrific surf raged there, tearing the vessel from her anchorage, and driving her ashore. Captain Boyce (the master), the mate, one soldier and six prisoners of the Crown were drowned.

Burning of the "Governor Arthur."

This casualty happened at the Melbourne Wharf early on the morning of the 23rd December, 1841, when the steamer, plying between Melbourne and Williamstown, was destroyed, under the following circumstances:—On the wind-up of the day's work the previous evening the fire was drawn from the furnace, thrown into an iron box—its usual receptacle—and some buckets of water drenched over it, as was thought, to thoroughly extinguish it. This, it seems, was not effected, for about 2 o'clock next morning, it was discovered that the vessel was on fire. An alarm was given, and the crews of some small craft in the vicinity rendered prompt assistance. One discreditable exception there was in the crew of a brig named "The Supply," anchored close by, point blank refusing help. At length, by breaking, the vessel was scuttled, with only her mast, funnel, and bowsprit above water. She was valued at £2500, and in a few days after was floated. In time she was refitted; but never came to much account.

Wreck of the "Burhampooter."

In February, 1843, intelligence was received in Melbourne of the destruction of a colonial-bound vessel, under the following circumstances:—

In October, 1842, the newly-built ship, the "Burhampooter" (Captain Crowley) sailed with emigrants for Port Phillip, and on the 18th she was caught in a terrific gale off Margate, and driven ashore. Through the presence of mind and courage of the seamen, all hands, viz., the crew, seventy adult passengers, and twenty children, were saved. The emigrants lost every scrap of luggage except the clothes in which they were dressed. They were conveyed in carts to the town, when their more pressing wants were generously supplied. A subscription was started in their behalf, to which the Emigration Commissioners contributed eleven guineas. Though the situation of the vessel was very precarious, it was hoped that she would hold together until got off the reef, but the hope was not fulfilled.

Wreck of the "Joanna,"

A schooner engaged in the intercolonial trade between Launceston and Belfast. On the night of the 20th September, 1843, she was *en route* from Van Diemen's Land, and caught in a violent gale, which, after knocking her about in the Straits, sent her ashore on the 22nd, between Cape Otway and Moonlight Head. William Cooper, a seaman, was washed overboard, and the crew and passengers, in all 23 persons, abandoned the vessel, with the intention of making their way overland to Melbourne. They had only a small stock of provisions with them, and getting lost in the bush for six days would have perished but for finding a dead whale adrift on the beach, the blubber of which averted starvation. In the course of their wanderings they fell in with a tribe of Aboriginals, who behaved most kindly, and helped the outcasts to reach an out-station of Mr. Willis, west of the Barwon. Here they were taken in, well done for, and enabled to reach Geelong, whence they proceeded in the "Aphrasia," steamer, to Melbourne.

Wreck of the "Rebecca,"

Barque, on King's Island, on the 28th September, 1843, from Batavia. Her captain managed to land his crew and a few passengers by means of the ship's boats. Here they passed a miserable night, and the weather having moderated towards morning, the ship was boarded by some of the party swimming off to her, and a quantity of stores obtained by adjusting a jack-stay from the mast-head to the beach. They set to work to build a boat, in which they succeeded, and reached Williamstown on the 21st October. The vessel broke up.

Striking of the "Isabella."

On the 18th June, 1844, the "Isabella," barque, left Hobson's Bay, with several passengers and a full cargo, for London and Leith. Whilst working through Kent's Group on the 21st, breakers were seen ahead, the anchor was let go, and the vessel brought up between Chapel and Badger Islands. The ship drifted until next morning, and then struck. The lady and some of the male passengers were put ashore by the boats, and the remainder of those on board were lashed to the poop in a state of abject misery and momentary expectation of death. After a night of terrible anxiety, a calm morning enabled them to land in safety, and they had hardly left the vessel when it went to pieces, mail, cargo, luggage and everything going down at the same time. For three days the islanders led a wretched life, depending for subsistence on some pumpkins washed ashore from the wreck and a few crayfish caught on the beach. Thoroughly ignorant of where they were, they did not know what to do, and ultimately in despair launched the boats they had with them, and in them pushed out to sea, as under any circumstances they could not fare worse than where they

were. They soon saw land a few miles off, and making for it, found themselves on Flinders Island, where there was not only a sealers' settlement, but the schooner "Flying Fish" was preparing to weigh anchor. There was also there an Aboriginal station, under the charge of a Dr. Mulligan and his wife, from which worthy couple a supply of clothes and provisions was obtained. The "Flying Fish" brought them back to Melbourne, where they experienced much kindness, and a subscription was raised for their benefit, in aid of which a concert was given and £40 net thereby realized.

Wreck of the "Cataraqui," Immigrant Ship: Appalling Loss of Life.

The "Cataraqui," ship, 800 tons, Captain C. W. Finlay, sailed from Liverpool for Port Phillip on the 20th April, 1845, with 362 emigrants, two doctors, and a crew of 46. The emigrants were principally from Bedford, Stafford, York, and Nottingham Shires. About 120 of the passengers were married, with families, and amongst them were seventy-three children. About 7 p.m. on the 3rd August, the ship was hove to for some hours. On the 4th, it being quite dark and raining hard blowing a fearful gale, and the sea running mountains high, the ship struck on a reef on the west coast of King's Island, at the entrance of Bass's Straits. No opportunity had offered to enable the captain to ascertain the ship's course for four days previously; but from dead reckoning, it was presumed that the vessel was in 141 degrees 22 east longitude, and 39.17 south, which would make her between 60 or 70 miles from the island. Immediately after the occurrence she was sounded, and four feet of water was in her hold. The scene of confusion and misery that ensued it is impossible to describe. The passengers attempted to rush on deck, and many succeeded in doing so, until the ladders were knocked away by the working of the vessel. Then the shrieks of men, women, and children from below, calling to the watch on deck to assist them, were terrific. At this time the sea was breaking over the ship, sweeping the decks, every sea carrying off one or more of the passengers. About 5 a.m. the ship careened over on her larboard side, washing away boats, bulwarks, spars, a part of the cuddy, and literally swept the decks. At this critical period the captain ordered the masts to be cut away, hoping the vessel might right and enable the crew to get on deck the remainder of the passengers from below. This was done, but it was all to no purpose. The passengers remaining below were all drowned, the ship being full of water; and the captain called out to those on deck to cling unto daylight to that part of the wreck above water. As the day broke the vessel's stern was found to be washed in, numerous dead bodies were floating around the ship and on the rocks. About 200 of the passengers and crew were still holding on to the vessel—the sea breaking over, and every wave washing some of them away. About four in the afternoon, the vessel parted amidships, and from seventy to a hundred of the poor creatures were launched into the roaring and remorseless waves! The fury of the waves continuing unabated, about five o'clock the wreck parted by the fore-rigging, and so many souls were submerged in the waters, that only seventy out of all were left crowded on the forecastle! Thus the sea breaking over them, the winds raging, and the rain continuing heavy all night, the poor wretches stuck on as well as they could to the vessel's bow. Numbers died and fell overboard, or sank and were drowned. The next day broke on only about thirty survivors, almost dead through exhaustion. The previous evening the quarter-boat (the only remaining one) was attempted to be launched, into which the boatswain, doctor, and four of the crew got, but she immediately capsized, and all were drowned. As the morning advanced the sea was making a clean breach into the forecastle, the deck of which was rapidly breaking up. About this time, whilst numbers were helplessly hanging from the bows, and continually dropping off without the possibility of succour, the captain attempted to reach the shore, but could not, and with the assistance of some of those who were strong enough to help him, regained the wreck. The lashings of the survivors were now undone in order to give them the last chance of life. Mr. Guthrie, the chief mate, who was on the spritsail yard, was washed out to the bowsprit; he saw the captain and second mate and steward hanging on to the bows, with some eighteen or twenty others only left alive, amid a heap of dead bodies on the fragment of the wreck. Mr. Guthrie was driven to a detached part of the wreck, but finding it impossible to live with such a sea breaking over, he seized a piece of plank under his arm, and

leaping into the water was carried over the reef, and thus got on shore. He found there a passenger who had escaped ashore during the night, and one of the crew, who followed in the morning. John Roberts, a seaman, plunged in when he saw the mate ashore, and partly swimming and partly driven reached the land. Five other seamen followed, and were saved, but dreadfully exhausted. Almost immediately afterwards the vessel totally disappeared. Thus, out of four hundred and eight persons on board, only nine were saved. Their names were:—Thomas Guthrie, chief mate; Solomon Brown, emigrant; John Roberts, William Jones, Francis Millan, John Simpson, John Robertson and Peter Johnston (able seamen), and William Blackstock, apprentice. They had neither drink nor food from the time of the ship striking—early on Monday morning—to the Tuesday afternoon, when they found one small tin of preserved fowl, after eating which they laid down in the bush with a wet blanket, fished out of the water, for their only covering, and being almost destitute of clothes. The beach was strewed with pieces of the wreck and fragments of corpses in horrible profusion. After a vain search for water, and being unable to find any more survivors, they passed the night in a miserable plight. The following morning they found a cask of water cast ashore, but were unable to get means to make a fire. About 10 o'clock a.m., observing a smoke, which, presuming they were on the main land, they imagined it to be a fire of the natives. To their delight they soon saw a white man approaching, who turned out to be a Mr. David Howie, who with a party of sealers resided upon the island. It seems Mr. Howie had observed ashore, at the part of the island where he was located, a mangled human body, and therefore assumed there must have been a wreck somewhere about. He consequently resolved upon a search, and dividing his men into two parties, acted as the leader of one, and took the western side of the island. Each party carried the means of procuring fire, some provisions, and warm clothing. After a fatiguing tramp of 40 miles, Howie found the survivors, and helping them as far as he could, returned to his homestead for more supplies. He made this journey several times, and whenever he left home he posted on the door of his hut an announcement of the wreck, so that any persons arriving in his absence should become aware of the calamity. It was fortunate he took this precaution, for during one of his absences, Messrs. Fletcher and Cockburn landed from the cutter "Midge," and reading the notice, hastened to help Howie in his mission of charity. If the notice had not been where it was observed, not only the survivors, but Howie and his whole party might have been starved, as his supplies were limited.

Howie's arrival was a real God-send for the poor exhausted and benumbed sufferers, to whom he instantly afforded fire and food, and constructed some shelter against the weather. As Howie's boat was wrecked, there was no possibility of leaving the island for some time. The party, therefore, put up a hut, and stayed for five weeks, during which time they were most hospitably provided for by Mr. Howie according to his means, and the supplies had actually to be carried 40 miles over a most difficult road. On the 7th September the "Midge" was seen approaching the island where the party were camped, and took them off the island with much difficulty. They arrived in Hobson's Bay on the morning of the 13th.

The survivors testified to the skill and efficiency displayed by the captain, who was a native of Dublin, and left a wife and two children at Liverpool. He had once before passed through Bass's Straits. Mr. Guthrie, the mate, was likewise warmly commended. It was to his encouragement that most of the seamen saved ascribed their escape. Whilst on the island the party employed themselves in burying the dead bodies as far as possible, the mangled condition of many of which was indescribable.

The two doctors were brothers—Charles and Edward Carpenter. The first-named was the ship's surgeon superintendent, and both intended settling in Australia. Most of the ship's papers, and the mail, except one packet of 35 letters, went with the wreck. The most painfully intense excitement prevailed in Melbourne for some time, and heavy censure was passed upon the New South Wales Government for disregarding a frequently urged request for the erection of a lighthouse on King's Island. This was declared to be the fifth wreck there within ten years, the other ships being the "Harbinger," "Neva," "Isabella," and "Rebecca." On the Sunday following the receipt of the intelligence, the Rev. A. C. Thomson, Episcopalian minister, preached an eloquent sermon at

St. James Church on the wreck, selecting for his text the 4th chapter Amos, and the last line 12th verse, "Prepare to meet thy God."

Measures were at once taken to raise funds for the relief of the survivors, and to acknowledge in a becoming manner the gallant and humane conduct of Mr. Howie and his men, and also the owners of the "Midge." One of the earliest in the field at this good work was Mr. George Coppin, still amongst us, and in 1884, as in 1845, doing good to his adopted country and his kind. He was then lessee of the Queen Street theatre, and, unsolicited, gave the proceeds of a benefit to the fund on the 18th September, which realized a net sum of £66 (a considerable donation in such times). On the same day a public meeting was held in the *Royal Hotel*, Collins street, to aid the movement, and as some of the remarks and resolutions characterizing this gathering possess an interest beyond the more immediate purpose in view, an abstract of its proceedings is appended.

The "Cataraqui" Public Meeting.

The Mayor (Mr. Henry Moor) stated that the object of their assembling was "for the purpose of devising means of rendering assistance to the survivors of the ill-fated "Cataraqui," and to express the sense of the community towards Mr. D. Howie and his party for their generous and benevolent exertions on their behalf. In consequence of the departure of the "Shamrock," steamer, he regretted his avocations did not allow him to remain; but he pledged himself to contribute towards the furtherance of the object in view.

On the motion of Mr. E. Curr, seconded by Mr. J. P. Fawkner, the Rev. A. C. Thomson, Episcopalian minister, was voted to the chair.

The Chairman observed that on the present melancholy occasion it was unnecessary to say much to excite commiseration. Their feelings were already wound up to a high pitch, and their hearts deeply touched with a sense of the misfortunes occasioned by the late wreck. Never did such a frightful destruction of human life occur on the Australian shores, and as all present were aware of that fact, and their minds had been already fully impressed with such a disaster, he felt that a long speech was altogether unnecessary to urge them to perform their duty, for he was assured that British Christians (did he say Christians?) or persons of any religion whatsoever would, under such circumstances, from motives of humanity, perform their duty towards their fellow men. He therefore felt confident that persons of every denomination would most cheerfully respond to the call now made—one which the Providence of God brought about to excite the sympathy of their hearts.

Dr. A. F. Greeves proposed the first resolution, viz.:—

"That this meeting, in expressing their deep sorrow for the awful calamity of the wreck of the 'Cataraqui,' and their regret at the neglect of any means to prevent similar catastrophes, consider it a public duty to relieve and assist the survivors."

He said little was needed beyond the reading of the resolution to induce everyone to join in adopting it. The event to which it alluded was so recent and terrible, and so overwhelming a catastrophe, that few there were ignorant of the particulars. If there were any, let them only read the official list of the sufferers. Who could peruse without emotion the names of so many large families suddenly swallowed up by the raging sea; or picture without being sick at heart the scenes of agonizing distress and horror which must have taken place? Great, indeed, was the loss this colony had to deplore. The actual loss of life was greater than upon any similar calamity, except the "Royal George," and the "President," steamer. But we have not only to deplore the loss of life, the loss of so much useful labour—the loss of so many who would have extended the foundation of our future community; we have also to regret the evil impressions which would result at home towards this colony, and the check to emigration. The resolution alluded to the want of means to prevent similar catastrophes; and it was impossible to avoid reflecting that if lighthouses had existed on that coast that it is probable the accident would not have occurred. It was the fifth shipwreck which had happened near the same spot; besides which there were numerous narrow escapes, of which one seldom hears. On the voyage out to Sydney of a reverend gentleman now living in Melbourne,

the ship was actually in the middle of Bass's Straits without its being known (in consequence of foul weather) where she was, until the situation was ascertained from a Port Phillip vessel, which, providentially, came near. The Legislature voted a sum of money for a lighthouse on Cape Schanck in 1842. The Van Diemen's Land Government, also, the same year voted a lighthouse on Swan Island, and another on Goose Island—the route from Port Phillip to Hobart Town. Both these latter works are nearly completed, and but for the wreck of the vessel at the Cape of Good Hope, which was bringing out the lanterns, they would now be illuminated. But nothing had been done for the Port Phillip lighthouse on Cape Schanck. Yet that place was the main route to Sydney and Launceston, and New Zealand, as well as Port Phillip—in fact the high road to the South Seas. . . . . The resolution proposed to relieve the survivors, and others he expected would refer to the claims of Mr. Howie on their grateful feelings. He was aware that some persons were of opinion that the promoters of the meeting were doing too much; but really he thought that the people of Port Phillip had a great duty to perform—independent of all money considerations—to mitigate the feelings of relatives and friends of the sufferers at home by displaying their generous sympathy in the fullest possible way. But even in a pounds, shillings, and pence view of the case, a considerable sum was required. . . . . There was Mr. Howie, to whose judgment and forethought the nine persons saved unquestionably owed the preservation of their lives. If he had neglected to seek them for a few hours after the first shocking token of a wreck was seen by him; if he had not divided his party into two, or had not taken food with them, or not left a notice of the matter on his door, the great probability is the whole nine would have perished of starvation. Besides which the whole nine were maintained by him for five weeks. There was, further, his own time, and the time of his men, and the loss of a portion of the sealing season. Therefore, he said, that even in a pecuniary point of view the claims of all the parties upon the public liberality were large. He thought they ought not to take a narrow view of a case like this. We should measure less the wants of the sufferers than the extent of our sympathy; we should calculate less the amount of Mr. Howie's claims than the greatness of our approbation of the whole of his conduct.

Mr. Edward Curr felt great pleasure in seconding the resolution. The motion submitted related to the living, with whom he deeply sympathized, but he must say that his thoughts were not so much about the living as the dead—the corpses that now lie unburied at King's Island. He had attended the present meeting with the intention of making some apt and perhaps severe observations upon the neglect of the Government, but he had heard since his arrival in town to-day, that it was the intention of the Superintendent to provide means for the sepulture of those corpses which were now a prey to the crows and eagles on King's Island, and that they were to be interred in one common sepulchre, with some distinguishing mark over them. He would therefore make no further allusion to the subject, than to regret that some such announcement of the intention of the Government had not gone abroad at the same time as the announcement of the calamity, in order that the people of Great Britain might receive the intelligence of both at once. With reference to the second part of the resolution, "as to the means of preventing similar calamities," which he conceived to be the erection of lighthouses in Bass's Straits, he would ask the present meeting were they going to get them? He had no hesitation in answering, No; for he had always been guided as to the future of a Government by its past, and he would refer them to a case which would prove the truth of his conviction. He (Mr. Curr) happened to visit the colony in the year 1839, and was at the time stopping at the Old Club House, one of the windows of which looked out upon a building erected by a colonist whom he saw present. In this there was half a ton of gunpowder, and at that time the people of Melbourne were devising means for securing themselves from the consequences of an explosion. A gunsmith lived in the house referred to; an explosion did take place, and the unfortunate man, his wife, and five children were blown into eternity. He (Mr. Curr) was present at the time, and saw the ill-fated Mrs. Blanch carried forth, her person blacker than the hat before him, with nothing on but her stays, and the child that was likely to be born in one week was still alive. (Sensation.) He then said to the gentlemen near him, "You are sure to get a powder magazine

now." But what was the result? A sum was still on the Estimates of the Legislative Council, but allowed to pass away, no doubt expecting similar calamities. He would therefore judge of the future acts of the Government by the past. It would be the same with the wreck of the "Cataraqui." We shall be promised lighthouses, but unless some decided step was taken now we should not get them. The wreck in question would be forgotten, as in the case he had alluded to. Cape Otway and King's Island were the two pillars leading to our very gate; and as such they should be marked out in a proper manner. He should admit that in Port Phillip it was rather difficult to speak as to whence the necessary means could be procured; but in New South Wales it was quite different. What might be called prudence in Sydney was rather different in Port Phillip. Prudence in the Middle District was to be continually urging upon the Governor—whereby the people with the Legislative Council ultimately prevailed; but here the prudence was a different thing. It was exactly like "shutting the door after the steed was stolen." In 1839, when Blanch was blown up, the steed was stolen; but the prudence of the people of Port Phillip was, to give up the matter altogether—"when the steed was gone to pawn the saddle." However, he felt that by proper representations the people of Great Britain would be found to act upon Downing Street, and in a like manner the Legislative Council on the Colonial Government, and the matter would be thus forced upon them. With regard to the subscription to be got up on behalf of the survivors, he perfectly agreed with the views taken by Dr. Greeves.

Mr. A. H. Hart proposed, and Mr. J. P. Fawkner seconded, the next resolution:—

"That this meeting is of opinion that the humanity and forethought displayed by Mr. Howie in seeking out and relieving the survivors of the wreck, and his efforts for the interment of the dead, deserve the highest praise; and that his generous hospitality in sustaining the survivors during their protracted sojourn on King's Island, demands a substantial recompense."

Mr. A. Cunninghame, in moving the next resolution—"That this meeting considers that Messrs. Fletcher and Cockburn deserve a token of public approbation for the prompt and humane manner in which, at great risk, they brought off the survivors from the place of wreck," remarked that he had been given to understand that it was the intention of the Government to adopt measures for the interment of the bodies of the sufferers, and to place over them a monument; but the best monument the Government could erect over their unhappy remains would be a lighthouse, to afford protection for others, and should such monument be erected by the Government it should be considered rather a commemoration of neglect than anything else, and something in the following strain should be inscribed upon it:—"Erected by the Government of New South Wales to commemorate its neglect which caused the wreck of the ship 'Cataraqui' upon this coast, occasioning thereby measures to be taken to meet such a calamity when too late, by George Gipps and C. J. Latrobe."

The motion was seconded by Mr. George Cavenagh.

Mr. James McEachern moved and Mr. William Meek seconded:—

"That a Committee be appointed to carry out the above objects by raising a public subscription, and by requesting the various ministers to raise collections; and that the Committee consist of the following gentlemen (with power to add to their number:—The Mayor, the minister of each congregation in town, Messrs. J. A. Marsden, G. Cavenagh, A. H. Hart, G. S. Brodie, D. S. Campbell, J. P. Fawkner, J. R. Murphy, M. Cashmore, C. Kilburn, and Dr. Greeves."

The foregoing resolutions were severally agreed to.

The Rev. John Ham, Baptist minister, had great pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to their Chairman. It also gratified him to think that the meeting had thought proper to include the ministers of religion in the Committee. All he could say was that no exertion or influence upon his part would be wanted to carry out the object of the resolution.

Mr. Michael Cashmore seconded the resolution, which was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. Mr. Thomson, in thanking the gentlemen present, observed that the manner in which the meeting had taken up the recent melancholy occurence would prove a source of joy to the friends and relatives of the unfortunate shipwrecked, and it would also let them see that there were warm

hearts in Port Phillip, and that the survivors were not cast upon an inhospitable shore. A generous sympathy for the sufferers, and a due appreciation of the humanity of those who so nobly exerted themselves for the relief of the survivors on the Island, was the best way of alleviating the sorrows of bereaved relatives in England, and lessening the evil which has befallen the colony by the disastrous wreck.

The proceeds of the movement yielded £161 19s. 5d., and were thus applied:—£43 15s. 9d. expended in the maintenance of the seven seamen, and each of them in addition was to receive one month's wages and an outfit. To the immigrant survivor was to be paid a donation of £10; to the surviving officer, Mr. Guthrie, thirty guineas; to Mr. D. Howie and his party, forty guineas (i.e., ten guineas each, being four in all); a gold medal to Mr. D. Howie; gratuity to two seamen belonging to the "Midge;" silver snuff-boxes with suitable inscription, to Messrs. Fletcher and Cockburn, owners of the "Midge," each of the value of five guineas.

It was also determined, that in the event of additional subscriptions being received to enable the Committee to make any additional grants—a further sum not exceeding ten pounds be given to the only surviving immigrant, Solomon Brown; any remainder to be devoted to the Melbourne Hospital.

Mr. Coppin's liberality was thus recognized: "That the cordial thanks of the Committee be conveyed by letter to Mr. Coppin for his prompt liberality in holding a performance at the theatre for the benefit of the survivors from the wreck of the 'Cataraqui,' and the parties who succoured and relieved them on King's Island."

Howie's gold medal, which was procured from Mr. Hancock, a Collins Street jeweller, bore the following inscription:—"Presented to David Howie, Esq. by the inhabitants of Melbourne, for his humanity and forethought, on the awful wreck of the emigrant ship 'Cataraqui,' at King's Island, 4th August, 1845, in which 414 perished,* and only nine survived."

The wreck was subsequently bought by a Mr. Alexander Sutherland, for a trifle, and his bargain verified the adage about an ill-wind blowing good to some one, as he made a capital thing of it; for the brandy, wine, spars, deals, copper, and other portions of the vessel recovered were worth between £1100 and £1200. The Government agreed to pay Mr. Howie £50 for collecting all the mortal remains cast ashore, and interring them in a common sepulchre; the Government to supply any tools required. Howie performed the contract thus—A principal grave, 18 feet long, 16 feet broad, and 12 feet deep, contained the remains of 206 persons. Grave No. 2, 16 feet by 12 feet, and 6 feet deep, held 50 bodies. No. 3, 12 feet by 8 feet, and 6 feet deep, held 20 bodies; and No. 4, same size, 18 bodies. Lastly, a small grave was made to retain 10 bodies—in all 304 out of 399 perished. The beach was for some distance strewed with human bones, all of which were collected and buried. This group of graves occupied an elevated site within a hundred yards of where the catastrophe occurred. They were protected by a substantial fence, and could be seen from a league off at sea when the weather was clear. Here they have rested in peace, undisturbed year after year, unless by the genius of the storm to whom the place is familiar, murmuring frequent *requiems* over relics long since forgotten. The Government some time after caused to be erected on the spot a tablet thus inscribed:—

"MEMORIAL
Of the total wreck of the Immigrant ship
'CATARAQUI'
From Liverpool to Port Phillip,
C. W. FINLAY, MASTER,
On these reefs,
4th August, 1845.

"Of four hundred and eight souls on board, but nine survived—
The Chief Mate, Thomas Guthrie, seven sailors, and one emigrant, Solomon Brown. This memorial records and deplores the loss of the Master, C. W. Finlay; Sugeon-Superintendent, C. Carpenter; Assistant Surgeon, Edward Carpenter, and twenty-seven officers and men of the ship's company. Of sixty-two emigrant families, comprising three hundred and thirteen souls; of unmarried female emigrants, thirty-three; of unmarried male emigrants, twenty-three: in all, three hundred and ninety-nine souls. This tablet is erected at the expense of the local Government of Port Phillip."

* The Memorial Tablet, erected by the Government, is inscribed showing that there were only 408 souls on board, and that the exact number perished was 399.—ED.

The monument consisted of a painted board, supported from a base by two columns of Gothic design. The inscription was done in elevated metal letters pegged into wood, and the whole was pronounced to be a specimen of neat workmanship, and creditable to Langland's Foundry, where the symbols were prepared.

As a curious sequel to the great calamity, it may be mentioned that Solomon Brown, the sole saved immigrant, was found dead some three years afterwards in a bush creek a few miles from town, with only a couple of feet of water in it—a strange exemplification of the aphorism that a man born to be drowned will not be hanged.

A correspondent, who does not send his name, has obligingly placed me in possession of the following:—"The chief officer of the ship, Mr. Guthrie, the only officer who was saved, came out to the colonies a year or two later as captain of the brig 'Tigress,' of Leith, which vessel went ashore off Onkaparinga, on the South Australian Coast. The captain, trusting to his great powers as a swimmer, endeavoured to take a line ashore, and was drowned in the attempt, his life being the only one lost in connection with the wreck. I write entirely from memory and subject to correction, but I believe that the above statement is right."

Mr. H. Taechell, of Inglewood, gives the following version:—Relative to the drowning of the first mate of the above vessel (then captain of the 'Tigress' brig, on the Onkaparinga Beach, S A.), I wish to correct your correspondent. He says the captain's was the only life lost, whereas there were two—the captain and a passenger, a Mr. Frew—both of whom declined to enter the volunteer's boat that pushed off to save the crew (of which I was one). In the night the vessel broke up, and after a day or two some portions of their bodies were washed ashore. I must apologize for troubling you, but your correspondent used the words 'subject to correction,' and this is given in good part."

Loss of the "Thetis."

In the month of May, 1848, the schooner "Thetis," 95 tons, was proceeding from Sydney to Melbourne, and on the 10th was forced by stress of weather to run into Twofold Bay. She left after a few days, and was compelled to fight every inch of the way against wind and wave until late on in the evening of the 26th, when she reached Port Phillip Heads. It was pitch dark, and in passing Point Lonsdale she struck on a reef, and thrown on her beam ends, her masts falling over on the rocks. The seas tumbled over the deck, drenching the twenty-four persons, of whom the crew and passengers consisted, who were in a state of much alarm. It was blowing very hard and the two children of a Mr. M'Carthy were swept away almost out of the arms of their parents, who had as much as they could do to save themselves by clinging to one of the masts. The captain, as a possible means of safety, caused the passengers (fifteen) to creep along the spars and drop from the fallen topmast to the head of the reef which was bare, within a few yards of the vessel. They did so and were all saved including the Mr. and Mrs. M'Carthy already referred to. These people when they got on to the rocks grew very faint from cold and exposure, and dropped down to all appearance dead. Mr. M'Carthy's brother, also a passenger, was saved, but his brother and sister-in-law died. The sea having fallen, by means of the dingy all the survivors were removed to a higher part of the reef, and after much suffering they next day reached the pilot station where their immediate wants were attended to, and they were forwarded per the cutter "William" to Melbourne. The "Thetis" was a newly-built Sydney craft, worth some £2000, and not insured. She was totally wrecked, and the cause was supposed to be a defect in the compass, which, under the circumstances, is very questionable.

Wreck of the "Sophia."

A few days after intelligence was received of another wreck on the same reef upon which the "Thetis" was cast, and it now began to be believed that the two accidents proceeded from the same cause—the injudicious site of the lighthouse. In this case it was the "Sophia" from

Hobart Town, that suffered, fortunately without loss of life. The weather was boisterous, squally, and thick as the vessel in the early morn came within sight of the Shortland's Bluff (Queenscliff) Lighthouse, but so indistinct was the glimmer that it was impossible to form any idea of the distance of the brig from the shore. The captain steered N.W. to run in, keeping a sharp look-out, when the vessel struck twice upon the western reef, off the spit of Point Nepean, carrying away her rudder, and becoming perfectly unmanageable. She broached to with her head to the eastward, immediately began to fill rapidly, and in fifteen minutes went down, with all sails set, in about thirty fathoms of water. The boats were put into requisition, and the captain (White), crew, and four passengers were soon embarked. When clear of the wreck, however, the crew found themselves without oars, and only a handspike in the boat. They were accordingly compelled to pull the loose thwarts out of the boat and paddle with them towards the Bluff, where they landed about nine o'clock in the morning. Had there been an ebb tide at the time the "Sophia" struck, there would have been no chance of saving a soul.

Ship Burned at Geelong.

The "Hero," barque, 332 tons, had completed loading with wool for England, and was lying at Point Henry. On the afternoon of the 13th February, 1849, a fire broke out on board, generated as was supposed by spontaneous cumbustion amongst the cargo. Prompt assistance was at hand, when it was decided to scuttle the vessel; the cargo of which was valued at £20,000. About fifty bales of wool were saved, but the ship's papers and instruments, chests, and personal effects were lost. The vessel was sunk in fifteen feet of water, and there were thirty tons of tallow amongst the cargo. The expense of re-washing and re-packing the wool would, it was thought, considerably depreciate the value of its recovery, but things turned out much better than was expected, for the ship was easily raised, through little injury being sustained by the hull, and a good deal of the cargo was recovered.

Wreck of a Vessel from China.

On 24th February, 1849, another wreck occurred on the Point Lonsdale Reef. The "Princess Royal," 230 tons, Captain Sinclair, was coming from Hong Kong to Melbourne, and at 3 a.m. struck. The crew and passengers took to the boats, and with the assistance of Pilot M'Pherson landed in safety. During the following night in a heavy S.W. gale the vessel parted amidships, was totally wrecked, and a whole cargo of rice and sugar lost. The mishap was occasioned by the recent shifting of the light on the Bluff, and the captain had no correct chart. Broken boxes and tea chests strewed the beach, and all saved was a box of letters addressed to the Post Office.

A Schooner Blown Up.

A casualty of this kind happened forty miles westward of Cape Otway, about 4 a.m., 27th March, 1849. The "Minerva," schooner, 102 tons, was coming from Sydney to Portland, and smoke was perceived in the cabin. This was succeeded by a strong smell of sulphur, and it was soon known that the vessel was on fire. As there was a large quantity of powder on board, all hands were consequently impatient to get away before they should be blown up. The two boats were got out, and the crew (there were no passengers) were in such a hurry to get into them as never to think about provisions, and only took away a small keg of water. The boats shoved off some distance, and the captain had a notion to return on board to save something, when an explosion took place, hurling the main and foretopmasts into the sea. The crew then attempted to regain the deck of the schooner, but found it impossible to do so, in consequence of the combustion of the oil, gin, rum and brandy in the vessel. By 11 a.m. the "Minerva" was burned to the water's edge. The boats then sheered off with the intention of making Port Fairy, but at 2 a.m. of the 28th, when only thirty miles from their destination, the wind shifted to N.W., and commenced to blow strong. This

misfortune obliged the boats to turn back, and after much privation and suffering both of them reached the Pilot Station, at the Port Phillip Heads, on the 29th, where they were kindly helped, and the seafarers arrived in Melbourne late on the night of the 30th.

A Ship Maimed by a Whirlwind.

There arrived in Hobson's Bay on the 4th of October, 1849, the barque "Mahomed Shah," 615 tons, M'Meikan, commander, with a general cargo, and 246 emigrants. She sailed from London 17th June, and the captain reported the following disaster as having happened :—In the afternoon of 3rd September they were in lat. 40.28 S., and long. 63.45 E., with the thermometer at 56, and the barometer at 28.82. All hands were aloft after close-reefing the foresail, and some were on the way to assist on the foreyard, when a tremendous whirlwind struck the ship nearly dead aft, carrying away the three masts, and sweeping every man above into the sea. They were 25 in number, 17 of whom were saved, and 8 drowned, viz., the carpenter, five seamen, and two apprentices. Of the rescued, 11 were disabled—two very seriously. The foremast went about 15 feet above the deck, the mainmast by the eyes of the rigging, and the mizzentopmast by the cap. Nothing was saved but the mainyard. The hull was not seriously injured. Intense consternation possessed the emigrants, who rendered every help in their power in an orderly and willing manner. The ship was hove to under the mizzen, the only sail left, and she strained and rolled fearfully. The whole afternoon was occupied with clearing away the wreck, and night came on with heavy squalls and rain. Next morning the weather showed a favourable change, and though they had lost their carpenter, they had other craftsmen of the same kind on board, and by the aid of willing hands, stout hearts, and smooth seas, they patched up jury masts, and through great pluck and good luck, reached their destination. Not a single emigrant was injured in any way.

Cast on a Reef.

The "Jenny Lind," 484 tons, Captain Taylor, left Hobson's Bay, for Singapore, on the 3rd September, 1850, under charter to proceed from India to Liverpool. The ship's company consisted of the commander, first-mate (Masters), second-mate (Harper), sixteen seamen, and three apprentices. She had as cabin passengers, Messrs. Beal, Noble, Ackerman, and Somerset, Mrs. Harper, Mrs. Somerset and three of her children; and was freighted with a cargo of flour and beef. The weather was variable for about a fortnight, when the sun became so obscured that no observation could be taken for a couple of days. About 4 a.m. of the 21st, it was the mate's watch, and he fancied he noticed something black ahead. It was believed by some to be a heavy cloud, but the mate fearing otherwise had the helm put hard up, and summoned all hands to be in readiness for an emergency. The captain was on deck without loss of time; the vessel wore off, but she struck aft, and immediately after lay broadside on to a reef, with the sea broaching over her. The masts were cut away, yet the vessel continued to lurch heavily, and it was feared she must soon break up. An unsuccessful attempt was made to launch the pinnace; but, after much difficulty, the jolly-boat was got afloat, and two hands placed in her, who, after running great danger, got her close under a rock a short distance off, inside the reef, where she was secured. To launch the safety-boat was next tried—a very troublesome job, owing to the position of the ship; it was done however, and with the jolly-boat acting as a sort of depôt, the women and children were first removed there, and ultimately all hands accomplished a safe departure from the vessel. The people were next divided into two boatfuls, and thus reached a coral bank half-a-mile off, and when landed, found themselves on an islet of 100 yards long by 40 wide. The wreck was next boarded for provisions, but only a small quantity could be procured, with a four gallon keg of water, a gill of which only was served out to each individual for that day. A miserable night was passed, and next morning some sails, more provisions, and a quantity of lime-juice were obtained by a second visit to the ship, which manifested symptoms of breaking up. This occurred soon after, and by an almost superhuman exertion, and a risk amounting to the

recklessness of despair, a copper boiler, some lead piping, and a cistern were secured, and dragged at low water to the coral island. This was the means of preserving the lives of the party, one of whom (Mr. Philip Beal) having been a ship's surgeon, applied his knowledge of chemistry to the distillation of fresh from salt water, and succeeded so well, as to be in a position without much delay, to treat each of his fellows in misery to a delicious ration of half-a-pint of good water. Wood for purposes of distilling, and other fuel, was obtainable from the wreck; and after some consideration, it was determined to construct a boat wherewith to seek extrication from their perilous condition, and the carpenter undertook to do it. In order to work systematically, the men were told off into three parties, viz., (1), to get materials from the wreck; (2), to assist Beal in working the fresh-water distillery; and (3), to build the boat. Tools and materials were obtained from the foundering craft, and the boat-making was commenced. In exploring the coral island, relics of a former wreck were found, such as a rusty chain, some pieces of iron, hooks, nails, the iron head of an axe, and some barrel hoops, and cinders, which left no doubt that a fire had been made at no very distant period on the bank. Beal brought his improvised distillery to such perfection, that on the 25th he was able to secure 25 gallons of fresh water; but, unfortunately, as the water became abundant, the provisions began to shorten, and they were soon reduced to such straits, as to be obliged to subsist on half-a-pound of flour converted into pudding, per mouth, per diem. The very small quantity of biscuit secured, they resolutely reserved as a future sea stock. Matters went on in this way until the 29th October, when everything was announced ready for a start, and the roughly-finished craft was launched. In this was stowed the small stock of stores, and 25 persons went on board, 6 others being provided for in the safety-boat. They had a good start, and steered in what they believed to be the direction of Moreton Bay (Queensland), having for some time a favourable breeze; but a southerly change coming, they were obliged to run into a small cove to the south of Wide Bay. Here they were observed by some natives, who appeared anxious to board the boats; but were not permitted to do so. Another shift of wind induced a start for Brisbane; and, after much trouble and perplexity in looking for the mouth of the harbour, they ended their adventurous journey in safety. They were all comparatively well, after a 37 days' sojourn on a desolate coral reef in the Pacific, and their preservation was something akin to the miraculous. They were supplied by the colonial authorities with all the succour they were in need of. The reef on which the "Jenny Lind" struck was not marked upon any chart up to date.

CHAPTER XLIV.

COMMERCE AND QUARANTINE.

SYNOPSIS:—Commercial Review.—Early Exports and Imports.—Mr. Charles Williams, the "Self-trumpet Blower."—The Commercial Exchange.—The First Chamber of Commerce.—The First Mercantile Muster Roll.—The First Tariff.—The Melbourne Auction Company.—Sir George Gipps Refuses a Private Bill.—Harbour Quarantine Stations.

THE mercantile beginnings of Melbourne were certainly "small beer" of an humble and unpretending brew. The so-called "merchants" were for years mostly "storekeepers," and commercial houses in Sydney, Hobart Town, and Launceston established agencies until, accompanying the tide of British emigration, which commenced its inflow in 1839, representatives arrived from firms in the Mother-country. The introduction of banking has been treated of in a previous chapter, and here it is only necessary to add that for some time the imported freights were usually general cargoes of live stock, flour, groceries and other kinds of provisions, spirituous and fermented liquors, unmanufactured drapery goods, and made-up articles of wearing apparel, passing under the general denomination of "slops." The exports were chiefly wool and tallow, to which bark was, after a time, added, and then wheat and other commodities.

It is impossible to obtain any reliable data of the importing and exporting trade during the earlier years of Port Phillip; indeed anything like even a correct approximation of the quantities and values is not procurable anterior to the creation of the independent colony in 1851. The reason is thus explained in Archer's *Statistical Register* published in 1854:—"In the Customs books in the years 1838 to 1841, the particulars are not given, only the total amounts, and with reference to these and all the rest of the totals prior to Separation, it is well to remark that the district of Port Phillip, being a portion of New South Wales, articles coming from and going to that colony were not entered in the Customs books; so that there is a deficiency in each year up to 1851."

The following particulars are gleaned from Hayter's Victorian Year Book, Anno 1874:—"In 1837 the total value of imports was £115,379, and exports £12,178. The latter comprised 175,081 lbs. wool, estimated as worth £11,639, 2240 lbs. tallow at £28, and hides and skins £22. In 1838 the imports diminished to £73,230, whilst the exports increased to £27,998. The quantity of wool shipped off was 320,383 lbs., valued at £21,631, tallow 18,114 lbs., £489, and hides and skins, £117." In 1839 there was a stiff jump-up in all the items except tallow, as is thus shown:—"Value of imports, £204,722, exports, £77,684. Wool, 615,603 lbs., £45,226; tallow, 18,552 lbs., £396: and hides and skins, £249." In 1840, the Bounty Emigration system gave such an impetus to importing speculation, that the end of that year distended the figurative results, thus:—"Value of imports, £435,367: whilst the exports reached £128,860. These were—941,815 lbs. wool, £67,902; tallow, 48,048 lbs., £953; and hides and skins, £251. For 1851, the imports were assessed at £1,056,437, and the exports, £1,422,909. The wool appeared as 16,345,468 lbs., worth £734,618; tallow, 9,459,520 lbs., £123,203; and hides and skins, £7414." From a heap of old Customs papers before me, I select a few miscellaneous items, which may be worth disinterring in 1884:—Grain, consisting of wheat, barley, oats, and malt, was imported in 1842 to the extent of 81,719 bushels, valued at £13,223; while the exports consisted of only six bushels of wheat, valued at £4. In 1842, the quantity of butter and cheese imported was 3293 cwt., £1016; whilst the exported consisted of 5592 lbs., £186.

There is no authenticated return of the importation of live stock prior to 1842, but the Rev. Dr. Lang, who wrote an interesting history of Port Phillip under the designation of "Phillipsland" (to which he wished to have the name altered), prints this return:—

	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.
Imported in 1837	94	55,208
„ 1838	74	9822
„ 1839	135	17,567
„ 1840	244	19,958

The '37 entry of sheep is seemingly a misprint, or probable exaggeration.

The first exportation of pigs happened in 1846, when four grunters were so got rid of. In 1842, thirty bundles of unmanufactured leather, and 25,583 pairs of boots and shoes, valued at £5900, were imported, and 1847 beheld the first exportation of £450 worth of leather. According to Archer, "As early as 1834, the Messrs. Henty had formed a whaling station at Portland, and sent, in 1835, 700 tons of oil from that place to Van Diemen's Land, in return for which there arrived cargoes of sheep from Launceston."

In 1844, oil in quantity, 178 tons and 207 gallons (various kinds), valued at £3977, was exported from Port Phillip. The first soap sent away was 6 tons 3 cwt. in 1844, and the smallest quantity imported since 1842 was twenty-five boxes (£50) in 1849. In 1842, one ton of bark (£4) was received, as against 397 tons, value £1667, despatched. Candles were necessaries in universal use, and Melbourne soon commenced the making of its own lights in this respect. In 1842, the imports consisted of 27,334 lbs., value £576; but in 1848 there were only two cases, £20. Candle exportation began in 1843, *i.e.*, 5097 lbs., £153, whilst the imported article exceeded this by 2000 lbs. The first beer was exported in 1846. *i.e.*—540 gallons, £24—which declined to 40 in '47, was 50 in '48, and *nil* in '49 and 50, whilst in '51 it spurted up to 1525 gallons, an equivalent for £158.

In a former chapter I detailed the curiously interesting circumstances under which Mr. Donald Ryrie planted the first vines at Yering, on the Upper Yarra (1838), and a note in Archer's *Register* states that "the export of wine prior to 1852 did not in any year exceed £50 in value; but in that year it amounted to 22,531 gallons, value £6351, and in 1853 to 106 casks and 51,502 gallons, value £15,844. In 1846 was the first exportation of sugar, viz., 5 cwt. refined, value £16. It was quadrupled the next year, but in 1848 and 1851 dwindled to *nil.* Potatoes were the primitive luxury, and in 1842, though there were imported 348 tons, £4120, 2 tons 15 cwt., or £27 worth were exported. In 1846, there was the solitary export of 1 ton, valued £1, showing a vast falling off in price, size, or quality; and in 1849 the exportation disappeared, but returned next year to 25 tons, valued at £106. Tallow was first imported in 1847, to the tune of £5 valuation or 5 cwt., but in 1850 it increased to 420 cwt., £450. So early as 1840, the merchants so-called began to appreciate the value of co-operation as an engine for the protection of joint interests, and they commenced to meet as if on 'Change at the mart of Mr. Charles Williams, one of the principal auctioneers, than whom no louder self-trumpet blower could be found. This mart was the ground floor of a large brick building erected for Batman, at the south west corner of Collins and William Streets, a position then the most centrally convenient for the purposes of mercantile consultations. The interesting conversations indulged in here led to the establishment in 1841 of an association known as

THE COMMERCIAL EXCHANGE,

"For the purpose of watching over the commercial interests of the Province," and the following constituted its managerial staff:—Chairman: Mr. Jonathan Binns Were; Deputy-Chairman: Mr. John Porter; Committee: Messrs. Alexander Andrews, George Arden (Honorary), James Cain, D. S. Campbell, George Cavenagh (Honorary), G. W. Cole, Benj. Heape, Arthur Kemmis, Wm. Kerr (Honorary), William Locke, John Orr, Andrew Russell, J. A. Smith, John Stephen (Honorary), George Thomas; Treasurer: Mr. James Graham; Secretary: Mr. Thomas Stevenson.

The Honorary membership was a clever *ruse* to secure the good wishes of the Fourth Estate (then consisting of only three branches), for the distinction was confined to the Editors of the *Patriot* and *Herald* and the Editor and Assistant Editor of the *Gazette*.

This Committee met every Wednesday in the long room of the Royal Exchange, Collins Street, westward of Alston and Brown's recent fashionable emporium.

The Commercial Exchange was an organism of not much vitality, and in truth it would be unreasonable to expect it could be otherwise under the circumstances. However, it came to no violent or unnatural end, but half slept through a peaceful listless life until it quietly passed from the world with hardly anyone noticing the event. And so matters went on until 1851, a year eventful as the "separation" and "gold-finding" epoch, when the Melbourne merchants suddenly woke up.

The First Chamber of Commerce.

A preliminary meeting of the instigators of the movement was accordingly held on the 12th March, 1851, at the counting-house of Mr. Octavius Browne, where twenty of the principal merchants attended, and a resolution was passed recommending the establishment, by subscription, of a Chamber of Commerce, and a Provisional Committee, of Messrs. Octavius Browne, J. B. Were, David Benjamin, Samuel Bawtree, and James Rae, was appointed to prepare Rules and a Report for submission to a future meeting. The Committee accomplished their work, secured a place of temporary accommodation, and in the following July their action was confirmed, the Chamber regularly initiated, and the following office-bearers elected: — Chairman, Mr. William Westgarth; Vice-Chairman, Mr. J. B. Were; Treasurer, Mr. J. G. Foxton; Committee, Messrs. J. Rae, S. Bawtree, G. P. Ball, John Gill, W. F. Splatt, R. Turnbull, James Graham, and J. A. Burnett.

Things again fell into a languishing condition during the absence, in England, of the first Chairman (Mr. Were), who, on his return to the colony during the stirring times of the gold revolution, infused some new life into the Chamber. At the annual meeting, on the 8th June, 1875, Mr. R. J. Jeffray, the then Vice-President, in the course of his address, thus referred to the somewhat obscured cradledom of the Chamber:—

"By the kindness of Mr. J. B. Were, whose experience reaches back to the earliest period of commercial life in Melbourne, I have ascertained that the first attempt at the formation of a Mercantile Chamber took place in 1841, when the Commercial Exchange was established; and from Kerr's *Melbourne Almanac* of 1842, it appears that in that year Jonathan Binns Were, Esq., was Chairman of the body, and James Graham, Esq., Treasurer. This institution existed for a few years, and was revived in 1851-2, when Mr. William Montgomerie Bell was Chairman. From that date the records of the body, under the title of the Melbourne Chamber of Commerce, proceed with little interruption to the present time. The most cursory glance at the successive Reports makes it manifest that during a period of well nigh a quarter of a century, the Chamber has deliberated upon an immense variety of important topics, has from year to year contributed to the discussion of all questions of moment, and has been influential in securing many practical benefits for the community."

The First Mercantile Muster Roll.

In Kerr's *Port Phillip Directory* for 1841, is printed a schedule of names, which must be undoubtedly taken as representing the pioneers of our now (1888) wealthy and thoroughly established system of Melbourne Commerce. To some, the re-publication of such a document at the present day may seem an act of tedious uselessness; but it appears to me well worth while (even at the risk of gently boring certain readers) to include it in a chapter such as I am now inditing, for, on due consideration, I believe, if not adding to its interest, it will in no small degree contribute to the completeness of the contrast that makes the present condition of "The Queen City of the South" one of the wonders of the Colonial world. I have, therefore, presumed to transcribe it:—

MERCHANTS AND AGENTS.

Flinders Street:—Arthur Kemmis and Co., Reeves and Locke, M'Cabe and Co., Thomas, Enscoe and James.

Little Flinders Street:—Bells and Buchanan, J. F. Palmer, Dunlop, M'Nab and Co., John Roach, Heape and Grice, P. W. Welsh and Co., Langhorne Brothers, Were Brothers and Co., M'Kinlay and Co.

Collins Street:—Alison and Knight, Turnbull, Orr and Co., A. Andrew, Hunter, Somervail and Co., J. Cain, G. W. Cole, Peter Inglis, Craig and Broadfoot, F. Pittman, J. Cropper and Co., W. F. A. Rucker, J. and P. Drummond, J. W. Shaw and Co., Dutton, Simpson and Darlot, John Maude Woolley.

Little Collins Street:—Manton and Co., Pullar Brothers and Porter, Oliver Gourlay.

Bourke Street:—Worsley and Forester.

Lonsdale Street:—A. Abrahams.

William Street:—L. Hind and Co., Strachan and Co.

Queen Street:—Arthur Willis and Co.

Elizabeth Street:—Campbell and Woolley, Porter and White, Hamilton and Goodwin, E. M. Sayers, George James.

Russell Street:—James Graham.

The following mercantile houses in Melbourne have branch establishments:—

At Geelong:—Messrs. P. W. Welsh and Co., and Messrs. Strachan and Co.

At Williamstown:—Messrs. Langhorne Brothers.

At Portland Bay:—Messrs. P. W. Welsh and Co.

ADDITIONAL MERCHANTS:—H. G. Ashurst and Co., W. and H. Barnes, O. Williams, and W. Westgarth.

This phalanx, however, had troublous times before it, for instead of having only one storm to breast, it was on the eve of three or four years of a commercial crisis, never since equalled in intensity and disruption. 1842-4 constituted an ordeal of the most testing nature for the mercantile fraternity of the time, through which few, indeed, passed unscathed. The tempest came on—the hurricane not only swept the country, but settled upon the town, and the crash was all but universal. Speculation, over-trading, and insufficiency of capital, a recklessness in business, and an excessive *inter se* system of bill-discounting, known as "kite-flying," only produced the consequences inevitable from such rashness. Every imaginable device for "raising the wind" was unscrupulously resorted to; but the particular monetary *wind* that was wanted would not blow. The Resident Judge (Willis), who revelled in the *rôle* of mischief maker, judicially, or extra-judicially, seemed like a spirit of evil, with a blazing torch, spreading about the flame of discontent whenever he had a chance; and Supreme Court attachments, sequestrations, and assignments, were the order of the day during his tenure of office. Creditors grew clamourous for payment; property of every description, not only depreciated in value, but for a time was absolutely unsaleable. Overdue paper could not be retired, overdrafts remained unreduced, and the Australasian and Union Banks were, in self-protection, forced to put on the "screw." Sales were compelled under ruinous sacrifices, and the break-up was general. Some of the merchants and agents terminated their earthly anxieties by dying, whilst others took wings and "bolted." The majority were thoroughly "burst up," whilst a few emerged from the tribulation unscorched, and in the march of time succeeded in acquiring considerable affluence. One of the departed (Mr. F. Manton), I had always good reason to hold in kind remembrance, for it was in his employment I earned the first money that ever, as my own, entered my pocket. A cheque for fifteen guineas received from him was the first "oil" I struck on entering upon what has proved a neither short nor altogether uneventful "battle of life;" and though the "valuable consideration" did not remain long with me, whenever it recurs to my memory, it is accompanied by a vision of the pleasurable sensation which I experienced.

The First Tariff

In operation in Port Phillip provided:—1. Upon all spirits, the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom, or Her Majesty's plantations and possessions in the West Indies and in North America, imported directly from the United Kingdom—nine shillings per gallon. 2. Upon all other spirits imported—twelve shillings per gallon. 3. Wine—five per cent. *ad valorem.* 4. Tea and sugar—five per cent. *ad valorem.* 5. Flour, meal, wheat, rice, and other grain and pulse—free until the 31st December, 1840, after which five per cent. will be charged. 6. Tobacco and snuff, manufactured—two shillings per lb.; unmanufactured—one shilling and sixpence per lb. 7. Goods, &c., not being the produce and manufacture of the United Kingdom—ten per cent. *ad valorem.*

In addition, there was a long list of wharfage rates leviable upon everything, and sliding from three shillings on a threshing machine to three farthings for a foot of spar.

The two earliest Bonded Stores of which there is any record were:—Messrs. Arthur Kemmis and Co., Market Square, and Captain Roach, Little Flinders Street.

The Melbourne Auction Company

Was established in April, 1840, with a capital of £60,000, but though ushered into the world with every kind of flourish which the typographical clarion was capable of sounding, it soon shared the fate of several other old joint-stock undertakings which, starting with a Directory of ostentatious names, and less capital than expectations, very soon came to grief. The Directory of this large "knocking down" firm were William Langhorne, Frederick Manton, Farquhar McCrae, Jonathan Binns Were, Alexander Thomson, Thomas Wills, Charles Howard, Daniel Stodhart Campbell, Alexander M'Killop, William Ryrie, James Graham, Arthur Kemmis, Horatio Nelson Carrington, George Brunswick Smythe, William Highett, William Hampden Dutton, Godfrey Howitt, and William Morris Harper, Esquires.

The chief executive staff was thus formed:—Managing Director: John Carey, Esq.; Auctioneer: George Sinclair Brodie, Esq.; Accountant: Archibald M'Lachlan, Esq.; Bankers: The Bank of Australasia; Solicitors: Messrs. Montgomery and M'Crae.

The professed object of this co-partnery was to afford sufficient security and increased facilities to parties having property to dispose of. It was declared to have a fair prospect of success, but required an Act of Council to enable its Managing Director to sue and be sued. On attempting to promote a Private Bill in the Legislature of New South Wales, the Governor (Sir G. Gipps) refused his sanction (the granting of which was an indispensable preliminary) in consequence of the failure of an auction company in Sydney. There was no alternative, therefore, but a dissolution. Of all the names above given, the only survivor in 1888 is Mr. James Graham.

Defunct Quarantine Stations.—Point Ormond.

The first yellow-flagged ship arriving in Port Phillip was the "Glen Huntley," from Greenock, with immigrants, on the 17th April, 1840. Typhus fever had shown itself on the voyage, and out of 157 passengers there were no less than fifty on the sick list. Great was the consternation amongst the townspeople on the appearance of so unexpected and unwelcome an importation as a probable pestilence, and no time was lost in arranging for the establishment of a Quarantine Station. The then umbrageous, picturesque territory, now thoroughly civilized and known as St. Kilda, was designated by the Aborigines "Euro-Yroke" from a species of sandstone abounding there, by which they shaped and sharpened their stone tomahawks. Its first European appellation was the "Green Knoll" (the eminence, then much higher, now recognized as the Esplanade), until Superintendent Latrobe named the country St. Kilda in compliment to a dashing little schooner, once a visitor in the Bay. St. Kilda was considered a smart walk from town, and adventurous pedestrians made Sunday trips there in the fine weather. About a mile further, looking out in perpetual watch over Hobson's Bay, was a

point known as the Little Red Bluff, afterwards improved into Point Ormond, and here some four miles from Melbourne, a pleasant enough spot, was organized our first sanitary station, where tents were pitched, and crew and passengers sent ashore. Ample precautions were taken to intercept communication with the interdicted world by land or sea, and Dr. Barry Cotter, Melbourne's first practising medico, not being too full handed with patients in a small, healthy, youthful community, with a magnanimity that did him credit, volunteered his services to take charge of the newly-formed station. There was a military detachment located there, from which a guard was assigned to protect the encampment on the land side, whilst the revenue-cutter, "Prince George," from Sydney, was stationed seaward to shut off communication by boat or otherwise. The Surgeon-Superintendent entered upon his duties with a becoming sense of their importance. By an amusing perversion of terms he styled the place "Healthy Camp," and whilst lording it there, issued regular bulletins upon the condition of the invalids and convalescents consigned to his care. Three of the immigrants died there, and were interred near the Bluff. Their lonely graveyard was afterwards enclosed with a rough wooden railing, but has been destroyed by time, and from oversight or culpable neglect has not been replaced, and so their mortal remains have rested in peace, unprotected and undisturbed.

On the publication of the foregoing in the Press, the following correspondence took place. A writer signing himself "Architect" says :—

"In Garryowen's *Reminiscences of Early Melbourne* he mentions the dilapidated state of the forgotten graves on Point Ormond. Now as the St. Kilda Council seem to have gone to sleep over the matter, I think it would be well for the public to endeavour to place an iron railing and small monument over the spot. I send you cheque for one pound to start the subscription, and I shall be most happy to prepare plans, &c., and superintend erection of same without charging for my labour."

To this Mr. J. N. Browne, Town Clerk of St. Kilda, thus replies :—"This Council (St. Kilda) applied to the Hon. the Minister of Lands for control of the reserve at Point Ormond, which request was refused by the Minister. The reserve in question is now vested in and under the control of certain gentlemen as a committee of management."

A note by the Editor further explains thus :—"We are informed that the late Councillor Tullett, of St. Kilda, moved in the matter, but died before any definite action could be taken. Councillor Tullett moved that a suitable monument should be erected at the expense of the Council, and inscribed as follows :—'This monument was erected by the Mayor and Councillors of the Borough of St. Kilda, in memory of Armstrong, locksmith ; Craig, weaver ; James Matter, cook ; George Denham, all of Scotch nationality. They arrived in this colony in the barque 'Glen Huntley,' which sailed from Obin, Scotland, 28th October, 1839, and thence to Greenwich, where the above deceased embarked, and having been detained there in quarantine for some weeks, sailed thence 13th December, 1839, and after an extraordinary succession of illnesses on board and accidents (once running on a rock, one collision, and once fouling with another ship) arrived, and anchored at the point then known as Point Ormond, now called Red Bluff, 17th April, 1840.'"

A friend, to whom I am under much obligation for acts of courtesy, has forwarded a communication containing this extract :—"When I landed here in February, 1842, there was a ship, I think, called the 'Manlius,' in the Bay near Williamstown, with her passengers landed, and in quarantine at Williamstown. Many of the passengers died, and were interred near the old lighthouse. That would be some years before the ship 'General Palmer' arrived." I obtained similar information from another private source ; but not finding any corroboration in the newspapers of the period, I did not include it in my narrative.

South Williamstown.

Settlement was gradually, though sparsely, extended over the hilly, grassy, swampy country, now (1888) one of our wealthiest suburbs, and the danger and inconvenience of a *lazaretto* so close to Melbourne grew so self-evident that another and more suitable site had to be looked up, and it was determined to cross the Bay and appropriate some locality on the other side. A spot on

the coast about a mile southward of Point Gellibrand (the Williamstown lighthouse) was chosen—a cheerless, rocky, dreary place enough—and here it was decided to provide temporary accommodation when required. But time flew by, and no infected vessel was reported, and so people almost forgot even the existence of a possible disagreeable contingency, when, nine years since the quarantining of the first sick ship, another put in appearance. This was the "General Palmer," with immigrants from London, arriving on the 10th April, 1849, with unwelcome intelligence that fever and whooping-cough had prevailed on board. Tents were hurriedly pitched on the ground, though there arose no subsequent necessity for occupying them. A Medical Board, composed of Dr. Patterson (Immigration Agent) Dr. Beith, R.N., and Dr. Wilmott (Coroner) was appointed to investigate the case, and they reported to the Provincial Superintendent (Latrobe) that during the voyage six cases of fever had occurred amongst adult passengers, but without any fatal consequences. There were eighty-six children on board, several of whom had suffered from scarlet fever and whooping-cough, and eight had died—four from each disease. There was then no contagious sickness prevailing, and it was recommended that after a four days' isolation, should no fresh case occur, both ship and passengers should be released from detention. This course was adopted, and nothing after occurred to question its propriety.

Spottiswood's Ferry.

Unsuitability from its unsheltered position, and other objections were urged against the second *Sanatorium*, which necessitated another removal, and the third establishment was placed at the other extreme of Williamstown, towards the confluence of the Yarra and Saltwater Rivers, close by what got to be known as "Spottiswood's Ferry," from boats plying there to supply pedestrians with a short cut from Williamstown to the capital. A small roughish encampment was raised, and here on the 7th November, 1849, were impounded the crew and passengers of the "John Thomas Foord," 790 tons, from Plymouth, with immigrants. Cholera had been raging on board during the passage out, and the deaths numbered twenty-four. The ship sailed on the 17th July, and as no fatal event happened since the 1st August, the detention of the quarantined was of short duration.

On the 21st December, 1851, the "Eagle," 1065 tons, from Liverpool, with a large number of passengers, was placed in quarantine, in consequence of fourteen children having died from measles, and one adult from smallpox, during the voyage. Though no disease had appeared for several weeks, the doctor, as was thought, through some grudge towards the captain (Boyce) refused to report the vessel as healthy. A medical inquiry was forthwith instituted and resulted in a removal of the detainer, with only a few hours' inconvenience.

No need to identify the present, only too familiar Quarantine Station at Portsea, beyond mentioning that the Point Nepean region was originally a place chosen for lime-burning operations, and in the lapse of time grew into a depasturing depôt for police troopers' horses. It is instructive to note as an instance of the appropriateness with which the Aborigines wedded localities to names, that the Sorrento Peninsula was known in the native dialect as "Boona-tall-ung" signifying a kangaroo hide, which when spread out bears a marked resemblance to the neck of land of which Point Nepean forms the apex or "snout."

CHAPTER XLV.

BLACK AND WHITE.

SYNOPSIS.—William Buckley: His Sentence, Escape, Life in the Bush, Return to Civilization, Pardon by the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, Colonial Pensions, and Death.—White Women Captured by the Blacks.—The Missing Vessel, "Brittomart."—Supposed to be Wrecked near Port Albert.—Miss Lord, a Passenger.—Reported to be Captured by Natives.—Miss M'Pherson and Mrs. Capel also supposed Passengers.—Organization of Rescue Parties.—The Government Expedition.—The Private Expedition.—Another Government Expedition.

The Wild White Man.

AMONGST the prisoners under sentence of transportation in the Collins Convict Expedition, at Sorrento in 1803, was one William Buckley. He was born at Macclesfield, Cheshire, in 1780, learned the trade of a stonemason, and enlisted in the Grenadier Company of the 4th Regiment, serving in Flanders and Gibraltar. One day he was guilty of the unsoldierly act of assaulting a superior officer, for which a Court-martial deported him beyond the seas, and he arrived at Port Phillip in the "Calcutta," one of the two transport ships, which conveyed the Collins' party. Whilst camped on the beach, on the verge of a *terra ignota*, there flickered a lingering hope, through the minds of many of the prisoners, of their ability, not only to escape, but to reach Sydney overland, having no conception of the numerous obstacles, which rendered the realization of such a wild scheme impossible. Several escapes were effected, but the precarious liberty so obtained was of brief duration, for the runaways were either shot or recaptured in pursuit, or, scared by the hunger and desolation of the wilderness, returned, and were soundly flogged for their temerity. Buckley with three others had for some time meditated an exit, and by some means contrived to secrete a scanty stock of provisions, and also secured a gun, two or three tin billies and an old kettle. On the night of the 30th of December, 1803, they got away, though not without alarming the guard, who fired after and killed one of them. There is some uncertainty as to the names and precise number of the "bolters," and the following confused entry referring to the occurrence appears in the diary kept by the Rev. R. Knopwood, the chaplain who had spiritual charge of the convict expedition:—"Saturday, 31st December, 1803. Deserters from the camp—Convicts—Mac. Adenan, George Pye, Pritchard, M. Warner, Wm. Buckley, Charles Shaw, wounded and brought to the camp; Page, taken same time when Shaw was shot, G. Lee, and Wm. Gibson."

The Buckley gang, consisting of himself, Pye, Pritchard, and Warner, succeeded in clearing out, and soon found the kettle to be such an encumbrance that they dropped it, and it remained in the bush for some forty years, when it was picked up, rotted and rusty, by a party employed clearing some land in the neighbourhood of Elsternwick. Crossing the Yarra at the Studley Park Falls, they went at first a considerable distance to the northward, seeing many signs of, but meeting no natives. Turning westward, they crossed the plains, not knowing where they were, but supposing they were on the route to Sydney. There is much uncertainty as to when and how Buckley and his companions parted, and it was never satisfactorily cleared up; for when, in after years, Buckley was questioned on the subject, he prevaricated in the explanations he gave. Once he declared that one of them had died from the bite of a snake, and he did not know what had become of the others. Again he stated positively that when their provisions were used up, they separated by mutual consent, he going westward and they facing the east. At all events they were never heard of afterwards, having probably perished of hunger, or murdered by the blacks, or shared a more horrible fate, though in the absence of any stronger evidence than surmise, it would be unfair to add to Buckley's crimes the additional one of murder.

Mr. J. H. Wedge, surveyor to the Batman Association, declared that Pye was so exhausted by fatigue that his companions abandoned him on the banks of the Yarra, and that Warner left Buckley near Indented Head, intending, if possible, to retrace his steps and return to surrender himself at the encampment. But it is difficult to imagine upon what grounds Mr. Wedge felt himself justified in making such a statement. However, when Buckley was left to himself, he was driven to desperate straits to provide food, and took to the coast as the most likely place where he could find sustenance. Crayfish he caught in abundance, and such with wild berries formed his staff of life for some months until he was discovered by the natives. The story of his affiliation with the "black brotherhood" is also differently told. According to one authority he possessed himself of the abandoned "mia-mia" of a tribe, near which was the grave of a native chief. From this a fragment of a spear protruded, and Buckley appropriating it, and meeting some savages a few days after, on recognizing the spear, they fancied that the defunct dead man had resumed existence in the wonderful apparition that stared at them, and, so to speak, they received him with open arms and ever after treated him with marked kindness and consideration. Next it was alleged that he was first seen by three native women, who presented their treasure-trove to the males of the tribe. He bore in his hand portion of a spear, and exhibiting some resemblance to a deceased chief named Murragark, he was hailed and welcomed as a new revised whitewashed edition of the great departed. A third version is supplied by the following memo. obtained by Mr. Robert Russell from Mr. Thomas Jackson of St. Kilda, in August, 1878:—

"He saw Buckley in Hobart Town in 1851. He said he could show him where there was gold in the Cape Otway Ranges. On going round the harbour he had taken a staff from a grave and walked with it in his hand, when a native woman recognizing it as having belonged to her husband, Buckley was immediately taken to be him, a 'Jumped up white fellow.'"

Buckley, like a true philosopher, made a virtue of necessity, and soon fell into the ways of the new people. With a facility not to be expected from a person of rather dull comprehension, he rapidly acquired a thorough acquaintance with their language, and gradually became quite satisfied with their mode of life, clothed in an opossum skin, and relishing all their "delicacies," such as grubs and raw flesh. He lived in every way as one of them. Food was always supplied to him, and he took no part in procuring it. He meddled not in their quarrels, nor joined against the enemies of his tribe. In fact, he appears to have ate, drunk, and slept for the space of two and thirty years, seemingly contented, if not happy, and stolidly reconciled to his fate.

There is also much diversity of opinion as to the number of Buckley's Aboriginal wives and children, some averring that he had only one, others two, and others more partners, whilst his offspring are rated at from none to several. According to Mr. John Morgan, of Hobart Town, who wrote a rather fanciful sketch of the "Wild White Man's Aboriginal Existence," Buckley's first "rib" was a buxom widow of twenty, and they dwelt in a sylvan retreat on the banks of the Karraf (the junction of the Moorabool and Barwon). But his hymeneal happiness did not see out the honeymoon, for one evening, while the recently consorted pair were secluded in the domesticity of their loosely constructed abode, the bower of bliss was rushed by half-a-dozen young bloods, who abducted the lady, not very much against her consent, the bereaved Benedict taking his loss very quietly. Her career, however, had a speedy and tragic termination, for she commenced to play some tricks upon her new possessor, which he unceremoniously paid off by sending a spear through her heart.

Buckley's loneliness was quickly cheered by the appearance of a sprightly young woman—a runaway from a neighbouring tribe—and having hastily struck up a match, they shifted their quarters to a cavern at Point Lonsdale, still pointed out to sea-side visitors as "Buckley's Cave," which, judging from a five minutes' sojourn there, I must pronounce to be about the most comfortless hole that ever two human beings burrowed in. If Fawkner is to be believed, Buckley "had several wives among the native women and a number of children;" but "Johnny" never took kindly to Buckley, because the latter had attached himself to the Fawknerian rival—Batman, for whom he entertained a sincere liking, and when intelligence of Batman's death reached Hobart Town and Buckley heard it "he threw himself on his bed and cried bitterly." In 1835 Buckley was said to have two "lubras." As to his

children he declared he had none, but had adopted a boy and girl the children of a brother-in-law, who had been "waddied" out of the world. Some old settlers were certain there were several young Buckleys in existence, and a Mr. A. Sutherland testified to two handsome girls as Buckley's daughters, whilst others spoke of two good-looking sons. Dr. Ross, of Van Diemen's Land, made references to a daughter of Buckley's in Port Phillip. At last the "Rebecca," with Batman's party arrived. The members of it left behind lived in tents on the N.E. side of Indented Head.

At this time a plan was laid by the natives to murder the whites for the sake of their tomahawks, etc., which Buckley attempted to dissuade them from by telling them that if they did so soldiers would come over and kill the whole tribe; but the threat had no effect, and they would have carried their intention into execution, had not Buckley taken steps to defend his countrymen, arming himself with a musket, the deadly effects of which he explained to the blackfellows,

When Buckley first attempted to address the strangers he was unable to articulate a word of English; for—

> "So long hath he been traversing the wilds,
> And dwelling in the realms of savagery,
> That he hath nigh forgot his mother tongue."

He made several spasmodic attempts to speak, but ineffectually, until one of the white men, named John Greene, offered him a piece of a loaf and called it bread. Buckley clutched it with his hand, looked at it, took a bite of it, and the word "bread" burst from his lips. He then displayed his arm, on which the letters "W. B." were tattooed—a memorial of some barrack-life freak, and the uncertainty as to whether he was a black or a white man (for his colour was a dark whitey-brown, covered with hair) vanished. They were some time before they could ascertain his name, and several guesses were made. That "W" stood for William was admitted; but what could the "B" indicate? Was it Brown, Bryan, or Burgess? Some thought it must be "Burgess;" but the unknown, upon whose dimmed intellect the light was breaking, shouted "Buckley!" "William Buckley!" and thus was the monogram elucidated. Several written descriptions of him are to be found. Nicholas Goslyn, one of the primitive colonists, writes:—"That when he (Buckley) was taken from the blacks he was a monster of a man, stood six feet three inches in height, and stout in proportion." According to Fawkner, "He stood six feet five inches in his stockings, was not very bulky, nor over-burdened with *nous*."

By degrees he was able to recollect a few words, but it was more than a week before he could hold anything like a connected conversation, and according to Mr. Wedge "nothing could exceed the joy he evinced at once more feeling himself a free man, received again within the pale of civilized society." Buckley's restoration occurred on the 12th July, 1835, and it is admitted that he was instrumental in promoting a friendly feeling between the two races. It was no easy work to bring the recovered barbarian into something like ship-shape; for his hair was long and matted, his beard hung in profusion, and he was a regular "Wild man of the woods." It is not known whether his face was denuded of its hirsute crop by means of a reaping hook, a shears, or a razor, but possibly through the aid of the three implements it was brought into a trim according with his new position. The first shirt manufactured in the colony was made for him by one of Batman's daughters.

It was not long before a new-born trouble gave him an anxious mind, for he soon became sensible of the dangerous position in which he stood as an escaped convict, liable to arrest at any moment. This anxiety was, however, promptly removed through the intercession of Batman and Wedge with Sir George Arthur, Governor of Van Diemen's Land, who, on the 25th August, 1835, granted him a free pardon. Buckley remained in Port Phillip for a couple of years, rendering himself useful as a mediator between the whites and blacks, and as a guide to persons undertaking excursions into the then unknown interior. Proceeding to Hobart Town, he filled several minor appointments there, where he acted as a constable, was porter at the Female Nursery, and assistant storekeeper to the Immigrants' Home. His varied experiences in coloured married life seemed to have rendered celibacy distasteful, for in 1840 he contracted a matrimonial alliance with a white woman, the widow

of a recently-deceased immigrant. In 1850 he was made the recipient of two small pensions, *i.e.*, £40 from the Legislature of New South Wales, and £12 from Van Diemen's Land. In January, 1856, he was pitched out of a vehicle and so seriously injured that he died on the 2nd February, *ætate* 76.

White Women Captured by the Blacks.

There is not in the whole history of Victoria a more harrowing episode than the capture and detention of three European women by the Gippsland Aborigines; or one, now more utterly forgotten, and of which no lengthy or complete narrative has appeared in any publication, if the disjointed accounts printed in some of the early newspapers be excepted.

In 1839-40 four or five intercolonial trading vessels sailed from Hobson's Bay, and little or nothing was afterwards heard of them, their passengers or cargoes. Some foundered at sea and disappeared; others were wrecked on the iron-bound coast of the continent, and the island reefs in Bass's Straits; and though rumour in its usually exaggerated form, was rife and busy, the painful surmises assumed no tangible shape for several years; and it was not until 1846 that positive intelligence was received in Melbourne as to the existence of one or more white women amongst a tribe of blacks occupying the country near Port Albert. One of the missing vessels was the "Brittomart," believed to have gone ashore in that neighbourhood. A Miss Lord was on board, and she was supposed to have fallen into the hands of some savages, by the chief of whom she was detained; and in the early part of the year some mounted troopers, whilst riding at the base of a mountain-range, beheld in the company of a group of natives at a distance the figure of a white person, who was at once pronounced by the public voice to be the unfortunate lady. In May, whilst some blacks were making a raid upon a mob of cattle belonging to Mr. M'Millan, a settler, a few miles from the port, a half-caste child fell into his hands, and Miss Lord was believed to be its putative mother. When the intelligence reached Melbourne, much painful interest was excited. The old story of the lost ship was revived; it was the universal topic of conversation, and any scrap of information tending to throw light on the terrible mystery was eagerly devoured. The probable identity of the captive was canvassed in the newspapers, and it was soon enveloped in perplexity from the several theories started. It was positively declared by some that the female was not Miss Lord (for whose rescue £1,000 had been previously offered by relatives in Sydney), but a lady who sailed from Port Phillip to Sydney in the "Brittomart" in 1839; and the following circumstances connected with her supposed detention were communicated by Mr. Stratton, a resident of Tarraville:—"She was a Miss M'Pherson, once attached to an hotel in Elizabeth Street, kept by a Mr. John M'Donald, and known as the *Scottish Chiefs*. Leaving Melbourne in 1839 to visit her relatives in Sydney, the vessel by which she travelled was totally wrecked on the Gippsland coast, when she by some chance reached the shore, escaping death only to meet a more terrible fate. She was seized by a native tribe, and becoming the prize of its chief, was carried off and kept in the ranges. She gave birth to four children, three of whom died, and was several times seen by the shepherds, but was never permitted to approach a white man, a very rare visitor in such parts at the time. One day in the mountains a shepherd came across a large tree, on the bark of which was carved the name, 'Ellen M'Pherson,' also the name of the ship and some rude directions by which she hoped to be traced and recovered." The controversy started in Melbourne soon spread to the other colonies, and an apparently well-informed correspondent of the *Sydney Herald* supplied the following particulars, introducing a third unfortunate upon the stage:—"It was the writer's belief that the white captive was neither Miss Lord nor Miss M'Pherson, and in support of this view he quoted the *Port Phillip Gazette*, 11th December, 1839, to show that the 'Brittomart,' instead of sailing for Sydney, left Melbourne for Hobart Town with nine male and no female passengers. This vessel he thought went ashore at Preservation Island, in sight of Van Diemen's Land, and if any of the crew or passengers escaped, they were probably murdered by some of the runaway convicts or other outlaws then infesting all the Straits Islands. He was himself in the Straits on the night of the supposed wreck of the 'Brittomart,' some sixty miles distant from the scene of the catastrophe. It was his belief, beyond doubt, that the

unfortunate woman in question was a Mrs. Capel, a passenger by the brig 'Britannia,' which left Port Philip for Sydney, on 4th November, 1839, in ballast, with Messrs. Bowerman, Snowdon, Browning, M'Lean, and Watt. Mrs. Capel, a native of Ireland, arrived (1837) at Sydney, in an emigrant ship. Towards the end of 1838 she came to Port Phillip, and in a few months married Mr. T. Capel, a brewer. The husband soon after disposed of his business, and accepted an engagement to manage an extensive brewery in Sydney, whither he went, the wife remaining in Melbourne until she should hear from him. Capel soon settled down satisfactorily in his new berth, and, writing for his wife, she departed in the 'Britannia' to rejoin him. The ship went to pieces early on its journey, and portions of the wreck were subsequently found along what is known as Ninety Mile Beach. The Government despatched the revenue-cutter 'Ranger' to search about the place, and found the long boat of the 'Britannia' ashore on the Long Beach, with her sail set, and a black silk neckerchief on a thwart. Several footmarks were perceptible on the sands, which, added to other appearances, led to a supposition that the boat had been beached, its inmates had landed, and from the direction taken by the tracks it was believed that they endeavoured to make overland towards Twofold Bay. It was further supposed that all the males had been either murdered by the natives, or died from hunger on their journey, more probably the former, for several of the blacks were afterwards seen attired in fragments of European clothing. The presence of the woman was first discovered by a stockman in quest of stray cattle, who, falling in with a party of Aborigines some distance back from the Ninety Mile Beach, was astonished by the appearance of a white child amongst them, and in answer to enquiries he was told it belonged to a white woman who was detained by the chief of the tribe. Mrs. Capel was *enceinte* when she left Melbourne, and the apparent age of the child so corresponded with this circumstance, as to justify the conclusion that it was her's."

In a short time there was a strong conviction amongst the Melbournians, that instead of one there were two white women captives, and the public anxiety was so exercised, and a desire to make some effort to rescue the miserable creatures grew so strong, that a requisition was presented to the Mayor (Dr. J. F. Palmer) to convene a public meeting to adopt measures to ascertain how far the rumours were reliable. The Mayor complied, and the meeting was held at the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street, on the 2nd September, 1846, when, though not numerous, the attendance was an influential one. Amongst the speakers were Messrs. John Stephen, D. Baird, J. A. Marsden, Robert Robinson, Wm. Kerr, Wm. Westgarth, Geo. Cavenagh, P. Davis, and Dr. Greeves. The last-named (one of the best-informed men of the time), who had evidently been well posted in all the data in connection with the subject, made a statement from which are taken the following facts:—At an early period of the settlement of Port Phillip, five vessels, viz., the "Australia," "Britannia," "Brittomart," "Sarah," and "Yarra," trading between Melbourne, Sydney, and Van Diemen's Land, were lost, as nothing had been ever heard of them. In most, if not all of them, there were female passengers, and it had been stated by persons of veracity that a white woman had been seen amongst an Aboriginal tribe in Gippsland. There was living on the station of a Gippsland settler, a civilized black boy, who had described this poor creature (also several children she had probably borne to a native chief, by whom she was detained); and even pointed out the spot where, when younger, he had played with the little half-castes. A white female name had been found carved on a tree in a place to which no white man had previously penetrated, and the name was that of a female passenger by one of the missing vessels. This had been found out only after the discovery of the carved name, and the institution of enquiries in Melbourne. She was never permitted to come near any white persons, and whenever observed by any bushmen, it was noticed that the black with whom she was supposed to be, always kept her in advance, as if to intercept any attempted rescue. If anything were to be done, it should be marked by secrecy and despatch; and there were in Melbourne six persons ready as volunteers to risk their lives as a rescue party, but they would not do so for pay. Resolutions were passed condemnatory of the apathy of the Government in the matter, and initiating a subscription to equip an expedition.

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, committed one of those mistakes which, as a public man, more than once brought him into trouble. He threw out a suggestion that, possibly the white woman had formed ties with the blacks which she might be unwilling to dissever—an intimation

which gave much dissatisfaction, and was warmly resented by Mr. J. A. Marsden, who declared that such an announcement would be calculated to retard the movement by alienating the co-operation of persons who would be only glad of any excuse not to contribute towards it. Dr. Palmer was also soundly castigated by some of the newspapers for having the courage of such an opinion, in which, however, he did not stand alone, for Mr. Superintendent Latrobe, one of the most humane men in the province, was of the same way of thinking. A Committee was appointed to raise funds, and to ascertain whether the Government would assist, and to what extent. The Committee lost no time in setting to work, and issued an appeal to the public, especially to the ladies, which was freely responded to, and Mr. M'Pherson, a clerk in the Treasury at Sydney, brother to one of the supposed captives transmitted two remittances of £10 and £30.

On the 19th September a reply was received from the Colonial Secretary to the communication of the Committee, forwarding a copy of the resolutions, and asking for assistance in the way of certain supplies towards the fitting out of an expedition. It set forth, that so far back as the month of May, when the report assumed a distinct character, the Superintendent of the province had taken prompt steps to test its truth, and if found true, to follow up the measures necessary to effect a possible rescue; that there were "pretty certain proofs" of the existence of an unfortunate female in the position described, and that the Government officers had been entrusted with the duty of prosecuting a search, and authorized to incur every expense necessary for such a purpose. His Excellency the Governor considered the proposed movement calculated to defeat the object in view, as the course pursued by the Government officers was the best, having regard to the full attainment of the end and security to the life of the female. He therefore declined giving either assistance to the private expedition, or his sanction to the steps proposed to be taken. It concluded with an expression of surprise that neither the Mayor nor the projectors of the public meeting had thought proper to apply to the Superintendent for the information in possession of the Government. Notwithstanding this "wet blanketing," the Committee persevered, and both raised sufficient money from voluntary contributions and started the expedition, of which a more detailed account will be found further on.

A letter from Mr. M'Millan before referred to is so interesting that I give it in compressd form. The writer expressed his positive belief that there was a white woman with the blacks. In October, 1840, he came to a blacks' abandoned encampment on the Glengarry river, and found there a dead white child about eight months old. On approaching the place he saw several Aboriginal men and women behind a female, pushing her forward, and questioning a native black who accompanied him, was told it was a white woman. This he did not believe; for, if so, he should have followed them. The subsequent finding of the child's corpse convinced him that the blackfellow was right. He wrote on a slip of paper where his station was, and left it at the camp for the supposed white woman. There were also found there a pair of prunella shoes, a child's dress, some light brown or sandy colour human hair, and parts of a brass sextant and quadrant, evidently procured from some wreck. On returning there next day the place had been destroyed by fire. He stated it as the opinion of Dr. Arbuckle, a medical practitioner in that part, that the child found was born of an European parent. Two separate and independent search parties were now in the field, and in order to recount their proceedings in an intelligible and consecutive manner, the latter are produced *seriatim*, precedence being given to

The Government Expedition.

Early in the year 1846 a correspondence passed between Mr. C. J. Tyers (Gippsland Crown Commissioner), Captain Dana (Commandant of Native Mounted Police), and Superintendent Latrobe, which left little doubt that there was a white captive woman with the Aborigines. Two of the troopers declared that once, when patrolling at the foot of some ranges, they saw a party of natives having with them a white woman with red hair. She wore an opossum cloak, which, accidentally or intentionally she dropped, and it was then they noticed her whiteness. An old native man, armed with a spear, caught and forced her into the scrub, in which the Aborigines speedily

disappeared. The troopers afterwards found the cloak, and by their power of scent were able to say that it had been worn by a white person. The troopers gave as a reason for not attempting a rescue that he who first saw the woman was rendered almost powerless by surprise, and the second was fearful of hitting the woman if he fired at the old black. An Aboriginal boy taken from his tribe, was staying at the station of Mr. M'Millan, and had learned to speak some English. He stated that a white woman, who had escaped from shipwreck, was living with the tribe adjacent to the one he had left, and he had often played with her children. This testimony was partially corroborated by an Aboriginal girl from Gippsland, who was living with the Western Port tribe. All the correspondence in possession of the Government had been perused by a member of the *Sydney Herald* staff, and he inclined to the belief that the captive was the Mrs. Capel before mentioned. In the *Port Phillip Herald* of 1st October, 1846, was printed an interesting narrative of the excursions made by the native police in their searches, of which I append the pith:—In the latter end of March, Mr. Walsh, the second officer of the native police, with eight Aboriginal troopers, Sergeant Windridge, and three of the Border Police, accompanied by a black boy of the Gippsland tribe named Johnny Warrington, started from the police station at Eagle Point to search for the supposed white captive. Well rationed, and in two boats, they proceeded up the River Nicholson, and after rowing for four miles discovered nothing. Returning, they started again in the first week of April, proceeded up Lake King, and after some coasting came upon what they believed to be blacks in canoes fishing. Crossing the lake and camping, they remained until 3 o'clock next morning, when with muffled oars they pulled over the lake to within almost three hundred yards of a black camp. Getting ashore, they proceeded stealthily towards the "mia-mias," and having arrived within a dozen yards hid in the adjoining scrub. In a few moments the rain descended in torrents, disturbing the blacks in their "quambying." Awakening in a hurry, they commenced breaking some boughs to shelter themselves from the inclemency of the weather, and one of them actually climbed a tree which overhung the party in *perdu*. From what the native boy overheard of some Aboriginal chattering, it would appear that they intended to shift their quarters to the sea coast, some three miles away. Daylight at length dawned, and the searchers crept to within a yard of the camp, when some alarm was given, and the whole force scampered off through the scrub, leaving whatever little could be termed baggage behind. They were immediately pursued, a few women and children captured, but all the males escaped. The pursuers proceeded *viâ* Lake Victoria, through M'Lellan's Straits, for four miles, entering Lake Wellington. After traversing this neighbourhood, sterile and waterless, and spending two days in fruitless exertions, they returned to the boats for a renewal of provisions, after which they again set out on their journey, but were soon compelled to desist in consequence of the lack of water. The black police were an especial impediment through their improvidence in the consumption of rations; and as soon as the supplies were out they were eager to return. The whites were inclined to advance, feeling assured that after a little perseverance success would crown their efforts, but in consequence of the black troopers demurring, the undesirable alternative was adopted, viz., to return. Mr. Walsh, Trooper Connolly, and two black fellows resought the boat, which, after some difficulty, they brought up the following night, when they joined the land party, who had signalled to them by firing a tree. Here they passed the night, and at an early hour the following morning started in search. Two of the native police were despatched to reconnoitre the whereabouts of the blacks. The party considered it advisable not to proceed further until about three o'clock the next morning, which is the hour of soundest sleep for the Aboriginals of this country. At the appointed period the boats were manned and ran down an inlet for two miles coastwise. Here they disembarked and proceeded a short distance in the scrub when the black boy said—"he plenty smell the fire of the warrigals" (the camp of the blacks.) After advancing a mile farther the lad's anticipation was partly realized; the blacks had been there, but were gone, and the embers of their fires were still smouldering. After daybreak, a native policeman climbing a tree ascertained that the objects of their search had shifted from that to the other side of the inlet in small bark canoes. Four men accordingly remained at the former side and the others crossed in the boats, but the instant they

approached the off bank the blacks, who were quite close, on seeing they were strangers, scampered into the bush and disappeared. Three "gins" and some "picanninnies" were taken prisoners, whom "Johnny Warrington" recognized and commenced playing with, and some of them knew him. After they were given some bread the boy asked—"Where quamby the white woman?" and one of the "gins" replied that she had run away with the first party. The Aborigines soon conceived suspicions of the boy, and obstinately refused to answer any further interrogations. The prisoners were then set at liberty, and the party continued a fruitless search for several days; they finally returned to the station without having fallen in with any of the blacks wanted.

Fourteen days after, Sergeant Windridge, five Border Police, two of the black police and the native boy, made another excursion in quest of the white woman. They proceeded in a boat up one of the many "back-waters" in the locality, taking a somewhat similar route to the former. Signs of the Aborigines were, after some time discovered, and when they reached a return water channel, which ran down by the back of Lake Victoria, they "lay to" for the night. Next morning they steered to the lake, and about noon came in sight of a thick scrub. Leaving two men at the opposite side, they rowed towards the scrub, and went ashore. About 2 o'clock, watching an opportunity, they rushed the camp, when the blacks fled with loud yells to some canoes which lined the verge of the lake, but the moment they beheld the boat and the armed men, they doubled back to the scrub. One old man jumped into a canoe, and pulled vigorously with a great effort to cross the lake. Sergeant Windridge, Trooper Connolly, and a bullock-driver in the employment of Commissioner Tyers, started after him in their boat. The old fellow made his way over the lake with wonderful rapidity, but was intercepted by the men stationed at the off side, one of whom presented a gun at him, which the old chap acknowledged by hurling a spear. He was ultimately captured by one of the native police. The prisoner was stowed on board, the whole party re-crossed the lake, and on reaching the shore another of the black police fell in with an aged blackfellow, whom he was in the act of securing, when he felt a piece of flesh literally bitten out of his arm, and quickly dropped his prey, who slipped off through the scrub. A large knife, and about half-a-dozen dried-up black men's hands, were dangling from the savage's neck. The boy stated that he knew him; that he was an old chief, and father to the celebrated black, "Batke," who was the first person to whom the ill-fated object of their search was consigned after her miserable capture. The sergeant next questioned the prisoner in custody, and in reference to the fate of the white woman, he stated that the tribe in whose possession she was had gone to the mountains to make war implements for fighting with another tribe, whose chief had in some manner insulted her. This, it was afterwards discovered, was a *canard*, and cost the party an ineffective trip to the mountain ranges. Finding it useless to continue any longer, the party returned home, bringing with them their prisoner, and keeping him for two days at the police station, during which time, upon being asked to describe the white woman, he pointed to the sergeant's wife, saying she was much like her.

The party now determined upon a trip to the mountains, anxious to leave no effort untried, and hoping that Fate would smile more propitiously on them by land than she had done before by "lake." Accordingly, after a week's rest, there was a start for the hills, with Johnny Warrington perched upon a charger, prouder than the proudest chief that ever shipped a spear. The sergeant, three white and three black troopers, and the boy, accompanied by a pack-horse, laden with a week's provisions, set out on their third expedition, and, after a two days' journey, were completely embedded in the mountains. They found no native tracks, but the next day they came up with Messrs. Turnbull, M'Millan and M'Clelland, and continued in their company until they reached a new country known as "Dargo," up the Mitchell River. Here the greatest possible natural obstacles were presented to their progress; so much so, that after some time they were compelled to return. They continued in company with the M'Millan party until they reached the station of the latter, forty miles from the police station.

During their career through the mountains, especially whilst encamped at night, they obtained some interesting particulars from the boy relative to the white woman, which embraced the manner in which she fell into the hands of the natives, and some subsequent facts connected with her

cruel lot. The boy described her arrival in the following singular manner, a portion of which is given in his own mixed dialect: "One day, long time ago, there were a great many black fellows on the coast, when big one canoe (ship) yan yan (ran along) saucy water (boisterous sea). Dead boy canoe murram murang (the men got into a small boat). Caubaun canoe, caubaun blanket (big ship carried big sail). That many white fellows (holding up eight of his fingers) and white gin come up in dead boy canoe (small boat). Plenty black fellow sit down this time along the beach; white fellows began corroboree to black fellows; black fellows catch white gin by the hands, and all white coolies plenty yan yan (ran away); plenty more black fellows yanem from the scrub, and plenty black fellows throw spear after white fellows." The boy was remarkably silent upon the fate of the unfortunate white men; but the probability is that they were speared. He described the woman as having been dressed like Miss Tyers, as with a bonnet on and a "caubaun pussy cat" (boa) about her neck. He further stated that the black "gins" immediately commenced dragging the white one's clothes off, and left her stark naked, with the exception of her boots and stockings, and when the latter were worn out they sewed opossum skins about her legs in consequence of her inability to walk barefoot. She was immediately assigned to the chief of a tribe, and was delivered of a child soon after her arrival amongst them. Batke and another chief named Bunjaleena fought for her some time after, when the latter was victorious, and she passed from her former tyrant to him, with whom she still continued. She was a tall woman, and had had five children, three of whom were dead. Warrington further recollected having often spoken to the white woman, and played with the children; and one day she was discovered by the blacks reading a large book, which they immediately snapped out of her hands and threw it in the fire, saying that it belonged to the white fellows. She was in the habit of cutting letters on trees with shells, and when noticed the symbols were erased by the blacks with their tomahawks. Being shown an alphabet, and requested to point out the characters he saw marked by her, he invariably fixed upon C. G. and W. Those facts appear rather singular, and some may deem them incredible, but singular as they may seem some of them could be substantiated by coincident circumstances. For instance, a few years before the station of Dr. Jamieson, at Western Port, was robbed by a tribe of Gippsland blacks, and several books and newspapers abstracted, one of the latter being evidently picked up by the celebrated traveller, Count Strezlecki, in his overland journey from Gippsland to Melbourne. Amongst the books purloined was a large edition of the Bible, which was in all probability found by this unfortunate woman in some of the blacks' encampments, for some leaves of a corresponding size, with the typography almost completely obliterated, were picked up at one of her supposed haunts. Mr. M'Millan also testified to the boy's accuracy in a rather remarkable manner. He stated that some time before the blacks and the white woman happened to be "quambying" in a scrub close by the beach; the boy was there, and saw two boats with some white men therein. The white woman beheld the boats, and was moving slowly towards the water, when a half-suppressed cry escaped her lips, and Bunjaleena started up, poised his spear ready to throw it, when she, fearful of her existence, ran towards him and cast herself at his feet.

After the party returned from Mr. M'Millan's station, the men went back to their quarters, where they remained for eight or nine days, during which time Mr. Walsh arrived with his black police. It was therefore resolved to make another effort to recover the white woman, as it appeared that the old man had practised a deception. Accordingly the boats were got under weigh and a supply of provisions put on board. The party proceeded to make a circuit of some of the lakes, thence to the back waters towards the coast, and about the middle of the second night sighted some Aboriginal fires. At day dawn they beheld a number of natives moving rapidly across the main land between the coast and the islands. The party then considered it prudent to "lay to" until the following night, keeping a vigilant look-out upon the movements of the blacks, at the same time guarding against the chances of being discovered. They then ran up the back waters for about four miles, where they landed and encamped. In the morning they saw a number of canoes on an adjoining lake, and having given chase they succeeded in capturing one woman and a child, whom they secured in one of the boats. After some further exertions they overhauled two males, and these they handcuffed. From one of

the blackfellows it was elicited that the white woman had gone with her tribe to fish at a portion of the coast they had passed on the previous day. In the evening Trooper Connolly happened to stray a short distance from the encampment, when he found a black man asleep in the scrub, whom he secured and brought to their quarters. The black boy entered into conversation with him, and learned that he had seen the white woman the day before, in the very place where they were then encamped. On the following morning the party and their prisoners were again on the water, retracing a portion of their course of the former day. On a tree close by they noticed a letter E freshly and roughly cut as if by a shell. Sergeant Windridge and one of his men then crossed an adjoining neck of land, and returned in about an hour with intelligence that the blacks were settled at some distance. Having travelled along the sea-side for a distance of fourteen miles, they met a tribe of about one hundred blacks proceeding in the direction of the lakes. The moment the latter saw the small band approaching, and knowing the relative numbers presented such a disproportion, they instantly wheeled round, resolved to give battle. A shower of spears was the act of a moment, one of which penetrated Walsh's shirt and grazed his chest. The man whose spear had been attended with such an almost fatal effect was shot in the shoulder, but not killed. After some further skirmishing, in which other blacks were wounded, the latter retreated, leaving ten women and as many children "prisoners of war." Amongst these the black boy recognized his sister, and learned that his mother was one of the persons who succeeded in escaping. He also ascertained from her that the white woman was at the time within one half-hour's journey of them; that there was a considerable number of blacks accompanying her, and that those who had just shown battle had been despatched to reconnoitre. The party then resolved to persevere, but the black police positively refused to stir an inch further, as they had no provisions. The chase was therefore reluctantly abandoned, and at a time when its object was near its consummation. They consequently returned, bringing with them the three prisoners, and also the black boy and his sister, both of whom stayed for a time at the black police station, Green Hills. One of the prisoners died in a few days after.

The ill-success of the expedition was supposed to be attributable to two circumstances—the want of some persons invested with supreme control in leading the party—whence originated several bickerings between Mr. Walsh and Sergeant Windridge—and the inadequate manner in which it had been equipped.

The Private Expedition.

The Committee lost little time in bringing their preparations to a conclusion; the members of the party were soon selected, equipped and provisioned, as it was estimated for three months. It consisted of five white and ten black men, whilst the leadership was entrusted to Mr. C. J. De Villiers, an ex-mounted police officer, and of reputed experience in bushmanship. The second in command was Mr. James Warman, but why he should have been chosen was a mystery. Though he possessed a certain sea-faring knowledge, and might make a good commissariat subordinate, he was about the last man in Melbourne to be booked on such an undertaking, literally a "forlorn hope," which could only be fulfilled by some extraordinary stroke of good luck, or dashing act of bravery or strategy, little short of the miraculous. The proprietary of the "Shamrock," the favourite steamer plying between Melbourne and Sydney, remitted half the transit fare for the men, who with their whale-boats and other conveniences were dropped near Rabbit Island. On arriving in Gippsland they had a kindly reception from the few settlers scattered about, some of whom even volunteered to accompany them. The first intelligence received from the party was a letter from Mr. Warman (30th October, 1846) addressed from Emu Flats, to the Chairman of the Melbourne Committee. It stated that the searchers had found a supposed relic of white shipwrecked people. It was the butt of a cherry tree on which were carved the initials "H.B.," and the rude figure of a ship's cutter. The tree trunk was met with uprooted in some ranges, twelve miles from Tarraville, and was forwarded to Melbourne for inspection by the curious. In addition to Warman's marks, the block showed BRIT cut immediately under a carved figure of something like a sloop, and other letters nearly

defaced and illegible. This led to a supposition that the entire word when readable was either "Britannia" or "Brittomart," the names of two of the five missing vessels. Further intelligence represented the party as having opened communications with some of the native tribes between Lakes Victoria and Reeves, and ascertained from them that the chief Bunjaleena had a white woman at a place called Waitbon, in the mountains; and one Aboriginal even hummed an air which according to him, the white woman was accustomed to sing. They had met with Mr. Walsh and his Government party on the Tambo.

On the 1st January, 1847, De Villiers wrote to the Committee, and two blackfellows were the bearers of his missive to Melbourne. He was at Lake King, and had sent presents to Bunjaleena, and a letter to the white woman, both of whom, he heard, were at the Snowy River. Two old blackfellows had been arrested by the Walsh party, and through the medium of the "boy" interpreter, it was elicited from them that the De Villiers' epistle had reached the white woman, who wept bitterly over it, and was about to write an answer on it, with a pencil sent for the purpose, when Bunjaleena snatched it away, muttering "that she wanted to yabber to whitefellow." An altercation ensued, and ended in Bunjaleena "waddying" her and tying her legs, lest she should attempt an escape. She was described as marked and scarred like the ordinary black lubra.

Further correspondence from De Villiers supplied a few interesting particulars of his enquiries. It was believed that originally there were two white women in the possession of the Gippsland blacks. They were shipwrecked with five white men, and were seen first by the Paul-Paul tribe of Lakers, with whom they remained for some time, until the abduction of one of the women and the spearing of all the five men. The woman carried off was killed soon after, whilst she who remained was consigned to one of the Paul-Pauls, who did not live long, and she passed by some means into the chattel of one Batke, the handsomest fellow that could be found, in fact, a dark Adonis. He belonged to the Parbury Kongites, in which tribe Bunjaleena wielded much influence. One day Batke, having business from home, handed over his white slave to the protection of a bevy of old "gins," and in his absence Bunjaleena persuaded the harridans to "slope" and bring the white one with them. Batke was soon in pursuit, and, coming up with the runaways, he and his rival had a set-to at fisticuffs, when Bunjaleena, though left-handed, gave him such a good pummelling that he surrendered the prize to the more muscular pugilist and never after troubled himself about her. Bunjaleena was a man about 6ft. 3in. in height, of surpassing strength, a savage and ferocious disposition, and kept in awe the blacks of the surrounding tribes. The white woman whose Aboriginal name was "Waitbon," was tall, and afflicted with deafness, of light hair, approaching to red, or what is generally termed sandy. She stooped, which might be occasioned by the extraordinary hardships to which she had been subjected, and nursed her child totally different from the lubras, and precisely similar to all white women. She was supposed to have borne four children since her captivity. The first two being females, were murdered, as is the custom of the Aborigines, and the others males, one of whom she was at the time suckling. The blacks treated her with some consideration of kindness, and she employed a portion of her time in weaving fancy grass baskets and other net-work, in which the lubras imitated her with no little dexterity.

On the 10th February, 1847, De Villiers arrived in Melbourne with four of the blacks of his party, the rest coming back *viâ* Port Albert. He had run short of provisions, and not obtaining, as he expected, some supplies from the Commissioner of Crown Lands, beat a retreat. Such a *finale* had been for some time foreseen, and it did not therefore cause much surprise. A lengthy concluding despatch of his was published, but it was mostly taken up with reference to altercations with the Government party, and contained nothing of import to this narrative. It, however, testified to various kindnesses on the part of Commissioner Tyers, and the good-tempered efficiency of Trooper-sergeant Windridge.

And thus abortively terminated a movement instigated by feelings of humanity, and a sincere desire to render succour under circumstances of the most revolting misery. In consequence of the supposed apathy of the Executive, the public generously came to the rescue, though the obstacles interposed against success were never calmly and thoroughly considered. If the Government had despatched a properly organized party under Windridge, the object sought for might have been attained; but neither Dana nor Walsh, though not deficient in personal bravery and powers of endurance, was the proper person to lead in a work that required coolness, cunning, and bushcraft. Neither was De Villiers the person to

be charged with the command of the private expedition, though he effected just as much as might reasonably be expected under the anomalous conditions in which he started. The simple fact of his holding no Government authority, not being even sworn in as a special constable, and on a service which could not be carried out without a resort to physical force, certain bloodshed, and possible loss of human life, was in itself sufficient to assure futility as a result that could not be otherwise than inevitable.

Another Government Expedition.

Official correspondence, printed by order of the Legislative Council, supplied some additional particulars. There was a communication from Sergeant Windridge, which revealed the horrible fact of the Gippsland tribes indulging in cannibalism, so far as to devour the bodies of the "gins" or married women when they died, the corpses being either baked or roasted and so served up. In a communication from Superintendent Latrobe to Commissioner Tyers, the former remarked:—

"Presuming the existence of the female in the circumstances stated, the fact that five or six years have elapsed without the white inhabitants of Gippsland having received any hint or token direct or indirect, on her part of her existence, can only, in my opinion, be accounted for by one or two suppositions, either the peculiar circumstances of her case, and the degradation to which she has been subjected for years, and through the strength of the ties that she has apparently formed amongst the natives, she may be herself at present indifferent or averse to reclamation by those of her own race; or that, having shown a disposition to communicate with the whites, she had been watched with such unremitting and jealous attention that such communication has been impossible."

In a letter to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, Captain Lonsdale, Sub-Treasurer of Port Phillip, acting for Mr. Latrobe, absent in Van Diemen's Land, thus wrote (13th October, 1846):—"I have not the slightest doubt of such a person being there, and consider time ought not to be lost in prosecuting the attempt for her recovery. In addition to the information already communicated to you on this subject, I now learn that the female appears to be about 24 or 25 years of age: that her hair is light brown, and now cut short; that when wrecked she seems to have been well dressed, her shoes being described as of thin material; that she had on a boa, and that part of a silk dress, which was found some time after, belonged to her. When first discovered by the blacks, it is stated that a tall young man was sitting by her. It is said that from the period of her being taken she has always been under the immediate protection of the black man Bunjaleena, who is kind to her, and with whom she appears to live contentedly. It is stated she sometimes cries, yet joins in the amusements and pursuits of the people she is with, and that she has good health. She had two children, but it is doubtful whether more than one is now alive." The Government at length felt constrained to make another effort to recover the captive woman, for that there was one in reality, no longer permitted of any reasonable doubt. The Commissioner of Crown Lands (Tyers) was consequently instructed to do everything in his power in the matter. It was even suggested for his consideration whether the Aborigines amongst whom she was supposed to be, might not be disposed to exchange her for a ransom of blankets, tomahawks, and other articles. Mr. Walsh and the little black tracker, Johnny Warrington, were requested to accompany any police expedition deemed advisable. Commissioner Tyers lost no time in organizing a party, which was joined by half a dozen volunteers, and the old Expedition Committee despatched from Melbourne an assortment of gratuities for the natives, in the forms of tomahawks, sailors' knives, Jews' harps, fishing hooks and lines, with several looking-glasses, each thus labelled on the back: "White woman—A strong armed party, headed by the Government, is now in search of you, determined to rescue you. Two Warrigals named Boondowal and Karrowutbeet, are with the white party. Be careful as far as your own safety is concerned, and do everything to throw yourself into the hands of this party. Inform the person who detains you, as well as his tribe, that he and they will be handsomely rewarded if they will give you up peaceably; but if they persist in detaining you that they will be severely punished. Melbourne, 4th March, 1847."

To recount the excursions of this third expedition would be virtually a repetition of many of the incidents similar to those that have preceded.

One remarkable event occurred, viz., the finding amongst the blacks the figure-head of a small schooner, which had at some period been cast ashore. It was the bust of a female, smaller than life, roughly made, and painted red with white eyes. The red had been so worn off as to assume a darkish brown colour. This *simulacrum* the blacks used to carry with them, and danced round and worshipped it as a fetish. There was much difficulty in getting it from them.

By the aid of some blacks bought over by largess, Bunjaleena was one day surprised and made prisoner; but he was too wary to have the white woman with him. He acknowledged her existence, declaring that she belonged to his brother, and not to himself. He was detained, and the only privation in addition to confinement to which he was subjected, was the ordinary white man's rations, considered, insufficient fare, for he pretended to be half-starved, and was eternally yelping for more "tucker." He promised that, if released, he would restore the white woman before three moons; but this offer was disregarded.

The Commissioner and his State prisoner at length showed a disposition to come to terms so far that certain propositions were actually committed to paper and "signed, sealed and witnessed." This, so far as I know, is the second instance of the execution of such a formal black and white negotiation (the first being the celebrated Batman purchase treaty), and as it is a document quite unique in its way, a copy is appended:—

Memorandum of agreement entered into this day between Charles J. Tyers, Esq., on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and Bunjaleena, Chief of the Gippsland tribes.

I, Bunjaleena, promise to deliver to Charles J. Tyers, the white female residing with the Gippsland blacks, provided a party of whites and Western Port blacks proceed with me to the mountains at as early a day as may be convenient, for the purpose of obtaining her from my brother. I also agree to leave my two wives and two children with the said Charles J. Tyers, as hostages for the fulfilment of my promise. And I, Charles J. Tyers, promise on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to give Bunjaleena one boat, with oars, a tent, four blankets, a guernsey frock, some fishhooks and a fishing line, and a tomahawk for the said Bunjaleena's own use; and six blankets, two tomahawks, three guernsey frocks, and other articles, between three or four men of the said Bunjaleena's tribes, who may be instrumental in the recovery of the said white female, conditioned that the said Bunjaleena fulfil his part of the agreement.

His
BUNJALEENA X
Witness—S. WINDRIDGE, CHAS. J. TYERS. Mark

Witness to the Agreement—S. WINDRIDGE, WILLIAM PETERS, DONALD McLEOD, RICHARD HARTNETT.

Done at Eagle Point, Gippsland, this Seventeenth Day of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-seven.

In pursuance of this bargain, a party returned to the mountain ranges, but with no result, for Bunjaleena either could not, or would not, keep the pact to which he had so solemnly affixed the sign of the cross. It was surmised that he had never intended to have acted in good faith, and that he had, by some means, warned his compatriots to keep the white woman far out of reach. Bunjaleena was next transferred, with certain wives and children given by him as hostages, to the native police station at Narree Warren, where they were committed to the charge of the Commandant. The Chief was not kept a close prisoner, but placed under the strictest *surveillance*, and some of the black troopers were detached for special and continuous watch duty over him. After being detained in this way for some time they were released. It was now fast advancing to mid-winter, so the expedition was broken up, and there was no occasion to form another, for on the 5th November intelligence reached Melbourne that on the 29th October the dead bodies of a white woman and child were found by Tommy, a native trooper, at a place called Jemmy's Point, on the bank of a Gippsland lake, some four miles from the residence of Commissioner Tyers. The next day a quasi-official enquiry was held by Mr. M'Millan, and there was a general agreement that the remains were those of the white woman and one of her children. The corpses were interred on the 1st November, in the presence of the European residents in the neighbourhood. It was a singular want of thought that no sufficient effort was made to endeavour to establish the identity of the adult.

It was subsequently ascertained, by information gathered from the natives, that after Bunjaleena's arrest, his brother seized upon the white woman, when another, and a stronger man took her from him by physical force, and kept her until, as surmised, the brother out of vengeance, watched an opportunity, and murdered both woman and child.

This was the last ever heard of the sorrowful story of the white woman, and of the most pitiable and painful tragedy that ever shadowed the canvas of the colony's history.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE BRETHREN OF THE MYSTIC TIE.

SYNOPSIS.—Lodge of Australia Felix.—The Australasian Kilwinning Lodge.—The Australia Felix Lodge of Hiram.—The Lodge of Australasia.—United Tradesmen's Lodge.—The First Royal-Arch Chapter.—Presentations of Medals and Jewels.—Geelong Lodge of Unity and Prudence.—The First Provincial Grand Master.—The First Masonic Testimonial.—Freemasons in 1883.—The Only Lady Mason.—Oddfellowship: Formation of the First Lodge.—The First Medical Officer.—Formation of the Loyal Melbourne Lodge.—Port Phillip Constituted a District.—Opening of the Loyal Melbourne Lodge.—Oddfellows' Statistics in 1851.—First Board of Directors.—Duke of York Lodge.—Smoking in Lodge-time Prohibited.—First Oddfellow's Funeral.—Oddfellows' Statistics in 1882-1884.—Panegyric on Dr. Greeves.—Druidism: Arrival of Mr. James Himen.—Formation of First Lodge a Failure.—Its Resuscitation.—Death of Mr. Himen.—Statistics in 1880-1883.—Orangeism: Its Alleged Origination in Port Phillip.—Formation of a Confederacy.—Reported Statistics in 1882.—Origin of the Loyal Orange Institution.—The Protestant Hall.—Laying the Foundation Stone.—Opening of the Building.—Erection of New Hall in 1882.

FREEMASONRY

HAS been defined as a Moral Order, instituted with the praiseworthy design of recalling to remembrance the most sublime truths in the midst of the most innocent and social pleasures founded on Brotherly Love and Charity. Of its great antiquity there can be no doubt, though its origin is clouded in uncertainty, and the theme is of much grandiloquent conjecture. Some Masonic historians gravely affirm that "it had a being ever since symmetry began, and harmony displayed her charms." They trace it to the building of Solomon's Temple, and it is averred that Mahommetan Architects, in the Sixth Century, brought it from Africa to Spain, as a specific against Christian fanaticism. The period of its appearance in England is matter of disagreement, some assigning it to the commencement of the Sixth Century, and others placing it earlier. In all I have occasionally read on the subject I have found only one writer venturing to disenchant the time-honoured traditions of Masonry by advancing anything like a plain, matter-of-fact statement as to its inception; and in the light of all that has been written and spoken on the subject, it is both instructive and amusing to read the following prosaic assertion from the pen of Dr. Brewer, no insignificant authority as an antiquarian writer:—"Freemasons: In the Middle Ages a Guild of Masons, specially employed in building churches, called "free," because exempted by several Papal Bulls from the laws which bore upon common craftsmen, and exempt from the burdens thrown on the working classes." Such is the definition given in a revised edition of the *Dictionary of Reference*, and if there be any truth in it, the Papacy in the cycle of time must have had good reason for repenting its favours, for in 1738 Freemasonry was excommunicated by the Pope, and the Roman Catholic Church has since invariably maintained an unswerving position of hostility towards the Order.

If Mr. Brough Smyth can be regarded as an authority, the system is, like the kangaroo, indigenous to Australia, for in his elaborate work on the Aborigines is the following declaration:—"It is believed that they (the Aborigines) have several signs, known only to themselves, or to those among the whites who have had intercourse with them for lengthened periods, which convey information readily and accurately. Indeed, because of their use of signs, it is the firm belief of many (some uneducated and some educated), that the natives of Australia are acquainted with the secrets of Freemasonry." If so, their knowledge must be of the most rudimentary kind, and time has failed to elucidate it on any part of the great Australian continent. However vague and apocryphal may be the various speculations indicated, one thing is certain, that the Freemasonry of civilization was early acclimatized in Port Phillip, for so far back as 1839 (four years after the white settlement of the country) steps were being taken to establish the first Lodge in Melbourne.

The Order of Australia Felix was in operation in Sydney, and the necessary Dispensation Warrant was obtained from Mr. George Robert Nichols, the Provincial Grand Master of Australia, and thus the requisite preliminaries were forthwith set in motion. A meeting was held at the *Lamb Inn* (now *Scott's Hotel*), on the 6th February, 1840, and a liberal subscription was entered into for the purchase of jewels in Sydney. The date of enrolment is 25th March, 1840, and there were about one hundred members. The place of meeting was moved to the *Adelphi Hotel* in Little Flinders Street, and the first officially issued *carte* is thus:—

LODGE OF AUSTRALIA FELIX.—No. 474,

W.M., Bro. William Meek; S.W., Bro. Richard Forrest; J.W., Bro. John Pridham Smith; Secretary, Bro. H. L. Worsley; Treasurer, Bro. Thomas Strode. Lodge Room, *Adelphi Hotel.* The Warrant was dated and signed by the Duke of Sussex, as Grand Master, on the 2nd April, 1841.

Certain paraphernalia were procured from Sydney, and the first Masonic banquet was held on the 24th June, when there was quite a jovial "night of it," and on leaving, the Brethren deposited their regalia in the *Adelphi* Storeroom, but the place was broken into during the night of the 25th, by some intoxicated rowdies, who knocked everything about, and saturated the various insignia with spilt grog. The Masons, when they heard of this act of desecration, kicked up a row with the landlord (a Mr. Brettargh), on the score of carelessness, and the insecurity of the place. He afterwards paid £28 as compensation for the damage done.

The place of meeting was again altered to the *Exchange Hotel*, in Collins Street, where it continued for a considerable time, and the following extended list of office-bearers acted in 1842:—W.M., Bro. Richard Forrest; P.M., Bro. John Stephen; S.W., Bro. George Were; J.W., Bro. C. J. Sanford; Organist, Bro. William Clarke; Treasurer, Bro. F. L. Clay; Secretary, Bro. William Cohen; Stewards, Bros. John Ensce, J. M. Conolly, and F. S. Dutton; M.C., Bro. James Dobson; S.D., Bro. Henry Watson; I.D., Bro. W. R. Belcher; I.G., Bro. Fredk. Hinton; Tyler, Bro. J. A. Clark. The number of brethren amounted to about 150.

THE AUSTRALASIAN KILWINNING LODGE.—No. 337

Was formed provisionally on St. Andrews's Day, 1841, with the following *Provisional Officers*:—B. W. M., The Hon. James Erskine Murray; D. M., William Kerr; S. W., Alexander Sim; J.W., James Hunter Ross; Treasurer, Henry Condell; Secretary, John Porter; Clerk, J. M. M'Laurin; S.D., Joseph Anderson; J.D., Thomas Burns; Steward, Peter Inglis; Tyler, J. A. Clark.

An application for a Warrant was transmitted to the Grand Lodge of Scotland, per ship "Enmore," in February, 1842, and an *interim* Dispensation was obtained from the Grand Provincial Lodge of New Zealand. The Warrant was dated and signed by Earl Fitz-Clarence, as Grand Master, on the 6th February, 1843, but the Lodge was not fully constituted until the 13th May, 1844, when the ceremony of Constitution and the Installation of the then R.W.M., Bro. William Kerr, took place. The investment of the officers was performed by Bro. J. T. Smith, and a very short time after beheld "Brothers" Kerr and Smith, two of the most unfraternal enemies in Port Phillip.

THE AUSTRALIA FELIX LODGE OF HIRAM.—No. 349,

Under the Irish Grand Lodge, though its formation was commenced in November, 1841, was not constituted until the 24th June, 1843. when Bro. J. T. Smith was elected Worshipful Master, and ceremonies similar to those above described, in reference to the preceding Lodge, were performed by P.M. Bro. Stephen.

The Warrant, under the sign manual of the Duke of Leinster, as Grand Master, did not issue until the 30th April, 1847.

THE LODGE OF AUSTRALASIA

Was established in the early part of 1844, and held its meetings at the *Prince of Wales Hotel*, Little Flinders Street East. It was officered by Bro. C. J. Sanford as Worshipful Master; Bro. F. L. Clay, S.W.; and Bro. F. Hinton, as J.W.

Some years after the United Tradesmen's Lodge, under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, was established at Geelong, through the instrumentality of Mr. George Coppin, who was installed as its first R.W.M.

The first Royal Arch Chapter, styled the Australasian, was constituted on the 7th May, 1844, and was in affiliation with the Australia Felix Lodge. In January, 1845, Mr. Henry Moor (the then Mayor), was elected its principal.

In May, 1842, the Masonic Lodges ordered three gold medals to be presented to Messrs. Henry Fowler, Peter Snodgrass, and Oliver Gourlay, three of the five amateur volunteers who effected the gallant capture of bushrangers on the Plenty, as described on page 351. It was not a nice thing to leave two (not the least meritorious) unrewarded, but a line of demarcation was drawn, so as to include the three named as members of "The Craft."

In August, 1842, the Masons are reported to have purchased, for 600 guineas, a splendid organ, imported from England by Bro. F. L. Clay; and in August, 1846, a magnificent set of jewels (worth over £100) was subscribed for by the members of the Lodge of Australia Felix, as a mark of esteem for their "worthy and dearly beloved brother," P.M. John Stephen.

From Mr. H. Bannister, Secretary of the Geelong Lodge of Unity and Prudence, I learn that the fourth Lodge established in the colony was the Geelong Lodge of Unity and Prudence, No. 801, E.C., the Warrant being dated 13th October, 1847, and the building fully erected on the 26th October, 1848, Bro. R. Forrest, who was first S.W. of the Australia Felix, being installed W.M., with William Timms, S.W., Abraham Levy, J.W., Bro. Richard Ocock, P.M., from Melbourne, was the installing officer. The meetings were held in the *Royal Hotel*. This Lodge is still flourishing, although all the original members have passed away.

The first Masonic Provincial Grand Master in Victoria was Mr. J. H. Ross, of the Scotch Constitution. He was installed in the year 1847.

The second of that Masonic rank was Mr. J. T. Smith, of the Irish Constitution, installed in 1856.

The third was Captain A. Clarke, of the English Constitution, installed in 1857.

It is unpleasant to be impelled by a spirit of impartiality to record that much bad feeling was engendered in the olden time by prominent Freemasons, who, it is to be feared, frequently abused their positions in their respective Lodges to gratify personal animosity generated outside. This was especially the case with Brothers W. Kerr and John Stephen, who, when beyond the jurisdiction of the Tyler were in a chronic condition of hostility to each other. 'At the Corporation elections, and in the Council, at public meetings, and in the newspapers with which they were connected, they evinced but little of that "Brotherly Love and Charity" upon which the "Moral Order" professes to be founded. Kerr was always not only insinuating against, but openly accusing, Stephen of the grossest immorality, and the manner in which he befouled the name of Bro. Henry Moor in the *Argus* formed matter not only of comment, but judicial history. Bro. J. T. Smith occasionally jumped into the mire, but the two arch-offenders were Kerr and Stephen, the former the more culpable, as he was usually the aggressor. Matters went so far that Kerr was accused before the Lodge of Australia Felix with having cast certain imputations on the character of Stephen, and, unable to establish them by proof, was (according to newspaper report) subjected to expulsion.

But one thing must be admitted of the early Freemasons, viz., that they did much collectively and individually to help and sustain the early Charities of the colony. The Masonic procession in laying a foundation-stone was one of those bright sunshiny events of the past, to be lovingly recalled by the few who now remember them; and which even when by chance read of, act like a kaleidoscope shaken before the mind's eye. Such days used to be gala days, and in a small community where spectacular attractions were rare, the variegated glories of the grand turn-out of the Masonic and

other associated bodies, with flaunting banners and beating drums, were anticipated with pleasurable expectation and thought over kindly for many a day after.

The First Masonic Testimonial.

From Mr. T. B. Alexander, Frankfurt House, Abbotsford, I am in receipt of the following interesting communication:—"I think Captain George Brunswick Smyth was the first to initiate the formation of a Masonic Lodge in Port Phillip, as I have on my side-board a silver salver embossed with the usual Masonic emblems, and bearing the incription—'Presented to Brother George Brunswick Smyth, from the members of the Lodge of Australia Felix, as a mark of fraternal regard. St. John's Day, 27th December, 1840.' I always take great interest in your Chronicles of Early Melbourne, and send you the information, although it may be worthless."

Though personally unacquainted with my correspondent, I recognize in him a respected old colonist gazetted in Kerr's *1842 Directory* as a settler at Mount Macedon. Captain Smyth was one of the earliest Territorial Magistrates in Port Phillip, one of the founders of the Melbourne Cricket Club, a member of Committee of the first Port Phillip Jockey Club, and during his brief stay in the province a prominent co-operator in every movement, public and private, projected for the benefit of the then infant community.

The following statement of the position of Freemasonry in Victoria was semi-officially made in 1883:—"It is forty-two years since the first Masonic Lodge was opened in Victoria, viz., the Australia Felix, No. 474, meeting in Melbourne, and chartered by H.R.H. the late Duke of Sussex, 2nd April, 1841, under the Grand Lodge of England. The Lodges in Victoria owing allegiance to the Grand Lodge of England now number seventy. The first Lodge under the Scotch Constitution is the Australia Kilwinning, No. 337, Melbourne. The warrant is dated 6th February, 1843, and is signed by the late Earl of Fitz-Clarence. There are ten Scotch Lodges in Victoria. The oldest Irish Lodge is the Hiram, No. 349, Melbourne, its charter bearing date 30th April, 1847, and granted by the late Duke of Leinster. The number of Lodges in Victoria under the Irish Constitution is fifteen. The two sister Constitutions of Scotland and Ireland, therefore, number twenty-five Lodges, as against seventy under the Grand Lodge of England."

On the inauguration of the Victorian Constitution of Freemasons in the same year, the then numerical strength of Masonic membership in the Colony was estimated at 5000, and the probable annual increase at 500.

The Only Lady Mason.

Though not regularly coming within the scope of this notice, there is one curious incident narrated in connection with Freemasonry, and as many persons may be unacquainted with it, a brief reference cannot be considered altogether out of place here. Masonic membership is supposed to be confined exclusively to the male sex. Like most other kindred Societies it is believed to possess a secret impenetrable to all but the initiated. Daughters of Eve are supposed to be incapable of secret-keeping—a fact (if it be true) sufficient in itself to justify their exclusion. There was formerly an Irish Peer known as Lord Doneraile, high up in the mysterious Craft, and Lodge meetings used to be held at his house. His daughter (the Hon. Miss Eliza St. Leger), with the proverbial inquisitiveness of young ladies, after resorting unsuccessfully to every persuasive device of which she was capable, to "worm out" the Masonic secret from her gentlemen familiars, resolved upon a desperate attempt to dodge the sword of the Tyler, clandestinely penetrate the Arcana, and, no matter at what risk, if not to see, certainly to hear and judge for herself. There was an empty clock-case in the meeting-room, and in this Miss St. Leger ensconced herself before the hour of assembling, and patiently bided her time. The Lodge soon after was opened with all due formality, and the solemn rites of the Conclave were proceeded with; but after small progress had been made a titter, a sneeze, or a cough (which, is not known) sounded the alarm that a stranger was concealed somewhere

at hand, and an instantaneous search speedily revealed the interloper. She fared, however, much better than Peeping Tom, of Coventry, for his prying rascality towards the kindhearted Lady Godiva, for, if history be veracious, Miss St. Leger was not immolated on the spot, but compelled to submit to initiation as a member of the Craft. She subsequently married a Mr. Aldworth, but whether he was a Mason, and did not need a knowledge of "the secret" from his wife, I know not; or if she divulged it to him or any of her lady gossipers, is a point on which I am equally unadvised.

Oddfellowship.

I have frequently asked members of the above Fraternity for a definition of the term, or, in other words, why they were called "Oddfellows," and could never obtain a satisfactory reply. The ordinary individual would simply shrug his shoulders, scratch his head, and say he did not know—perhaps it was because women could not be members; while a knowing one would glibly remark: "Oh, the Institution is as old as Creation. Adam was the first 'Oddfellow,' and we are descended from him." In one sense this was, doubtless, true enough, because, according to the generally-accepted theory, all human kind are the issue of our first parents; but in other respects I can find no sufficient reason to believe that Adam could have been the *ovum* from which would spring an association so singularly successful in propagating habits of thrift and benevolence, ramifying throughout the civilized globe, and productive of benefits so multifarious. Though Adam was an "Odd"-fellow, it was not for long, and when he was made *even* by having Eve as an associate, though he never could be said to be under what is modernly known as "Petticoat Government," his spouse soon acquired such an influence over him as to leave it matter of doubt if he possessed the moral courage of withholding from her that Oddfellows' "secret," which is supposed to have often been the cause of serious connubial differences in the married division of the confraternity. Obliged, therefore, to fall back upon myself, I am disposed to regard Oddfellowship as an association of men who combine in some "odd," or out of the common, unique, unusual, or peculiar manner, though for a common purpose of mutual benefit. However this may be, Oddfellowship has become a part and parcel of British civilization, and wherever an English-speaking community is planted, it springs up like religion, racing, or cricket-playing, as one of its primitive institutions. So it was with Australia, and especially in Sydney, where Oddfellowship soon took root and flourished, and it was through a Dispensation from the Australian Grand Lodge there that the Order was transplanted to Port Phillip, where it found a congenial soil, skilful cultivators, and attached adherents. The first meeting on the subject was held in the *Port Phillip Gazette* office, West Collins Street, on the 25th June, 1840, when P.V. Graham presided. Accordingly there was established, on the 1st October, 1840, at the *Adelphi Hotel*, in Little Flinders Street,

The Australia Felix Lodge of the Independent Order of Oddfellows,

Having as its primary officers:—Augustus Greeves as N.G.; William Hayes as V.G.; W. J. Sugden as G.M.; Bro. Thomas Strode, Secretary; P.G. Bro. Cooper, Ancient Father; P.G. Bro. Shepperd, S.W.; Bro. J. Massagore, J.W.

These seven persons, with P.G. Hill, may be fairly pronounced the pioneers of the Manchester Unity in Victoria.

The first Initiation Fee was fixed at £5, irrespective of age, with a weekly contribution of one shilling, and the Clearance Money was £2 10s. The Brotherhood attending this meeting subscribed £4 each towards preliminary expenses, of which £1 10s. per head was subsequently refunded.

A Dispensation from the Australian Grand Lodge at Sydney was received, and the Lodge was formally opened at the *Steam Packet Hotel*, on the 7th December, 1840. This hostelry was in Flinders Street, a few yards west of the corner of William Street, kept by the N.G. (Greeves), and here meetings were held on every alternate Monday evening.

This Lodge, from its commencement, had a prosperous career. No rival appeared for several years, and it was piloted by Dr. Greeves, a man of considerable ability, and an ardent Oddfellow; indeed, a man who, if he had only displayed as much consistency and steadfastness in political life as he did in promoting the cause of Oddfellowship, would have become a most influential public man. The Oddfellows, like the Freemasons, were valuable acquisitions to the old processional ceremonials, and in all charitable movements played a conspicuous part. They were more practical in their charitable exertions than the Masons, and occasionally celebrated their anniversaries, not only with the usual convivialities, but also marching to church, and leaving an equivalent in the shape of a collection for some benevolent object.

The first appointment as Medical Officer to a Lodge was made in July, 1843, when Dr. Greeves was inducted at a remuneration of 20s. per member per annum. This was afterwards reduced to 15s. and 12s. 6d., utterly inadequate payment for anything pretending to be medical skill.

At a Lodge Meeting held on the 16th July, 1845, the first step was taken to establish a new Branch, under the designation of the Loyal Melbourne Lodge, and the application for a Dispensation bore the signatures of James Woodman, David Lyons, Henry Elms, Matthew Cantlon, and William O'Connell.

The First District

Port Phillip having been constituted a District of the Order by Dispensation from Manchester, in April, 1844, the inauguration took place in the Australia Felix Lodge Room, at the *Crown Hotel* (corner of Queen and Lonsdale Street), on the 15th October, 1845. A convocation of P.G.s was held for the purpose, and a ballot being taken, showed the following election as its results:—Prov. G.M., A. F. A. Greeves; Prov. D.G.M., Thomas Graham; Prov. C.S., James Woodman.

The application for a Dispensation for the Loyal Melbourne Lodge having been granted, it was accordingly opened on the 15th November. Others soon followed, and at the Port Phillip District meeting in June, 1851, the Manchester Unity could count seven Lodges, and 512 members.

A Court of Appeal

From the District decisions was considered a necessity in course of time, and consequently at the District Meeting of 6th December, 1850, a notice of motion was tabled for the formation of a Board of Directors, or Appeal. The Rules for the government of such Court were discussed and adopted on the 5th March, 1851, and on the ensuing 4th June the Supreme body was thus constituted:—Colonial G.M., P.P.G.M. Greeves; Colonial D.G.M., P.P.G.M. Barber; Colonial C.S., P.G. Ford; Colonial Warden, P.G. Isaacs, and nine members. The Corresponding Secretary was voted an annual salary of £20.

On the 5th October, 1846, there was a grand celebration of Oddfellows, when No. 1 Lodge of the Manchester Unity marched in full regalia to the Church of St. James. They were played thither by the band of the Australia Felix Temperance Society. Parson Thomson was before them with a true Evangelical welcome, and went through the Church of England Service with marked *impressement*, winding-up with a rather long-winded sermon on Galatians ii., 6. The collection realized £16 3s. 8½d., in aid of the funds of the St. James' Visiting Society. The evening wound up with a sumptuous spread at host W. Mortimer's *Crown Hotel* (corner of Queen and Lonsdale Streets), with P.P.G.M. Greeves as Chairman.

In 1846, there was started in Melbourne a branch of the Duke of York Ancient and Independent Order of Oddfellows, and their motto was "Friendship, Love, and Truth," a triad which, certainly, so far as the two first elements were concerned, was occasionally transgressed as regarded the Manchester Unity, with which a spirited, and sometimes rather over-brisk rivalry was prosecuted. The most devoted and disinterested adherent of the Yorkists was a Mr. William Clarke, for many years overseer of the *Port Phillip Herald* printing office; and subsequently landlord of an hotel,

known as the *Waterman's Arms*, in Little Collins Street. He was the first N.G., and the success of the Order had grown into almost a passion with him.

Amongst the early convivial privileges recognized amongst the Oddfellows was that of the use of tobacco, and so much did the cloud-blowing grow into vogue, that it found its way into the more solemn and mysterious rites of the periodical meetings. It was an insinuating influence against which the authority of the Tyler was powerless, and to such an extent did the annoyance grow, as to render it necessary in June, 1847, to promulgate an order in No. 2 Lodge of the Manchester Unity, "prohibiting smoking in Lodge time." At the end of the same year, the rate of mortality was so exceedingly favourable amongst Oddfellows as to have it recorded as a significant fact that during the seven years of its existence in Melbourne, not a single death occurred in the Manchester Unity.

In 1847 there was quite a sensation caused by the Mayor (Mr. Moor) refusing permission to the members of the Manchester Unity to indulge in their customary anniversary procession through the streets. Consequent on an Orange riot which occurred in July, 1846, the New South Wales Legislature passed an Act for the prevention of Party Processions. In the first draft of the Bill as submitted to the Council, Freemasons and Oddfellows were excepted, but on some objection being offered the exemption clause was struck out, so that it was left a question of doubt whether or not the Act applied to such demonstrations. In all probability it did not, but as the Oddfellows made application for the permission, the Mayor (a Solicitor) adopted the safer course, and refused compliance. The consequence was that his impartiality was impugned, and for a short time he was unsparingly censured. The equanimity of the Manchestrians was in no way restored, when a few days after they were mortified by seeing the Duke of York Lodge commemorating their first anniversary in an open pedestrian display with banners, music, *etcetera*, the pains and penalties of the Party Processions Act notwithstanding. The Duke of York people evaded the difficulty in this way:—They did not ask the Mayor's permission, and the Mayor did not bother his head about any violation of the law, for easy-going, good-natured man, he did not care a dump what they did so long as he was neither magisterially nor officially brought into it. The result was a cause of great crowing and growling amongst the two Brotherhoods.

The first Oddfellow's funeral was witnessed in Melbourne on 20th February, 1848. Deceased was Mr. John Shanks, the keeper of a well-known hotel, called the *Royal Highlander*. One hundred brethren, wearing white aprons trimmed with black crape, accompanied in procession the corpse to its final earthly resting place. His was the first death for seven and a half years in the Manchester Unity.

According to official returns issued by the Registrar of Friendly Societies, Victorian Oddfellowship at the end of 1882 comprised three main Orders, viz, The Manchester Unity: 156 branches, 14,828 members, and a credit in investments and otherwise of £201,224. The Grand United: 52 branches, 3302 members, and a credit total of £23,263. The Independent: 47 branches, 4753 members, and a credit of £29,244.

In March, 1884, the following authorized statements were promulgated with respect to the two first Orders mentioned:—

MANCHESTER UNITY.—Number of members on the books, 15,361, of whom 14,561 are financial, showing an increase on last year of 706 and 636 respectively. Of this number 2746 received 22,209 weeks' sick pay to the amount of £17,410 4s., being an average of one week three days two hours, and £1 3s. 11d. respectively for every member in the Order. The figures for the preceding year were 14,501, of which 13,688 represented financial members. Of this number 2602 were sick for a period of 20,339 weeks, receiving as sick pay £16,145 11s. 6d., being an average of one week two days eleven hours, and £1 3s. 7¾d. respectively. Acquired during the year 1443 by Initiation (16 less than last year); by Clearance, 312 (54 more); total 1755. Lost by death, 159; by arrears, 496; by Clearance, 285 (being 94 more than last year). The wives of 92 members died during the year, being same as last. Gross receipts for 1883, £65,184 7s. 9d.; gross expenditure, £55,472 3s, 8d.; balance, £9712 4s. 1d.

Total value of Lodge funds, £209,286 10s. 3d., or an average of £14 7s. 6d. per member, against £14 8s. 4d., when the gross funds amounted to £198,805 14s. 3d. The funds have increased £10,480 15s. 10d.

THE GRAND UNITED ORDER.—On 1st January, 1882, they had 3298 members, with assets value £25,832 4s. 1d., and on 1st January, 1884, there were 3690 members, with assets value £29,970 1s. 5½d., showing an increase of 392 members, and in assets of £4137 17s. 4½d. The increase in members is—Melbourne district, 355; Gippsland, 6; Bendigo, 41; Ballarat, 46; and a decrease in Castlemaine district of 56. Total increase, 392; viz., financial 341; unfinancial, 43; honorary, decrease of 2. Increase in funds has been—Melbourne district and Lodges, £1813 13s. 1d.; Castlemaine district and Lodges, £219 19s.; Gippsland district and Lodges, £454 12s. 10d.; Bendigo district and Lodges, £296 13s. 5d.; Ballarat, £989 8s. 6d. During the same period there has been paid for medical attendance and medicine the sum of £7426 6s. 8d, for sick pay £6100 0s. 11d., funeral donations £1434, and for management £2987 15s. 3d., making a total for the four items of £17,948 2s. 10d.

It is a moot question with the veteran Oddfellows of the colony as to the individual who had most to do with the introduction of the Order here, though by all accounts it is a tie between Dr. Greeves, and Mr. Thomas Strode, one of the two founders of the *Port Phillip Gazette;* but if left to my arbitration, I should cast my vote in favour of Greeves, for whatever might have been Strode's share in planting the sapling from which spread the mighty tree of the Fraternity that now branches through every part of Victoria, it was the tact, talent, position, and special knowledge possessed by Greeves, in the science of Oddfellow Arboriculture, that promoted the rapid and prosperous growth of the Order, and ensured the great results to be now witnessed everywhere. If posthumous justice be accorded where it is justly due, the name of Greeves should not be forgotten so long as the Manchester Unity lives in the land.

DRUIDISM.

There is not an atom of old Druidical lore to be gleaned from any of the Melbourne newspapers that I have seen, but the following may be relied on as a few particulars of the first efforts to acclimatize such a now popular and deserving Brotherhood.

A Mr. James Himen, who joined the Order of Druids in England in 1839, arrived in Melbourne ten years after, with a Dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Great Britain to establish a branch in Port Phillip. At first he was not successful, but a second attempt in 1850 partially succeeded. The Lodge "Enterprise" was floated at the *Waterman's Arms Hotel*, in Little Collins Street West, on the 15th July, of which Himen was appointed Secretary, and though he worked hard he was never able to muster more than forty followers, who were thinned by the gold fever of 1851-2 to thirteen. The attendance at the meetings got to be so irregular that there was nothing for it but a dissolution of partnership and a distribution of the fund accumulated amongst the financial members. In 1861 the Order was revived by P.A. Brother Barnard, who was joined by Brothers Himen, Lucas, Mundez, and Williams. They opened at the *London Tavern* on the 16th April. In 1863 pioneer Himen was Noble Grand Arch of the Lodge, subsequently filled several other offices, and was the recipient of a valuable testimonial. He died at the age of sixty-seven, on the 10th December, 1870.

At the close of 1880 The United Order of Druids numbered 49 branches and 3330 members and on the 31st December, 1883, the following very creditable state of affairs was apparent:—

Number of members in Victoria, 5195.								
Grand Lodge Funds	...	...	...	...	...	£9256	19	2
Lodge Funds	...	...	...	...	...	16,872	0	1
					Total ...	£26,128	19	3

The number of members now under the jurisdiction of the Victorian Grand Lodges is 8300. The total worth of funds, £31,365 17s. 1d.; the amount paid for sick pay during the year, £5005 12s. 3d.; and the amount paid for doctors' attendance and medicine, £8655; the funeral claims paid for same period amounted to £1750. There are 63 Lodges in Victoria. Contrast this with the following:—At the half-yearly meeting, May, 1867, there were 11 Lodges, numbering 500 members, and the cash balance amounted to £111 19s. 9d.

The Grand United Druids owe much of their very marked success to their able and untiring Secretary, Mr. James J. Brenan, who has undoubtedly done for the Druids in modern times much as Greeves did for the Oddfellows forty years before, and from neither of the Brotherhoods can the name of either be even nominally dissociated.

ORANGEISM.

An Orange Confederacy has existed in the colony from an early date, and I include it as a Secret Society, using private signs, under the heading of the "Mystic Tie" because of its passwords, rather than that it is in any manner analagous to either Freemasonry or Oddfellowship. The Church of Rome has persistently set its face against Freemasonry. Oddfellowship was held in almost equal disfavour, though in some Roman Catholic communities it is tolerated; but modern Orangeism, which was unknown at the era of the Battle of the Boyne, which it affects to celebrate, has, especially out of Ireland, been so intolerably offensive, and so incompatible with the growing liberality of public opinion, as to render this short explanation necessary.

Orangeism in Port Phillip is believed to have originated with the inception of the Melbourne Corporation in 1842, to be used as an instrument in influencing the elections. The first Resident Judge (Willis) was said to have been its primary suggestor, though Mr. J. P. Fawkner publicly wrote that it was initiated by Mr. J. C. King (the first Town Clerk), and by Mr. William Kerr (one of the first Aldermen). King commenced legal proceedings against Fawkner, who, to stave off an action for libel, unconditionally apologized, and so far exonerated King. Others traced it to the Rev. Dr. Lang, who had more than once essayed the *rôle* of a religious incendiary in Port Phillip; but my impression is that it was imported in the guise of a small rabies from the North of Ireland in the latter part of 1842, by some dozen fanatics who settled down un-quarantined in the then small town. The germs of the contagion so introduced were very weak; the poison was barely preserved by a spark of vitality, and through incessant nursing was kept in a faint flicker until the following year, when the fierce personal antagonism that sprang out of the district general election between Dr. Lang and Mr. Edward Curr blew the flicker into a blaze. An Association was then formed under the grandiloquent designation of "The Grand Loyal Orange Institution of Port Phillip," but soon enlarged into "The Grand Protestant Confederation of Australia Felix." The first meetings were held at what was known as "Yarra House," now the *Port Phillip Club Hotel*, in Flinders street. It was then for a time in Fawkner's possession, and he lent it to the Brethren as a Liberty Hall; but shortly after, quarrelling in his amusing waywardness with some of the more prominent members, he treated them to a peremptory notice to quit, and they had to clear out, and take up their quarters somewhere else. For a while they put up at the *Bird in Hand*, an insignificant tavern in Little Flinders street, whence they moved to other hotels until, by a perseverance which deserves credit, they purchased an allotment of land at the corner of Stephen and Little Collins Streets. The Orange Confederation always conducted its proceedings with so much privacy that little of them is to be found reported in the Melbourne journals. Few persons of any recognized social status were ever enrolled amongst its members, though at periods of contested elections, candidates of good position did not disdain to indulge in political flirtation to secure the yellow vote. The affiliated Orangemen, however, stuck manfully to their work, and employed a zeal and indefatigableness well worthy of imitation.

In November, 1882, the then position of Victorian Orangeism was thus authoritatively stated by a Melbourne journal: "As years rolled on, new Lodges were established in the city and suburbs, and the old building becoming too small for their requirements, rooms had to be hired at the

Temperance Hall and at various other places. Lodges have been also formed in many of the up-country towns, and two or three places, such as Cheltenham, have now Protestant Halls of their own. At present there are 73 Lodges in the colony, and the total number of their effective or paying members is about 4,000, of which nearly 2,000 are in Ballarat alone. It is claimed, however, that there are at least 80,000 Orangemen in the colony who are not attached to the Order. Presiding over all the Lodges is a Grand Lodge, which holds half-yearly meetings at Melbourne, Ballarat, Sandhurst, Castlemaine, and Geelong in rotation, and to this Grand Lodge the minor Lodges pay capitation fees to meet the general expenses." That this notice is saturated with exaggeration to an absurd extent admits of no reasonable doubt.

In connection with this subject I may mention that through a sincere desire to be as correct as possible in data for the compilation of this sketch, I addressed a courteously written application to the Orange Secretary for the facts connected with the early Orangeism, and which he might consider himself justified in supplying; but I was denied the courtesy of even an acknowledgment of the receipt of my letter; a marked exception to the manner in which similar applications for information had been received in other quarters.* However, what the Secretary would (or rather perhaps could) not give, has been obtained through a more authentic medium, for one of the staunchest Orangemen in the colony has placed at my disposal a curious MS. tract. It was prepared by a veteran "true blue," a resident at Richmond, and one of the three or four still amongst us who assisted at the birth, and aided in the nursing and bottle-feeding of a bantling whose evil instincts always dominated its professedly good intentions. In a spirit of fair play I append the document *in extenso* without even taking an exception to a few somewhat inelegant expressions dropped into the dish as a condiment :—

"A Short Account of the Origin of the Loyal Orange Institution in Melbourne."

"In the year 1843 an election took place for the return of a Representative to the Sydney Legislature, Melbourne returning one member. Two candidates stood for election, viz.: Mr. Henry Condell, a brewer, and the first Mayor of Melbourne; and Mr. Edward Curr, better known as 'Circular Head' Curr; the former was a Protestant, the latter a Roman Catholic, who was defeated by a large majority.

"The defeat so enraged the Catholic party that a mob of them, low ruffians, assailed the Protestant party with sticks and stones, breaking their doors and windows, and endangering the lives of the inmates. Amongst those who suffered the greatest damage were Mr. H. Frencham and Mr. J. Green, both auctioneers. The latter was prepared for the mob, and when his premises were attacked he fired on his assailants, wounding some of them. This repulse had the effect of causing the mob to retreat out of the range of fire. The firing brought quickly into action a troop of mounted black police, under the command of Captain Dana, who charged the mob in gallant style, making them fly in all directions; but he was allowed to carry off the wounded, two of whom were taken to the doctor. The scene of this engagement was in Elizabeth street, opposite the present Telegraph Office. Captain Dana and his black police did good service in restoring order, for he patrolled the town the whole night, dispersing the Catholic mob wherever they assembled. Mr. Green was brought up at the police office for firing, but was honourably acquitted.

"Up to this time a kindly feeling had existed between Protestants and Catholics. Open voting at elections then existed, so that each party knew how the other voted, and the conduct of the Papists at this election so aroused the Protestant party to action, that they resolved to band themselves together for mutual protection, and to resist in the future the lawless conduct of the Popish mob. Accordingly a meeting was convened by a few Orangemen from Ireland, to be held at the *Pickwick Hotel*, Swanston street, kept by a Mr. Paterson. The meeting was well attended, presided over by Mr. Alderman Kerr, and a resolution was carried unanimously that a Loyal Orange Lodge be formed on the same principles as the Lodges of Great Britain and Ireland. A Lodge of about

* It is only just to the Secretary to add that he afterwards disclaimed any discourteous intention towards the Author.—Ed.

forty members was so constituted, and although most of the men had been members of Orange Lodges in Ireland, only one could produce a certificate, (and that one was Henry Frencham), which bore the name of his father as a Deputy Master.

"The first Worshipful Master was Mr. Adolphus Quin, Mr. William Kerr, Treasurer, and Mr. J. C. King, Town Clerk, Secretary *pro tem.* New members were continually being added to the roll of loyal men, and the new Institution went on well until a split in the ranks occurred, owing to a difference of opinion respecting the designation of the Lodge. Several members thought the name 'Orange' was not acceptable in a new country, much variety of opinion existed, and the numbers being nearly equal, a split was the result. Accordingly the Grand Protestant Confederation of Australia Felix was formed on the 12th May, 1843, as a Benefit Society, but in every other respect the same as the Orange Lodge. A copy of the Rules is in the possession of the writer, which will be given to the Orange Institution if so desired. The most friendly feeling existed between the two Lodges, and after some considerable time elapsed a re-union took place, which has continued to the present day. Shortly afterwards the Royal Arch Purple Order was established, chiefly by James Hyde and others; the records will give the names of all."

This transcript corroborates, in certain respects, my own version of the infancy of the organization. In a former chapter on the "Elections to the New South Wales Legislature," the battle of Elizabeth Street was much more impartially described. But I am willing to make allowance for partisanship, as

"All looks yellow to the jaundiced eye."

THE PROTESTANT HALL

Was founded on the 5th April, 1847, (Easter Monday) when the laying of its first stone was effected with all the formalities and *éclat* characterizing the origin of certain public buildings. At 3 p.m. a considerable number of persons assembled to witness the interesting ceremonial, and the occasion was graced by a large proportion of ladies. The proceedings were commenced by depositing in a large cavity cut in the under stone, a capacious bottle, amongst the contents of which was a parchment scroll thus inscribed:—

THE
FOUNDATION STONE
OF THE
PROTESTANT HALL AND SCHOOLROOM
Erected by the Orangemen of Australia Felix, with the assistance and co-operation of their fellow Protestants,
WAS LAID
On the 5th day of April, Anno Domini, 1847, in the 10th year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Victoria,
Queen of Great Britain and Ireland,
BY
WILLIAM KERR,
Provincial Grand Master of the Orangemen of Port Phillip.

WM. KERR,
S. MATHEWS,
R. LUMSDEN,
LEWIS JOHN MICHEL,
} Trustees.

ROBERT MEREDITH, Architect.
JAS. GIRVAN, Secretary.

The bottle also enclosed several coins of the then and late reigns, and one of the reign of William the Third, copies of the Melbourne *Argus* of 3rd April, the latest number of the Sydney *Sentinel* (newspapers) the *Protestant Gathering*, and the *Protestant Warning*, metrical effusions of a Mr. W. E. Hammond, a clever versifier, and Attorney's clerk, who was known as the Poet Laureate of Orangeism in Melbourne; also the Rules of the Orange Institute, a Prospectus of the Hall, and impressions of the Seals of the Grand Lodge and the several private Lodges, with other documents of various descriptions connected with the occasion.

The P.G.M., assisted by Messrs. Mathews, Michel, Quin, Lumsden, and W. Hinds, went through the usual formula, and the stone was pronounced to be "well and truly laid." Mr. Meredith, the architect, next exhibited a plan of the future building, and its handsome appearance and goodly proportions elicited rapturous cheering.

The P.G.M. Bro. Kerr addressed the assemblage in a lengthy and interesting oration, and thus concluded:—

"Friends and Brethren,—We have this day laid the foundation of a building, within the walls of which it is intended to provide the rising generation with the blessings of a sound and liberal education, which shall afford in all time coming a rallying point for the defenders and supporters of the Protestant Faith, and a stronghold for the maintenance of Civil and Religious Liberty to all classes of Her Majesty's Subjects. May the Grand Architect of the Universe, of His kind Providence, enable us to carry on and finish the work we have now begun, and may He preserve it from decay and ruin to the latest posterity."

A hymn was sung and the Doxology followed, after which the Rev. A. M. Ramsay, a Minister of the Presbyterian Church of the Province unconnected with the State, invoked the blessing of Almighty God on the day's work, and very fervently prayed for the prosperity of an undertaking having for its object the spread of education and the maintenance of pure and undefiled religion. A collection was made in aid of the Building Fund, and £26 1s. contributed. The National Anthem was then chanted, an explosion of "Kentish fire" followed, and the proceedings, which were distinguished by good order and much enthusiasm, wound up with three cheers for the Queen.

On the 24th April, 1848, (also Easter Monday) the building was formally opened with a very successful ball, at which 400 persons attended.

On the 15th August in the same year another very agreeable re-union took place. The principal room, a fine spacious apartment, was tastefully decorated. Three fine chandeliers swung from the ceiling, and a gorgeous star illuminated with lamps, surmounted by a crown and the Royal monogram V.R. The floor was fantastically chalked by a Mr. Lightwood with the arms of the province in the centre, and "Advance Victoria" in a scroll underneath. The attendance was numerous, several of the visitors adopting fancy costumes, amongst the most remarkable of which were those of Dr. O'Toole, the Lass o' Gowrie, Flower girls, Italian peasants, and bandits. There was a sprinkling of Masons and Oddfellows in regalia, and there were the two Misses D., who were pronounced to be the evening belles. A Mr. Easeman conducted the orchestra, dancing commenced at 9.30, the supper was sumptuous, and there was not a single drawback to mar the universal satisfaction imparted.

And so as one year disappeared to be replaced by another, the Hall continued to be the arena of many pleasant festive fore-gatherings and public meetings, as well as a convenient rendezvous for religious celebrations and demonstrations. For more than thirty years the Protestant Hall fulfilled the purpose of its projectors so effectually that in January, 1882, the old building was removed with the intention of substituting a more suitable edifice. The new hall was accordingly proceeded with, and it is a creditable architectural achievement. Its estimated cost was about £6000, and the subjoined description is compressed from a Melbourne newspaper:—

"The foundations are of bluestone, and the superstructure is in brick cement. The building is two-storied, and in the Italian style of architecture. The lower windows are arched, and neatly relieved by pilasters with insticated basements. The upper windows are headed with square pediments, with trusses and enriched panels, and between them are pilasters in the Corinthian style. Surmounting all are a large modillioned cornice and balustrade, and from the corner springs a tower 70ft. high, with a mansard roof and a platform enclosed in an ornamental iron railing. The interior of the ground floor is divided into a number of rooms appropriated to various purposes. A stone staircase leads up to the hall on the first floor—a capacious apartment 70ft. by 42ft. and 24ft. high. A platform has been erected at one end, and a gallery at the other. The building is expected to be self-supporting, for the rents for the use of the hall and the meeting-rooms will bring in a considerable annual revenue."

CHAPTER XLVII.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

SYNOPSIS.—Lieutenant-Governor Collins.—His Printing Press and "Jail Journal."—Early Publications and Publishers.—The Port Phillip Magazine.—The Illustrated Australian Magazine.—Mr. Thomas Ham's Map.—The First Debating Society.—The Melbourne Literary Association.—The First Legislative Council.—The First Almanacs and Directories.—Port Phillip College.—The First School.—Early Schools and Regulations.—The Port Phillip Academical Institution.—Private Schools and Schoolmasters.—The Denominational System.—The National System.

WHEN Lieut.-Governor David Collins, the Commandant of the Convict Expedition, arrived at Sorrento in 1803, he brought with him from London a small hand-press, which he fixed under a gum-tree on the beach; and in this "office" were printed and issued from time to time, series of "general and garrison orders" for the enforcement of good government and discipline amongst the few free settlers and convicts, and the small military force. With little or no literary pretensions, this veritable "jail journal" is curious as being our first printed periodical, and as a specimen of what it was I append, *verbatim et literatim*, the first two manifestoes thus promulgated:—

Sullivan Bay [Port Phillip],
16th Oct., 1803.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Parole—Sullivan. C. Sign—Woodriff.

"The Commissary is directed to issue, until further orders, the following ration weekly:—To civil, military, and free settlers—beef, 7lbs.; or pork, 4lbs.; biscuit, 7lbs.; flour, 1lb.; sugar, 6ozs. To women, two-thirds; children above five years, half; and children under five years, quarter of the above ration.

"A copper will be immediately erected for the convenience of cooking, and persons appointed to dress the provisions, which are to be ready every day at 12 o'clock.

"Half a pint of spirits is allowed to the military daily.

GARRISON ORDERS.

"A guard, consisting of 1 sergt., 1 corp., and 12 privates will mount daily in front of the marine encampment. Officers for the duty this day, 1st Lt. Johnson; to-morrow, 2nd Lt. Lord.

"The centinels at the different posts will be at all times vigilant and careful to preserve peace and good order. After the beating of the tattoo, they are not to allow any (the night watch which will be appointed excepted) to pass without the countersign. All prisoners taken during the night are to be sent to the quarter-guard. The centinels at the landing-place will not suffer any spirituous liquors to be landed at or near their post, without a written permit signed by the Lieut.-Governor, and they are not to prevent any military or civil officer, or free settler, from going into a boat or on board of ships at anchor in the harbour; but other persons, if employed by an officer, are to produce a pass, signed by the officer, which is to be given to the centinel, and by him to be delivered to the sergt. of the guard. The greatest attention to be paid to this order. The morning parade will beat at nine o'clock, the evening at sunset. Tattoo will be beat at nine o'clock. The orderly drum every day at one."

The Collins hand-press executed its last "job" in Port Phillip on the 26th January, 1804. Typography then went to sleep, and slumbered uninterruptedly for four-and-thirty years, when it was awakened by the publication of Fawkner's printed *Melbourne Advertiser* on the 9th April, 1838. The

first essay at forming a library was also the handiwork of Fawkner, who, though the reverse of a *litterateur*, may be fairly regarded as unquestionably our first man of letters, in manuscript and print, for he was never so much himself as when dabbling in some form or other with newspaper editing or writing, alike regardless of the proprieties of good temper, good manners, good style, and good taste. This bibliothecal collection was an appendage to *Fawkner's Hotel*, and circulated in other places than the bar-parlour, for the books were lent out to solvent subscribers at 5s. per quarter. The exterior distribution must have been even more limited than the then existent circle of readers; as the library consisted of an *Encyclopædia*, two or three volumes of English Reviews, half-a-dozen works of history and poetry; whilst the "reading room" possessed the additional attractions of the Sydney and Van Diemen's Land newspapers, with a stray number of a London journal. The influx of population by degrees added to the stock of books amongst the community, and in 1839 a Mr. James Hill announced for sale, on the 22nd January, "An extensive library, comprising English, French, Latin, Italian, and Greek books."

The establishment of the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute in the course of the same year stimulated a desire for literary enjoyment; and a very superior course of lectures, by which it was inaugurated, sowed seed which afterwards produced a crop of incalculable benefit to society, though more of an indirect than a direct nature.

In 1840 a partnership—William Kerr and Joseph Thompson—established a newspaper agency at the *Patriot* office; and Mr. Matthew Holmes opened a by no means extensive book shop, both in West Collins Street. A somewhat amusing literary advertisement appears in the Melbourne journals in July, 1840, viz., that there is on sale at the *Herald* office "The last edition (1839) of the *London Encyclopædia*, consisting of twenty-two volumes in boards; also an excellent stomach pump, of Maw's (London) manufacture." Probably it was considered that the one would form a desirable accompaniment to the other.

A Reading Society, started by private subscription, ran for several years. It was quite a select affair, and candidates for membership had to undergo the ordeal of the ballot. During 1850 it circulated 3800 book and 390 magazine numbers. Its supplies were procured chiefly from England.

Early Publications.

The first local author to write up the province was George Arden, of the *Gazette*, and in 1840 there appeared from his pen a very creditable pamphlet upon the capabilities of Port Phillip. The great fault of Arden was his proneness to plunge into excesses, either eulogistic or depreciatory. He was master of an accomplished, though inflated style, and would have been a writer of great and taking power had his mind been better ballasted, and his verbiage denuded of florid excrescences which were simply encumbrances. His Port-Phillipian *brochure* is characterized by marked traces of scholarship, though its merits are overlaid by exaggeration. Arden's production was a very readable one, and did much good in its day. Several short treatises on Port Phillip were issued in England by persons who made flying trips to the Antipodes, just looked about them, returned, and "wrote a book." A Mr. George H. Haydon, a sojourner of some time, published in London in 1846 an interesting work under the title of *Five Years' Experience in Australia Felix*. In 1848 Mr. William Westgarth gave to the world his *Australia Felix; or A Historical and Descriptive Account of Port Phillip*. The author was well qualified by ability and long residence here to handle such a subject, and it was with no surprise that the Press acknowledged it to be a work of undoubted merit and fulness of information. M'Combie's *History of Port Phillip* is well known, and has been very generally accepted as a text-book by subsequent writers. It was an unexpected treat coming from such a man, and displayed a thorough familiarity with the story it tells, though portions of it are written with too much bias, and the accuracy of the facts narrated is in several instances more than questionable.

The Rev. Dr. Lang published a work designated *Phillipsland*, and he was in certain respects very competent to do so; but much of anything he wrote was spoiled by personal acidity.

The first *Manual of Horticulture* was issued in 1845 by Daniel Bunce, C.M.H.S., author of *Hortus Tasmaniensis, Guide to the Linnæan System of Botany, Manual of Practical Gardening, &c.* This work sold at 2s. 6d. per copy, and ran through more than one edition, for it was cheap and useful.

The First Magazine.

In 1843 a pretentious monthly periodical was adventured as *The Port Phillip Magazine*, at 3s. per number, or 7s. 6d. per quarter. It was under the joint editorship of Mr. G. A. Gilbert, a recently-arrived drawing-master, and Dr. W. B. Wilmot, the Coroner. Gilbert was an accomplished gentlemanly man, who knew a good deal about many matters, and rendered himself much of an acquisition to the Mechanics' Institute, of which he was for years Honorary Secretary. He was a very plausible and pleasant speaker, and at pen and pencil equally an adept. The magazine professed to be a scientific, literary, agricultural and commercial journal of about fifty pages, and No. 1 was illustrated with three rather poorly-executed lithographic sketches, viz.—(*a*) Williamstown; (*b*) Shortland's Bluff (Queenscliff) Lighthouse; and (*c*) the Landing-place at Sandridge—water, sand, and two hotels. The articles were on Land Drainage, Physical Geography, Agriculture and Immigration. Then followed some Statistics, and a Metrical Story on two Aborigines executed in Melbourne in 1842. For the time the ambitious attempt was as good as could be expected. Generally speaking, its whole style was defective; it found little favour with the public, and it ended in an abortion.

In 1847 an attempt was made to establish the *Australasian*, a monthly reprint of articles from the English Reviews, at 5s. per number, but its second appearance was its last.

A nearly similar project was revived in 1850 under the same name, at 2s. 6d. per number. The publisher was John Pullar, Melbourne, and there was to be not only a reproduction of selections from the leading periodicals of the United Kingdom, but also original contributions, chiefly on subjects of colonial interest. No 1 failed to hit the public taste for two very good reasons—viz., because the articles reprinted were rather stale, and the original papers were the reverse of interesting. No. 2 perished in embryo.

The Illustrated Australian Magazine,

Printed by Samuel Goode, Swanston Street, for Thomas, Jabez, and Theophilus Ham, of Collins Street, sole proprietors, was commenced under the motto "*Non progredi est regredi*," in July, 1850, and the promoters promised "that for one year the work shall be continued at all risks; nor shall any expense be spared, or any expedient untried, in order to render it worthy of a permanent and increasing popularity." The object of the undertaking professed "to further the development of the great natural resources of our Southern clime; to stimulate and direct colonial enterprise; to give efficiency to industry, and increased productiveness to human labour; to foster native talent; and thus to promote both the interest and the happiness of all classes of society;" and it was carried out with a laudable public spirit. The *Magazine* was a half-crown monthly issue of some eighty medium-sized pages stitched in a wrapper with a picturesque cover. To take No. 1 as a sample, it contained a well compounded prescription of reading, its illustrations numbering five—viz., the Mechanics' Institute, the Alpaca and a North-western Passage Expedition in search of Franklin, with descriptive articles referring to each. There were also a well-written Editorial Address, a Paper on Nineveh, two short Tales of Fiction, a Metrical Enigma, a Monthly Retrospect of Events, and some Statistical Reports supplied by Mr. William Westgarth. It was, on the whole, a favourable specimen, and well deserved public patronage. Subsequent issues showed an improvement, and the pictorial enrichments were more Australian in design. The promise to keep the venture going for twelve months was more than fulfilled, for it was continued to the fifteenth number, when it exploded (October, 1851) through the action of the strange and unlooked-for gases generated in the community by the preliminary rumblings of the gold revolution. "Ham's *Magazine*," as it was familiarly called, went to pieces the same as many another early enterprise, and in October, 1851, its epitaph was good humouredly chanted in something like the wail of the dying swan:—"Not only

have our whole staff of engravers, lithographers, and letter-press printers left us, but they have even taken their wives with them to rock the cradles! Our office is deserted! We doubt much whether we shall be able to procure men to deliver the Magazine to our subscribers. In short, there is no alternative left us but to follow the examples of all trades and professions, linen-drapers, tailors, grocers, cheesemongers, lawyers, clergymen, doctors, and Government officers, and be off to the '*diggins*.'"

The First Map.

In 1841 Mr. J. P. Fawkner, the proprietor of the *Port Phillip Patriot*, presented his subscribers with a map of the Town of Melbourne, the first of the kind issued. It was neither engraved nor lithographed, but was set up with brass rule and type from a Government tracing, and even by a printer of the present day would be acknowledged a smart piece of workmanship. From information recently received I am disposed to believe that it was the handiwork of Mr. James Harrison, one of the early typos, so well known for a series of years in connection with the *Geelong Advertiser*, and subsequently as a man fertile in ice-preserving experiments.

Ham's Map.

On the 23rd February, 1847, Mr. Thomas Ham, an engraver, doing business in a shop in Collins Street, opposite the present Bank of Victoria, issued "A Map of Australia Felix," which favourably compares as an artistic production with some of the best maps of the present day. It was engraved on a copper plate 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 9 inches, to the scale of 19 miles to the inch, printed on the best Imperial drawing paper, and neatly coloured. It was sold at 12s. 6d. to subscribers and 16s. to non-subscribers, and was a really valuable acquisition to the public. The copyright was registered in London, and the map was dedicated (by permission) to Sir Charles Fitzroy, the Governor of New South Wales. It was a comprehensive chart, for it embraced the whole extent of country included in what it was believed would form the boundaries of the colony on the separation of Port Phillip. It showed the positions of more than a thousand squatting stations, numerically noted, and explained by a key or catalogue. All the harbours, rivers, lakes, creeks, ranges, and other topographical information were accurately delineated, the whole being carefully compiled and revised from official charts and other authentic documents. There are but very few copies of this valuable map extant.

The First Debating Society.

A few of the most intelligent and active minds in Melbourne held a conference at the commencement of 1841, and the outcome was the foundation of what was designated "The Melbourne Debating Society," with a Managerial Board consisting of—President: the Hon. James Erskine Murray; Vice-Presidents: Rev. James Forbes, and Surgeon A. F. Greeves; Chairman: Mr. J. G. Foxton; Committee: Messrs. James Boyle, G. A. Gilbert, R. V. Innes, D. W. O'Nial, and J. J. Peers; Treasurers: Messrs. Thomas B. Darling, and E. C. Dunn. This Society attracted to its ranks most of the talent of the town. Weekly meetings were held at the Scots' Schoolroom on the Eastern hill of Collins Street, and considerable debating power was rapidly developed. It was not a mere ordinary school-boy exhibition of vapid declamation and puerile rhodomontade, but an intellectual gathering, where questions of interest to the community were good-humouredly, intelligently, and patiently discussed. The proceedings were reported at length in the newspapers, and were regarded with almost the interest that now attaches to Parliamentary deliverances. There never was an institution in Melbourne that did such good in its time as this old and first "talking shop." Of its original members the only survivors in 1888 are, I believe, Mr. J. G. Foxton, and Mr. J. M. Smith, the well-known Solicitor; and that his tongue is also still alive and stirring is evidenced by the proceedings which frequently enliven the heavy atmosphere of the Benevolent Asylum during the

meetings of the Committee of Management. Mr. Smith is a member of that body, and, judging by his reported utterances, his oratory seems the reverse of old wine, for it was much better flavoured and possessed infinitely more body when exercised in the Primitive Debating Society, than in its present developments.

In April, 1851, a Melbourne Literary Association was formed, and its inauguration meeting held on the 28th, when the President (Mr. W. S. Gibbons), delivered a lengthy and interesting address. It was virtually a Discussion or Debating Society, and the first question ventilated by it was the repeatedly well-threshed theme of Temperance.

The close of the same year witnessed the opening of the first Legislative Council, an articulating machine which, in some form or other, will never more shut up in the colony so long as grass grows and water runs.

Almanacs.

This medium of a Day and Meteorologic Guide is of early introduction; for the first sheet-almanac was issued by the proprietors of the *Port Phillip Gazette* on the 1st January, 1839. It was a small, poorly-bordered production, containing little more than a monthly calendar, with a few items of general information. In 1842, a Geelong Almanac was prepared by Mr. James Harrison, and published by Harrison and Scamble, at the *Advertiser* office, Yarra Street, North Corio, Geelong. Sheet-almanacs were occasionally presented by way of a Christmas Box, or New Year's Offering, by the *Gazette*, *Patriot*, and the *Herald* newspapers to their subscribers. The *Herald*, being superior in "plant" to its contemporaries, produced the more picturesque article. Its Separation sheet-almanac brought out several successive years, was extremely creditable, and exhibited considerable typographical taste. This periodical at length became interwoven with the names of William Clarke and John Ferres (two well-known *Herald* overseers), who, in their time held first rank in their craft, or "profession," as some typos. fondly and grandly call it.

Directories.

The first effort of this kind was made so far back as the end of 1840, and though bearing little comparison with the corpulent and well-filled publications of the "eighties," was, considering the times and circumstances, extremely creditable to the industry and enterprise of its projector. It was intituled *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac and Port Phillip Directory for 1841*—a compendium of useful and accurate information connected with Port Phillip. Its compiler was the well-known old journalist, Mr. William Kerr, and it was published by Kerr and Holmes, at their book and stationery warehouse, Collins Street, Melbourne. It was no light task to undertake such a work at such a day in consequence of (to quote the language of the preface) "the difficulties which have everywhere to be encountered in getting up for the first time a work of this nature," and the "almost insuperable obstacles which the perpetual changes incident to a new settlement, and the complete absence of any certain means of obtaining information." The compiler, however, settled down to his work with a will, and the result of his labours was the issue for 12s. 6d. per copy, of 264 pages, royal octavo, bound in cloth-boards. It was printed on good paper, in pica and long primer type, with the matter arranged in convenient form. The table of contents indicated a diversity of topics—Eclipses and Wharfage Rates; Vaccination and the position of the Crocodile Rock; the Gardeners' Calendar; Abstracts of the Acts of the Legislature most commonly in force; the several codes of Government Regulations in existence; the Public Departments, Companies and Institutions are summarized, and other addenda convenient to persons engaged in business. Twenty-three pages of the *Directory* contain names, places of business, and private residences. The Melbourne houses were not numbered for years after; and it is a matter of surprise how such a collocation could be obtained from extremely scanty and imperfect materials. The *Almanac Advertiser* at the end contains twenty-four pages of trade notices, on different coloured papers, a strong evidence in itself of the rapidly

increasing trade and commerce of the young community. The issue of this book should remain for all time a memento of the energy and public spirit of the man who devised and accomplished it.

The same publication was continued in 1842, and though exteriorly inferior, being half cloth bound, was a vast improvement in every other respect. It contained three hundred and sixty-six pages, was printed in clearer type of thick-leaded long primer and brevier, royal octavo, and placing it by the side of a *Directory* of to-day, barring the cover, shows as good composition as could now be turned out of the Melbourne Printing Offices. The compiler thus concludes his preface :—"On the success which is vouchsafed to the present publication, must, of course, depend its continuance in future years; but the compiler fondly trusts that his work will be found of sufficient utility to warrant him in the expectation of having many opportunities in store of renewing his acquaintance annually with the public of Australia Felix." But the hope so indulged in was not to be fulfilled, and more is the pity. The then limited circulation for such a valuable publication was insufficient to sustain it, and for this, and perhaps other reasons which Mr. Kerr could not control, there was no third appearance.

Through an insane newspaper rivalry an attempt was made to cut out of public favour this laudable and public-spirited experiment of Mr. Kerr. The three newspapers then in existence were in a chronic state of internecine feud, and the consequence was that anything projected by one office was sure to be vehemently opposed by the others. Mr. Kerr was editor of the *Patriot*, and his *Directory* was for that reason alone so much gall and wormwood. It was therefore resolved to try and burst it up, and the manner of doing so was the issue of an opposition publication of a cheaper though much inferior kind. This was accordingly done by rolling out of the *Gazette* office a small pamphlet, designated *The Immigrants' Almanac for 1842*, containing every kind of local information, compiled for the use of the labouring classes by John Stephen, assistant editor of the *P. P. Gazette*." It comprised 67 pages of judiciously-collected and well-printed matter, was sold for 5s. per copy, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have claimed extensive support. But it was floated for the unworthy purpose of indulging private spleen, and pandering to personal malignity. It therefore deservedly failed, and from no point of view could any cool-headed thinker entertain for it a hope of other result.

In 1847 there was issued *The Port Phillip Patriot Almanac and Directory*, price sixpence to subscribers to the *Patriot*, and 1s. 6d. to non-subscribers. It was a small-sized, paper-covered book, royal 18mo. of one hundred and ninety pages, brevier and minion, and eighteen of advertisements. It was a marvel for the money; but as contrasted with the Kerr publication of 1842, was in every way a "cheap and nasty" affair.

A kind friend has favoured me with the following memo. in reference to two publications omitted in my notice of the Early Magazine Literature of Port Phillip :—

1. *Australian Protestant Remembrancer*, edited by the Rev. W. Trollope, M.A. :—First number, 1st January, 1850. It was printed by Mr. John Ferres, *Herald* Office, and stopped at the end of six months.

2. *The Melbourne Presbyterian Magazine*, edited by the Rev. A. M. Ramsay:—First number appeared in October, 1850, and it lived just twelve months. Mr. John Ferres, *Herald* office, was also its printer.

It is almost needless to state that the Mr. Ferres in question is the well known Victorian Government Printer, of whom something more will be heard in a future chapter.*

COPYRIGHT ASSOCIATION.

Amongst the early transitory organizations was one to protect the rights of resident authors, publishers and artists. It was initiated at a meeting held in the *Shakespeare Hotel*, corner of Collins and Market Streets, on the 23rd February, 1847, when there attended :—The Mayor (H. Moor), Messrs. George Arden, J. J. Mouritz, G. A. Gilbert, Charles Laing, Wm. Hull, George Cavenagh, John Pullar, Joseph Pittman, and Thomas Ham. The Mayor was in the chair, and resolutions were

*Mr. Ferres retired from the Government service on the 31st July, 1887.—ED.

passed, *(a)* Affirming the necessity for an Act of the Legislature for the protection of Copyright and Patents; *(b)* The Appointment of a Committee to prepare a Petition on the subject for presentation to the Legislative Council of New South Wales; and *(c)* That a Society be formed for the purpose of giving a permanent character to the objects and proceedings in view. This project never got beyond its chrysalis state.

A Port Phillip College.

Anno Domini 1840 might be well termed the year of projects in Melbourne, social, commercial, intellectual, or even spiritual, for there was a handful of colonists then in Melbourne, so self-sufficient, ambitious, and hopeful that they really believed they had only to wish for anything, even an impossibility, and by some miraculous agency it would be effected. To-day, a bubble of some kind or other would be blown, only to burst the day or week after, and this had hardly evaporated when something more preposterous, and many years in advance of the age, would be floated, only to share a similar fate. The most remarkable instance of this aërial architecture was the proposition to found a proprietary college in Melbourne, so as "To place the means of education in the higher walks of literature within the reach of the youth of the Province," though its entire population did not number more than 8000 persons. A few wise heads accordingly came together, and out of them was elaborated a Provisional Committee, which set to work, prepared a most comprehensive scheme, and submitted it to a public meeting "of those interested in the subject," which was held on the 12th August, 1840, in what was known as the Auction Company's Rooms, at the south-west corner of Collins and William Streets. From the programme presented it would be necessary to make provision in the proposed institution for communicating instruction in the following branches of secular education:—

1. English Grammar, Elocution, and the Elements of English Composition.
2. Writing, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Geography, and History.
3. Mathematics, and the Elementary branches of Natural Philosophy and Natural History.
4. The Ancient Classics and such modern languages as may be thought necessary.

On the subject of Religious Instruction the plan adopted at a Seminary called the *Martiniere*, in Calcutta, was suggested as a model. There a scheme had been sanctioned by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Bishops, and the senior minister of the Church of Scotland, and was in effect that instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity be communicated daily and publicly by the head-master to all the pupils, it being left to the pastors of different denominations to teach the youth of their respective flocks all matters which relate to discipline, church government, the sacraments, and other subjects on which differences, more or less important, existed.

The following were the fundamental truths which it was recommended public religious instruction should embrace:—

1. The Being of a God: His Unity and Perfections.
2. The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament: A revelation inspired by the Holy Ghost.
3. The Mystery of the Adorable Trinity.
4. The Deity, Incarnation, Atonement, and Intercession of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.
5. The Fall and Corruption of Man: His Accountableness and Guilt.
6. Salvation through Grace by the Meritorious Sacrifice and Redemption of Christ.
7. The Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit; and His operations and Grace in the Sanctification of Man.
8. The indispensable obligation of Repentance towards God, Faith in Christ, and continued prayer for the Grace of the Holy Spirit.
9. The moral duties which every Christian is bound to perform towards God, His neighbour, and himself, as they are summed up in the Ten Commandments, and enlarged upon in other parts of the Holy Scriptures, all based on the doctrines above specified and enforced as their proper fruits.

Funds for the undertaking were to be raised in transferable £50 shares, each holder to be privileged to nominate one pupil for each share held, at one-half the rates to be charged to non-proprietors. The property of the Institution was to be vested in five Trustees elected by the proprietors or shareholders. The management was to be entrusted to a President, two Vice-Presidents, and ten Directors, all elected annually by the proprietors, and empowered (subject to the review and control of the general body of shareholders) to nominate Masters and all other Officers necessary for conducting the ordinary business of the establishment. Donors of £200 or more were to be Honorary Life Directors, and strong hopes were entertained that the Government would grant a site for the building.

The Report was adopted, and the Provisional Committee were authorized to retain office until £2000 had been raised. This *pro tem.* body consisted of Messrs. W. H. Yaldwyn, James Simpson, J. D. L. Campbell, G. B. Smyth, E. J. Brewster, Sylvester, J. Brown, George Porter, and Arthur Kemmis, supplemented by the pastors of the various denominations of Christians.

An application was forwarded to head-quarters soliciting the so-much-desired land gift, and Governor Sir George Gipps commissioned Superintendent Latrobe to select a suitable *locale.* There was so much unoccupied area around the small township that the choosing entailed but little trouble, and a reserve of five acres (off the South-East corner of the Carlton Gardens, then an open stretch of bush country) was selected. His Excellency's answer was expected by every overland mail, but the arrangement was unceremoniously broken in upon by the Rev. P. B. Geoghegan, the Roman Catholic Pastor, who offered an emphatic opposition to the preferential endowment of any particular Religious Denomination. The movement, though ostensibly for the benefit of all the Christian Sects, was in reality an Episcopalian overture, and others beside the Roman Catholics regarded it as the first step towards the establishment of a Church of England ascendancy. The grant was never completed, the Collegiate prospectus fluttered for a season before the public eye, and the proprietary vanished.

The First School.

It is a singular fact that what might be termed the first "Seminary" of the colony was an institution for the instruction of Aboriginal children. It was established by order of Governor Sir Richard Bourke, in 1836, on a portion of the reserve now known as the Botanic Gardens. Its first teacher was Mr. George Langhorn, an Episcopalian Missionary, who, for a time, had Mr. John Thomas Smith (subsequently the well-known Melbourne Mayor) as an assistant. The number of little black pupils in attendance during the first year varied from 5 to 28; in 1837, 28 to 17; in 1838, 17 to 3; and in 1839 (when it was discontinued), 3 to 2. In 1841, a second school was formed at an Aboriginal Station, at Narre-Narre-Warren, near Dandenong, the scholars ranging for the first year from 11 to 23; in 1842, 23 to 15; and in 1843, 15 to *nil*, which caused its break up. The third school of the kind was founded in December, 1845, principally through the instrumentality of the Rev. John Ham, at the junction of Merri Creek and Yarra. It began with 1 attendant, and during a portion of 1846 had 32, which number dwindled to 7 during the following year; and in 1850 there remained only 2 children, deserted by their mother, but subsequently cared for by the Government, and in 1853 they were under training at the Moonee Ponds National School.

The Primitive Sectarian Schools.

One of the first acts of the religious community after its formation, and when temporary provision had been made for Divine worship, was the initiation of a school, no matter how small; for next to the care of their souls sprang up an anxiety for the education of a rising generation, more or less on the increase. To maintain religious and scholastic establishments in the early times solely by private benefactions was out of the question, and the Government, with praiseworthy liberality, provided a pecuniary endowment in a small way. Grants of land were accordingly given as sites for churches,

parsonages, and schoolhouses, and also assistance in funds, proportionate to the amounts raised by individual contributions for such purposes. Some particulars upon this point are stated in the chapter devoted to the religious establishments, and appended is a *précis* of

The Early School Regulations.

Prior to 1841, a meagre and imperfect code existed, but on the 24th September a revised edition was issued from the Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, to take effect from and after 1st January, 1842.

With respect to new schools, or those established since 1836, in towns or places with a population of 2000 or upwards, the Government grant to any school was not to exceed one penny for each day's actual attendance of every child, none to be reckoned whose parents or friends were in a station of life such as to render it unnecessary to extend to them the assistance of Government. In localities where the population was under 2000, the State aid to a school may be 1¼d. per diem per child, or further extended to 1½d. per diem should there be no other school of any denomination receiving Government aid within five miles. In no case would Government aid exceed the sum to be raised for the support of the school from private sources, nor ever be more than £25 per quarter, unless the number of children attending the school, or the poverty of their parents was such to make a special exception in their favour necessary. It was further declared that the sums granted by the Legislature could never be exceeded, nor the savings (if any) on one year be carried over to aid the expenditure of the next. The same rule applied to the cost of repairs to school buildings. The Government likewise expressed its intention of discontinuing, as soon as possible, the payment of fixed salaries to masters and mistresses; and consequently no salaries would be guaranteed to any such appointed after 1st January, 1842; neither would rent be paid by Government for any buildings hired as school-houses after the same date, unless previously used as such, it being considered that the providing of suitable teachers and buildings should rest with Trustees, or Committee of Management, rather than with the Government. It was further proposed as soon as possible to discontinue the extremely objectionable practice of paying one halfpenny per diem for children whose parents or friends pay nothing. "The purpose sought to be effected was gradually to bring all schools which receive aid from the Government, under one system, so far at least as the receipt of that aid is concerned."

All schools were required to furnish quarterly returns to the Auditors-General in Sydney. In addition to other information they were to include an alphabetical list of the children, with their ages, as well as the names, places of abode, and trade or calling of the parents or nearest friends. These lists would then be transferred, in Sydney to an Inspector of Schools, and in country places, to the police magistrates; and should there be none such, then to the Clerk of the Bench, or some other person authorized to act as an Inspector of Schools within his district.

The duties of School Inspectors were to acquire an acquaintance with the condition of life of all the parents, or friends of school-attending children, marking on the list supplied to him, his opinion whether or not such persons require the assistance of the Government in the education of the children. They were to visit the schools at uncertain times, never less than twice a month, when the children were to be mustered, and the numbers present compared with those entered on the daily attendance registers to be kept by the teachers. With the tuition, the Inspectors were to have no concern; nor could they exercise any control over the teachers, the object of their appointment being to watch over the financial and not the educational business of the schools. Nevertheless, it would be their duty to report to the Government "any irregularity or misconduct which may fall under their observation; and generally on the way in which each school may appear to them to be managed."

The primary schools were, as a rule, imperfect to a degree, from the impossibility of obtaining the services of teachers, even moderately competent; but a large allowance must be made for existent difficulties insuperable in their way, and only to be removed by the great magician—Time.

Decidedly the best (and the earliest) of the old schools, was one founded in connection with the Scots' Church, and the first schoolhouse erected was a historical brick building, close to the first Kirk, in 1839. The Wesleyans were early and assiduous in the same way, and so were the Episcopalians, the Roman Catholics, and the Independents. The first Scots' School teachers were Robert Campbell and John M'Lure. The first Roman Catholic ditto, Peter Bodecin, and the following advertisement in the *Port Phillip Gazette*, dated 27th April, 1839, probably indicates the first regular Church of England preceptor. "Mr. W. M. Abbot purposes opening a school for children for both sexes, in the Episcopalian Church, on the 29th. Hours of attendance, from 9 to 12, and 2 to 4; terms ranging from 20s. to 10s. per quarter, to be paid in advance."

In 1840, a Mr. James Clarke was a teacher at St. James', and Mr. John Lynch at St. Francis'. The Port Phillip Expenditure for 1841, as voted by the Legislature of New South Wales, includes an item of £750 "In aid of the establishment, and in support of schools, on condition of sums to an equal amount being raised by private contributions." The condition of the State-aided schools of the Province on the 1st January, 1842, is thus indicated in *Kerr's Port Phillip Directory* for that year:—

SCHOOL ESTABLISHMENT.

Inspector of Schools—Frederick Berkley St. John, Esq., P.M.

SCOTS' SCHOOL.

Masters—Messrs. Robert Campbell and John M'Lure. Teacher of Sacred Music—Mr. William Tydeman.

The Scots' School is conducted mainly on the Glasgow training system, under the direction of five Managers, appointed annually in January, as follow:—(1). The Minister of the Scots' Church for the time being. (2). Two elected by the Trustees of the church property. (3). Two elected by such persons as may have contributed either one pound to the erection of the schoolhouse, or two pounds during the preceding twelve months, to the support of the school or schoolmaster.

The following are the Managers:—Rev. James Forbes, *ex officio;* Rev. James Clow, and George Sinclair Brodie, Esq., elected by the Trustees; James Oliphant Denny, Esq., and David Elliot Wilkie, Esq., elected by the contributors.

CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL.

Master—Mr. James Smith. Managers—The Minister and Trustees of the Independent Chapel.

The Congregational School is conducted as far as practicable, upon the system of the British and Foreign School, Borough Road, London.

ST. JAMES' SCHOOL.

Master—Mr. William Anthony Brown.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL.

Schoolmaster—Mr. John Lynch. Schoolmistress—Mrs. Mary Lynch.

N.B.—Besides the above, there are several very excellent educational establishments in Melbourne, but these are the only ones attached to any particular religious denominations, or receiving State support.

On 30th September, 1843, Educational Returns were furnished to the Police Magistrate showing the results from the schools established in the County of Bourke, to be:—

EPISCOPALIAN: Teachers, 16; pupils, 210. | PRESBYTERIAN: Teachers, 3; pupils, 88.
ROMAN CATHOLIC: Teachers, 5; pupils, 151. | INDEPENDENT: Teachers, 2; pupils, 83.
WESLEYAN: Teachers, 2; pupils, 34.

There were likewise three establishments at which 161 Protestant and Roman Catholic children indiscriminately, were instructed—giving a total of 727 attendants from three to twelve years old.

THE FIRST INFANT SCHOOL

Was opened in 1844, in a house in Bourke Street, eastward of the present *Bull and Mouth Hotel;* but the room soon becoming inadequate, a small building was erected in the rear of Mr. Rules' timber yard, further up the street, off the north-east junction of Bourke and Swanston Streets. It was 60 ft. by 22 ft., with a play-ground attached, and hither the "infants" were transferred. It was continued for some time, and its maintenance supplied by subscriptions, and the profits of tea-meetings.

THE PORT PHILLIP ACADEMICAL INSTITUTION

Was ushered into existence in 1844, sponsored by an imposing list of Patrons, Managers, and Masters. Its programme promised a "Classical, Scientific, Literary, and Mercantile Education;" and the head mastership was conferred on Mr. (afterwards the Rev.) William Brickwood. The school was conducted in the Napier Rooms (hereafter indicated); and its inauguration was effected on the 4th August at a public gathering held in the Mechanics' Institute. Brickwood was an accomplished, painstaking teacher. The Academy progressed, and the "Court of Proprietors" held occasional conventions to raise money for the erection of a suitable building; but the ways and means were never realized. The Academy was next removed to a spacious villa, belonging to Dr. Wilmot, the first coroner, in the portion of Little Flinders Street, recently occupied by the warehouses of M'Arthur and Co. Brickwood subsequently retired and withdrew to Brighton.

In 1846, the Academy entered upon its third year, and was captained by a Mr. Hay, who issued a wide promissory note in the form of a printed announcement, in which he wished it to be understood by parents and guardians, "that boarders in addition to their studies in the public school, will have private lessons and religious instructions at home, and that they will be conveyed to and from the public class-room in town, in a vehicle for that purpose." His terms were forty guineas per annum (inclusive of the Academical fee of ten guineas paid in advance). It did not turn out the prolific plot of meadow land anticipated by Hay, and the scheme was dissolved on the 1st August.

PRIVATE SCHOLASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS.

Self-supporting schools date their introduction from the latter portion of 1838, and the first notification of the kind I have seen is an advertisement in the *Port Phillip Gazette*, intimating "That the vacation would terminate at Mrs. Cooke's school on 1st January, 1839. Cards of terms at her residence, Roxburgh Cottage, Flinders Street."

At that chronological crisis, when the years 1838 and 1839 are supposed to have come in contact, just to touch hands and part for ever, a private school was kept in Little Flinders Street by a worthy known as William Penny. He occupied a one-roomed wattle-and-daub hut, close to the *Shamrock Inn*, situated directly rearward of the present Union Bank. He was a Londoner by birth, and when in the Mother-country, being given to rudimentary chemical experiments, he so far improved himself, as to succeed in the manufacturing of divers halfpence, pennies, and sixpennies, which, for a short time, turned out a profitable speculation, but his little game was soon spoiled, and he got himself speedily bundled out of England to Van Diemen's Land. Through some mishap over the water, he lost an optic, and he appeared in Melbourne a monocular, bustling little fellow, fairly educated, not a bad teacher for the times, but rather given to the worship of Bacchus, and libations of throat-scorching rum. In school hours he was careful of the few urchins committed to his tutoring; but

out of school he was in a constant state of liquidation at the nearest grog-shop. Corporal punishment he abhorred—possibly through dearly-acquired experience. He was never known to cane a young delinquent, and his softness was appreciated accordingly. There was a publican in town named Halfpenny, frequently patronised by Penny, and it was a jocular saying of the latter, that, so long as the two abideth therein, Melbourne could not run out of coppers, for she would always possess, at least, a "Penny and a half-penny." This flash of humour he considered to be a most brilliant effort of genius, and it was never for an hour off his tongue. The old boy did not live long, for 1840 saw him peacefully stowed away in the then thinly-tenanted cemetery.

In everything except tippling, the antithesis of Penny was a birch-winder named Jack MackCormack, who cultivated young ideas in a cabin in Little Bourke Street, rear of the reserve intended for a Post-office. By no means so good a teacher as Penny, this fellow, if sparing the rod means hating the child, was the most affectionate temporary protector that could be found, for he punished more than he taught, and his "leathering" was so kept up, that he got to be commonly hailed as "Whack," in lieu of "Mack" Cormack. He was a big, burly, uncouth Irishman, much given to "tall talk" and "long drinks." He was a Wexfordian, and when in his cups would treat his hearers to highly-spiced, but slightly inaccurate versions of the great '98 rebel battle of Vinegar Hill, where he in his hobbledehoyhood fought in a detachment of the peasantry under the command of his father. Some years after, criminal complications at the Dublin Police Court introduced the ex-warrior to a judge and jury, and a verdict of his countrymen doomed him to the colony of New South Wales for the residue of his natural life. He found his way in the course of time to Port Phillip. A fair English scholar, barring his severity, he was above the average of common teachers in grounding urchins in grammar, arithmetic, and what he himself styled "jaw-my-three" (geometry.) The great drawback in his existence was being deprived of the bog-distilled Irish potheen, which he declared to be nectar, the supposed beverage of the Olympian deities, and as there was no whisky then on tap in Melbourne he went in for absorbing a pint of two-ales at a time, because in his opinion, in a climate like this there was nothing either in eating or drinking to "bate" a big mouthful. "Whack" or Mack went on with his post meridianal swiping, until one night the "long-drinks" got too strong for him, and whilst returning from a late carousal he tumbled into a gully at the intersection of Lonsdale and Elizabeth Streets; was found there next morning smothered, to the intense delight of the very limited circle of unwashed *clientèle* whose parents patronised him.

In Little Collins Street there ruled in more senses than one, a gaunt, bony-visaged Caledonian, William Nicholson, but familiarly termed "Bumble," through a tubercular affection which distended one of his feet into the semblance of a battered football, impeding his locomotion rather considerably. He often gave his juvenile disciples an unasked-for half-holiday, whilst himself adjourned to a favourite tipplery, from which he would emerge extensively dazed in the evening, and his zig-zag progress through the streets would be greeted by a cordon of boys dancing around him like so many excited "bumble" bees. Apart from his frequent jollifications, and a fixed surliness of phiz, Nicholson was a well-meaning and well-regarded man, and a moderately fair instructor in the three R's.

Michael Cummins also adopted the scholastic avocation in Little Collins Street. Born in a nook of the Kerry Mountains in South Ireland, and partially educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood, he was much more at home in the ancient classics than in modern English, better versed in the heathen mythology of Homer and Virgil, than the realities of Euclid and Voster, more expert in dactyls and spondees than mounting the preliminary geometric problem, vulgarly though inelegantly designated the *pons asinorum.* He was a young man of mild and unassuming manners, gentlemanly deportment, and correct habits of life, was much of a devotee and exceptionally regular in attending to his religious duties, when he invariably used the Celtic and not the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and, unusual in an educated person, prayed with beads instead of a prayer-book. He would, in all probability, have done well in after life, but consumption consigned him to a premature grave.

In 1840, Mr. Thomas Stevenson published his opening of a day and evening school, and others followed. Amongst them was Mr. T. H. Braim, of St. John's College, Cambridge, and head-master of the Proprietary School, New Town, Van Diemen's Land. The terms were six guineas per quarter

payable in advance. His wife backed him up by tendering her services "to the ladies of Melbourne," by intimating her readiness to receive into her family "eight young ladies as boarders, whose improvements in all the branches of useful and ornamental education will form her anxious care. Her private residence will be situated within an easy distance of the town. Terms, including instruction in French, music, drawing, &c., eighty guineas per annum, payable quarterly in advance."

The result of this joint speculation of the Braims does not appear to have corresponded with their expectations. Braim floated his notion in a small brick building erected as the first Wesleyan Chapel, at the north-west corner of Swanston and Little Flinders Streets; but the boys requisite to make it remunerate did not respond, and the Braims soon disappeared, T. H. having accepted the head-mastership of Sydney College. Sydney College must have reciprocated in some measure, for at the same time its late classical master, Mr. David Boyd, started a school in Lonsdale Street West, where "the system of education comprised all the necessary and ornamental branches of a polite education."

The Thomas Stevenson previously referred to did so well that he was emboldened to take his wife into partnership, and go in for a Ladies' Boarding School. Mr. W. H. Yaldwyn, a merchant, occupied a commodious brick cottage in Eastern Russell Street, which was vacated on his departure for Europe. The Stevensons became tenants, and here Mrs. S. catered for the corporal and intellectual necessities of the few fair young blossoms entrusted to her care. As a guarantee of the matron's qualifications was cited "her long experience in teaching, having been more than seven years assistant in Mrs. Nicholl's school, at Chester." The Stevensons continued in business for several years, and "Tom" ultimately was transformed into an account collector, a position in which he acquired an eminence.

Towards the end of 1839, a Mr. John Macgregor, a surveyor, emigrated with his family to Port Phillip, with the intention of following his profession. Circumstances interposed to thwart this intention, and "Mac" early in the following year betook himself to school-keeping in premises in West Bourke Street, in the vicinity of the spot which in after time obtained a colonial celebrity as Kirk's Bazaar. He soon shifted his quarters to Little Collins Street, eastward of the present Police Court, and was joined in partnership by the Campbell already noted as connected with the Scots' School, from which he retired. The firm of Campbell and Macgregor turned out several good boys, some of whom made a mark in after colonial life. The most noticeable of this group was "Young John," son of the old Macgregor, for a length of time a Melbourne solicitor, who in the course of a brief but energetic political career, sat as a member of the Legislative Assembly, held office as a Minister of the Crown, and died in March, 1884. "Old John" was called to his fathers years agone, but Robert Campbell, as the colony prospered, and Melbourne suburbs were fashionably populated, flew away to the clear air and bracing breezes of St. Kilda, where he conducted with much ability a high-class school. I have frequently heard him kindly spoken of by quondam pupils, who testify to the conscientious earnestness and unquestionable efficiency which stamped his preceptorial career.

In April, 1840, Mrs. Baylie, whose husband kept a medical establishment in Collins Street, announced herself as ready to "devote attention to the education of a select number of young ladies, in French, English, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history. Terms: £3 3s. per quarter, with French as an extra £1 11s. 6d." Mrs. Dixon opened a few yards off at the same rates with the addition of music as a specialty at three guineas quarterly.

A Miss Blackmore about Christmas issued a highly spiced advertisement, in which she "proposes opening a Seminary for young ladies in the town of Melbourne, in all the branches of genteel education." She would have accommodation for six boarders, and a limited number of day scholars. Every attention would be paid to the comfort, as well as the religious and moral improvement of her pupils. The school was to open on the 5th January, 1841, in Russell Street, adjoining the residence of Mr. Ocock, Solicitor. As a sample of the manner in which preceptresses of the first rank of the period charged, I append Miss Blackmore's "Bill of Costs" for a quarter:—

English, Grammar, History, Geography, Writing, Arithmetic, &c.	£4	4	0	Dancing	£1	1	0
Music	2	2	0	Use of the Globes	1	1	0
French	2	2	0	Board, including washing	10	10	0

Each boarder to bring a silver teaspoon and fork and six towels. Entrance—Five guineas

She was soon followed by a partnership comprising Mrs. Williams and Miss Carey, who guaranteed "French and English in all its branches, including writing and arithmetic." In 1842 Mrs. Large advertised the opening of a Ladies' Boarding School, in "Great Bourke Street, opposite Batman's Hill," a rather wide indication. She offered "the most suitable accommodation for genteel boarders."

Towards the end of the year 1841, Mr. William Brickwood, of the University of Oxford, was prepared to receive a select number of young gentlemen boarders at St. Ninian's, Brighton, for £50 per annum if aged under 12, and £60 for older; but books and washing were to be accounted "extras."

The half-acre allotment whereon the *Argus* office now flourishes was purchased by the late Mr. Thomas Napier for £129 4s., and on a portion of it he had erected a tolerably capacious building for the time, which was known as Napier's Rooms. Amongst other purposes to which the tenement was turned was that of a school, and a private institution of this sort was opened there in 1842 by Mr. J. H. Craig, who died at Warrnambool in 1884. Craig was a man of considerable ability, but his penmanship was his specialty. A Mr. W. Lingham was Craig's assistant, and the thing not paying in such an out-of-the-way locality, Craig, the following year, removed to more central premises at the Western side of Queen Street, between Little Bourke and Lonsdale Streets. In 1844 he joined Brickwood's Educational Establishment (before noticed), at the Napier Rooms, as writing master, and also officiated clerically for Mr. David Lennox, the Superintendent of Bridges, under whose *surveillance* Prince's Bridge was erected. Craig was affectionately remembered by his pupils in after years, and at his death more than one publicly testified to his goodness and worth.

Drawing as an educational accomplishment put in an appearance in 1840, and in January '41 a Mr. G. H. Haydon, teacher of drawing, through advertisement, "begs to inform the inhabitants of Melbourne and its vicinity that he has removed his residence to Lonsdale Street, where he continues to give instruction in the art of drawing. He flatters himself that the manner in which his drawings are executed will secure him the patronage of a discerning public."

A scholastic acquisition was found in 1844, when Mr. and Mrs. Clarke opened at Yarra House (now *Port Phillip Club Hotel*) an establishment for young ladies, where the treatment was to be "parental and liberal, the management firm and kind, and the moral and physical training sedulously regarded." Singing was to form an essential part of the programme, and the Hullah system was to be introduced.

In the fall of the same year a Mr. J. R. M'Laughlin conducted what he denominated "The Melbourne Analytic Seminary for General Education," in a tenement off the south-east corner of Swanston and Little Collins Streets. A dancing class was attached, under the instruction of Mr. Joseph Harper, a pronounced Professor of Terpsichoreanism, and in February, 1845, the "Seminary" had so far progressed that an elocution master was advertised for. Mr. M'Laughlin himself was an elocutionist of no mean account. None of your "elegant extracts" or "literary gems" for him; for he could supply his own prose and verse, and some of the lucubrations so turned out were certainly above mediocrity. Occasionally his versification was very readable, and effusions from his muse are to be found in some of the Melbourne newspapers. Two of his declaiming "show" pupils, well primed and got up for state occasions, were Master P. A. C. O'Farrell and his brother initialled as D. O. C. They were both well-educated, well-behaved youths, of much promise, who started well in life, but misapplied opportunities such as few other of the earlier young colonists had. M'Laughlin himself would have done remarkably well but for the rock upon which others of his contemporaries had foundered. He, like them, was too fond of the tavern, and through it he came to grief. More the pity, for he was endowed with rare mental gifts, a good heart, and free hand—much too free—in ministering to propensities which he had neither the inclination nor the courage to resist.

One of the best remembered of the "old masters" was Mr. G. W. Groves, who succeeded Mr. Craig in the Northern Queen Street School. He had been a sea captain, and his Geographical Essays were extremely interesting from the experience brought to bear upon the elucidation, seasoned with personal recollections of various countries mentally revisited. Groves was also useful as a

nautical instructor, and took much interest in scientific matters. During a portion of his colonial career he was connected with the Survey Department, and it was a widely prevalent impression that Superintendent Latrobe had promised that Groves should be the first official head of the Victorian Observatory, a promise which, if given, was never fulfilled. For several years he published weather tables, which were looked forward to with no small interest and confidence; and to give him his due he was more fortunate than more modern meteorological Solons in prognosticating the good and bad temper of the atmosphere. Saxby, a once well-known weather seer, essayed the prophetic in England, and his speculations made a profound impression upon Groves, who thenceforth devoted much attention to the newly promulgated theory. Saxby foretold stormy and rainy weather during certain months in the year 1859, which came to pass. He ascribed these results to the action of the moon on the earth. Groves noticed this, and when the following year wheeled round, and the moon was in a similar position as in the previous year, the same results did not follow. He then searched for other influences, and found that when certain of the planets and the moon were in conjunction with the earth the same effects always followed, and on this he based his calculations for a weather table, which was exceedingly correct, for on the average eight out of ten predictions fell out as advised. It was his opinion that in the future the state of the weather would be as well known before as after. He died about the year 1878, and his memory is held in esteem by many of his old pupils who are now widely scattered.

Groves had for a time as assistant an ex-Commissioned Officer of the 29th Regiment, a warm-hearted, able man. He was a Mr. Champion, who, after selling out of the service, arrived in Sydney, and fancied that by buying sheep and driving them overland to Port Phillip, he should make a fortune. He bought and drove the sheep, but instead of filling a big purse, he burned his fingers. Regularly stumped, he was one day strolling over Batman's Hill. Captain Buckley, formerly a comrade in arms, recognized him, and learning the straits to which his old chum was reduced, promised to do his best to billet Champion in some way. Buckley was Chief Clerk in the Public Works Office, and did all in his power, though nothing turned up save the ushership at the Groves Academy.

In 1846 a prospectus was issued for the erection of a "Port Phillip School," the teachers to be of the Protestant religion, and the education a high class one. It was to be a proprietary concern, the funds to be raised by the issue of seventy shares for £1887 10s., but it did not take.

A Wesleyan Grammar School was mooted in August, 1847, for which purpose a Provisional Committee was nominated. It was to be founded upon one hundred £5 shares, not transferable unless with consent of the management, and no person to hold more than five shares. But it shared the fate of many another good intention.

The arrival of the Episcopalian and Roman Catholic Bishops (Drs. Perry and Goold) in 1848 supplied a stimulus to the sectarian schools of their respective denominations. The systems and the teachers were improved, and the Church of England Diocesan Grammar School was one of the consequences.

In 1848-9, there was a tolerably efficient establishment in South Swanson Street, under the mastership of Mr. Edward Butterfield. The teacher was an able though not over personally popular individual, and the speculation not proving as payable as anticipated, he abandoned the business, and afterwards left the colony. Well for him perhaps that he did so, for in the course of years he attained a position he never even dreamed of in Port Phillip, for having passed on to the territory now known as Queensland, he filled the distinguished post of Minister of Education there.*

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* I have received a communication from a resident at St. Kilda, containing the following reference to my remarks upon the Butterfield family:—"'Garryowen' will be interested to know that Mr. Edward Butterfield, the Swanston Street dominie of thirty-six years ago, did *not* become Minister of Education in Queensland. After editing an Ipswich paper for a few years, he became Secretary to the old Board of Education in that colony, and held the post until the Department of Public Instruction was formed. Mr. C. J. Graham, at present brewing in New South Wales, then became Under-Secretary, and Mr. Butterfield was transferred to the office of First Clerk. This post he held till he died. Mr. Joseph Butterfield is editor of the *Queenslander*. These remarks are not of much general consequence, but 'Garryowen' is working so hard to have his particulars exact, that he may like to see them." The information relative to the Butterfield brothers was supplied to me by a personal friend of theirs, now resident in Melbourne.—[THE AUTHOR.]

This Butterfield family must have had something of the true ring in its organization, for after the transformation of Port Phillip into an independent colony, a brother of the teacher came to the surface in what might be termed the middle age of Victorian journalism. He was Mr. Joseph Butterfield, and after seeing some colonial service in New Zealand, arrived in Melbourne, where he started in the business of dairy farming (curious analogy in name and calling). His field of operation was a portion of that flourishing country over the Yarra, now overlooked by the Doncaster Tower. It was then known as "Elgar's Special Survey" from a Mr. Henry Elgar, who in 1840, by virtue of the Crown Lands Act, then in operation, selected 5120 acres of the District of broad Boroondara, as it was called, for just as many sovereigns. The region unpeopled and unutilized was in all respects a wilderness, though a fertile and blooming one. Butterfield and butter-raising did not assimilate so profitably as expected, and he betook himself to newspaper work, but did not restrict his abilities to one department of literature. He is best remembered in Victoria through having, in 1854, satisfied a pressing want in the compilation of a *Melbourne Commercial Directory*, a work which, considering the time when it was prepared and the numerous difficulties to be surmounted, evidences an amount of care and industry indubitably demonstrating that the undertaking was the reverse of a sinecure. Though Melbourne Directories had been previously issued, Butterfield's was the first that contained a well-executed map and classification of the streets of the city, which certainly could not have well been done by his predecessors, for the Corporation had not sanctioned a numbering of the houses. Butterfield's book was repeated in 1855, in a larger and much improved form, is now very scarce, and a perusal in 1888 is a really interesting treat. The third Butterfield brother is the architect who prepared the plans for the Episcopalian Cathedral, now in course of erection in Melbourne, and I am reliably informed that as a designer of ecclesiastical edifices, professionally, he may be ranked next to Pugin.

On the 23rd January, 1849, appears an advertisement of the opening, on the 24th, of "Mr. Palmer's Classical and Commercial Academy, Great Bourke Street." It represents the principal as having been trained in one of the most approved normal schools in Europe, and therefore he could "confidently recommend the system pursued by him, as eminently conducive to forward pupils in every branch of a polite and liberal education. The course of instruction would be guided by the future profession or occupation of his scholars, as parents or guardians may direct. Every care was to be taken of their moral culture, and to instil religious principles." Such promises did not get a chance of effecting much performance.

In March, 1849, the Rev. W. Trollope, M.A., opened a high class school in Little Brunswick (now Fitzroy) Street, Fitzroy. He was a brilliant writer and of rare scholarship, yet his success in Victoria was so restricted that he availed himself of an early opportunity to transfer his regards to Tasmania.

The extent of public patronage accorded to the class of schools referred to, may be estimated from the fact that in 1849 the private scholars numbered 1324, *i.e.*, 722 boys and 602 girls. On 1st January, 1851, the number had increased to 1586, or 722 males and 864 females.

The following tabular return shows the extent to which the Private School system prevailed for the three years indicated :—

		Scholars.		
Year	Schools	Males	Females	Total
1850 ...	99 ...	1285	1367 ...	2652
1851 ...	49 ...	807	884 ...	1691
1852 ...	17 . .	219	253 ...	472

The decrease in the years 1851-2 can only be accounted for by the supposition that the gold discoveries caused the schools to be deserted, and the flitting of the teachers (of both sexes) to seek more profitable remuneration for the exercise of their abilities.

The Denominational System.

During the year 1847 the extent of pecuniary Government aid received by the principal Denominations towards school maintenance was returned as: — Church of England, £405 16s. 10d.; Roman Catholic, £168 15s. 8d.; Presbyterian, £51 18s. 6d.; Wesleyans, £259 15s. 4d.; Independents, £115 10s. 1d. Total, £1001 16s. 5d.

The following year it was resolved to extend what was known as the Denominational system to the province. Hitherto State aid had been given to schools connected with recognized churches, either by payments in proportion to the amount of local contributions, or of so much per head for each scholar educated. The new system in force in other parts of New South Wales, provided salaries for teachers at discretion, and exercised a superior supervision, though, practically, it was nothing more than an extension and improvement of the old state of things. In 1848 the Government appointed a Board, consisting of Messrs. R. W. Pohlman (chairman), David Ogilvie, Edward Curr, Robert Smith, and Sidney Stephen, "for the temporal regulation and inspection of the respective Denominational schools in Port Phillip, supported either wholly or in part from public funds," and to this body Mr. J. M. Seward acted as first Secretary. The new scheme commenced on the 1st January, 1849, when the attendance at the Public Schools in Melbourne was returned as 539 boys and 494 girls—1033. It worked with much advantage, and how the educational basis was gradually extended, may be gathered from the following extract, transcribed from a Melbourne newspaper of the period:—

"The following distribution of the grant voted for the establishment and maintenance of Denominational Schools, for the year 1850, appears from returns published by order of the Legislative Council:—Church of England Schools, £846; Presbyterian ditto, £339; Wesleyan ditto, £90; Roman Catholic ditto, £514; Other Denominations, £61. Total, £1850.

"Of the Church of England Schools 11 are in Melbourne and Collingwood, and 13 in other parts of the district. The largest sum voted to any one school is £50, and the least £30. £86 is allowed as a reserve fund for books and school apparatus. The Presbyterian Schools are 2 in Melbourne and 5 in other places. £60 is the highest and £30 the lowest allowance to any of them; and £34 for books and apparatus. Wesleyan Schools 3 in number, in Collingwood, Geelong, and Brighton, each at £30, and at the suggestion of the Rev. Mr. Sweetman, in consequence of the decreased amount of the grant for 1850, no reserve was retained for books. Of the Roman Catholic Schools 5 are in Melbourne, 1 in Collingwood, and 7 in other parts; the highest allowance is £60 and the lowest £30, with £49 as a reserve for books and apparatus. There are only two Independent Schools, both in Melbourne, one at £31 and the other at £30; no reserve allowed in consequence of the decreased amount of grant. The population upon which this distribution has been made is calculated upon the census of 1846. It is proposed to grant £2400 towards the support of Denominational Schools for 1851. The number of applications for 1851 are, Church of England Schools, 26, Presbyterian, 7; Roman Catholic, 19; Wesleyan, 7; Independent, 4; Free Presbyterian, Buninyong, 1."

In January, 1850, Mr. H. C. E. Childers (afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer in England), recently arrived, was appointed Inspector of Denominational Schools, which he retained until September, 1851, when he succeeded Dr. Patterson as Immigration Agent in October, and Mr. Colin Campbell was appointed Denominational Inspector. This he subsequently vacated, was the first Chief Clerk in the office of the Chief Secretary, and was in 1884 officiating as an Episcopalian Minister in Ballarat.

The annexed return shows the progression of the system for three years:—

Year.	Schools.	Scholars.	Government Aid.
1849 ...	27 ...	2596 ...	£1380
1850 ...	54 ...	3870 ...	£2316
1851 ...	74 ...	4999 ...	£3436

The total amount given in aid of what might be termed Denominational Schools, in Port Phillip, from 1837 to 1st July 1851, was £12,835.

The National System

Was commenced in New South Wales in 1848, when a Board was appointed, and Mr. G. W. Rusden was despatched as an agent to Port Phillip, in October, 1849. The object of the Board was stated to be principally to confer education where none had hitherto existed. Thirteen local committees were formed, and the first National School founded in the province was in August, 1850, at Pascoe Vale, near Melbourne, where a sum of £200 was raised by voluntary subscription, to which the Government added an equal amount. In 1851 Messrs. J. F. Palmer (Chairman), C. H. Ebden, Wm. Westgarth, H. C. E. Childers, and T. H. Power, were appointed a Board of Management, and subsequently Mr. Childers was for some time Secretary. In 1850 the number of schools was 7, with 151 male and 134 female scholars, whilst in 1851 the schools were diminished by one, and the pupils to 138 boys and 123 girls.

The census returns of 2nd March, 1851, give the population of Port Phillip as 77,345 souls, *i.e.*, males, 46,202; females, 31,143; and their educational condition is thus set forth:—

Under 21 Years.	Males.	Females.
Cannot read ...	8915	8434
Read only ...	3183	3396
Read and write ...	5529	5340

Above 21 Years.	Males.	Females.
Cannot read ...	3140	1668
Read only ...	2777	2201
Read and write ...	22,658	10,104

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ANCIENT SAINT-WORSHIP, NATIONAL SOCIETIES, AND CELEBRATIONS.

SYNOPSIS.—Prefatory Remarks.—Saint Andrew.—The First National Festival.—Saint Andrew's Society.—Scottish Festivals.—Saint Patrick's Society.—The First Irish Procession.—Presidential Errors of Administration.—Anniversary Celebrations.—Expulsion of Rowdy Ringleaders.—The Election of O'Shanassy, Stephen, Finn, and Lane.—The First Hibernian Festival.—Prohibition of Party Processions.—Suspension of Annual Marching Demonstrations.—St. Patrick's Hall.—Laying the Foundation Stone.—Inscription.—Opening of the Hall.—Locus of the First Legislative Council.—Presentations to Messrs. O'Shanassy and Finn.—Saint George.—Society of St. George.—St. George's Club.—Festivals and Rejoicings.—The Burns' Festivals.—The Germans.—The German Union.—The Christmas Festival.

IN many respects the early residents of Melbourne were much less matter-of-fact than the generation following, and though they were shrewd and business-like enough in their way considering the conditions existent, they were occasionally swayed by certain impulses which have, in modern times, almost died out of society. With the exception of an anniversary ball, or other commemoration by some whose desire is to curry favour with the political star temporarily in the ascendant, appears to be the ruling passion, no one now hears of the anniversary of a titular Saint being otherwise than formally kept. Yet the reverse was a special feature in the infancy of Port Phillip, and was maintained until after the period when the Province acquired its colonial independence.

In the olden time emigration from the Mother-country was also viewed in a much more serious light than it is now. Adventuring to the Antipodes was then regarded as a trying ordeal, a perpetual severance from a home, which, even in the blackest adversity, is hallowed by associations which will cling round the heart of the exile, and cannot be shaken off. Australia was such an out-of-the-way place, and so little known, that people who were plucky enough to seek their fortunes in such an *ultima thule*, were accounted by those who remained behind as undergoing a sort of premature interment. The immigrants after their arrival viewed the matter in much the same light, and with no small reason; for the inter-communication then existing between this colony and Britain was such as to be now almost incredible. Not to speak of telegraphy, such a thing as steam transit was perhaps dreamed of in the distant future, but nothing more; and the now luxurious six weeks' pleasure trip in a floating palace was then an arduous, uncomfortable, dangerous passage, cooped up in comparatively "old tubs" for three or fourth months, or longer. A ship that "did" from London, Liverpool, or Cork to Melbourne in three months was considered a fast sailer, and four months was the average. Then as to letters—the cherished link that solaced the absent hearts yearning for intelligence at both extremes of the earth—such was the imperfectness and dilatoriness of the ocean mail arrangements, that the course of post was frequently a year between Melbourne and England and *vice versâ*. There would, of course, be at times, especially during the wool season, direct ship mails from Port Phillip, and by merchant vessels from home; but through the regulations insisted upon, it frequently happened that correspondence would be sent backward and forward, *viâ* Sydney, in a line of packets organized by the Post Office authorities. In the decade from 1840 to 1850 the number of persons who returned from Port Phillip to England was comparatively very few—a merchant or settler now and then; and indeed it was an expedition which was not readily undertaken. Furthermore, there was not much cosmopolitanism amongst us, for the population was mainly made up of English, Irish, and Scotch, with, may-be, a dozen of French and Germans thrown in; and such an item as a "Young Victoria" was one of those social blessings of which there were incipient symptoms, but nothing more. The three principal sections of the people were, therefore, in a certain state of

isolation from the Mother-country, which induced them to keep alive the traditionary remembrances upon which they mentally feasted, and which, unconsciously, they permitted to engross their attention. The old reverence for those mythical personages known as titular Saints haunted them, and, firmly fixed in the imagination, they were permitted to nestle there. It is a singular fact that though proverbially a Scotchman is said to be never more at home than when he is away from "Caledonia, stern and wild," the Scotch were the first to indulge in public Saint-worship in Melbourne, where they were soon followed by the Irish, the English bringing up the rear. There used to be a good deal of wholesome enthusiasm generated as the various anniversaries approached, and the enjoyment was by no means confined to what might be termed the official celebration, which was not always well attended. Numerous private parties would be given, and the general body of the populace whose particular *amor patriæ* was touched, would patronize the taverns throughout the town, and generally make a night of it. At public dinners there was great fun, for the company were in a condition of considerable exaltation, stimulated by a *spiritual* influence, and the exuberance of a fervour so gushingly poured forth at the shrine of the particular idol glorified. The votaries, like other pilgrims of whom we read, would work themselves into a temporary fit of semi-fanaticism, as if enveloped and fascinated by a *nimbus*, revealing the shadowy outlines of some special Saint, an Andrew leaning on a Cross, constructed in the form of an X, and waving a bunch of freshly-plucked thistles, or a Patrick shaking a "Sprig of Shillelagh" at a snake doomed to banishment, or a George with the Dragon (he never killed) dead at his feet, twining a rose in the tresses of the Virgin so chivalrously rescued from being eaten; whilst the orating would, of itself, dumb-founder the very Saints, were they privileged to be listeners. A certain description of Irish elocution was once designated "Sunburstery," which accurately describes the high-faluting rhapsodies which constituted the stock-in-trade of the public speakers at the old national festivals. Let the occasion be Scotch, Irish, or English, it was much the same. Every person and every thing connected with the particular country was pronounced to be so "demi-godish" as to beat anything else, not only "under the sun," but even above that luminary. Our modern dinners are nothing as compared with the ancients in sensual enjoyment; but there was one creditable exception to be chalked up in favour of the former—no such barbarism was ever attempted as the smoking growing in vogue at the entertainments of to-day.

The Irish were the only people who ever honoured their Saint with a public procession in Port Phillip, and Patrick's Day used to be ushered into the world amidst the loud-sounding din of a rather noisy town band. A half-drunken, lively crowd escorted the musicians, "shouting" in a double sense through the streets, and at the hotels, without annoying anyone who did not interfere with them, and after "beating the boundaries" in this noisy, though otherwise harmless manner, they separated good-humouredly at sunrise.

It would be difficult to specify the various strata of which the society of to-day is composed, but in the period of which I am treating it might be divided into three layers, namely, First, Second, and Third. The would-be Upper-crust was a pinchbeck snobdom, which took upon itself airs of absurd superiority where the whole population were adventurers who left the parent country, if not fortune-hunting, certainly to work out an improved means of livelihood, and to make money if they could. The would-be aristocracy, therefore, would not cohere with those whom they ranked below them, and this dissociation considerably affected the popularity and success of the early national festivities. With the Scotch there was not only a clannishness but a spurious personal *caste* which caused the St. Andrew dinners to be surrounded by a kind of select selfishness. The disciples of St. George were in the beginning even colder and more freezingly genteel than the others, and it was only when the Middle-crust, Scotch and Irish, went into the thing that they acquired the proper stamina to be considered national demonstrations. The Irish Upper-crust class was so far more exclusive than their Scottish or English brethren, that they not only held aloof from the St. Patrick celebrations, but they had not even the public spirit to attempt anything on their own account. It is singular, though true, and what one would hardly expect, that the Irish celebrations were the most orderly and creditable of all the old festivals. They were mainly in the hands of what might be called the central stratum, and possibly this may account for the good conduct that always characterized them.

Decidedly the most successful entertainments, from a national and festive standpoint, were the first two of the festivals held in commemoration of Robert Burns, the un-canonized idol of "The land of brown heath and shaggy wood," for there was a thoroughness, in fact a backbone, in the demonstrations which all the others in some way lacked. As I was present at nearly all the jollifications in question, I can safely declare that I never saw anything to exceed the fervid enthusiasm, the appetizing activity and the bodily and mental enjoyment which pervaded the first and second of those gatherings. To sum up, then, I would say that the St. Andrew-ites were the most clannish, the St. Patrick-ans the least disorderly, the St. Georgians the most cliquish, and, in one instance, the rowdiest. The Robbie Burnsites were the most unmeasured indulgers in the pleasures of the table, the most ardent Bacchanalians, and infinitely the "tallest talkers" and loudest chanters of everything and everybody connected with the old historic country which they had abandoned.

With these prefaratory observations I proceed to briefly particularize the more prominent features of the early National celebrations taking them so far as I can, in their chronological order.

Saint Andrew.

The first National Festival held in the colony was the celebration of the anniversary of the Patron Saint of Scotland, on the 30th November (St. Andrew's Day), 1840, when to it was associated an Australian welcome to a Mr. M'Donnell tribally known as "The Glengarry," a Caledonian Chief, who purposed settling in a portion of the then almost unknown Gippsland country. It took the form of a dinner at the *Caledonian Hotel* in Lonsdale Street. The Chair was occupied by Mr. A. M. M'Crae, and a long list of toasts was disposed of with the customary honours, the speakers being Messrs. M'Crae, Lauchlan M'Kinnon, George Arden, Wm. Kerr, Norman Campbell, James Williamson, P. W. Welsh, Donald Cameron, and "The Glengarry." Everything was passing on well until the place was rushed by a half-a-dozen boisterous Scots, who had been making over merry at the *Adelphi Hotel* in Little Flinders Street, and after a brief stand-up fight the intruders were ejected "neck and crop" through the windows. As the tavern was only a small one-story concern, their fall was a short one, no bones were broken, and they sustained no further inconvenience than a good shaking.

St. Andrew's Society of Australia Felix,

To date from the 1st December, 1841, was inaugurated at a Scottish Festival held at the *Caledonian Hotel,* on the previous evening (the 30th November.) It was to be simply an organization for promoting conviviality, and its having no higher aim, probably accounted for the brevity of its existence. Its only qualifications for membership were—viz., Scottish descent and the payment of a guinea. Its first roll of office-bearers consisted of—

President: The Honourable James Erskine Murray.

Vice-President: Mr. Claud Farie.

Committee: The Honourable Robert Dundas Murray, Messrs. Archibald Cunninghame, Hugh Jamieson, William Kerr, and James Hunter Ross.

Secretary and Convener: Mr. Andrew Muirson M'Crae.

Treasurer: Mr. Isaac Buchanan.

"The Battle of Bannockburn" offered the first suitable opportunity for the Fraternity to give practical effect to the object for which it was formed, and accordingly, on the 25th June, 1842, there was an anniversary battle celebration at the *Caledonian.* The President (Hon. J. A. Murray), and Vice-President (Farie) officiated at the top and bottom of the table, and the company made quite a jolly night of it. The toast of the evening, "The immortal memory of Robert the Bruce, and the other heroes of Bannockburn," was eloquently proposed by the Chairman; but instead of being received (as it ought) in solemn silence, it was, according to a chronicle of the time, drank "with most decorous applause," a phrase difficult of definition. Mr. Oliver Gourlay very appropriately responded by singing, with much effect, the famous national lyric, "Scots wha hae," etc. Amongst the toasts, the memories of Wallace, Scott, and Burns, were not forgotten.

St. Andrew's Day of the same year was commemorated also by a dinner at the *Caledonian*; but through some unaccounted-for apathy only sixteen convivialists mustered there. Mr. Claud Farie officiated in the Chair, and Mr. John Porter as Vice. It was matter for regret there were not more present, for the repast is described as "most sumptuous and composed of every delicacy the season afforded." Two of the sixteen pitched into the good fare to such an extent that they got up a "shindy" in the room; but on emerging therefrom they conducted themselves so outrageously as to be pounced upon by the police, pulled off to the lock-up, and had to undergo a compulsory interview with the Police Magistrate some hours later in the morning. The numerical slight to the Saint was in some measure atoned for in 1843, when his prandial worshippers were more than doubled, eight-and-thirty of them assembling at the *Royal Hotel* in Collins Street, upon which occasion Messrs. Archibald Cunninghame and J. H. Ross acted as Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively.

The Festival of 1844 was kept up on St. Andrew's Eve, as the "day" fell on Saturday, and as Sabbatarians, the Scotchmen were not disposed to permit their merriment to trench upon the "small hours" of a Sunday. This was one of the best of the early public dinners, and was conducted regardless of trouble or expense. The place was the Mechanics' Institute, and the caterer, a Mr. James Murray, who kept the *Prince of Wales Hotel*, in Little Flinders Street, in such a style as to make it the Menzies' of the age. The room was decorated with flowers and flags, an efficient band played under the conductorship of a Mr. Richards, and Mr. William Clarke, an ancient Master of Music, excelled himself at the piano and was assisted by two or three amateur vocalists. Mr. A. Cunninghame (the Society's President) was Chairman, supported on his right by the Mayor (Henry Condell), and having Major William Firebrace as his left-hand man. The Vice-Chairman was Mr. J. H. Ross, sandwiched between Parson Thomson and Father Geoghegan, Episcopalian and Roman Catholic clergymen. The Presbyterian minister (Rev. James Forbes) was also in attendance. The speaking was as good as the singing, which is saying much for it; and the great hit of the evening was the thrilling melody of "My Heather Hills," by Mr. J. S. Johnston, with a Clarke accompaniment.

But decidedly the greatest hit in the way of a Scottish dinner ever given in the colony was on the 2nd December, 1845, at the *Prince of Wales*. This entertainment possessed a *quasi* political significance, as the St. Andrew's Society's President (A. Cunninghame) had been recently appointed a delegate to proceed to England and represent certain pressing grievances at head-quarters. To the *in memoriam* of the National Saint was added a valedictory tribute to the President, who was to depart on his mission in a few days; and the exclusiveness generally characterizing Scottish celebrations was so far relaxed as to admit of a large admixture of persons hailing from other portions of the British Empire. The President was Chairman, and amongst the company were the Revs. A. Thomson and P. B. Geoghegan, Dr. Palmer (the Mayor), Messrs. W. F. Stawell, Henry Moor, and George Coppin. There was an elaborate list of toasts, the principal being "The Land o' Cakes," given by the Chairman, in one of the best convivial orations ever delivered in Port Phillip. Stawell, Palmer, Moor, and Westgarth were also extremely telling in their remarks. And the following declaration by Father Geoghegan, in responding for the Clergy, is worthy of preservation:—"Unanimity amongst the Clergy produced beneficial effects in the community—and here, no matter how they may differ on doctrinal points, such a harmony did happily exist." Mr. William Clarke and some amateurs contributed much to the enjoyment, and Coppin threw in one of his comic songs, for which he was rapturously applauded.

The 30th November, 1847, witnessed a gathering of about seventy at the *Prince of Wales*, presided over by Mr. J. H. Ross, with the Mayor (Andrew Russell) as Croupier. Amongst the speakers were the Rev. Peter Gunn, Messrs. W. F. Stawell, G. S. Brodie, J. S. Johnston, and W. Kerr. The musical arrangements were looked after by Mr. Megson, the leader of the then theatrical orchestra, and a Mr. Ellard, a Sydney professional, was amongst the singers. Johnston's "Heather Hills" was again aired with immense success.

In 1848, the St. Andrewites seem to have been asleep, but the next year (1849) they woke up so far as to have an anniversary dinner at the *Prince of Wales*. Messrs. J. H. Ross, and A. Russell played first and second fiddles as Chair and Vice. The special feature of the occasion was the

welcoming of Mr. William Westgarth, not long returned from a visit to the old country. The speechifying, though not possessing the fire of previous times, was interesting, particularly the home news detailed by Westgarth; but the singing was well kept up by J. S. Johnston, Ross, Russell and others.

Saint Patrick's Society

Is the only one of the old national Institutions that has survived all the great changes through which the colony has passed, and as it is alive to-day, a cursory memoir of its existence cannot be other than historically interesting. It was inaugurated on the 28th June, 1842, in the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, which stood on part of the now site of the Bank of New South Wales. The large room was crowded, and much enthusiasm prevailed. Dr. John Patterson, the Immigration Agent, was appointed Chairman, and addresses were delivered by him and Messrs. Thomas H. Osborne, John C. King, Wm. O'Farrell, W. R. Belcher, Michael Power, Thomas Robinson, Thomas Clarke, Richard Dowling, Michael Croker, J. M. Connolly, Daniel Kelly, David Boyd and John Stephen. Several resolutions were agreed to, the principal one declaring the Society to be established "For the encouragement of national feeling, the relief of the destitute, the promotion of education, and generally whatever may be considered by its members, best calculated to promote the happiness, the honour and the prosperity of their native and adopted lands."

It was designated "The St. Patrick Society of Australia Felix," and a code of laws for its government was sanctioned, Rule 1 prescribing "That any person, of whatever political creed or religious denomination, being a native of Ireland, or descended from Irish parents, shall be eligible as a member."

The following Board of Management was appointed:—President: John Patterson, R.N.; Vice-President: William Locke; Hon. Secretary and Treasurer: T. H. Osborne; Assistant Secretary: James Foley; Treasurer: Henry Campbell; Auditors: Dr. John Dickson and Thomas C. Riddle; Committee: David Boyd, Sylvester J. Brown, William R. Belcher, Thomas Clarke, John C. King, Michael M'Namara, William O'Farrell, David W. O'Nial, Michael Power, John Patterson, junr., Charles Williams, and Jephson B. Quarry.

It will be important, in order to accentuate certain doings yet to be narrated, to remark here that the nineteen individuals composing the original Directory may be religiously classified as—Episcopalians, 9; Presbyterians, 5; and Roman Catholics, 5.

It would be difficult to obtain a more representative body, except that the Roman Catholic element, likely to be largely in the majority of general members, was represented here by a minority of about a fourth. The President was an M.D., the Vice-President a merchant in high repute, the Honorary Secretary a retired Presbyterian Minister, and a more devoted son of the Emerald Isle never existed in Victoria. On the Committee was one of the leading schoolmasters (Boyd), a prominent auctioneer Williams), an Attorney (Quarry), and the first Town Clerk (King). The last-named gentleman was so enamoured of Erin-go-Bragh, and so careful that neither north nor south should have reason to complain, that he determined to be impartial in the distribution of his favours, and so having assisted in figuratively planting the Shamrock in 1842, by helping to initiate a St. Patrick Society, in the next year he good-naturedly lent a hand to the culture of Orange lilies, as one of the founders of an Institution for the propagation of certain principles, traditionally, though erroneously, said to have been bequeathed *in perpetuo* by William the Third to his followers.

The Society's entrance fee was fixed at 5s. per member, with 12s. annual subscriptions, and its meetings were to be held monthly. There was a capital start, and an undertaking undeniably laudable was prosecuted with much zeal. An early season of trouble, little expected, was approaching, and one, too, that would put the strongest patriotism to the test. The first Corporation Elections were fixed for the coming November. They excited much interest, and incessant ward canvassing was resorted to. The Associated Hibernians, prompted by predilections, personal and otherwise, took different sides, which by no means increased the *entente cordiale* anticipated for the monthly re-union. The Society, as a body, certainly held aloof; but the individual members, rank and file, threw themselves

into the conflict, and, unlike Freemasonry in time of war, the tie of brotherhood possessed no influence, so no quarter was given or taken. Patterson, Dickson, and Clarke were candidates for Civic dignity, the first-named being booked in certain quarters as the maiden Mayor of Melbourne, and King was intriguing for the billet of Town Clerk. All the early Municipal Elections were so many pitched battles, in which the Scotch and Irish Northerners were pitted against the English and South Irish. The former contingent was inferior in numbers and social influence; but the deficiency was made up by a power of combination, electioneering tact, and an interest in the issue at stake, not possessed by their opponents. And thus was engendered that acrimonious spirit of partyism, which, under various shapes and transformations, flourishes in Victoria at the present day.

As the year advanced, and the elections terminated, Christmas saw the Society denuded of members who, under ordinary circumstances, might be regarded as its most valuable components. The Episcopalian and Presbyterian members became conspicuous by their absence from the monthly meetings, and things were decidedly in a state of retrogression. However, the next anniversary of the Irish Saint placed matters in a more encouraging condition, and a public procession on St. Patrick's Day, and the enthusiasm such an event evoked considerably swelled the muster roll of adherents. Great preparations had been made for the ovation, and no exertion was spared to render it a success. A pair of green gold-gilt banners had been made to order; green scarves and rosettes were procured, and there was such a demand for the colour that by the evening of the 16th March, the few drapers' shops were cleared out of their limited stock of finery.

The First Irish Procession

Marched through the streets of Melbourne on the 17th March, 1843. The Town Band made its appearance at an early hour, and commenced operations by striking up "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning." This was a signal cheerfully responded to from all quarters, and hundreds of people (men, women, and children), flocked to where the musicians were holding forth, and a perambulation of the principal thoroughfares commenced, the moving mass having the politeness to pull up opposite the residences of any special Irish resident in the line of march, where the compliment of a serenade was executed in a very rough-and-ready style. The publichouses were open, and as the Irish pockets were not closed, the liquoring-up at frequent short intervals could only yield in intensity to the cheering and boisterous merriment that prevailed. It was the pre-larrikin era, and as nothing but good humour prevailed, the few police on town duty were too considerate to interfere, and not a single Paddy or Paddyess figured on the drunkard's list at the police office next morning. At 10 a.m. the Society's members assembled in their flaring greenery at the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, when a procession was formed. The banners, on one of which was a large gilt emblem of an Irish harp, and the other garlanded with poorly-painted yellow shamrocks, were proudly unfurled, backed by a brace of Union Jacks borrowed *pro tem.* The Band, more remarkable for its noise than the measure of its music, was followed by an old Masonic Celt, well known as Hughy Cain, half smothered in ribbons, armed with a formidable-looking weapon—a hybrid of the mace *cum* cudgel genus, green wreathed all over—which he twirled like a fighting shillelagh in the hands of a drunken Irishman at Donnybrook fair. This operation was resorted to, to keep in order a troop of Irish school pupils (his juvenile "mimbers" he styled them) whose guardianship was, for the occasion, entrusted to him. The youngsters trotted on next, proud of their green adornments, and looking forward with admiring apprehension at the wonderful aerial manœuvres in which old Hughy and his picturesque staff were indulging. The President and Vice-President, indued from neck to heels in robes of green silk, fashioned like ladies' dressing-gowns, with capes reaching to the elbows, then advanced with measured step; and were succeeded by the members of committee scarved and rosetted, the main body similarly decorated, bringing up the rear. In a line of two deep, and keeping much better walking time than our mammoth modern processions, they paraded the streets, their minds recalled to the Shamrock Land of their nativity by the fondly cherished tunes of "St. Patrick's Day," "Garryowen," and "Faugh-a-Ballagh." Advancing along Collins Street westward, they made a circuit of St. James' Church, passing which all hats were off and the banners lowered as a compliment to the house of

prayer wherein a proportion of the members worshipped. On reaching the intersection of Bourke Street they turned eastward, and *viâ* Lonsdale and Elizabeth Streets, drew up before St. Francis', where the well-known and well-esteemed Roman Catholic Pastor (Father Geoghegan) was to deliver a panegyric on the Apostle of the "Island of Saints." On this occasion the solemn ceremony of High Mass was celebrated for the first time in Port Phillip. The building was crowded, the banners were carried in and placed near the altar, and the event was very imposing. The reverend preacher acquitted himself in a manner that added another green wreath to his reputation as the best pulpit orator then, and for many a year thereafter, in the colony. At the conclusion of the service the Society re-formed in procession, and returning to the *Exchange* dispersed. This attendance at a Roman Catholic Church gave much offence to a number of the members belonging to other religious communions, and increased a secession which for a time threatened to imperil the existence of the Fraternity; but the remaining members, putting their shoulders together, made a strong rally and prevented a break up. The attendance at St. Francis' was a well-meant mistake, and never intended as alleged, to introduce any element savouring of sectarianism. An angry and recriminatory correspondence followed in the newspapers, and no impartial person, cognizant of the circumstances under which the Society was founded, and the broad un-denominational basis of its Constitution, can even palliate the extreme injudiciousness of the implied infringement of neutrality involved in the attendance at a place of worship not religiously recognized by a section of the members, who actually comprised the real originators, and were the most socially influential of the body.

The first President having retired, was succeeded by the Rev. P. B. Geoghegan, another mistake, which heated instead of cooled the religious ferment. His well-known liberality of sentiment and popularity with all classes helped him, in some measure, to steer the Institution through this early and formidable difficulty. But much of its prestige had departed, and I doubt if it was ever afterwards thoroughly recovered. Geoghegan retained office during a year blotched by extreme bigotry and bad feeling, and the blunder in question was worked to much advantage by a number of active pettyfogging fanatics, possessed, however, of just sufficient method in their madness, to use the event as a means of furthering the interests of their party in the electioneering conflicts of 1843.

Through an infatuated obstinacy, utterly indefensible, and for which the reverend President must be held in no small degree responsible, the mistake of the previous year was repeated in 1844, by an anniversary celebration in every way similar to the first. The procession was more numerous, there was a second visit to St. Francis' Church, and another High Mass, at which some Protestant amateur vocalists assisted the then small choir. The preacher of the St. Patrick panegyric was the Rev. Daniel M'Evey, and his text, Ecclesiasticus, chap. xliv., verses 1, 14 and 18. At the annual election the Rev. Mr. Geoghegan declined re-election as President, and in so doing appreciated the wisdom of the adage "Better late than never." His original election was, under the circumstances, an indiscretion, for placing a priest at the head of an Institution in the throes of sectarian dissension was simply adding fuel to flame. Geoghegan must have been temporarily bereft of his natural tact and caution when he accepted the position; but, having done so, he was unwilling to publicly acknowledge the error by resignation, so he held on until the fitting opportunity, when he might gracefully and quietly be extinguished by what is termed effluxion of time. He was not pressed to remain, and his successor was Mr. John Robert Murphy, an influential brewer, and a member of the Independent Church. In some respects there could not be a better selection, for Mr. Murphy was well known and universally respected, was in a good position, and a favourite with all classes, but he sadly lacked certain qualifications indispensably necessary for the head of an Irish Society. Though by no means resembling the proverbial lamb in temper, and capable enough of readily flaring up when provoked, he was deficient in the bump of repressiveness, sometimes so useful in controlling certain undisciplined forces which are wont to try it on in Irish gatherings. In fact he was like a man ready and willing, and able to fight when a quarrel is thrust on him, yet who is not desirous of seeking a position which may at any moment precipitate him head-foremost into a *mêlée*. His reign of office was one of comparative inactivity, for the Society sank into a condition of languor, which merged into absolute hibernation. In the beginning of 1845, it was a question whether the

Institution was to live or die. It was slowly approaching a state of actual extinction, and if its life were to be prolonged, it could only be by some strong rousing effort, and not only an infusion of fresh blood into the management, but a Committee consisting wholly of new blood, flesh, bone and muscle. This was resolved upon, and the next St. Patrick's anniversary celebration was a success. For the first time the visit to St. Francis' was abandoned—a step in the right direction, and the place of meeting was changed from the *Royal Exchange* to the *Lord Nelson*, a one-storey tavern, erected on the ground now occupied by Clauscen and Foley's furnishing *entrepôt*, on the north side of Bourke Street.

The annual meeting in April was looked forward to with much interest, as it would form the live or die turning-point, and there was an active beating-up of recruits as new members, for a majority was to be secured that would sweep away the old *régime*. The meeting was crowded and disposed to be rowdy, and the first act of the evening was, in a certain sense, revolutionary in itself, for not one of the out-going officers would be accepted as Chairman—a favour conferred upon Mr. John O'Shanassy, a new member, and the acknowledged leader of the Opposition. The business was proceeded with in anything but an amicable style, and it must be recorded that the Chair manifested no conciliatory disposition. There was to be no reasoning, no parley, no trifling with either past apathy or present mismanagement. The iron-hand was to do everything; and it was accordingly put forth ungloved and bare, the metallic fingers twitching to grasp and strangle any obstruction, and well it did its work. The Annual Report of the defunct management was submitted and challenged for its vagueness and misrepresentation. After a short, sharp, and stormy discussion, it was rejected. This being anticipated, a protest, ready cut and dry, was presented, but as there was no rule to authorize its reception, the Chairman requested its promoters to withdraw it, and on their refusal to do so, he unceremoniously threw it into the fire. Several members became enraged at what they considered a grossly insulting and summary proceeding, and, after venting their indignation in most unparliamentary language, they dashed out of the room—a "Contempt of Court"—promptly punished by the formal expulsion from the Society of half-a-dozen of the ringleaders.

The election of a new Directory was the next business, and thus resulted:—President: John O'Shanassy; Vice-President: John Stephen; Honorary Secretary: Edmund Finn; Treasurer: Timothy Lane; with two Auditors, and twelve Committee-men—the whole team, without exception, being "new blood."

This change might be pronounced as altering the destiny of the Society. O'Shanassy had just given up squatting on a small station between Brighton and Dandenong, and commenced the drapery business in Elizabeth Street, a few yards below the well-known *Clarence Hotel* corner.* He was then beginning to give evidence of the singular ability afterwards so thoroughly developed in him. He joined the Society with an earnest desire to re-animate it, and make it a fixture in the land.

Stephen, who was a Police-Court Advocate and a Town Councillor, was of small account, for, except a fine physique, and pliant and plausible manners, he had not much to boast of in the way of principle or ability. Imperturbable in temper unless terribly provoked, with an effrontery never so pronounced as to be absolutely offensive, and encased in a haze of superficiality, he attained for a time to a position and popularity, through which he was acceptable to any of the early Societies he felt disposed to join. An amusing instance of his unscrupulousness sprang out of his nomination to a St. Patrick's membership. Admission was confined to natives of Ireland, or descent from Irish parents, and Stephen was through both father and mother most undiluted Anglo-Saxon. On the question being raised, he met it by a positive declaration that, maternally, he was lineally of the posterity of Brian Boru, the great Celtic Dane conqueror at Clontarf, and promised if conditionally received, to procure from Dublin the most conclusive proof of his pedigree. Not half-a-dozen present believed one tittle of a statement put forth with a solemn seriousness which even in the Stephen face was irresistibly comical. Yet, at that particular time, it was considered such a capital move to take him in, that the stringency of the rule was relaxed, and the *canard* swallowed. As a member he was

* Now the City of Melbourne Bank corner.—ED.

highly ornamental in the processions, and at meetings, celebrations, or on a deputation, his gentlemanly deportment and polished flippancy of tongue were exercised to some account.

Finn was an *attaché* of the *Herald* newspaper, of which Mr. George Cavenagh was proprietor and nominal editor. Cavenagh was utterly insincere, figuratively as hollow as "the big drum," a *sobriquet* by which he was known; but it paid him to stand well with the Irish *cum* Roman Catholic population, and he freely permitted his *employé* to do as much as he liked in "cracking up" the St. Patrick Society—no small boon, for the *Herald* was then the leading and widest-read newspaper.

Lane was about as ignorant as a sod of turf from the far-famed "Bog of Allan;" but though roughly, still impetuously energetic and well-meaning. He was a thriving publican, and free alike with his money and his nobblers. To O'Shanassy and Finn in connection with the Society he was a kind of general lackey, and, short of committing suicide, turning insolvent, or eating meat on a Friday, there is hardly anything else he would not do for the sake of the cause in which they were now working together. The clean sweep thus made, revolutionary as it was, might be pronounced the salvation of the Society, and amongst all the Irishmen from time to time associated with it, to no two persons was it more indebted than to O'Shanassy and Finn, for they brought zeal and ability, assiduity, and unpaid patriotism, to their aid, and laboured long and anxiously for its success. It is no exaggeration to declare that but for them the St. Patrick Society instead of being one of the living realities of to-day would have disappeared long ago in the extinct world of myths, amongst which the kindred Fraternities of St. Andrew and St. George found forgotten resting-places.

The first step taken was the removal of the place of meeting from the *Lord Nelson* to *Lane's Hostelry*, situated in Little Collins Street, opposite the *Herald* office of that day—the site of Alston and Brown's late furnishing establishment. Tim's groggery was known as the *Builders' Arms*, but after the Irishmen made it their headquarters, Mr. William Kerr, the editor of the *Patriot*, *Courier*, and *Argus* respectively, derisively nicknamed it "The Greek and Co. Stables," for he could be sarcastically low when he liked. From him and his newspapers the Society was systematically libelled with a foul-penned ribaldry, unprecedented in the annals of decent or indecent journalism; but the Society had ample opportunity of self-defence through the *Herald*, and its Secretary was a rough-and-ready hand at the typographical shillelagh when his "back was up." Though he never tried to compete with Kerr in Billingsgate, the assailant, as a rule, got as much as he gave.

In the course of the year the existent code of laws underwent considerable revision. The qualification for membership was enlarged so as to render admissible not only persons born of Irish parents, but all others of Irish descent. This extension in course of time secured some valuable adherents, not to speak of validating the Stephen title, the subject of occasional sneering animadversion. A new rule was introduced intended to effectually exclude political or religious differences, and any person even introducing for discussion a subject of either kind was *de facto* liable to expulsion. The prohibited political element was not (as often erroneously stated) confined to what is phrased "local politics," but was intended by the draughtsmen to be interpreted in the widest meaning of the term "politics"—whether local or provincial, civic or parochial, Australian or Imperial. Though its phraseology was in after years somewhat modified, its essence was preserved, and the original intention remains unweakened in the Rules supposed to be in force at the present day. Whether this vital principle to which the Society has been solemnly pledged from its cradle was violated by the action taken in connection with the Redmond Mission, of 1883, is a question upon which a certain difference of opinion is supposed to prevail, though to any person conversant with the Society's history, and capable of offering an intelligent and unfettered opinion, no difficulty in arriving at a correct conclusion could exist. The manner in which the Redmonds were received by the general community is altogether a different issue, and should be put aside in determining whether the St. Patrick Society was justified or otherwise under the Charter of its existence, in, as a body, launching into an Irish political agitation. I have in a preceding chapter dealt, as I hope, impartially with the Orangemen, and I should be falsifying the position assumed through these CHRONICLES, if I flinched from expressing an opinion that, in officially recognizing the Redmonds as delegates from an Irish Political League, and further in appointing Representatives to the Convention springing

out of the Redmond mission, the St. Patrick Society was guilty of as gross a breach of plighted public faith as has ever been perpetrated in this or any other colony. I write so advisedly, and seized of facts to enable a just determination of the issue, possessed by few, if any, other persons now living.

To revert to my narrative. Slowly, but persistently, the members now under prudent guidance worked their way through many a storm of opposition from open foes, and the covert danger of false friends, their next purpose being the raising of funds for the erection of a suitable building, so that the Saint should be *fêted* in a house of his own, and the Society's business divorced from a licensed tavern. The President, Vice-President, and Secretary, as a deputation, interviewed the Provincial Superintendent (Latrobe) to recommend the granting of a Government site for a Hall, but though there was a profusion of courtesy and good wishes, a way could not be seen to comply with the request.

The First Hibernian Festival

Held in Port Phillip came off on the evening of the 29th September (Michaelmas Day) 1845. It was held at the *Builders' Arms*, to which there was annexed at the Eastern side a long room running length-ways about a dozen feet off the line of street. The affair was a marked success, and the occasion very enjoyable. Mr. O'Shanassy as President, was Chairman, and the principal guest was Mr. Henry Moor (the then Mayor). An elaborate list of toasts was disposed of with much cordiality, and capital speeches were delivered by the Chairman, the Mayor, Messrs. John Stephen, E. Finn, A. H. Hart, and Dr. W. H. Campbell.

The St. Patrick's Day procession of 1846 was an immense improvement on its predecessors, numerically, pictorially, and in other respects. The versatile J. P. Fawkner, who would be "in" and "out" with the Irish half-a-dozen times a year, was so Milesianly inclined that he asked permission to "walk" on the occasion. This could not be conceded, yet the applicant would not be baulked; so donning a prodigious green cockade and rosette he trotted along as an outsider abreast with the President O'Shanassy, and such a "John" and "Johnny" as this pair were never seen so footing it together on any other public occasion. "Little John" soon after quarrelled with "Big Jack" and loudly rued the folly that thrust him into a "wearing of the green."

A few days after, the Society co-operated with the associated public bodies in laying the foundation stones of Prince's Bridge and the Melbourne Hospital, and formed an interesting feature in the ceremonials.

The Saint's anniversary dinner was also about one of the most satisfactory ever held in the colony. The landlord of the *Builders' Arms* had erected a spacious tent or marquee on a line with Little Collins Street, capable of accommodating several hundred persons, and this temporary refectory had not a seat unoccupied, as there were 300 persons present, including the Rev. P. B. Geoghegan, Messrs. Edward Curr, Edmund Westby, J. P. Fawkner, and Dr. Greeves. Letters were read from the Mayor (Dr. Palmer) and others, excusing their absence. The post-prandial speechifying was never surpassed in Melbourne, for the addresses of O'Shanassy, Geoghegan, Curr, and Greeves possessed exceptional merit. The Father Matthew Society Band was in good form there; the oratory was pleasantly relieved by occasional songs; and it is on record that on this solitary occasion "Johnny" Fawkner performed as an amateur public vocalist—a feat which, ten years after, he emphatically denied in print.

A sovereign or a shilling had a much larger money value then than now, and although for its population Melbourne was generous to a degree, Societies (such as the one I am writing of) had much difficulty in raising funds; and it required much stiff shouldering to the wheel before the disciples of St. Patrick found themselves in a position to commence their projected edifice. They were fortunate in purchasing a piece of land in West Bourke Street for three guineas per foot, where St. Patrick's Hall now stands. Amongst the most liberal of their early benefactors were persons of other nationalities—English, Scotch, and French. Superintendent Latrobe sent a donation, as did also Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy, Judge A'Beckett, and several of the Port-Phillipian members of the New South Wales Legislature. Mr. Henry Moor, an Englishman, was a willing supporter both

in cash and kind, for, in addition to a handsome subscription, he presented a receipt in full for his bill of costs in preparing the conveyance of the land (a process much dearer then than now). Mr. John Thomas Smith, the proprietor of the Queen's Theatre, was Irish by marriage, and took kindly to the Society. Influenced mainly by the persuasiveness of Mr. Finn, he gave a theatrical benefit to the Building Fund, and the performance was enhanced by the gratuitous services of Mr. George Coppin and his gifted wife, a lady who has not often had an equal on the colonial stage. The event came off on the 3rd June, when the Society marched in procession to the theatre, whither they were played by the Father Matthew Temperance Band. The stage was draped with green banners, the members appeared in regalia, and the house was thronged. Master O'Farrell, a show-scholar of Mr. J. R. M'Laughlin, an elocutionary teacher, and a verse writer of considerable ability, recited an address prepared for the occasion. The result was not only enjoyment and satisfaction, but a welcome increase to the Hibernian public purse. Smith handed over the whole takings less the cost of light and printing, and for the £65 15s 6d. so netted, a special vote of thanks was accorded to the donor, and a similar compliment paid to the Coppins.

The July of this year was scandalized by the Orange rows, described elsewhere. Since its inauguration in 1843, the Orange Association endeavoured to justify its existence and make capital out of the reiterated assertion that the St. Patrick Society was an exclusively religious and political Brotherhood, which, under a pretence of nationality, was fomenting sectarian strife and animosity; but for this there could be adduced no sort of tangible proof. Its Rules, as already shown, amply provided for the elimination of such elements of discord. There was no religious or political ban of exclusion. All its meetings were open to the public without sign, countersign, or pass-word. There were no secret oaths or averments, in fact everything about it was as unconcealed as noon-day. To its festivals the principal guests, periodically invited, were English and Scotch, Episcopalian and Presbyterian; and it had the countenance and good-will of the more respectable classes of the community. The "Head-centre" of the Oppositionists was Mr. William Kerr, who, for reasons well appreciated by himself, pandered to the insensate bigotry of the Orangemen; and the newspapers with which he was connected—the *Patriot*, *Courier*, and *Argus*—teemed with nauseous and sensational statements, in which there was not a scintilla of truth. For years the feud raged with intense acrimony, and hard hitting from both sides. It was sought to connect the St. Patrick Society with the disgraceful riot that occurred, though it had about as much to do with it as the Man in the Moon; and when the Mayor (Dr. Palmer), in an Official Report to the Government, recklessly attempted to implicate it in the causes that led up to the lawless outbreak, the Society issued a manifesto which, to borrow a vulgarism, left him "not a leg to stand upon." In the end of the year a Bill was introduced into the Legislature of New South Wales for the prohibition of Party Processions, and as at first drafted by the Attorney-General (Mr. J. H. Plunkett), the Freemasons and Oddfellows were specially exempted from its provisions; but through the representations of the St. Patrick Society, this clause was withdrawn, and when the Act passed no Society was either mentioned or excluded; the measure was general in its application to associated congregations of persons publicly marching in any display which, in the opinion of a bench of magistrates, could be considered as coming within the meaning of the phraseology employed. Though it could not be positively said that the Act applied to the St. Patrick processions, the Society, in order to set a good example, decided upon suspending their annual marching demonstrations, and from 1846 until 1850, the epoch of Separation, there was no Irish celebration of the kind.

St. Patrick's Hall.

The funds having risen to a condition to justify a commencement of the long-wished-for building, Mr. Samuel Jackson, the earliest of Melbourne architects, was commissioned to prepare plans, and St. Patrick's Day (1847) was fixed as a most appropriate time to make the practical

beginning. Accordingly towards noon of that day a movement, or rather procession, *sans* band, banners, or spectacular display, started from the *Builders' Arms* to the building site, where everything was in preparation. There were about 500 persons present. The stone was laid according to the customary formalities, and in the cavity prepared for such mementoes was buried a bottle, enclosing a parchment scroll, with this

INSCRIPTION.

THE FOUNDATION STONE
Of this Building,
Dedicated to the Memory of Ireland, and intended to form an Educational Institute
For all Children of Hibernian descent,
Was laid on the 17th March (ST. PATRICK'S DAY), A.D. 1847,
In the tenth year of the Reign of VICTORIA THE FIRST,
By JOHN O'SHANASSY,
President of the St. Patrick's Society of Australia Felix.
CHARLES A. FITZROY, Governor of New South Wales.
CHARLES J. LATROBE, Superintendent of Australia Felix.
SAMUEL JACKSON, Architect.
JOHN O'SHANASSY, President of St. Patrick's Society.
JOHN STEPHEN, Vice-President, ditto.
EDMUND FINN, Honorary Secretary, ditto.
TIMOTHY LANE, Treasurer, ditto.

The ceremony concluded with brief addresses from the President, the Vice-President, and the Secretary, after which three cheers were given for the Queen, three for Old Ireland and St. Patrick, and three for Australia Felix.

The dullness of the open-air ceremony was amply made up for by a banquet at the Queen's Theatre, where there was quite a jolly gathering. The Office of Chairman was filled by Mr. O'Shanassy, Vice, Mr. John Stephen, and the speakers were the gentlemen named, with Messrs. Daniel Kelly, William O'Farrell, Bernard Reynolds, A. H. Hart, and Robert Hayes.

The building was an oblong, substantial, two-storey brick structure, approached by a flight of steps, and with some slight effort at ornamentation over the doorway. For several years it was the most capacious hall in Melbourne.

A most unusual occurrence was that the merriment was kept up on the following night at the same place, when, for the especial behoof of the ladies, there was a grand ball.

In 1848 the most enthusiastic of all the old celebrations took place, in the form of a Patrick's Day dinner, which was well attended, well served, and well sustained. The theatre was the scene of the feasting. Megson's theatrical band attended, and the ladies were admitted by ticket to the galleries, to have the pleasure of looking at the Irish lions feeding beneath. The Mayor, (Mr. Andrew Russell), was present, and the Chair very efficiently filled by O'Shanassy, the speechifiers being the Chairman and Mayor, with Dean Coffey, Messrs. E. Finn, P. Miller, G. Cavenagh, T. Forsyth, Dr. James Martin, *et aliis*. At the ensuing annual meeting Mr. John Stephen retired from the Vice-Presidency, to be succeeded by Mr. Finn, whose place as Secretary was taken by Mr. Peter Miller. There was no paid officer until ten years after. In those times everyone worked gratuitously, for personal emolument was not thought of. The Building Fund was liberally supported, and contributions were forwarded from Geelong, Belfast, Kilmore, and other outside parts. Public buildings were not rushed up as now, and it took years to crawl on even with the erection of a church. The remainder of 1848 was employed by the Society in raising money and putting it in the work as it dropped in. In 1849 the hall showed evidences of approaching completion, and as the sabbath of the Irishman's year whisked round, it was deemed advisable to postpone the Anniversary Festival until the opening of the building, and thus make it what is familiarly known as a "house-warming." On the 5th of June everything was ready, and the new Hall was formally dedicated to its public purposes by a ball, at which 350 persons put in an appearance.

The first meeting for business was held in the Hall on the 7th July. The members had a farewell gathering at the *Builders' Arms* whence they were played by the Father Matthew Band to the Hall, of which possession was taken amidst loud cheers. The building was crowded, and addresses were delivered by the President (O'Shanassy), the Vice-President (Finn), Alderman John Stephen, the late V.P., his brother Mr. Sidney Stephen, a non-member and Barrister, afterwards a Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand, Mr. W. C. Conroy, now an esteemed Carlton J.P., &c., &c. The recent ball yielded a surplus of £59 to the funds, a very welcome addition. Special thanks were voted to the office-bearers for their exertions, and particularly to Mr. Tim. Lane, the Treasurer. After the meeting the band played a large contingent of the members back to Lane's, where they "whiskyed" and otherwise refreshed themselves without stint and without charge until long past midnight.

A special meeting was held in the Hall, on the 11th September, to adopt a memorial to the Secretary of State on the subject of emigration from Ireland, and praying that a fair proportion of Irish emigrants should be sent to the province. All Irishmen were invited to be present, but the wetness of the evening operated so unfavourably that the rain prevented the Father Matthew Society's Band from playing through the streets. Nevertheless the attendance was as numerous as the Hall could hold. Mr. O'Shanassy presided, and addresses were delivered by the Chairman, Dean Coffey, Messrs. John Stephen, D. H. Hickey, E. Finn, R. P. Mervin, W. O'Farrell and others. The memorial was adopted, and a deputation nominated to present it to the Superintendent. Mr. Latrobe received them very courteously, a couple of days after, intimated his concurrence with the object in view, and promised to transmit the memorial to England by the earliest opportunity.

In January, 1850, the St. Patrick school was opened, under the management of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. M'Laughlin, two very competent teachers, who conducted it for some time, and it underwent more than one change of masters during the ensuing eighteen months, when the Hall was temporarily rented to the Government under circumstances to be hereafter described.

The annual celebration this year was an Hibernian ball on the 18th March, whereat 500 persons congregated, the music was supplied by Hore's Saxehorn Band, and the supper catered for by Mr. Ewers. The arrangements were faultless, and the enjoyment unqualified. A great attraction to the decorations was the loan of a tasteful white and red banner from the St. George's Club, which, varied by the green, presented an agreeable and picturesque contrast. At the anniversary meeting on the 2nd April, the financial condition of the Institution was pronounced to be all that could be reasonably desired. Though the President and Vice-President wished not to be re-elected, they yielded to the generally expressed feeling, and went in for another year. Mr. Michael O'Connell withdrew from the Secretaryship, to which he had been nominated during the year, to be succeeded by Mr. Richard Dalton.

The unwarrantable action of the City Council in petitioning the Queen for a discontinuance of Irish Orphan Immigration caused the Society to take up arms on behalf of a number of girls most wantonly assailed, in the first instance, by the *Argus* newspaper, and subsequently by the Corporate Representatives. They were represented as so many dishonest and immoral hussies, who swelled the ranks of street prostitution, and were a plague instead of a benefit. Not an atom of reliable testimony was adduced to sustain such cowardly and outrageous slanders, and to rebut them a special meeting of the Society was held on the 9th May, when Mr. E. Finn, as V.P., presiding in the absence of the President, officiated as Chairman.

The Society engaged actively in the Separation rejoicings of 1850, and a splendid new banner procured for the occasion, formed one of the attractions of the national procession. On the 9th November, there was a great jubilation at a Separation ball given in the Hall.

St. Patrick's Day of 1851 was kept up by a dinner at which three rattling speeches were delivered, by the President, Vice-President, and Mr. John Stephen, and it was followed by a ball next evening. At the annual meeting in April, Mr. O'Shanassy retired from the Presidency he had for six years ably filled, and peremptorily declined re-election. Two candidates were nominated for the office, viz., the V.P. (Finn) and Mr. J. W. Dunbar, a Solicitor; but the latter withdrawing, Finn was elected without opposition, held it by renewal for seven years, and also at a later period.

Mr. John Bourke, a well-to-do hotelkeeper, was appointed Vice-President, and Mr. Timothy Lane was always regarded as a sort of Permanent Treasurer. Mr. P. J. Cregin was appointed Secretary. A special vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. O'Shanassy, as a recognition of his valuable services; and a Sub-Committee appointed to organize a memorial presentation to him. This was subsequently carried to a successful issue by means of a subscription, and Mr. O'Shanassy was the recipient of a silver tea service, not procurable in Melbourne, but which was purchased in Sydney.

There was much difficulty in finding a building capable of accommodating the first Victorian Legislative Council to be called together before the year was over. On the 9th May, 1851, St. Patrick's Hall was rented for the purpose for three years at the rate of £300 per annum. Such a temporary tenancy offered pecuniary advantages to the Society that could not be prudently overlooked, so the Government went in, and the members went out, and had to put up as well as they could with the accommodation provided at hotels. When the three years' tenure expired the baby Parliament had no better place to go to, and it remained there at a yearly rent increased to £1500 (justified by the enormously enhanced value of town property) until the end of 1856, when two branches of Legislation were created, and the present Parliament House occupied. When the Society returned to their old roof-tree they re-entered an edifice so altered as to be unknown, except by the outer brick shell, for public money had been profusely spent in improvements and alterations, much required, but which the state of the Society's purse would have rendered simply impossible.

The members were now well in funds from the Government rental, and their Institution progressed and prospered. In 1862, Mr. Finn was again President, and it was considered desirable (if practicable) to bring the Society under the operation of the Friendly Societies Act then in force, and to affiliate sick and funeral benefits. There were formidable legal difficulties in the way of doing so, arising out of the advanced age of the majority of the members, and their individual interest in the common fund. The President, however, grappled with the obstacles, and with the valuable co-operation, freely afforded, of Mr. W. H. Archer, the then Government Actuary, the Society was duly registered. From a reserve capital of £3000 one-third was appropriated as the *nucleus* of a Benefit Fund, and the residue for the Incidental Fund, the whole to be administered under an equitable, and stringently revised, code of laws. On Mr. Finn's final retirement from the Presidency, he was testimonialized in a very special manner. His fellow-members presented him with a massive silver cup, the Society, in its corporate capacity, endowed him as a Life Member of the Melbourne Hospital, and elected him an Honorary Life Member of St. Patrick's. The Society is still in existence; it has a grand opportunity, and an important part to play in the future. It was the only one of the Old National Fraternities which by perseverance, sagacity, and a broad and enlightened patriotism, tided safely over innumerable difficulties, financial, factious, sectarian, and political; and should it ever collapse, it will be only through the absence of the managerial tact and other gifts, to which it owes a prolonged existence denied to contemporaries inaugurated for purposes equally as praiseworthy.

Saint George.

The Englishmen of Port Phillip, though in number and otherwise the most influential segment of the early colonists, manifested little disposition to honour their great traditionary Apostle, until stimulated by the examples of the Scotch and Irish, when they shook off their apathy. On the 29th January, 1845, a public meeting was convened at the *Royal Hotel* in Collins Street for the founding of a Society of St. George. Some preliminary consultations had previously been held in the chambers of Mr. E. E. Williams, a leading member of the Bar, whereat a Code of Rules was prepared, and an enrolment made of thirty-seven individuals, who were consequently taken to constitute the original members. The Mayor (Dr. Moor) was appointed Chairman, a progress Report was submitted, and the Rules were agreed to, one of them prescribing that all future candidates for membership should be balloted for at the monthly meeting of the Committee.

The following Board of Management was elected:—President: Mr. James Simpson; Vice-President: Mr. Edward Curr; Treasurer: Mr. Edmund Westby; Auditors: Messrs. William Hull and Charles Bradshaw; Hon. Secretary: Mr. G. A. Gilbert; Committee: Messrs. Edward E. Williams, Thomas Wills, William Firebrace, George Shaw, F. B. St. John, J. D. Pinnock, W. H. Campbell, W. B. Wilmott, Henry Moor, J. F. Palmer, A. H. Hart, Thomas Strode, W. F. Splatt, George Barber, and C. J. Sanford.

This was about as decent a team as could be well found, yet strangely enough its component parts did not pull together. Whether through too little enthusiasm or too much apathy, or dissension, was not known, but it is certain that nothing was done, and the ensuing April Anniversary of the Knight of the Dragon was suffered to pass in solemn silence. The Society may be said to have died prematurely, and with it for a time the memory of the great Mythical Saint was "sent to Coventry," one of his apocryphal birth-places.

In 1846 steps were taken for a veritable celebration of the National Anniversary, and a St. George's Club was hastily organized. A dinner was determined upon, and to give it proper spectacular effect, Mr E. Opie, a painter of the period, was commissioned to supply a banner of white silk with a red cross and blue satin border, and emblazoned with a central group of St. George and the Dragon. Opie turned out a work of art, tastefully designed, and happily executed. The entertainment came off on the 23rd April at the *Royal Hotel*, with Mr. Henry Moor presiding, and the new standard unfolded over him. The Vice-Chair was filled by Mr. E. E. Williams, and about eighty persons collected to partake of good fare, and hear a few excellent speeches. It was intended that this spread should be the prelude of a re-organized Society on an enlarged and enduring basis, but the wish was father to the thought, for little or nothing was done to produce the desired effect.

St. George's Day 1847 was treated to an almost *fac simile* compliment at the same place, under the same banner, with the same Chairman and Vice, and only 60 instead of 80 *convives*.

1848 witnessed the smallest National Festival ever held in the colony, for the 60 Anglo-Saxons of the preceding year dwindled to 17. As St. George's Day fell on Sunday, the *fête* was kept up on Saturday, 22nd April, at the *Royal*, with Messrs. Henry Moor as Chairman, and Edward Curr as Vice-Chairman. With such a damper as paucity of attendance is upon an occasion of the kind, a Melbourne newspaper thus writes consolingly:—"But there was never a better dinner served, and the evening was very pleasant."

The year 1849 was an *annus non* with the St. Georgians—a blank which doubtless shamed the Melbourne Englishmen into an effort in the following year, thus making up in a large measure for former failures. The movement was taken out of the hands of a select *coterie*, and enlisted a wider circle of supporters, and therefore it was a tremendous success. It was held at the Queen's Theatre on the evening of the 23rd April, when the interior of the building was extensively decorated with laurels, emblems, and banners. No less than three hundred and thirty-five persons were there, the Mayor (Mr. Wm. Nicholson) presiding, with Messrs. H. Moor and D. S. Campbell on his right, and Messrs. J. D. Pinnock and W. Hull the left-hand supports. There were no less than three Vice-Chairmen, viz., Messrs. C. W. Rowling, W. K. Bull, and — Norman. Hore's Saxehorn band was present, and the toasting and speechifying were good. Messrs. Collier, Heales, Ashley, Bailey, Best, and Carter treated the company to a number of glees and songs. The three best speeches were delivered by Dr. Greeves, Messrs W. Hull, and H. Moor, and more songs were sung that night than at any previous public dinner in Melbourne.

Unquestionably the largest National Demonstration on record is a St. George's dinner which came off on the 23rd April, 1851. There was none of the former cliquism in it, and through the manner in which the shop-keeping element of Englishmen went to work, it was a thorough carousal. Ample preparations were made, and so numerous were the applications for tickets of admission, that it was feared no place could be found available in town of sufficient capacity to hold the intendant diners. After considerable searching a large store in Queen Street, belonging to Mr. Isaac Hinds, was obtained. It could seat seven hundred, though from its external appearance one would imagine it an impossibility to stow away more than half the number there. The interior was, considering

the time, very appropriately fitted up, the walls covered with green foliage, and from the evergreens peeped forth many samples of bunting. The lighting consisted of some lamps, and "hundreds of wax tapers," and here and there were framed portraits of the most *puissant* Saint, whilst over the Chair smiled a full-length figure of the Queen. The only drawback (and no small one) to the thorough enjoyment of the occasion was that several of the company got prematurely more than "half seas over," a *contretemps* good-naturedly attributed to the potency of the fluids. The Chair was taken by the Mayor (Mr. W. Nicholson) with right hand supporters in Dr. Greeves and Mr. B. Heape, and on the left Messrs. J. D. Pinnock and W. Hull, whilst Mr. George Kirk acted as Vice. Over seven hundred individuals were accommodated in some way or other, and there can be no doubt that such full stowage led to much of the confusion that followed. There was an excellent band in attendance, a great acquisition, and they had no idle time of it. At the conclusion of the dinner *Non Nobis Domine* was sung, the company standing. An agreeable variation was made in the toasting in consequence of the creation of the new colony by the inclusion for the first time of "His Excellency the Governor of Victoria," after which the band played the "Victoria March," and a Mr. Hobson and others followed with the glee of "Chough and Crow." Mr. George Kirk proposed "Our Army and Navy," which was drunk in a "three times three," the band striking up "Rule Britannia," the amateurs giving alternate verses, with the company chorussing, hiccupping, and applauding.. Mr. W. K. Bull (appropriately named for the purpose) in a lengthy address proposed "Old England, Our Native Land," which was drowned in bumpers "nine times nine," to which Mr. Hobson sang "Old England for Ever." Dr. Greeves, in his accustomed happy style, introduced the toast of "Victoria," and Mr. Francis Bryant was sponsor for the "Commercial, Pastoral, and Agricultural Interests." (Mining was not then dreamed of.) Mr. J. Mason, in proposing "The Mayor and Corporation," "felt assured that the blessings of Separation would never have been attained—at least the boon would have been procrastinated to an indefinite period—but for the Corporation." The toast was received with "three times three," "amidst combined cheers and hisses." It was replied to by Cr. Richard Heales. Mr. W. U. Tripp proposed "Absent Friends," in which he was occasionally tripped up by drunken interjections from several of the company. Mr. J. A. Marsden invoked a compliment for the sons of Saints Patrick and Andrew in his accustomed pleasantry of manner. Mr. Isaac Hinds did battle for the "Ladies of Victoria," but the only passage of his oration that could be heard was a loud and emphatic declaration "that they could not be surpassed for their beauty, affability, and 'interesting' appearance in any part of the world." The band played "I would like to marry," which was "ayed" by scores of the Saint worshippers in loud tipsy merriment, and then followed by a glee of "Here's a Health to All Good Lasses." Mr. Lightfood, a theatrical scene painter, mounting a chair, and in a voice as if rushing through a speaking trumpet, proposed the memory of Shakspeare—"the great Magician of the North, the great Bard of Avon," and indulged in the following gushing rhetorical flourish:—"The name of Shakspeare like the lustre of a candle, sheds a brilliant light around it, when held in the hands of an infant, as if borne in the outstretched arms of a giant—Soul of the Age! The applause, delight, and wonder of the stage—is the divine Shakspeare; he has shed happiness and delight around ten thousand fire-sides.—Ever fresh, ever new; and we read him for the twentieth time with the same pleasure that we welcome the return of the summer sun, which affords us the same amount of warmth in our old age, as it did when we made a puddle around the pump in the days of our boyhood." This was too strong a dose of the sublime and ridiculous for the company now "liquified" into something akin to an inebriated rabble, and the Shaksperian panegyrist was so beleagured with screeching and yelling from Bacchanalian throats, that he was obliged to give up with only a twentieth part of a studiously prepared oration delivered. It was before the appearances of public gas-lights, and as the confusion became general, candles, glasses, and bottles were getting knocked over. So to spare St. George the anachronism of a monster holocaust on his anniversary, the Chair was vacated, and through the exertions of those who retained sufficient wits for the purpose, the revelry was terminated, and the place cleared, luckily without accident, but only after an expenditure of much patient good humour, persuasion, and perseverance.

The Burns' Festivals.

The poet of Ayr, in a letter written by himself, declares, "The poetic Genius of my country found me as the prophetic Bard Elijah did Elisha—at the plough; and threw her inspiring mantle over me. She bade me sing of the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my native soil in my native tongue; I tuned my wild, artless notes as she inspired," and certainly there is an inspiration of homeliness, merriment, and patriotism in his melody that will secure for it an immortality, at least so long as the Scottish land and Scottish tongue have an existence. The inauguration of Burns' anniversary celebrations at home communicated its influence to Port Phillip so early as 1845, and on the 24th January of that year the Melbourne Scots—

> "With love that scorns the lapse of time,
> And ties that stretch beyond the deep,"

Held their first Burns' Festival at the *Caledonian Hotel*, in Lonsdale Street, where the smallness of the room (50 feet by 15 feet) interfered considerably with the comfort of the arrangements. There were the usual decorations of green boughs and flags, and the tables groaned under the weight of an orthodox Scotch feed, including haggis—"great chieftain of the pudding race"—hotch-potch, cock-a-leekie, and sheep's-head broth. There were a hundred and fifty persons present, and they went into the good things to their hearts' content. In the verandah were posted a Highland piper in full costume, and the ordinary town band, both playing together; but the piper struck out a time of his own, and the inflexibly loud manner in which he stuck to it interfered much with the efficiency of the lesser instruments. There never was such a *mélange* of inharmonious music—or rather sounds—for it was simply a scramble where pibrochs, strathspeys, marches, quadrilles, and waltzes, enjoyed a general run-a-muck, knocking each other about in, if not the most admired, certainly the most amusing disorder. Mr. William Kerr was the chairman, Mr. J. S. Johnston, the Vice, both of whom delivered very excellent speeches. The principal toasts were—"The Memory of Burns," "Bonnie Jean," and "The Rev. Dr. Lang," for the star of the last-named celebrity was then in the zenith, through the political services he was rendering the province. There was some capital singing by Messrs. Johnston, W. Clarke, Philip Anderson, Lumsden, and Mann; whilst a Mr. Elder favoured the company with a recitation. The event was in every way as pleasant and successful as could be reasonably desired.

On the 26th January, 1846, the second celebration came off at the Queen's Theatre, and in consequence of the presence in Melbourne of Dr. Lang, it assumed the shape of an important Separation Demonstration, and was very numerously attended, for no less than three hundred and fifty persons (Scotch, English, and Irish) responded to the call. Over the Chair was shown a large bust of Burns, and at the opposite end were "Tam O'Shanter and Souter Johnny." When dinner was over, ladies were admitted by ticket to the dress circle, to witness the remainder of the performance, which mainly consisted of a long, eloquent, political, and pre-Separation Address from Dr. Lang.

The Festival for 1847 was held in the same theatre, where the principal performers were Mr. W. M. Bell and Mr. J. S. Johnston. The songsters were Messrs. Johnston, P. Anderson, "Tom" Forsyth, and G. Kirk. When the night was well on a Scotch guard, headed by a gentleman known as "The Honourable Mr. Kennedy," a well-known participant in some of the old outdoor frays, who, with some "brithers" fresh from over-indulgence in some other place, arrived and on being refused admittance, attempted to force a way into the building. They were resisted, and in the scrimmage ensuing Mr. J. T. Smith (the theatre proprietor) received a head-punching, for which he handed Kennedy over to the police, and the "Honourable" was fined ten shillings by the magistrate next day.

For the 1848 celebration, a pavilion was pitched on an unused area of land adjoining the Auction Mart of Mr. J. W. Bell, a knight of the hammer in Collins Street, somewhere about the recent establishment of Messrs. Detmold, the bookbinders. The place was arranged with some

attempt at the picturesque in the adjustment of a small forest of evergreens, and according to a scribe of the day, "it was lit up by a stream of chandeliers." The entertainment (on the 25th January), was presided over by the Mayor (Mr. A. Russell), with Mr. Wm. Kerr as Croupier; and the number present including a large sprinkling of English and Irish, was 250. Some of the speeching was much above the average, and the "Heather Hills" song of Mr. J. S. Johnston vociferously applauded. Mr. Timothy Lane, "from the beautiful city called Cork," lilted out in a brogue as unadulterated as genuine potheen, and as loud as he could screech—the time-honoured poly-glotted Irish lay of "The Shan Van Voght." Any deficiency in "Tim's" vocal ability was made up for by a pantomime of grinning, grimacing, head-scratching and shoulder-shrugging.

The Protestant Hall was selected as the arena of the festive gathering of 1849, when it was a sad failure, compared with its predecessors. Mr. Thomas M'Combie was master of the revels, assisted by Messrs. William Kerr and James Watson. The evening passed off with the usual exhilirating, stimulating, self-satisfying overdoses of eating, drinking, orating, singing, and all-round cheering, until a Mr. James Swords, a reporter of the *Argus*, who had been sharpening up the whole night, fell foul of Mr. J. C. Passmore, the caterer, who refused to pass any more of the good things to an individual whom he believed required no further edging on to something he would afterwards regret. The "Sword," consequently turned rusty, and took to abusing the purveyor, who turned on the edged tool and pummelled and blunted it considerably. This shindy spreading, brought the frolics to a somewhat premature wind-up, and though a Police Court prosecution was vehemently threatened the next day, the unpleasant *rencontre* was prevented by friendly intercession from going further.

The Germans.

As Port Phillip acquired some degree of stability, the German portion of the community began to show itself, especially in what is known as "the Separation Year." Though they hailed from a land traditionally Sainted, the German's love of home was not of so romantically gushing a character as the British or Irish. This may be accounted for possibly by the fact that Saint No. 1 was Boniface "The Apostle of Germany," whose feast-day was the 5th June, but as he was an English Devonshireman, the halo of his Saint-ship was not as enduring as if native-born. No. 2 was St. Martin, known in history as the Patron of Inebriates, caused by a coincidence, unfortunately for his reputation that his day was the 11th November, the period of the Vinalia, or feast of Bacchus, and the Early Christians so mixed the double event that St. Martin had to bear the consequence with posterity. However this may be, the Melbourne Germans seemed to have kept both 1 and 2 Saints at arm's length, and in associating for mutual advantage they disregarded all other than terrestrial patronage and in July, 1850, formed a Society under the plain though comprehensive appellation of

The German Union.

Certain preliminary details were quietly arranged, and the first public appearance of the Germans assumed the shape of a very enjoyable re-union at the *Bull and Mouth Hotel*, in Bourke Street, on the evening of the 21st October, 1850. It was under the Presidency of Dr. Gumbinner, a well-known Melbourne Vaterlander of the period. During the proceedings strong objection was taken to the proposed appointment of a Germanic Consul in Melbourne without consulting the Society, and it was determined to ascertain if the German Immigration Committee had anything to do in the matter. On the suggestion of Mr. Sholbach, the formation of a library of German literature was agreed to, and several presents of books were promised. A Singing Committee was likewise resolved on. The 1st and 2nd verses of the German Air "Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland" were rendered in a very creditable manner by some of the members, after which a magnificent German banner, black, red, and yellow, was presented by Mr. Schmidt. This, it was agreed, should be unfurled by the Germans in the approaching Separation procession. Though the Society had been only four months in existence,

it had already forty-three members on its books, and every prospect of a considerable increase. The proceedings terminated with the concluding verse of the National Air already mentioned, to which Dr. Gumbinner added two stanzas, declared to be *extempore*, and of which the following is an English translation :—

" But now we've quitted our dear Fatherland,
O, let us form a strong fraternal band ;
And our new brethren will the hand extend,
For the brave Briton is the German's friend ;
This land call yours,—
For fair Australia is the German's home !

Yes, fair Australia our new home shall be ;
Sing, brothers, sing, loudly and joyfully.
In this fair land no man for freedom sighs—
In this fair land the flag of Freedom flies.
This land call yours,—
O, bless, Great God, O bless the German's home ! "

THE CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL

Was the first celebration of the kind in the colony. It was held at St. Patrick's Hall, on Christmas Eve, and was a great success. Two large trees, illuminated by candles, and adorned with fancy articles, presented by a German gentleman, contributed very much to give to the whole a lively and agreeable aspect. Between the trees upon two large tables the Christmas Boxes for orphan distribution were exhibited; they consisted of bibles, clothing, schoolbooks, and other useful articles. At a quarter past eight, the ceremonial commenced with the singing of the hymn "Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr," and followed by a prayer, in which the Rev. A. Morison, Independent minister, invoked the Divine blessing upon our German fellow colonists. The hymn " Hosannah!" was well executed by the children. Mr. Markert (Chairman of the German Union) then addressed the meeting. Master Rupp, a German orphan, twelve years of age (who with his sister lost their parents when embarking at Hamburg), in alluding to the fact of their having found another home here, thanked in a German poem the friends present that evening, and expressed a wish that the colony might flourish and prosper. After a German hymn "Ihr Kindlein Komt," sung by the children, Miss Mary Vorwerg, the daughter of a cabinet-maker, residing at Richmond, recited the English hymn " Come and worship Christ the new-born King." Mr. Schmidt (the Secretary of the Union) in a German speech pointed out the blessings we had received, and said that all should be happy and joyous on the day on which Christ the Saviour was born, not for single individuals, but for all, for present and coming generations. He hailed the day on which young and old rejoice, on which the beams of happiness are shed on the rich as well as the poor. The Germans were as happy in commemorating this joyful event in their new home as in their native country, and thankfully acknowledged the services of their fellow-colonists in enabling them to make presents to the orphans and to the poor. He wished the children to bear in mind that they should consider the presents as merely in remembrance of the great gift received on the day of which the present was the anniversary, as being an agreeable reminiscence to grown-up persons of the happy days spent in a similar way in their childhood. Mr. Schmidt wished for an intimate association of the Germans with their fellow-colonists, and concluded with a poem. The song, " Oh du Frocliche," preceded the distribution of Christmas Boxes, which occupied half-an-hour. Mr. Wanke afterwards repeated the Lord's Prayer in German, which was followed by the hymn " Nun danket alle Gotte," and " God save the Queen " concluded the whole.

This German Union continued in existence for some time, and conferred much advantage upon the German section of the community.

CHAPTER XLIX.

A MIXED FREIGHT.

SYNOPSIS:—Brickmakers and Sawyers.—Benefit Societies.—The Port Phillip Club.—First Public Appearance of Messrs. Greeves, Hull, and Cole.—A Yeomanry Corps.—The Squatter Franchise.—The First "Protection" Meeting.—The Squatters' Grand Rally.—Australian Grain.—The Waste Lands.—Dr. Ludwig Leichardt.—Death of Daniel O'Connell.—Catarrh in Sheep.—The Sanitary Condition of Melbourne.—Proposed Annual Fair.—Proposed Female Friendly Society.—Relief of Irish Home Distress.—Irish and Scotch Home Relief.

FROM the earliest period the open meeting was regarded by the Port Phillipians as the most effective and legitimate mode in which to make the public sentiment known either in redress of grievance or a demand for justice. The first recorded gathering or "Folk-Mote" was held in 1836. Meetings to establish races, and to build a church took place in 1838, and in February, 1839, a commercial demonstration was made to have Melbourne declared a free warehousing port. These several movements are treated with more detail in other chapters, and are only now re-introduced to prepare a way for grouping some of those public assemblages from time to time witnessed in Old Melbourne.

Brickmakers and Sawyers.

The first hand-made bricks used in the province were manufactured upon the swampy land between the Yarra, and what was subsequently named Emerald Hill and the Government House reserve. The brick-field was in part close to and took in some of the historical 30 acre paddock which "Johnny" Fawkner annexed in 1835, and enclosed and planted for a wheat crop. Brick-making, though like bread-making, one of our earliest and local enterprises, was heavily handicapped by the absentee Government with exactions in the shape of fees and charges. In 1838 an Act of Council was passed which impeded the operations of not only brick-makers but sawyers, the two most useful handicrafts in an infant colony. It was enacted among other provisions that no person could legally follow either calling without taking out an annual £10 license, and this operated in such a prohibitory manner as to interfere materially with the progress of house-building, not only in Melbourne, but at Williamstown and Geelong. In fact, it led to the departure of several persons, who could not be easily spared, to Adelaide. To protest against such shallow-minded injustice, a public meeting was held on 17th January, 1839, at Sharp's *Ship Inn*, Little Flinders Street. Several resolutions were adopted, the principal being one denouncing the Act of Council, and authorizing the presentation of a petition to the Governor praying for the cancellation or suspension of the pernicious imposition.

Union Benevolent Society.

An Institution with this designation was inaugurated at a meeting held in the *Lamb Inn*, Collins Street, on the 14th February, 1839, Mr. T. H. Price was appointed Secretary, and it was resolved to hold periodical meetings at the *Builders' Arms Hotel*, in Little Collins Street. Before the year expired the following rather meagre prospectus was issued :—

Melbourne Union Benefit Society,

"United to Relieve, Not Combined to Injure."

Patron: Captain William Lonsdale; President (Vacant); Vice-Presidents: Messrs. J. S. Lambard and J. L. Lake; Treasurer: Mr. John Caulfield; Secretary: Mr. William Brown; Physician: John Sproat, M.D.; Stewards: Messrs. John Johnson and James A. Clarke.

The time had not quite arrived for the working of such a project, and the Institution quietly and gradually dissolved.

The Port Phillip Club.

The comparatively few people in Melbourne whose position rendered them in any way "clubable," were somewhat difficult to please, and one "House of Call" of this kind was found to be insufficient to provide for the requirements of, or rather to fall in with, the whims of the would-be-fashionables and swells of the period. Consequently a few of those who affected discontent with the management or surroundings of the Melbourne Club, assembled in private conclave in January, 1840, and determined upon opening an opposition shop, which was started accordingly, and thus officered:—President: Thomas Wills, Esq.; Vice-President: Andrew M. M'Crae, Esq.; Secretary: Archibald M'Lachlan, Esq.

This Club commenced business in a small two-storey house in Lonsdale Street West, at the corner of the right-of-way now known as Wright's Lane; but it soon moved to the then large premises in Flinders Street, known as "Yarra House," and derisively nicknamed "Hodgson's Folly," because erected by Mr. John Hodgson, for which a rent of £600 per annum was agreed to be paid. The Club's opening dinner was given on the 17th March, 1841 (the first St. Patrick's celebration in Port Phillip), when about thirty persons sat down. Mr. Thos. Wills officiated as Chairman, Mr. Richard Ocock did the "Vice," and it was declared that the evening passed off most agreeably. Though this Institution enjoyed but a short life, it was not a very merry one. The members were too sedate and slow for the convivial clubism of the time, and they wanted a spice of the dare-devil "go" of the young bloods who favoured the other establishment. It vegetated quietly for a couple of years, and placidly withdrew from the world of pleasure, leaving behind only as much of a memory as may attach to the well-known *Port Phillip Club Hotel*, which now flourishes in its place.

Excessive Taxation.

In May, 1842, it was stated to be the intention of the New South Wales Executive to introduce a measure of legislation which would ruinously oppress the industrial energies of the infant settlement, and steps were taken to enter into an urgent protestation against such iniquity. The proposals contemplated the imposition on the province of the responsibility of the sole maintenance of the police force, and the cost of roads, bridges, &c., and to remonstrate against such a preposterous intention a public meeting was held in the Bourke Street wooden theatre on the 17th of the month. The Chair was filled by the Deputy-Sheriff, several vehement addresses were delivered, and resolutions with a Petition adopted against the obnoxious Bill. This event was rendered remarkable as the first appearance on a public platform of Dr. Greeves, Mr. William Hull, and Captain G. W. Cole, three men who played a prominent part in the political future of the colony.

Formation of a Yeomanry Corps.

The capture of the bushrangers by the gentlemen amateurs in 1842, and the impunity with which other outrages were perpetrated, by both black and white depredators, started a notion as to

the expediency of organizing a troop of mounted yeomanry, and a meeting to consider the question was held on the 3rd June at the *Lamb Inn*, now *Scott's Hotel*, Collins Street. The enthusiasm kindled by the idea was up to boiling heat, but it was not long before the cooling process set in. After Major St. John was voted to the Chair, a resolution was adopted to the effect that it was necessary for the protection of life and property that an association be formed by the settlers and holders of farm stock under the style and title of "The Port Phillip Volunteers"—that all settlers, &c., be invited to co-operate, and that the corps be under the military direction of a competent gentleman to be appointed by the meeting and approved by the Governor. It was suggested that this post should be given to Major William Firebrace, but it was objected to by some, who considered that such a responsible office should be filled by the general body of volunteers. Major Firebrace, however, was appointed forthwith. It was also resolved that the district be partitioned into twelve divisions, each to be under the command of a captain and two lieutenants, to be selected by the corps. The divisional boundaries were also determined, and a code of Rules for management and equipment was adopted. A Committee was nominated to promote the objects sought to be attained, and the meeting adjourned rather appropriately *sine die*—for nothing ever came of it beyond much talk and a few newspaper paragraphs. It was a mere flash in the pan, and as such there was a speedy end of it.

Squatter Franchise.

The Pastoral Tenants of the Crown, as they were called, made several attempts to obtain an extension of the Electoral franchise, and were as often baffled by adverse circumstances. They made a strong muster at the *Royal Hotel*, on the 14th of July, 1843, when their advocates came out in great force. The purpose of the gathering was to adopt petitions to the Legislature of New South Wales and the Imperial Parliament to extend the legislative franchise to the pastoral tenants of the Crown. Major Firebrace was voted to the Chair, and speeches were delivered by Messrs. J. L. Foster, James Simpson, J. C. Riddell, A. Cunninghame, F. Riley, G. S. Airey, F. A. Powlett, C. H. Ebden, James Manning, Alfred Langhorne, Major St. John, Captain Webster, and Dr. Playne. Draft petitions were submitted and approved, when a Committee was nominated to promote the object in view.

The First "Protection" Meeting.

It is singular, considering the turn taken by events in after years, that the earliest cry for the protection of native industry should have originated with the agriculturists; yet so it was.

In the year 1843 there was much depression in every branch of business, wholesale and retail, and the prices obtained for farm produce ruled at a very discouraging figure. It was accordingly determined to give expression to public opinion as to the most desirable source from which to seek a remedy for the evil, and a requisition was presented to Mr. Henry Condell, the Mayor, to convene the inhabitants for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means for averting the ruin which threatened the cultivator of the soil, owing to the prevalent unremunerating prices of farm produce. The Mayor complied, and the gathering took place on the 12th October, in the large room of the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, Collins Street. The attendance was not numerous, and though a desire was expressed that the Chief Magistrate should preside, he begged to be absolved from doing so on the modest plea that though a brewer, he was unacquainted with agricultural subjects. Dr. F. M'Crae was consequently voted by acclamation to the place of honour. Addresses were delivered by Messrs. J. P. Fawkner, J. Williamson, W. Highett, J. M. Ardlie, and J. B. Kirk, and resolutions were passed *nem. con.*—viz., (*a*) Affirming the necessity for protecting the agriculturists by the imposition of a duty upon grain, not the product of a British settlement, sufficiently high to render farming profitable, but not too high for the consumer. (*b*) Affording protection to the legitimate farmer, the proprietor or occupier of purchased land against competition from squatters on Crown lands whose tenure was a mere depasturing license; and (*c*) The prohibition of distillation from ought but grain. The draft of a Petition to the Legislature of New South Wales was also agreed to, and

ordered, when signed, to be transmitted to the Rev. Dr. Lang, M.L.C., for presentation. A motion was also passed to solicit the co-operation of the residents in the Geelong District, and Messrs. A. M'Killop, D. Cameron, W. Kerr, F. Cooper, J. P. Fawkner, W. Highett, and J. Williamson were constituted a Committee to promote the purpose of the meeting. The Committee subsequently did, or pretended to do, a good deal of work in the matter, but beyond the transmission of the petition to Sydney, nothing further was for a long time heard of what was then considered by the majority of the colonists to be something not far removed from a chimerical craze.

The Squatters' Grand Rally.

The greatest Squatting Demonstration ever witnessed in Old Melbourne, was on the 1st June, 1844. The regulations affecting the tenure of the pastoral stations throughout the colony were in a very unsatisfactory condition, and liable at any moment to be rendered more so—a look-out the reverse of encouraging. To agitate for some improvement was the purpose of this gathering, for which elaborate and costly preparations were made, and much was expected from a becoming display of public spirit on the occasion. The accessories of optical effects were considered, and the result was the introduction of certain novelties not resorted to in the public meeting line. The turn-out took the form of a Cavalry Review on Batman's Hill, and after a march through Melbourne with band playing and colours flying, the orating came off in the open-air on the hill side in Collins Street, between the Mechanics' Institute and the *Argus* office. There was then in town a clever painter named Opie, and his services were secured to get up a banner worthy of the cause, a design for which was supplied him, and a really clever piece of canvassing was executed without loss of time. The flag ground was of deep crimson-coloured silk, and measured 7 feet by 5. In the centre were five white stars, emblematic of the then five Australasian settlements. A sheep was suspended at the top over a crown, and under was a large gold-lettered scroll, legended "Squatters, Guard your Rights." On one side was a pillar based on a block, of Honour representing Commerce, and on the other a similar adornment springing from Truth, and symbolical of Agriculture, whilst on the apex of the flagstaff was a gilt kangaroo. This artistic specimen was on show for a few days, and some ultra-loyalists professed to be so shocked with its treasonable tendencies that it was actually subjected to some slight modification. The day was fine, the squatters assembled on horseback at their place of starting, where a mounted procession was formed, and set forth in this order of march :—

A Highland Piper in full National Costume.
Squatting Cavaliers, two deep.
The Banner.
The Town Band.

The townspeople took no further part in the proceedings than as spectators, and the procession moved on from west to east of Collins Street. Arriving on the Eastern Hill, Mr. A. F. Mollison was called on to preside, and determined speeches were delivered by the Chairman, Messrs. Edward Curr, Isaac Buchanan, Wm. Hull, A. Cunninghame, Claud Farie, C. H. M'Knight, Dr. Kilgour, Captain Hepburn, and one or two more. Resolutions were passed (*a*) Affirming as remedies for the uncertain nature of things, the granting of leases, and a preferable right of future purchase to the squatter; and (*b*) An allowance for improvements, and the extension of the Electoral franchise. It was also emphatically declared that no settlement could be deemed satisfactory that was not based upon the separation of Port Phillip from the Middle District (New South Wales).

On the 11th October, 1845, a meeting was held at the *Royal Hotel*, "To consider the propriety of petitioning the Imperial Parliament for the admission of Australian grain into British ports upon the same terms as those on which the importation of Canadian grain is allowed." The Mayor (Mr. H. Moor) was appointed Chairman; resolutions approving the object in view were adopted; and a Committee nominated to give them effect in the preparation and transmission of a

Petition. The speakers were Messrs. E. Curr, J. P. Fawkner, John Bear, Geo. Annand, Jas. Malcolm A. Cunninghame, Major Firebrace, and Dr. P. M'Arthur.

The Waste Lands.

Two rival meetings were held at the *Royal Hotel*, Collins Street, on the 9th February, 1848. The first was promoted by the squatters, and the Chair was taken by Major Firebrace. Its purpose was to protest against the action of the Government, in proposing to put up to auction, or dispose of by tender annually, certain waste lands of the Crown, located in what was known as "The Settled Districts." Alderman W. M. Bell, Messrs. Henry Moor and J. C. Riddell, were the chief speakers. A resolution was passed in opposition to the intended project of unlocking the lands, and a Petition ordered to be transmitted to the Governor.

When one meeting had closed another was opened. This was a counter-demonstration, or what was designated a "Meeting of Agriculturists," and the Chairman was Dr. Peter M'Arthur. Messrs. Alexander M'Killop, J. P. Fawkner, J. O'Shanassy, and others, supported the movement, and resolutions were passed. (1) That the agriculturists viewed with alarm the vexatious opposition offered by the squatters to the anticipated regulations of the Executive respecting the Settled Districts; and (2) The appointment of a Committee to prepare and transmit a Petition to the Governor, declaring the views of the meeting.

Dr. Ludwig Leichardt.

The safe return of the above-named celebrated Australian explorer, Dr. Ludwig Leichardt, from his first North Australian expedition, suggested the propriety of a movement to present him with some pecuniary recognition of the services he was rendering the colony by his adventurous enterprising spirit. Sydney had already done its duty in this respect, and Melbourne was resolved not to be backward. And so on the 17th April, 1846, a public meeting was held at the *Royal Hotel* in Collins Street, with the Mayor (Dr. J. F. Palmer) as Chairman. The speakers were his Worship, Messrs. E. J. Brewster, W. Hull, James Simpson, Benjamin Heape, T. M'Combie, W. Westgarth, and others. Resolutions were passed declaratory of the courage and resolution with which Leichardt's expedition had been projected and carried out, and the immense advantage to Australian colonization which would result therefrom; and that a testimonial in the form of a golden offering ought to be presented to the Doctor. A Committee was appointed to collect subscriptions for this purpose, and £50 was raised in the room. The net proceeds finally amounted to £150, which was entrusted to Mr. Westgarth, who was starting for Sydney, and by him the sum converted into sovereigns was handed to Dr. Leichardt, and accepted with a warm expression of thanks and gratitude. Towards the end of 1847, the indomitable German started on his second and last exploring expedition, from which he never returned, and a terrible mystery has shrouded his fate from that time to this. Sensations are occasionally caused by the supposed discovery of the remains of the ill-fated party, of whose destruction there can exist no reasonable doubt, though anything like absolute certainty is as yet impenetrably entombed in the womb of the past. Under such circumstances it may not be uninteresting to reprint from the *Moreton Bay* (now *Queensland*) *Courier*, 19th February, 1848, the record of the last departure from Brisbane of those "Wanderers of the Wilds," who went forth bravely into the wilderness; and whose bones are now, in all probability, bleaching in that untrodden portion of the far interior known as Sturt's stony desert:—"Dr. Leichardt and party arrived here on Sunday last, and left the settlement on Wednesday, on their return to the Darling Downs. The principal object of his visit to Brisbane was to obtain delivery of thirty fat bullocks from the Government herds at Redbank, which had been presented to him by Sir Charles Fitzroy. We understand that the following individuals form the expedition to Swan River, viz.:—Mr. Hentig, formerly of the Hunter River; Mr. Classen, a relative of Dr. Leichardt, lately arrived from Hamburgh; Donald Stuart, formerly in the service of Messrs. Leslie, at Canning Downs; a man named Kelly, and two Aboriginal natives—

Wommai and Billy. The Doctor takes with him fifty fat bullocks, twenty mules, and six horses, with a very complete equipment for his adventurous journey. He purposes to follow the Cogoon to the Victoria River, pursuing Sir Thomas Mitchell's outward track to a certain distance, where he will bear off, in order to ascertain the Northern waters; having accomplished this he will then take the most practicable direct route to Swan River. The whole party appear to be in excellent health and spirits, though we regret to learn that the worthy leader suffers occasionally from palpitation of the heart."

In connection with this subject, I have before me a supplement to the *Port Phillip Herald*, issued 2nd June, 1846. The centre-piece is a faithful and well-executed likeness of Leichardt, drawn on stone by Joseph Pittman, and lithographed by Thomas Ham, two well known Melbourne artists of the period. As frame-work to the picture four poetical Leichardtian effusions (two from Sydney and two from Melbourne) are presented, encased in a typographical border, creditable to the mechanical taste of Mr. William Clarke, a once *Herald* overseer, widely and deservedly esteemed. One of the contributions should possess a special interest for Victorian readers of every age, as it was from the pen of Sir William A'Beckett, the fourth Resident Judge of Port Phillip, and the first Chief Justice of our Supreme Court. Sir William, as stated in another chapter, was wont to indulge in occasional dalliance with the Muses, and the *Herald* was the medium selected for communicating with the public. For obvious reasons he adopted a *nom de plume*, but the anonymity was by some means penetrated by the *Argus*, in its infancy petulantly hostile to the Judge, with or without reason; and that journal, in a fit of temper one morning, disclosed the *alias*, and the votary of the "Tuneful Nine" tuned in print no more. As the secret was thus dissolved it can be no breach of faith on my part to refer nominally to the authorship after the lapse of so many years. The poem also appears to well merit exhumation, and I, therefore, trust to be excused for reproducing it as under:—

LEICHARDT'S RETURN.

And Leichardt is returned again—the good man and the brave,
Safe from the unknown wilderness, we deemed had been his grave;
For not long had he gone from us, before dark rumours spread,
That made us all but think of him, as one among the dead;
And, though such tidings, afterwards, by anxious friends were brought,
As shed a light, in sanguine minds, upon that mournful thought,
Most of us feared those friends had found his latest earthly track,
Or that he had but further roamed to never more come back!

False were our fears—he is come back—come back triumphant too:
Though this we will not ask of yet—'twere selfish so to do;
We will not stop to ask him now, what for us he hath won,
Nor coldly pause to weigh the worth of all that he hath done.
'Tis joy enough to look on him; yet, what if he had failed?
Should his return amongst us be with colder feelings hailed?
No, Heaven forbid, such high attempts, because without success,
Should make us for a moment prize the brave who's made them, less!

Then honour unto Leichardt now, the man and not his deed,
Tho' that shall have its due reward, when he hath had his meed.
A welcome let us give him, which nor he nor we'll forget,
A welcome such as, on these shores, none other hath had yet;
A "monster meeting" let us have, where all may crowd around,
And "hero-worship" find its vent in one commingled sound;
The green earth for our altar-place, the blue sky for our dome,
Why greet him elsewhere who, so long, hath known no other home?

His mission was not to destroy, nor comes he back to tell
Of fields, in which, though nobly won, our best and bravest fell;
Far higher conquests his than these—and well he knew his God
Would watch him all along the way his trusting footsteps trod.

He knew too that, if, after all, his labour should be lost,
A nation would not have to bear the suffering and the cost;
That if triumphant, 'twas success might greet each listening ear,
Nor cause a single broken heart, nor one upbraiding tear.

Then hail him on his safe return, with one applauding voice,
Who brings us news to sadden none, and all may make rejoice,
Who comes to tell that, 'spite our fears, the grass does not yet wave,
O'er any spot the desert holds that leads to "Leichardt's grave;" *
No, happily, that mournful lay was prematurely sung,
Though every heart that heard its tones was by it deeply wrung:
Enough—thank Heaven, the Muse's tears have flowed in vain, and now
The garland woven for his tomb, will twine around his brow!

MALWYN.

Melbourne 14th April, 1846.

In June, 1845, a rumour reached Sydney that Leichardt and his party had been overpowered and murdered by a mob of Aborigines. Though it was ultimately proved to be groundless, for a time it created a feeling of profound regret, and during the paroxysm the then Barrack-master of New South Wales, an intimate friend of the supposed dead Doctor, composed a beautifully pathetic lyric, which was published in the *Sydney Herald*. It was one of the four above referred to. It was written when there was some intention of despatching a search party, and now, as there can be no longer any question as to the terrible *finale*, it is wreathed in a mournful and no uncertain interest.

LEICHARDT'S GRAVE.

Ye who prepare with pilgrim feet
  Your long and doubtful path to wend;
If—whitening on the waste—ye meet
  The relics of my murdered friend—
His bones with rev'rence ye shall bear
  To where some mountain streamlet flows;
There, by its mossy bank, prepare
  The pillow of his long repose.

It shall be by a stream whose tides
  Are drank by birds of ev'ry wing;
Where ev'ry lovelier flower abides
  The earliest wak'ning touch of Spring.
O meet that he—(who so carest
  All beauteous Nature's varied charms)—
That he—her martyr'd son—should rest
  Within his mother's fondest arms!

When ye have made his narrow bed,
  And laid the good man's ashes there;
Ye shall kneel down around the dead,
  And wait upon your God in prayer.
What, though no reverend man be near;
  No anthem pour its solemn breath;
No holy walls invest his bier
  With all the hallow'd pomp of death!

Yet humble minds shall find the grace,
  Devoutly bow'd upon the sod,
To call that blessing round the place
  That consecrates the soil to God.
And ye, the wilderness shall tell
  How, faithful to the hopes of men,
The Mighty Power, he served so well,
  Shall breathe upon the bones again!

* The poem of that name by Mr. Lynd is here alluded to. It is also now reprinted.

When ye your gracious task have done,
Heap not the rock above his dust;
The angel of the Lord alone
Shall guard the ashes of the just!
But ye shall heed, with pious care,
The mem'ry of that spot to keep;
And note the marks that guide me where
My virtuous friend is laid to sleep!

For Oh! bethink, in other times
(And be those happier times at hand)
When Science, like the smile of God,
Comes bright'ning o'er that weary land;
How will her pilgrims hail the power,
Beneath the drooping myall's gloom,
To sit at eve, and mourn an hour,
And pluck a leaf on Leichardt's tomb!

—B. LYND.

Sydney Barracks, 2nd July, 1845

Death of Daniel O'Connell.

The intelligence of the demise of this distinguished Irishman reached Melbourne on the 18th September, 1847, and the *Herald* immediately issued an extraordinary in deep mourning communicating the fact, which caused a profound sensation among the Irish residents. The two Roman Catholic clergymen then here (the Revs. P. B. Geoghegan and N. J. Coffey) convened a public meeting at St. Francis' Schoolrooms on the 22nd "to determine the best means of testifying reverence for the memory of the Liberator of Ireland." There was a very large attendance, principally of the Irish residents, though many English and Scotch were also there. The Rev. Mr. Geoghegan who presided, pronounced an eloquent and impassioned eulogium upon the deceased, and was followed by the Rev. Dean Coffey and Mr. John O'Shanassy. The other speakers were Messrs. Wm. O'Farrell, Robert Hayes, Bernard Reynolds, James Wallace, and M. J. M'Culla, and the following resolution was agreed to:—"That as a mark of our solemn reverence for the memory of our deceased illustrious hero, we adopt, for the present, simple crape mourning for three months commencing on the 28th instant, the day of solemn dirge to be celebrated in St. Francis' Church." The Obituary Demonstration in the church was conducted with all the gloomy solemnity of such occasions. The interior was shrouded in black drapery, and long before 11.30 the period of commencement, standing room could not be found within the edifice. More than two thousand persons had congregated inside and outside, and amongst them were some members of other religious persuasions—Episcopalians and Wesleyans, Jews and Presbyterians. A large number of the deceased's countrymen wore the mourning crape prescribed at the recent meeting. A *requiem* mass was offered, Dean Coffey officiating as celebrant, and Fathers Geoghegan and Kenny (of Geelong) as Deacon and Sub-deacon. The musical arrangements were presided over by Mr. Megson, the theatrical orchestra conductor of the time, assisted by Mrs. Clarke, one of the *corps dramatique* of the Queen's Theatre, and several amateurs. Mrs. Clarke's singing being described as "singularly pathetic." The panegyric delivered by Father Geoghegan, of more than an hour's duration, has not been since excelled, as an effort of pulpit eloquence, in the colony. It was a comprehensive and luminous *résumé* of O'Connell's life and labours on behalf of the Irish race and the Roman Catholic faith from a compatriot's point of view; and as the preacher was an orator as well as an Irishman, speaking straight from the heart, for point and pathos, rhetorical adornments and logical solidity, historical illustration, ancient and modern, interwoven with consummate skill and garbed in language of classic beauty, this was an intellectual feat, which, from its rarity, even in a temple of religion, might be not inaptly classed with those "Angels' visits" of which the poet sings as appearing "few and far between." The posthumous homage so paid to O'Connell by those to whom he was an object of true hero-worship, can find no parallel in the annals of Victoria.

Catarrh in Sheep.

The prevalence of catarrh, and the losses caused thereby, were a source of much disquiet to the early flock-masters, and many were the nostrums propounded and remedies suggested to avert or eradicate this dreaded sheep plague. On the 1st June, 1850, the stockowners attended in large numbers, a meeting held at the *Royal Hotel*, convened "to devise the best means to prevent the spread of catarrh, and to establish an Insurance Company, for the protection of those whose flocks might be visited by this pestilence." It was called on requisition to the Mayor (Dr. Greeves), who, though a stockholder, was not a squatter, and Mr. Henry Moor, M.L.C., was elected Chairman. Addresses were delivered by Drs. J. F. Palmer and S. Martin, Messrs. J. C. Riddell, James Moore, W. F. Stawell, W. M. Bell, G. S. Brodie, W. F. Splatt, John Hodgson, and Captain Stanley Carr, a recent arrival, of large experience of sheep and who was about to become a settler in the Province. Resolutions were agreed to (*a*) Declaring that upon the prompt destruction of infected flocks mainly depended the prevention and eradication of the disease; and (*b*) That the urgency of the case and the large amount of property directly and indirectly involved, called for the interference of the Legislature as the only means by which the cost of the necessary measures could be saddled on those who ought to bear it.

Mr. Stawell submitted the draft of a Bill based upon the Report of a Select Committee of the New South Wales Legislative Council, and a Bill rejected by that body. He moved a resolution affirming the desirability of having introduced in the Legislature during the current session a measure to be limited in its operation to Port Phillip, and that the Chairman be requested to bring in the same. This was agreed to, as was the draft of petitions on the subject for presentation to the Governor and to the Legislative Council. Messrs. Stawell, Palmer, and Bell were constituted a Committee to prepare a Bill in conformity with the wishes of the meeting, which terminated with a resolution pledging the utmost co-operation with the catarrh Committee of settlers recently formed at Geelong and Trawalla.

The Sanitary Condition of Melbourne.

The fear of an epidemic and the uncleanly state of the City caused much uneasiness in the public mind in 1850. In the early part of May a preliminary meeting was held and a Committee appointed to report upon the best means to be adopted for the preservation of the public health. Another meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institution on the 18th June. The Mayor (Dr. Greeves) presided, and an elaborate Report was submitted. The paramount wants appeared to be a thorough system of drainage and an abundant supply of good water. The preliminary Committee had interviewed his Honor the Superintendent, who fully recognized the claims of the City for aid from the land fund to enable the Corporation to carry out some effective scheme of sewerage. The Committee suggested that application should be made to the Governor to place a sum on the Estimates for the purpose, and that an approximate statement of the probable cost be supplied. The City Surveyor (Mr. James Blackburn) had supplied a Report in which he dealt exhaustively with the scavenger and sewer branches, and this the Committee appended to the other document. It was considered that as a temporary measure, the Corporation should be empowered to levy a scavenger rate, and to remove all noxious matter from the streets "as a preliminary measure of Sanitary Reform." The Towns Police Act, and the powers vested in the Corporation to make bye-laws, rendered unnecessary any special legislation in this particular. Resolutions were passed for the adoption of a Petition to the Queen praying for the appropriation of a sum of money from the land fund towards City improvements; and for the presentation of a memorial to the Government to procure the enactment of a sanitary law by the Legislative Council of New South Wales.

An Annual Melbourne Fair.

During the Separation rejoicings Dr. Palmer suggested the founding of an Annual Fair in Melbourne as a mode of perpetuating the great Separation movement, but the idea did not catch the public

mind as the would-be projector expected. He was not, however, a man to be thrust off a hobby which he had once mounted, and he accordingly went to work with a requisition to the Mayor to convene a public meeting of the inhabitants for the ventilation of the question, and an event of this kind came off accordingly at the Mechanics' Institution at 1.30 p.m. of the 25th October, 1850, but it was very poorly attended. The specified purpose of the gathering was "to consider the expediency of establishing an Annual Fair for the sale of live stock, colonial produce, and general merchandise, in commemoration of the Separation of Port Phillip from New South Wales." The Mayor was voted to the Chair, and Dr. Palmer, in an address of some length, proposed a resolution declaring it to be conducive to the advancement and prosperity of the colony to establish an Annual Fair for the purposes set forth in the requisition. This was seconded by Mr. William Hull, when Mr. John Tankard appeared, as he said, on behalf of the working-class, to object to the holding of day meetings, which it was out of the power of artizans and other operatives to attend. He moved an adjournment of the proceedings until seven p.m. of the 28th instant, and on a division it was carried by 14 votes against 11.

At the adjourned meeting Messrs. Hull and Palmer advocated the original proposition, from which they augured most substantial benefits to the community.

The Rev. James Clow expressed his decided opinion against the project, which he considered would do much more harm than good, a point of view strongly endorsed by Mr. W. M. Bell; whilst Mr. John Bear, a cattle salesman, was as emphatic on the other side.

Mr. Tankard was vehement in denouncing any attempt to supply "grog" refreshments on the Fair Ground, and moved as a rider to the original motion:—"That it was highly expedient that no temporary licenses for the sale of fermented or spirituous liquors should be permitted where the Fair was to be held." This was lost, amidst some uproar, and the Fair-holding was affirmed.

Resolutions of the following purport were also discussed and approved:—(1). That an address be presented to the City Council soliciting its concurrence, inasmuch as that body only had the legal power to establish markets, and receive market dues within the City boundaries. (2). That the Mayor, Messrs. J. F. Palmer, W. Hull, J. Bear, and A. Thorpe be commissioned to frame an Address for presentation to the Council. (3). That the most convenient season for holding the Fair would be on the first Wednesday in December in each consecutive year, to be continued for two days, and be called "The Separation Fair." (4). That an Address be presented to His Honor the Superintendent, asking his co-operation, and praying him to procure the necessary authorization, and a Charter from the Crown legalizing such an establishment. So far for stage No. 1, but it never reached No. 2, for the project collapsed in consequence of the Superintendent being of opinion "That the question can hardly with propriety be satisfactorily disposed of before the Executive Government of the new colony is in a position to entertain the proposal, and weigh the advantages and disadvantages to the colony which may result from its adoption."

The Victoria Female Friendly Society.

Like Dr. Palmer's projected Melbourne Fair, this was another of the half-dozen notions generated at the period of the Separation rejoicings to eternize that event, and it shared something of a similar fate. It owed its paternity to Mr. (now Sir) W. F. Stawell, at whose instance a public meeting was held on the 20th November, 1850, at the Mechanics' Institute. The Chair was taken by the Right Reverend Dr. Perry, Anglican Bishop, and appropriate addresses were delivered by him, Messrs. W. F. Stawell, H. G. Ashurst, A. Mackenzie, G. Nicholson, John Lush, J. S. Johnston, and others. Several resolutions were adopted, by which it appeared that the Society was to be known as "The Victoria Female Friendly Society," and the building of the Society "The Victoria Friendly Home."

Its objects were to be—(1). To provide a Home for the reception of females of all ranks seeking employment, and to aid them in obtaining the situations most suitable to their views and position. (2). To afford facilities for religious instruction and consolation to the inmates of the Home. (3). To co-operate with kindred Societies in this country, and with Societies established in Great Britain, for

the furtherance of female immigration to this district. The Management was to consist of a President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and a Committee of gentlemen, assisted by a Committee of ladies who are members of the Society; the Secretary and other paid officers being elected by the Committee. Three Trustees were to be elected, in whom was to be vested the Trust ownership of all lands either granted by the Crown or purchased. The Board of Management was to be elected annually. The subscription was fixed at £1 per annum (ladies and gentlemen), and a Life Membership was to be conferred upon every £10 donor, or the unpaid collector in any one year of £20 from persons not claiming membership on account of any portion of such contributions. The Right Rev. Dr. Perry was requested to accept the office of President.

At a meeting held on the 31st January, 1851, the Society's functions were enlarged so far as to establish a Friendly Home, not only for immigrants on their arrival in the colony, but for any females of respectable character requiring a temporary abode. Some progress was made with the good work, but ere the year had closed the chaos evolved by the gold discoveries swept it and other well-meaning projects away.

Relief of Home Distress.—The First Irish Movement.

In 1846, the Black Famine, like an angel of death, "spread its wings on the blast," and swept as a simoon over the green hills of Ireland, strewing its path with the darkness of desolation; and a cry for help from a famishing people went forth to every part of the civilized globe, to which substantial aid in cash and kind was the ready response. At so terrible a crisis the inhabitants of Port Phillip could not shut their ears to such an appeal, and prompt measures were taken to enable the colonists to do their part in the good work of feeding the hungry. As the delay of even a day was a matter of importance, the Rev. Dr. Geoghegan, Roman Catholic pastor, assumed the responsibility of convening a public meeting to adopt measures "towards the relief of the frightful famine and disease afflicting the people of Ireland." This call of duty was cheerfully answered, and the gathering took place at the Roman Catholic School-room in connection with St. Francis' Church, Lonsdale Street, at 6 p.m., of the 12th August. Dr. Geoghegan was voted to the Chair, and effective addresses were delivered by him, Sir (then Mr.) John O'Shanassy, Dr. John Patterson, R.N. (the Immigration Agent), Mr. J. C. King (the first Town Clerk of Melbourne), and others of lesser note. Resolutions were passed, the principal of which is worth transcription, viz.:—"We (the meeting) disclaim the remotest connection with sectarianism of any sort, and, consequently, unanimously resolve that all remittances of the Relief Fund shall be forwarded to the Protestant and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin (Whately and Murray) with special instructions to adopt such steps as shall secure their equitable appropriation in the relief of all sufferers in all parts of Ireland." A subscription list was opened in the room, and what was deemed a remarkable presage of success, was filled in a few minutes to the extent of £250, including donations of £20 each from the St. Patrick Society, and the brewing firm of J. R. and J. Murphy, Dr. Geoghegan £10, and Dr. P. Cussen (Colonial Surgeon) £5. Though seemingly insignificant amounts when contrasted with modern contributions, those sums were considered strong tests of liberality in the then circumstances of the community. It was thought that if £1,000 could be raised, it would be a substantial testimony to the generosity of the province; but in three months after, the total sum sent home was £1,362 17s. 3d., a marvellous effort of benevolence, when the conditions and resources of the people of the small settlement were taken into consideration.

On the 19th August the adjourned meeting was even an improvement on its predecessor, for the enthusiasm and practical results of the first were exceeded. The speakers, too, included some men whose adhesion to the cause was a source of much gratification. They were Messrs. Edward Curr (the well-known politician), J. C. King, J. C. Riddell, an eccentric but well-meaning wine and spirit merchant, J.P. ("Johnny") Fawkner, and the Venerable Father Therry. In the course of his remarks Father Therry compared "benevolence to the pure water of the Yarra, contributing its streams to the sea, therefrom to emerge to heaven in vapours, which would in turn pour forth their blessings in fertilizing the country." Poor simple soul! If he had lived to see that

once pellucid stream the sickening sewer it is now, it is about the last object in nature to which he would resort for a simile to exemplify anything pure or celestial.

Professedly to help the movement so auspiciously commenced, a requisition was presented to the Mayor (Dr. Palmer), in virtue of which another public meeting was held at the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street, on 21st August. Many regarded this counter movement as not only unnecessary, but extremely injudicious, and some went the length of saying as much. The attendance was small, the state of feeling cool, and a dash of cold water was thrown on the proceedings by the Mayor's absence. The Clerk of the Police Court (Mr. W. R. Belcher) was there to announce that the Worshipful Convener was sick. Dr. Palmer, though an accomplished and able man, was never popular. Subsequently he sent the fund a £5 note as a clumsy *amende*. Mr. Edward Curr was appointed Chairman, and the principal speakers besides him were, Messrs. J. O'Shanassy, D. C. M'Arthur, T. M'Combie, and J. A. Marsden. On this occasion "Big Marsden," an experienced master in the art of what is known as "taking round the hat," propounded the important dogma, "that the great *arcana* of raising subscriptions were good humour and perseverance." He might have added promptitude as a third element, for, in my experience in public money-hunting, the best cause may be irretrievably damaged unless you "strike while the iron is hot."

A fourteen days' adjournment ensued, but this second move eventuated in an abortion, and £20, the sum resulting from it, was transferred to the original or St. Francis' Fund. The ladies also showed a disposition to co-operate, and a "Lady Convention" was held at the Catholic Schoolroom, on the 30th August. History is silent as to the Chairman (or Chairwoman) on the occasion, but the orator of the evening was Mr. James Wallace, a well-known schoolmaster, who was recently still residing near Geelong. One specimen of his eloquence is worth pickling as a preserve:—"Ladies (exclaimed he) don't think I am going to flatter you—for I am not—as flattery is not my *forte*. Surely I am not flattering the fair sex when I assimilate them to angels, only they have got no wings. (Screams of lady laughter). But the fact of Nature having formed them *minus* wings is a matter of rejoicement more than anything else, for if they had been gifted with the wings of angels, they would immediately put their wings in motion, and speed their way to the pure ethereal realms, which are better adapted for their virtue than this earthly sphere." (Renewed laughter). With all due deference to Mr. Wallace, I doubt much whether the ladies, if so "pinioned," would (particularly the young ones) be so very ready to fly out of this world; and I am as certain that instances have frequently occurred since the date of the oration, where the "unfair" sex would be only too glad if particular ladies could fly like ring-doves, provided they soared out of sight and never reappeared. However, at this ladies' meeting more than £100 was unpursed. Mr. J. T. Smith, proprietor of the Queen's Theatre, gave the Fund a benefit. Theatrical demonstrations of this kind have been so modernized as often to partake much of a managerial "spec;" but it was not so at the time I write of. A benefit then was a real tangible affair, though the takings would be in the nature of things insignificant as compared with those of a leading theatre of to-day. The gross proceeds were £46 6s, from which Mr. Smith deducted £6 4s. 6d. as light and printing expenses, and in forwarding a cheque for the balance (£40 1s. 6d.) to Mr. O'Shanassy, he thanked his company "for the ready and cheerful manner in which they rendered their services on the occasion."

The Sunday meetings were continued hebdomadally until the 3rd November, when the lists were closed. An instalment of £500 had been transmitted home within a fortnight of the commencement of the collection, and the residue now followed, the Bank of Australasia remitting exchange on the whole amount. As a coincidence which ought to be noted, singularly enough the mail packet that conveyed the first instalment *viâ* Sydney was known as the "Emerald Isle." One feature of the movement was very gratifying, viz., that some of the largest subscriptions were received from persons differing in religious belief from the Roman Catholic Communion, and Protestant, Presbyterian, and other Dissenting Ministers sent contributions. The mass of suffering in Ireland showed an immense preponderance of the Roman Catholic element, and the same year in Melbourne witnessed a 12th of July Orange celebration, which engendered the most acrid party feeling, and produced much dissension. Yet it was creditable to the benevolent sympathies of the

public, that such infatuation did in no material degree affect the excellent object sought to be attained.

It is very amusing to compare the subscription lists of 1846 with those of 1880, the last occasion of the colony holding out a helping hand in aid of Irish destitution, and when it performed a noble duty in a manner so munificient as to redound eternally to its credit. It presents an amazing contrast to the advantage of modern times, and speaks a trumpet-tongued volume as to the immense material advancement of Victoria in the interval. In 1846, the largest donation was £20 from the Murphys, of brewing celebrity; whilst in 1880, Mr. J. R. Murphy, one of the ex-copartnery, personally contributed one hundred guineas. The half-sovereign, pound, and two pound donors on the first list, figured for £10, £20, and £50 on the second; and the £2 of Mr. W. J. T. Clarke is represented in 1880 by £500 from one, and £50 from a second of his sons. Such was an unquestionable proof of the astounding financial changes which had come to many of the old settlers. Amongst the remarkable incidents with which the annals of Old Melbourne are interspersed, not one of them shines with brighter lustre than the first Irish Relief Movement of 1846.

Irish and Scotch Relief.

Towards the middle of the following year, 1847, it was known that intense destitution prevailed not only in Ireland, but in the Scottish Highlands, public sympathy was again awoke, and a relief movement initiated by a public meeting at the *Royal Hotel*, on the 19th July. The Mayor (Mr. Henry Moor) presided, and several speeches were delivered, strongly in favour of rendering assistance; but there was a diversity of opinion as to the mode in which any funds raised should be distributed, some advocating direct aid, *i.e.*, transmitting the bounty to the authorities at home charged with the relief of the distressed, for local application as required; whilst others as strongly urged that it should be expended in the promotion of Immigration, and thus, whilst removing some of the victims of want, benefiting Port Phillip by the acquisition of as many new colonists as the money would pay for.

Resolution No. 1 was moved by Mr. James Simpson, and seconded by Major St. John, viz:—

That this meeting being deeply concerned by the distress prevailing in Ireland and Scotland, consequent upon the unprecedented scarcity of food, resolves to make every effort in its power towards alleviating the same.

Agreed to.

Mr. Sidney Stephen proposed, and Mr. Thomas M'Combie seconded No. 2:—

That as the best means of relieving that distress, a General Committee be now appointed, with instructions to open subscription lists, and take all other necessary steps for bringing out Immigrants to Port Phillip, selected from the sufferers of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, according to the sums subscribed.

Upon this an amendment was moved by Mr. Alexander M'Killop, viz.:—

That the subscription list comprise two columns, in order to meet the views of those persons who feel inclined to contribute towards the purposes of Immigration, and also to suit the wishes of such as may prefer to have their donations applied to the relief of the destitute by transmitting such sums for expenditure in the different localities at home, the amount so received to be forwarded for distribution to the General Relief Committee, London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and the Archbishop of Dublin.

This was seconded by Mr. Benj. Heape, and carried. A Committee was nominated to collect and receive subscriptions, and the work was thus well commenced. But it was harmed by the adoption of two modes to give it effect, and the end was a miserable failure. A good purpose like this is attainable only by persevering, straightforward exertion. It is not dissimilar to reaching a goal beset with obstacles, and only to be approached with certainty by some single direct *route*. If there be any deviation from the main track, any straying into another highway, it is a waste of power, and the probable result a collapse. In the present instance the collection was undertaken to promote a most praiseworthy purpose, the proceeds to be disposed of according to two several plans, the evil

effect of which soon become apparent, for many luke-warm persons disposed to subscribe to the general fund, found fault, some with the one and others with the second mode of appropriation, and so wavered between both, the consequence being that they subscribed to neither. Several liberal contributions were nevertheless received, especially for the Immigration branch. The Committee was enlarged, and town and country collectors were appointed. A proposition was made to coalesce with a movement started at Geelong, but it fell through.

The spontaneous enthusiasm so characteristic of the proceedings of the year before, were absent now, and the matter was kept dawdling for seven months, when on the 10th February, 1848, another public meeting was held for "the closing of the subscription lists, and the appropriation of the proceeds to their legitimate purposes." A statement of accounts was submitted, showing the receipts to be—For Immigration, £830 19s. 7d.; For Immediate Relief, £168 1s. 6d. Total, £999 1s. 1d. Of the Immigration item £97 was only conditional upon £2000 being raised. In addition there were promises of £313 4s. for Immigration, *i.e*, £163 4s. unconditionally, and £65 conditional on the raising of £2000, and £85 provided the fund realized £5000. With the middle and lower grades of the population, it may be remarked, the immediate relief proposition found most favour, and it was by their aid that the movement of 1846 was a success.

As the destitution at home had in a considerable degree abated, a question arose that after disposing of what was in hand, what was to be done with the sums still expected. Mr. W. R. Belcher proposed that, "Inasmuch as the distress had passed away, the entire amount be handed over to the Melbourne Hospital and the other Charities," but such a preposterous notion obtained no encouragement. Mr. O'Shanassy advocated the transmission of the immediate relief portion to the Central Relief Committee in London, as it was too small to divide it as originally decided. The outcome of the Melbourne movement was to a great extent a breakdown, for the cash in hand was thus disposed of:—£168 1s. 6d. sent home for immediate relief; £97 returned to the conditional donors; and £753 19s. 7d. paid in for Immigration, ordered to be returned to the contributors, less 2½ per cent for expenses. The resolution passed at the first meeting, applying the amount to Immigration, was rescinded, and another authorizing the transfer of any unclaimed balance on the termination of twelve months, to the Melbourne Hospital, was carried. That it was all claimed I believe, for I never heard of a shilling of it going into the Hospital funds.

The Geelong Movement

Was managed in a much more rational manner, and some substantial benefit was reaped from it, if not by Ireland and Scotland, certainly by Geelong. It was also much more of a success, and for once at least the superior manner in which the Corioans transacted their charitable business should have made the Melbournians blush. The "Geelong and Country Fund," as it was termed, yielded £944 10s., of which £352 9s. 8d. was for immediate relief (nearly double the Melbourne amount). The latter was forwarded to its destination, and the Immigration proportion entrusted to an agent in London, who invested it in what were known as "land orders." By virtue of the existing Land and Emigration Regulations, he was empowered, not only to select a certain number of persons at home, and frank them with free passages to Port Phillip, but he could also take up a certain quantity of land in the colony. By this prudential management Geelong secured not only some additions to the population, but also a certain quantity of land, which was taken up under the orders. This was subsequently re-sold to advantage, and with the proceeds was founded the Geelong Hospital-*cum*-Benevolent Asylum. This Institution was inaugurated at a public meeting of the Geelongites in March, 1849, with the Rev. Andrew Love, Presbyterian minister, presiding, and the interest of the occasion was much enhanced by the presence of the Roman Catholic pastor, Dr. Geoghegan, who travelled from Melbourne to deliver one of those thrilling, eloquent addresses upon Charity for which he was so pre-eminently distinguished. So far back as 1841 the Geelong Benevolent Asylum was founded, having for its Secretary and Treasurer, the Rev. Andrew Love; Trustees, Messrs. Nicholas A. Fenwick, Edward B. Addis, William Roadknight, Rev. A. Love, and Dr. Foster Shaw.

CHAPTER L.

ORANGE AND GREEN; OR, HURLING AND SHOOTING.

SYNOPSIS:—Origin of "Orange and Green" Described.—Hurling Matches.—The First Orange Riot.—A Day of Terror.—Shooting at O'Shanassy.—The First Historic Sixpences.—The Mayor on the Gridiron.—Explanation by the Mayor.—The Party Processions Act.

Irish Colour-Blindness.

ONE of the most inexplicable and amusing anomalies of history is disclosed by the manner in which two sections of the Irish people not only transfuse, but absolutely transpose, the colours of orange and green in national and partisan celebrations—the Northerns adopting the orange as their cognizance, and the Southerns the green; whereas originally, so far from there existing any traditional affinity in such a selection, the reverse was really the case. By the term "Northerns" is meant the far from insignificant faction known as Orangemen, who recognize in William the Third, the Apostle of their Fanaticism, and in the others are included the large numerical majority of the Irish race, who cherish the green flag with as much devotion as if the colour had been transmitted as a National emblem from the era of the Fer-bolgs. The facts in reality may be thus succinctly epitomised. Green was never the adopted colour of the Irish, supposing such a phrase to signify its acceptance as the tinge of the Standard under which the Irish armies fought in their own country, during, and subsequent to, the existence of its nationality. In the earliest ages of which we have any record, the Irish National escutcheon appears to have been the "Sunburst," *i.e.*, an aureoled sun, springing evidently from the sun-worship which illumined the wanderings of the Phœnicians, accompanied them to Hibernia, and constituted a portion of the Paganism prevalent there on the arrival of St. Patrick. This emblazonry continued for ages. In the battles of Finn-Mac-Cumhal—*Anglice* Fingal—the Royal Ensign was known as "the Sunbeam," and so styled on account of its bright colour, and being starred with gold. Ossian, in singing one of the Fingal battles, depicts the Standard of the king, as "studded with gold above as the blue, wide shell of the nightly sky." In narrating the Irish events of the seventh century, one of the bardic historians makes special reference to the Standard of St. Columbkille, as "a variegated, streaming, floating, star-bright, consecrated satin banner," a sort of subdued "Sunburst." Some years ago there was printed, under the authority of the Irish Archæological Society, an ancient historical tale translated by the great Celtic scholar, John O'Donovan. It is in prose and verse in two parts, the second division being devoted to an elaborate and inflated sketch of the Battle of Magh Rath, or Moira, in 637, which is declared to be "the most famous ever fought in Ireland." The writer is tediously picturesque in many of the details, and he particularizes the following as the Standards unfurled by the Hibernian Septs engaged in mortal conflict on that memorable day, viz.:—A yellow lion on green satin; dun-coloured Standards like fire; streaked satin, blue and white; yellow and red; black and red; yellow; white. Here are seven distinct kinds of military emblems in which red, white, and yellow predominate, and there is not even one of them entirely green.

But it was not only as belligerents that the Irish affected the yellow or orange colour, for it was a special favourite even in their wearing apparel, and the hue that stirs up the blood of a modern Milesian in something of the same degree as a yard of red flannel would a wild bull, was for generations the every-day companion of the people, for the Irish (male and female) were *en masse* an

Orange community in so far as to be universally garbed in saffron (orange) raiment. The use of this colour in their garments continued to be a favoured fashion down to so late a period as the time of Henry the Eighth, when it was, like all other things Irish, rendered punishable by law, and there is a statute of that reign forbidding anyone to "use or wear any shirt, smocke, kerchor, bendol, neckerchour, mocket, or linnen cappe, coloured or dyed with saffron."

During the tenth century the designation of "a warrior of the saffron hue" was a special titular distinction conferred upon chieftains of exceptional bravery. A.D. 1014 witnessed the famous battle of Clontarf and its great Dane conqueror, Brian Boru, a victory and a hero as much talked of in Ireland as the Boyne and Sarsfield. Here the "Sunburst" appears to have been superseded, or rather to have changed its gold—or orange—ornamentations so as to become transmuted into an orb of a deep roseate hue. The country was then designated "Ireland of the Red Banners," the sanguinary tint symbolical of the bellicose disposition of the kings and chiefs who were incessantly embroiled in feuds and warfare. The principal Irish colour hoisted at Clontarf was red, though there were subordinate blue, green, and white streamers in the field. On this occasion the Danes were arrayed in green armour, and fought under the emblem of a black raven. At the Battle of the Boyne, in 1690, the allied armies of Ireland and France made their appearance, not sporting green but the reverse; for on the authority of Macaulay, "everyone, horse-soldier or foot-soldier, French or Irish, had a white badge in his hat; that colour had been chosen in compliment to the House of Bourbon"; and the flags of the Stuarts and the Bourbons waved together in defiance from the walls of Drogheda. When William, "the Prince of Orange," beheld the white favours so profusely distributed on the other side, he commanded, according to Banim, "that every soldier of the army do assume green for their colour—a green bough or the like." He also truly remarked "What a trick, what a farce is this fashion of choosing a colour to cut each other's throats under." But he was sadly mistaken when he thus ventured on the prophetic:—"I suppose whatever way the battle may go, James will be recollected by his white badge, and I by my green, to the third and fourth generations of our gracious partisans." The King, however, predicted with sad certainty that bitter strife would ensue as the result of the conflict. But how astonished he must have been, were it ever possible for him to know how thoroughly, though perversely, the descendants of his "gracious partisans" both falsified and verified the conclusions of his vaticination, viz.:—"William and the green for ever! Hurrah! For the Loyal and Protestant green will cause from time to time more petty warfare than, perhaps the amount of this coming Battle of the Boyne Water." The irony of history was never manifested in a more striking manner than in reference to this simple incident, for in connection with the glorious, pious and immortal memory of William, his "Loyal and Protestant green," has been trampled under foot, and the orange lilies which studded the white ground of the French National flag at the Boyne, have been exalted to its place.

Green was the colour adopted by the Society of United Irishmen in 1791, not that they copied it as being the national colour, but as Madden, their historian, writes:—"The colour of the United Irishmen was the old fancy colour of Nature, emblematic of the verdant soil of the Emerald Isle." This is an unmistakable adoption of green as a Society's colour; and it is only reasonable to assume that if it had been then the national colour of Ireland, that reason would be assigned for its selection instead of the one given, *i.e.*, the colour of the country. The following facts are undoubted:—That golden (or orange) was the national colour of Ireland at the earliest times; that white, starred with gold, was the Hiberno-Franco floating emblem of the Boyne, at which period orange (saffron), with purple, constituted the Papal cognizance of Rome; that green formed the Boyne badge of William, the Corypheus of modern Orangeism; that it is known historically as the "holy colour" of Turkey, of the terrible Standard of Mahomet, the traditional gift of the Angel Gabriel to him. This is named Sandschaki, *i.e.*, the Standard of Green Silk, it measures twelve feet in height, and when at rest, as it nearly always is, wrapped in a quadruplicate covering of green taffeta, enjoys uninterrupted repose in a green clothed case. It is unfurled only in war, and even then as a last resource to rally the Faithful; and when its ominous wing so expands, it becomes a direful shadow, beneath which all true Mussulmans must fight to the last gasp of life. Green is likewise the chief military colour of China, where half-a-million of soldiers are enrolled as "The Army of the Green Flag."

But it is beyond question that if the hopes of millions of Irishmen should ever assume a reality, and their country recover its autonomic independence, green will be imperishably associated with it as the colour of the National flag of Erin-Go-Bragh. The modern party warfare between Orange and Green is an absurd transposition, and as visionary as the phantom canonized by the Orangemen, and transformed into a shibboleth for exciting senseless strife in a community whose great aim should be the public welfare.

These few explanatory observations will form no inappropriate prelude to what follows.

The First Hurling Match.

In 1838–9 Port Phillip received the first considerable instalment of the Irish element to its population, the immigrants coming mostly from the south and south-western provinces of the Emerald Isle, when they quietly amalgamated with the general body of colonists, and formed a valuable and industrious acquisition to the community. The North of Irelanders were not long behind, bringing with them their proverbial thrift and shrewdness, and some years passed over without the occurrence of any event calculated to interrupt the good feeling universally prevalent. The St. Patrick Society was founded in 1842, but as its constitution not only ignored, but prohibited the incorporation of religious or political considerations with its system, no reasonable cause of complaint was given by its establishment. In 1843, however, a number of North Irishmen, coalescing with a sprinkling of the Scotch, affected to see in the St. Patrick Brotherhood a bogey which could only be effectually laid by the resuscitation of another, and accordingly an Orange Confederation was formed for perpetuating "The glorious pious and immortal memory of William the Third," and thus were transplanted in Victorian soil the seeds of that discord which has flourished so balefully in the Old Country. The St. Patrick Society celebrated the anniversaries of their tutelar Saint in 1843 and 1844 by a public procession, with the green flag flying before, and as the Orange Association was in the latter year gathering strength, it was determined to signalize the coming 12th July (the day of the battle of Aughrim) by a public parade in the streets. When this intention obtained publicity much apprehension was felt, as it was believed that the exhibition would reproduce one of those senseless breaches of the peace, for which the North of Ireland had obtained an ill-omened notoriety, and the public fears were far from quelled by rumours that the Orange manifestation would be resisted, and bloodshed be the probable consequence.

In this state of depressing uncertainty time went on until the morning of the 9th, when an advertisement appeared in the *Herald*, inviting all colonists hailing from the South of Ireland to attend in force at Batman's Hill at 10 a.m. of the 12th, to witness a county Hurling match for £50 between Clare and Tipperary. This was a ruse to get together a large assemblage with hurlies, and shillelaghs, the evident intention being either to frighten the Orangemen from their purpose, or to meet them on the streets and fight it out with the processionists. The "call to arms" was so freely responded to, that by the appointed hour, according to a well-informed chronicler of the event, "groups of well-dressed, well-developed Hibernians began to gather at the *rendezvous*, and the collection of sticks, staves, hurlies, and every other kind of conceivable wooden weapon, would lead an impartial observer to fancy that a slice of the far-famed wood of Shillelagh had been surreptitiously imported into the young colony." Consequent upon representations previously made to the Mayor, a number of burgesses were sworn in as special constables to aid the limited police force in the preservation of the peace. There was a detachment of military stationed in the town, but they would not be called out until a collision was imminent. The special and regular constabulary were accordingly stationed on the ground near the present Spencer Street Railway Station, but they enjoyed a pleasant sinecure, simply as lookers-on, for there were no casualties to report, beyond a few barked shins, accidentally occurring, and the somewhat excusable "accident" of an occasional "drunk." The hurlers had a glorious day's fun, and footballing was (for the first time) introduced as an after piece. The Munster men were there in strong force, and splendid condition, and a bard of the period thus rhythmically describes the athletic contingents :—

From the wilds of Port Phillip for many a mile
Flocked the gay loyal sons of the Emerald Isle,
As strapping fine fellows as could well be seen,
Who would shed their hearts' blood for their own beloved green.

Mononia sent forth her brave Southern sons,
With limbs full of action, and hearts full of fun;
Whilst first in the field were the gallant old Tips,
With strength in their arms and smiles on their lips.

Like the bright heaving surge of their own royal stream,
The lads from the Shannon in ecstasy came—
While famed Garryowen poured its tribute along,
And Clare's sturdy peasants soon mixed with the throng.

As broods of young eagles from dark Gaultymore,
The yeomen of Aherlow, the sons of the Suir—
The "Boys of Kilkenny," and verdant Kildare,
And Kerry's lithe woodsmen in glory were there.

The scheme, so well planned and cleverly executed, thoroughly accomplished the object intended, or the display of so large a supply of physical force ready for any emergency, operated with such moral effect on the William-worshippers, that they prudently abandoned their intention of street-walking, and not a few of them even repaired to the hill, and were excited spectators of the enlivening scenes carried on there.

The Second Hurling Match.

The old year died, and the new year was born, and about its period of middle age, Rumour, with her hundred tongues, began to babble in loud whispers of the wonderful things to which the next 12th July was to bear witness. This time there was to be a grand Orange procession with flags flying and drums beating. The Orange tune of "Croppies Lie Down" was to be played, and no hurling match or any other power under the sun should prevent it. The whisperings soon expanded into open and unreserved speaking, and elaborate preparations were made for the celebration. Now was the standard of "No Surrender" to be unfurled, and a surrender of any kind should not be tolerated. The hurling match of the previous year had acted as such a specific that a repetition of the dose was in confidential conclave agreed to. The hurlies were accordingly well looked up and put in order so as to work freely if called into requisition for another purpose than "ball-walloping." The headquarters of Orangeism was an hotel in Little Flinders Street, between Swanston and Elizabeth Streets. It was known as the *Bird-in-Hand*, kept by a Mr. Ewan Tolmie, and for a week before the 12th of July, nocturnal coteries were closeted there, working up a plan of the day's campaign and and concocting an imposing programme.

En passant, it is worth while pointing out an Orange incongruity, *i.e.*, celebrating the Battle of the Boyne of the 1st July (1690) on the 12th, the birthday of the Battle of Aughrim (1691).

Two picturesque banners, manufactured to order, and some scores of orange and blue sashes were stored away in readiness for the much-expected demonstration. The excitement in town was not so intense as on the other occasion, as it was believed that a second hurling display would have the same convincing effect as before, and that the Orange procession would again be given up on the verge of the crisis. The preparations on both sides were quietly prosecuted, and the first startling intimation given was an advertisement in the *Herald* of the 10th proclaiming that "The greatest sport under the sun!—The grandest hurling match ever witnessed (even in Old Ireland) will come off on Saturday next (12th), at twelve o'clock noon, on Batman's Hill." It was to be between all the Munster men in the province, and the players were to constitute a numerous team, for the "boys" of six counties were to be in the fielding, viz., Tipperary, Clare, and Limerick against Waterford, Cork, and Kerry. "All strapping young fellows were requested to attend, and to be sure and bring good shillelagh-hurlies, &c., &c., with them." What "the *etceteras*" included was left

as guesswork, and was widely interpreted. The issue of this *pronunciamento*, which should not have been unexpected, rumbled through the Orange camp like a thunder peal, and for the next forty-eight hours an almost continuous war council was held at the *Bird-in-Hand*, from which not only the Press, but every sort of outsider was rigidly excluded. The Mayor (Mr. Henry Moor) was appealed to as Chief Magistrate of the town, to suppress the hurling, but he could not see his way to do so, as Melbourne was not under martial law, Batman's Hill was not a proclaimed district under any "Peace Preservation Act," hurling was not illegal, and hurlies and shillelaghs were in themselves as harmless as a child's toy-rattle. The *Patriot* of the 11th backed up this appeal, and fiercely denounced the advertisement "as a challenge to the Orangemen, to whom, if they should accept it, the consequences must be fearful." It warned the Mayor of the effects of his refusal to interfere, and argued that he had the power to forbid such a meeting within the limits of his jurisdiction. If every special constable that could be, was not sworn in forthwith, and police, military, and Riot Act not employed to suppress the hurling, it was predicted "that the consequences may be awful, the Yarra tinged with the purple gore of the combatants, and the romantic site of Batman's Hill become a field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls!" The town read, and the town laughed at such insane maunderings; the Mayor did simply nothing, the Orangemen were left to perambulate the streets, if willing to indulge such a risky pleasuring, whilst the hurlers had everything their own way, to shout and run, jump and hurl to their hearts' content.

Saturday, the 12th, was one of the finest winter days with which this colony has ever been blessed, the sun's face dimpling over with a geniality calculated to put the most gloomy hypochondriac to rights with himself, and shedding a halo of bloom over the grassy and umbrageous hill-side that would cheer the most low-hearted invalid that was ever wheeled in a bath-chair. As for the Melbournians, with the exception of the malcontents, who growled and "kept their pecker up" with nobblers at the *Bird-in-Hand*, three-fourths of the inhabitants went off to the hurling. The spectators could be reckoned by thousands, and about 500 of as fine specimens of adult population as could be picked out of Ireland, threw off their coats, and set to work with a ringing Hibernian hulloo. Such a gathering of the clans, and such a real Irish turn-out have never been reproduced in Victoria. The following stanzas of a poem on the event, show how Munster was that day represented at the antipodes:—

The Munster Clans from far and near,
  All thoughts of danger scorning,
With hands and hearts that knew no fear,
  Came mustering fast that morning.
A warning voice had speeded forth,
  Which brooked of no delay;
And East and West, and South and North
  Were at their posts that day.

The sturdy sons of grassy Clare,
  The Kerry men so cheery,
The boys from Garryowen were there,
  And 'gallant Tipperary.'
The Waterfordians, like red deer
  So active, blithe, and airy,
And Cork's untiring mountaineers
  With sprigs of black shillelagh.

Oh! Often in dark Galtee's brakes,
  Or at grim Slieve-na-Mann,
Or by Killarney's magic lakes,
  Or Limerick's treaty-stone—
The lads now turning out for play,
  Played, danced, and sang galore;
Ready alike for fun or fray,
  In revel or row, to score.

There is no muster-roll of this Irish Brigade in existence, but for the time it was a grand numerical success, and the trifolia, springing up everywhere, was in much requisition to do duty as a proxy shamrock. The fellows also, many of them, sported sprigs of fern and acacia branches in their hats, and their appearance suggested a singular coincidence with that "Wearing of the Green," upon which the Prince of Orange insisted at the Boyne Water, but it was no longer his Majesty's "Loyal and Protestant green." The game went on without any desire to keep a correct score, for though the hurlers were on the hill, their hearts were in town; and a chain of *videttes* was set from the *Bird in-Hand*, like the modern telegraph posts, the whole way, *viâ* Flinders Street, to signal any breaking from their cover by the Orangemen, in which event a change of front would be immediate, and the hurlies used on other leather than ball coats. The Orangemen, however, kept quiet, and so were permitted to rest in peace.

On the hill prevailed a promiscuous sort of enjoyment, much appreciated: and although there was no refreshment, gambling or music tents there, pocket-pistols, well-primed with strong mountain dew, were in much request, and nipped and shared with true Irish hospitality. An Orange scout was occasionally seen prowling about, but was respected as if the bearer of a flag of truce. About three o'clock the Mayor made his appearance, and was loudly cheered, a compliment which he acknowledged in a brief plausible speech. Mr. Henry Moor was an adept when he liked, in administering doses of sugared nothings. He had a pleasant, though possibly an insincere, manner by which he could placate a crowd, and to this sort of "toffying" the Melbournians were tolerably well used, and it passed with them as the real confection. On the present occasion Moor's "soft sawder" worked effectually, the more so that one of its ingredients was an assurance that there should be no Orange procession, and about 4 p.m., at his bidding, the hurling match adjourned *sine die.*

How the Orangemen took their disappointment was never publicly known, but they made up for it by a good use of the night. The *Bird-in-Hand* was kept in a state of crowing until morning. The "Lodge" expended their bottled-up wrath in eating and drinking; the yellow and blue sashes were displayed under the folds of a "pious and immortal banner," and the charter toasts of Orangeism, not remarkable for either charity or purity of phraseology, were uproariously bumperized amidst stunning salvos of "Kentish fire" behind the protection of barred doors and brick walls.

And thus did a hurling match achieve for a second time a peculiar and bloodless victory. No third hurling was ever required, for no Orange procession afterwards was either effected or even menaced. It was providential that the insane attempt to insult an enlightened, mixed community was not persisted in, as if so, though the Yarra would not run red with blood, or dead men's skulls abound, a shocking riot would have taken place, lives lost on both sides, and terrible reprisals made whenever opportunity subsequently offered. The Orangemen, in demonstrating that "the better part of valour is discretion," acted so discreetly as to adopt (at least in part) the memorable advice of Oliver Cromwell—

"To put their trust in God, and keep their powder dry."

It is very doubtful, though, whether they thought much over the first half of the injunction, yet certainly the dryness of the powder was looked after, but only until the following year, when a little of it was employed, not in a fair open fight, but in pot-shots from the upper story of an hotel, whose strong stone construction provided an ample shelter for indulging with impunity in such a very dubious species of valour.

The First Orange Riot.

In 1846 the first overt act of Orange aggression was perpetrated in the colony, and its memory has a traditionary existence, around which Time has woven a cobweb of absurd exaggeration, tinting it in colours of *quasi*-heroic romance, but to any such quality it cannot in fairness lay the slightest claim. It forms so discreditable an incident of early history that I would willingly excise it from these Chronicles; but as its omission might be attributed to other than the true motive, a

narrative is given, plain and unvarnished, constructed from personal observation, verified by a careful perusal of the printed accounts of the regretful episode.

In 1844 and 1845 the threatened Orange street demonstration was suppressed through fear of an unpleasant collision with the Batman's Hill hurlers, who, on the processional airing of an Orange flag, would be transformed into thrashers, and all idea of a public marching completely died out of the William-ite mind. In 1846 a kind of half-way course was designed, viz., an Orange celebration in an hotel, and the display of obnoxious party bunting from the windows. The matter was to be kept as "dark as Erebus" until the proper time should arrive; and as the 12th of July was this year on a Sunday, the anniversary was to be feasted on the following day.

At the north-eastern corner of Queen and Little Bourke Streets, a Mr. Thomas Gordon rented, as the *Pastoral Hotel*, a recently-built house, whose substantial stone walls were not unconsidered. Here, about 1 p.m., a shoal of Orangemen commenced an early revelry, and unfurled three orange and purple banners from the upper front windows. Two of these were creditable specimens of the brush craft of a Mr. Whittaker, a scene painter of the period, and if regarded only from an æsthetic point of view, would be accepted as an indication of an improved taste on the part of those who fostered the production of such works of art. On one was emblazoned a full-sized equestrian figure of William the Third, whilst the other showed forth an impersonation of William's great general, the fearless and unflinching Schomberg, killed on the bank of "Boyne's ill-fated river." But they were soon beheld with more than jaundiced eyes. The waving of such ill-omened symbols created a flutter which rapidly swelled into a storm, on whose wings the intelligence, as unexpected as it was unprecedented, was borne rapidly through the town. It was the first time that such an act had been attempted, and by hundreds of the inhabitants it was viewed as little short of a public abomination; and the excitement instantaneously engendered could not be more intense if the streamers announced the arrival of the plague, or black sickness, in the community. People ran about half crazed, muttering threats of direst vengeance, and groups of half-a-dozen increased like a rolling snowball as they rushed along towards Queen Street, and in an incredibly short time a crowd of several hundred persons, fretting, fuming, and murmuring like an angry surf, blocked up the *Pastoral* corner, and the symptoms of a serious riot were every moment growing more imminent. Several of the persons congregated in the street had firearms, and it was stated that the shop of Fulton, a gunmaker further south towards Collins Street, had been rushed and ransacked of some of its "shooting irons," an allegation never satisfactorily substantiated. One huge Munster man, with an unmistakable Kerry cognomen, pranced about, flourishing a heavy wooden chair, with which he vowed he would make smithereens of the Gordonian stronghold; but his threat remained unaccomplished, for the mortar and the rubble survived. Rushing like a fury out of Little Bourke Street appeared on the scene an Amazon lady, descended from one of numerous septs of "Macs" of Northern Ireland. Whirling over her head in Red-Indian tomahawking style that article of horse gear known in stableology as a "hames," she breathed eternal vengeance upon the crew who introduced into this country the heartburnings which she had often witnessed at home. But "the hames" was innocuous, for the Orangemen were far out of arm's length, and both it and the chair were inconvenient and uncertain missiles to discharge at long range. Some well-disposed persons, desirous to avert a threatening calamity, hastened to the residence of Mr. Henry Moor, J.P., the ex-Mayor, in William Street, and besought him to interpose in maintaining public order. He promptly complied by despatching a special injunction to Gordon, the hotelkeeper, to have the offensive emblems at once removed from his licensed premises, to which Gordon at first demurred, but at length consented, fearful, no doubt, of the non-renewal of his license. The Town Council was sitting when intimation reached the Mayor (Dr. J. F. Palmer) of brewing dangers, and his Worship forthwith adjourning, left with several of his colleagues *en route* for the supposed scene of conflict. They were joined on the way by the Rev. Father Geoghegan (Roman Catholic pastor), and other townsmen of influence, and reached the place about 3.30, when the general aspect of matters was the reverse of encouraging. The whole thoroughfare, from Bourke to Lonsdale Street, was thronged by a swaying, angry, determined multitude, ready, like so many bears, to rush the hotel, from the

windows of which popped out the heads of a score of Orangemen, menacingly displaying the muzzles of firearms. The withdrawn banners were again brought up inside to the windows, and hailed with a deafening yell of execration. On its ceasing, the Mayor, from the street, in a loud, authoritative voice demanded the surrender to the authorities of the obnoxious ensigns, which was indignantly refused, whereupon his Worship and several other Magistrates now with him, as if to compel obedience to his mandate, entered the hotel, and proceeding up the stairs, were confronted on the lobby by an advanced guard of Orangemen and the landlord, who doggedly impeded any further progress. Simultaneously with this check a volley was fired from the windows into the street, at the opposite side of which Father Geoghegan and Mr. John O'Shanassy were in conversation. From the direction taken by the bullets, it was believed that the marksmen had aimed at the two individuals named, for a ball, after grazing the priest, slightly wounded in the shoulder David Hurley, a grocer, standing behind him.

At the south-west corner of Queen and Little Bourke Streets there is still an hotel, which at the time I am writing of was known as the *St. John's Tavern*, and kept by Mr. John Thomas Smith. At the moment of the firing there was in the bar, having a glass of beer, one Thomas O'Brien, a non-belligerent. Mrs. Smith, the landlady, fancied she saw the barrels of guns thrust from one of the *Pastoral* windows opposite, and calling on a waitress to do likewise, she threw herself flat on the floor outside the bar counter. They had hardly done so when a bullet whistled through the window, passed over the prostrate women, and entering O'Brien's jaw dislodged four of his teeth, ran up his tongue, and stuck near the root. The man was removed in excruciating agony to his home in Little Flinders Street, and he was so bad next day that his dying deposition was taken. Life and he had no intention of so speedily dissolving partnership, for he rallied considerably. Meanwhile, the bullet formed an abscess, which burst on the tenth day, when the ball was extracted; but instead of rolling out of his mouth it passed the other way, and he swallowed it. It remained in his system for a year, and in July, 1847, Dr. D. J. Thomas succeeded in ridding him of so unwelcome a lodger.

It was now after four o'clock, and Alderman Russell, Messrs. Moor, B. Heape, and E. Westby, J's.P., were on the ground. All the police in town were present, and the military marched up from the barracks. The *Pastoral Hotel*, now barricaded, was forcibly entered, and several of the inmates were arrested, including William Hinds and John James, who were alleged to have been ringleaders. The house was cleared, and the prisoners sent away to the watch-house. Mr. Moor then addressed the outside assemblage, and pledged himself that no Orange festival should take place that evening, and by his persuasions the people were induced to disperse. One hundred special constables were at once enrolled as peace-preservers, and the mounted and border police were ordered to patrol the streets during the night. The ordinary police and military were kept in readiness for action. All the hotels were directed to be shut up, and the Mayor and several magistrates remained at the police office to be at hand for any possible emergency. But the night passed over in comparative quiet, without anything occurring to disturb its tranquillity, except the occasional report of a shot from a gun or pistol. It was stated that several shots had been fired at the hotel windows, though this is open to doubt. At all events, indentations declared to be bullet marks were pointed out on a portion of the wall facing the intersection of the two streets.

The Police Court.

The morning of the 14th was ushered in with feelings of general disquietude, and the great centre of attraction was the Police Office, where a Bench of Magistrates, comprising the Mayor, Messrs. James Smith, and Benjamin Heape, was formed at 10 o'clock. The small weather-board room in the (now) Western Market Square, used as a Court, was densely crammed, and hundreds of persons were congregated outside, in eager expectation of what was to come on, the larger majority being decidedly of an Anti-Orange complexion. The proceedings were several times interrupted by explosions of hisses, which the Magistrates ineffectually endeavoured to suppress, and it was with difficulty that an open outbreak of violence was averted.

Mr. William Hinds was charged with shooting at and wounding Mr. David Hurley on the preceding day; Messrs. S. Stephen (Barrister), and J. W. Thurlow (Solicitor), appearing for the prosecution; and Mr. John Duerdin (Solicitor), for the accused.

Hurley deposed that, whilst standing near the *St. John's Tavern* on the afternoon of the 13th, the prisoner discharged a pistol, which wounded him on the left shoulder. On going into a neighbouring house and taking off his coat, the ball dropped out. Father Geoghegan and Mr. O'Shanassy were standing near witness, who saw Hinds take deliberate aim in the direction of the priest, just before the discharge.

On cross-examination, he admitted being on friendly terms with Hinds. There were shouting and firing from the hotel, and from the street. Took no part in the row, and saw no stones thrown. The prisoner fired from the middle story, and witness saw him aim from the window at Geoghegan and O'Shanassy. Was endeavouring to get Geoghegan away from the spot, when the shot was fired; but he saw no flash.

Mr. John O'Shanassy was next examined, viz.: "I was in Queen Street yesterday evening, about half-past 3 o'clock, when passing by Messrs. Annand and Smith's corner (Collins and Queen Streets), I met Mr. John Davies, who told me he believed there would be a riot, as he saw several persons armed round the *Pastoral Hotel*. He requested me to accompany him to the Mayor. I did so, and we met His Worship. We then proceeded with the Mayor to the *Pastoral Hotel*. The Mayor entered the bar door in my company. As we approached there appeared to be great excitement all round. Several persons entered with us, and some endeavoured to keep others out. I saw Mr. Gordon open a door to the hall. We saw three persons there, one of whom was Whittaker. The Mayor demanded that certain banners should be brought down from the room. He was standing at the front door, leading from the hall to the street. Some persons entered, when Whittaker and the landlord prevented some of them from getting upstairs. I then turned round, and saw the Mayor in the street. I followed him, and on going to the centre of the road, a shot was fired close by me. My back was turned to the house, and I thought at the time that the shot proceeded from that quarter. I saw the Very Rev. Mr. Geoghegan in the middle of the street. I went to him, and requested him to leave the place. We proceeded to the *St. John's Tavern*, when David Hurley came up, and was endeavouring to make Mr. Geoghegan leave the place. Some pistols would not carry so far. I heard Hurley immediately say 'I am shot.' I saw a man dressed in a blue coat thrust his arm through a window of the *Pastoral Hotel*, and fire a pistol into the crowd. I cannot say if it was the prisoner. I do not recollect having seen him there. I did not see any person fire into the house. I was anxious to get Mr. Geoghegan away, which engrossed a considerable share of my attention. After I left the house I heard several shots fired in quick succession from the house. My impression then was, that all the shots were fired from the house."

Several other witnesses were examined, and their testimony went to show that shots were discharged from the hotel, and that the prisoner had fired into the street.

After the case for the prosecution had closed, the Bench, in reply to a question asked, intimated that the charge would be regarded as one of assault with intent to murder, and they were not disposed to receive any evidence for the defence except an *alibi*. The prisoner was committed for trial, and an application for bail was, in the first instance, refused; but subsequently it was decided to accept bail in a personal recognizance of £100, and two sureties of £50 each. The bail bonds were forthcoming without much delay, and the accused was released.

Patrick Buckle, John James, and George Hunter, were next charged with being armed and riotous, and committed for trial, but enlarged on entering into personal recognizances of £40, and two sureties in £20 each.

A Day of Terror.

This Tuesday, 14th July, 1846, was about the most disquieting day ever passed in Melbourne. The morning appeared muffled-up like an invalid in flannel, with a dense fog, and this atmospherical

condition was fitly companioned by the angry gloom that pervaded the numbers thronging the streets from an early hour. The adjournment of the Police Court was followed by a cloud of rumours, the latest always the most exciting, as to what was to happen before nightfall. One of the first was, that it was the fixed intention of the Orangemen to rescue their imprisoned *confrères*, if committed for trial without bail; and that there was, in consequence, a strong muster of them at the *Bird-in-Hand Hotel*, only awaiting the word to sally forth. As the afternoon advanced, the public excitement was intense, and the military, under the command of Lieutenant Wilton, with the mounted and town police, were in a state of continuous locomotion. The Superintendent (Latrobe), the Mayor, Messrs. H. Moor, J. Smith, E. Westby, Captain C. Hutton, and Dr. G. Playne, J's P., rode through the principal streets, and orders were given to clear out the *Bird-in-Hand*, which was effected without resistance, but not before the Riot Act was read, and a number of Orangemen (including Mr. William Kerr) were compelled go elsewhere. A party of police remained in possession of the tavern. By three o'clock all the principal shops were shut, and the public-houses commanded to do likewise. The town looked as if in a state of siege, and there could not be more of a panic if an invading army had disembarked at Sandridge, and was marching to sack and burn Melbourne.

The Orange citadel was scarcely evacuated, when alarming intelligence was received from another quarter, viz., that a large force of armed men were drawn up in Lonsdale Street, and thither the Superintendent, magistrates, military, and police directed their course. Between Lonsdale Street and the (now old) cemetery was then a houseless, grassy open space, and on this parade-ground was marshalled in a very irregular order of battle, some three or four hundred men, armed with guns, pistols, sticks, bludgeons, and other weapons. The leader was an excitable tailor-publican (long since passed from amongst us), equipped with a double-barrelled gun and shot pouch. He was fussily engaged in seeing that his men were in order; whilst officiating as a sergeant-major was another individual (also no more), who, though having only one full-length leg to stand upon, hopped about through the ranks with the agility of a goat on the side of a mountain, and brandishing a wicked-looking crutch, as if it were a battle-axe hungering for something to cleave. When the Superintendent and his numerous retinue had appeared within a hundred yards of the would be insurgents, a loud-voiced spokesman known as "Long Mooney" advanced, and vociferated "That the people had assembled there solely in self-defence, and to protect themselves from the violence of the Orangemen." A general halt was immediately ordered, and a short parley ensued. The Mayor assured them that no Orange violence need be apprehended, and after the Riot Act had been read, he requested them in the Queen's name, as good and loyal subjects, to disperse. The reaction was instantaneous, for the answer returned consisted of "Three cheers for the Queen; three more for the Superintendent; three for the Mayor;" and the dispersion at once commenced. The military, however, did not return to barracks, but took up their quarters at the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, in Collins Street, lest their services should be required; and the magistrates remained until near midnight at the police office. During the afternoon Constable Allcock (an Orangeman) swore informations against Mr. Michael M'Namara and three others, for being illegally armed. They were arrested, and lodged for safe custody in the goal, bail being refused. Next morning they were bound over in recognizances to appear for trial when called on.

Shooting at O'Shanassy.

The 16th July was also a notable day at the Police Court, for one Robert Cuthbert (arrested the evening before) was accused with having, by his own admission, discharged a loaded pistol at Mr. John O'Shanassy. Evidence was given that the prisoner was heard to boast in the shop of Mr. Thomas Hamilton, an Orange saddler, in Collins Street, that he had in the *Pastoral* row fired off a loaded pistol at O'Shanassy; "that O'Shanassy was not a bad mark to aim at, and if the bullet had caught him it would have settled him." He was held to bail to answer any charge that the Crown Prosecutor might prefer against him.

The First Historic Sixpences.

When Mr. Henry Cuthbert retired from the Berry Administration in 1878, in the redistribution of his salary amongst the remaining members of the Cabinet, there remained an indivisible coin, which was credited to the public account, and was consequently known as the "Historic Sixpence"; but I trust to be able to show that many years before, there existed a more legitimate claimant to the honour of such a designation. On the 16th July, 1846, John O'Shanassy appeared at the Melbourne Police Court to answer a summons taken out by John James, a painter, for an assault committed on the 13th. From the evidence of the complainant it appeared that on the afternoon of the riot he was on his way to the Orange demonstration, having in his possession a loaded pistol, and sporting a "loud" orange-coloured handkerchief in his hand. The defendant met him in Queen Street, and broke the peace by hitting James on the head and knocking off his cap. The charge was admitted, and the assault thus justified. The defendant was returning from the *Pastoral Hotel*, whither he had gone with the Mayor, to assist in the preservation of the public peace. A man had been shot there and carried away by some persons, and accompanied by the defendant. In passing the *Brian Boru Hotel*, the complainant was met, and the defendant addressing him said, "Are you going to shoot more of the people?" James made an insulting reply, and the assault was committed under circumstances of considerable excitement and provocation. The Bench deliberated for a few moments, and its Chairman (the Mayor) announced the decision to be that the complainant did not come into Court with clean hands, as he was proceeding with a deadly weapon, when the assault was committed, to a place where deadly outrages were being perpetrated. He was also exhibiting a handkerchief of colour considered to be a distinctive party badge; and it would not be unjustifiable to even arrest any person under such circumstances. The assault was not, however, justifiable, and the defendant would be fined sixpence with 5s. 4d. costs. This "bender" is therefore clearly entitled to take precedence of the other, and the Cuthbert coin must give way to the O.S. one.

Irritation and counter-irritation continued for some time, and the amicable relations that should prevail amongst the people were seriously disturbed. Some of the police behaved in a very unbecoming manner and two constables, named Cantlon and Heffernan, who were Orangemen and fraternized with their "brethren" both at the *Pastoral* and *Bird-in-Hand* on the first and second day of the disturbance, were reported to the Mayor, who warned them against being members of any secret partisan body, and directed their names to be placed at the bottom of the list for promotion. As to the police office committals nothing further came of them, for the Crown Prosecutor filed no bills of indictment on either side. As convictions would, through the weakness of evidence, and the mixed state of the jury panel be difficult, if not impossible of obtainment, a wise, and, in the end, a beneficial discretion was exercised. Unsparing censure was vented by both parties upon the gentleman (Mr. James Croke) who held in his hands the important functions of a Grand Jury. "Old Croke," as he was universally called, was a Roman Catholic Corkonian, and uncle of the celebrated Irish Archbishop of that name; and though brusque always, and blundering sometimes, was in the main a thoroughly conscientious, and well-intentioned official.

The Mayor on the Gridiron.

Dr. Palmer (the Mayor) had hard times of it, for he got roasted in a manner that drove him to the verge of distraction. As a matter of course, the Melbourne newspapers sided with both sides of the row, some viewing the discreditable proceedings through yellow, and others through green, spectacles. The *Argus* and the *Gazette* pitched into Palmer mercilessly. No doubt he deserved much of what he got, but his assailants hit him high and low, up and down, with a cowardly truculence disgusting to lovers of fair play. Metaphorically, he was like an Indian captive tied to a stake and tortured, by two yelping savages. The Mayor was not gifted with the patience of a Stoic, and his

sufferings were poignant. He did not stoop to a retaliatory typographical warfare, but flew for comfort to the Town Council. As evidencing his condition, I transcribe an extract from a speech of his at a Corporation meeting: — "My conduct has been held up to public execration, and no circumstance of palliation has been found. No extenuating suggestion offered; but in order to accomplish my disgrace, truth, moderation, charity, law, and equity have been equally disregarded!"

Dr. Palmer's conduct throughout this lamentable occasion was a chain of incongruous links, which only a waste of misapplied skill could forge. He was vacillating and intermeddling—infirm in judgment, and fallible in temper, inclining one day towards one party, the next turning the balance with the other, and the day after like a man addled, staggering through a room, bobbing towards both sides, and not staying at either. He showed no firmness, no deliberation, no correct perception of the situation from any point of view. He was the creature of rumour, and his self-sufficiency prevented his seeking or accepting advice from cooler and steadier heads. This led him into positions from which a dignified retreat was impossible; and amongst the indiscretions he committed was one day commanding the whole police force to appear in his august presence, and there put them through a catechism, of county, town, and parish of the Mother-country where each was born and reared, what religion he professed, and with what Societies, open or secret, he was connected with. His vagaries were such that he fell foul of everyone, and everyone's tongue was against him.

The Mayor and the Superintendent.

The Superintendent having requested the Mayor, as Chief Magistrate of the town, to furnish the Governor with a Report "upon the ostensible causes of the public disturbances which have recently taken place in Melbourne," Dr. Palmer, in his reply, further embroiled himself. From this document it would appear that leave had been applied for and obtained from the Licensing Bench for Gordon, the landlord, to keep his *Pastoral Hotel* open after 12 o'clock on the night of the 13th July "for the purpose of entertaining a select party at dinner." This turned out to be "The Orange Anniversary Dinner," as per card of invitation sent to the Mayor, and for which three hundred cards had been issued. The details of the rioting were given not differing materially from the facts before stated, and the writer declared "that it did not appear that any persons holding influence or position in society have been concerned in these disturbances." The statement further averred that a deep and rancorous hostility prevailed among the different sections of the Irish populace, and suggested the adoption of more stringent legal measures for the preservation of the peace. According to the writer "such demonstrations should be regarded as the *indicia* of mutual fear and distrust, rather than of premeditated outrage." He justified the course taken by the local authorities, and mentioned that the police, with one exception, were Irish, and would not feel disposed to act if recourse were had to the extreme step of disarming the rioters. He referred to the processions of the St. Patrick Society, which were allowed, and concluded by suggesting the "expediency of a legislative enactment for the prohibition of party symbols and public processions of antagonistic political societies." The correspondence connected with this phase of the question was submitted *pro formâ* to the Town Council, and provoked an acrimonious debate, in the course of which Councillor O'Shanassy inflicted a severe castigation upon the Mayor for the manner in which he had maligned the St. Patrick Society, which was in no sense a religious or political institution, or antagonistic to any other Confederation, but a national body analogous to the Societies of St. Andrew and St. George, with one of which the Mayor was a strong sympathizer, and a member of the other. A special meeting of the St. Patrick Society was also held, at which the Mayor's manifesto was severely handled, and its inconsistencies and exaggerations tellingly exposed in a statement prepared by Mr. E. Finn (the Honorary Secretary), which was transmitted to Sir George Gipps, the then Governor of New South Wales.

Dr. Palmer's *pronunciamento*, like everything else he penned, was clever and incisive, but it was little more than a highly-spiced elaboration of sensationalism, reared upon erroneous assumptions, misconception, and mis-information. Its allegations on the general state of the Irish section of the community, the police, and the St. Patrick Society, were absurd and unwarrantable presumptions, and

to the crushing rebutting case established, Palmer could make no reply. One point told effectually against him—viz., that he had been himself instrumental in procuring the last preceding public procession of the St. Patrick Society, as Chairman of the Hospital Committee, which, in March of the same year, invited the Society to assist at the foundation laying of the hospital. Dr. Palmer did not soon forget the ruffling he received during the eventful year of his Mayoralty, and in a few months he abandoned the Town Council altogether.

The Party Processions Act.

As a consequence of the Orange freak of the 13th July, which was simply a semi-drunken ambuscade from which to attempt assassination in a crisis of intense party irritation, Mr. J. H. Plunket, the New South Wales Attorney-General, introduced into the Legislature a Bill to prevent Party Processions, &c. In the original draft of this measure the Masonic and Oddfellow Fraternities were specially exempted, and against this favouritism the Melbourne St. Patrick Society remonstrated—and so effectively that the exceptional proviso was omitted, and the Bill passed without it. The Party Processions Act remained for years on the Statute Book, and its essence is still preserved in our code under that process of legal cooking known as consolidation. It was never more than a dead letter—dead as the defunct hobgoblin it was meant to exorcise. It was never required, for from the evil of the abortive celebration sprang one good result—viz., that no other July anniversary was bug-beared by an Orange procession. Whatever annual devotions the William-ites thought proper to offer before the shrine of their idol, were gone through up to the period of the close of these Chronicles, with unbannered windows, undemonstratively, and with outward quietness. The serpent of bigoted infatuations reserved its sibilations to be mingled with the orgies of the banquet-room, and not even the ghost of Orangeism ever again publicly "walked" the streets of Melbourne.

There is now (1884) before the Legislative Assembly a motion for the second reading of a Bill to repeal the Act just referred to; and, as considerable misapprehension of the origin and scope of the original Bill was disclosed during a recent debate, a few remarks in elucidation may not be out of place here. Though not having the good fortune or otherwise to be a "limb of the law," I may, without undue presumption, venture even as a layman to express an opinion upon the subject, for I was in Melbourne in 1846, thoroughly cognizant of the circumstances which prompted the new legislation, and was vehemently opposed to it. Furthermore, from information subsequently communicated, I am warranted now in declaring that it was in consequence of a written protest prepared by me and transmitted to him, that Mr. Attorney-General Plunket cancelled the clause of exemption in favour of Masons and Oddfellows. The Party Processions Act was, as previously indicated, the outcome of the 1846 Orange row. Some such enactment was suggested in the Report on the disturbances, furnished by the then Mayor of Melbourne, Dr. Palmer. It applied to all associated bodies whose celebrations fairly came within the phraseology in which its provisions were embodied. As one of its consequences, the St. Patrick processions were discontinued from 1846 until 1850, the era of Separation, when they were resumed in the midst of the general rejoicings surrounding the event. If they have at intervals been since continued, it is not because the law does not apply to them, but because their legality has not been questioned. The Friendly Societies Act legalizes a system of protection for the working of pecuniary benefits of various kinds, but has nothing whatever to do with any sentimental, sectarian, or national element that may be in existence. Furthermore, should a Society transgress the rules of propriety in any manner, the Chief Secretary (I write from memory, and have not the Act to refer to) may, if I mistake not, direct the Registrar to strike it off the rolls, or, in other words, cancel the registration.

As to the Act which the Grand Master of Orangeism is striving to repeal, it has never done either good or harm, and though at one time most decidedly against its passing, I am now of opinion that, everything considered, it would be a great legislative mistake to meddle with it.

CHAPTER LI.

SOLDIERS, CEMETERIES, POUNDS, AND APOSTLES.

SYNOPSIS.—Colonel Collins' Garrison Orders.—Departure of Colonel Collins.—Military Changes.—The First Military Court-martial.—The First Military Funeral.—Military Gossip.—Burial Grounds.—Burial Hill.—Early Interments.—The First Monolith.—The Jewish Burial Ground.—Funeral of Miss Davis.—Prayers Read by Mr. Michael Cashmore.—Mr. Lewis Hart's Interment.—The Old Cemetery.—The First Male Interment There.—The First Female Interment.—John Batman's Funeral.—Memoranda of Cemetery Grants to Denominations.—A Funereal Tariff.—Primitive Funerals and Undertakers.—The First "Professional" Undertaker.—Resurrectionism and Ghosts.—Abduction of a "Lady" Corpse.—Point Ormond Burial Ground.—The Graves at King's Island.—Melbourne General Cemetery.—Pounds.—A Marvellous Magpie.

IN 1878 there was issued from the Government Printing Office a Parliamentary paper intituled, *Early Historical Records of Port Phillip*, and it would not be easy to find more curiously interesting reading, as it treats of the exploration of Port Phillip by Mr. Charles Grimes, the New South Wales Surveyor-General, in 1802-3; and the abortive attempt of Lieut.-Governor Collins to found a convict colony at Sorrento in 1803-4. Its contents are three-fold: (*a*) The Journal of Exploration, (*b*) The Order Book of Collins, and (*c*) The Journal of the Rev. Robert Knopwood, Episcopalian chaplain, appointed to the cure of souls in the projected settlement. Such historically invaluable relics would, in all probability, have never seen the light of publicity but for the praiseworthy industry of Mr. John J. Shillinglaw, the Secretary of the Central Board of Health, who succeeded in disinterring in the Colonial Secretary's office (Sydney), the Grimes' *Reliquiæ*. The second mentioned was supplied by Mr. C. E. Collett, Sub-librarian of the Tasmanian Parliament; and the third is a presentation to the Victorian Government by Mr. J. E. Calder, an ex-Surveyor-General of Tasmania.

I avail myself of the opportunity now offered to testify to the laudable public spirit manifested by Mr. Shillinglaw (no mean authority himself in all appertaining to our early annals), and to thank him for his invariable courtesy to myself, his readiness to oblige whenever consulted, and the kindly interest taken in my efforts to save from oblivion many a by-gone incident that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost.

MILITARY.

The first armed force stationed in Port Phillip dates back more than thirty years before the arrival of either Batman or Fawkner. Accompanying the Collins Convict Expedition was a detachment of Royal Marines, the rank and file of which consisted of:—First Lieutenant, William Sladden; Second Lieutenant, J. M. Johnson; Third Lieutenant, Edward Lord; Sergeants, 3; Corporals, 3; Drummer, 1: Fifer, 1; and 39 privates. Their duty was to maintain order, and protect life and property at the Convict Settlement at Sorrento, where they were under canvas. David Collins, the Commandant or Governor of the little colony, was also a Colonel of Marines, and on the 18th October, 1803, as Commander-in-Chief, he issued the subjoined "Garrison Orders":—

"The Lieut.-Colonel on taking command of the detachment of Royal Marines, landed at Port Phillip, entertains a hope that they will all feel a just sense of the honourable situation in which they are placed. They have been selected by their Sovereign to compose the garrison for the protection of this infant settlement. He trusts this will stimulate them to use their best exertions, and enable the Lieut.-Colonel to report to the Secretary of State that such a trust has not been unworthily placed in them. He hopes they all know that obedience to orders, sobriety, and cleanliness form the



GOVERNOR COLLINS.

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essential points in the character of a good soldier. While he observes that these are attended to, he shall feel a pride in having them under his command, and shall hold it his duty, by every means in his power, to render their situation comfortable. He is unwilling to mention the word "punishment," but it is necessary they should know his firm determination to have the strictest obedience paid to such orders as he may think proper to give from time to time for their regulation, and trusts that when at a future period this shall be joined by other detachments of their brave comrades, he shall be able with pleasure to hold up this small band as an example worthy their imitation. The officer of the day will have the charge of the guards, and once during the night will go the visiting rounds. A patrol of a corporal and two privates will occasionally, between the relief of the centinels, go round the encampment and take up all persons that they may find after the tattoo has beat, and bring them to the quarter-guard. The detachment off duty will parade for drill at seven o'clock every morning (Sundays excepted), if the weather will permit. The civil and military officers wanting the countersign may have it on application to Lieut. Sladden. The quarter-guard to be augmented by three privates to-morrow; the additional centinel is for the preservation of two water-casks at the watering-place, which are appropriated solely to the use of the civil and military establishment."

The salutary lessons instilled by this proclamation may be learned with advantage now as then, and as a rule they were acted up to by those for whose benefit they were intended, though there was occasionally a notable exception. It was only on the following day (the 19th) that the Commandant was obliged to constitute a tribunal for the trial of delinquents, in the form of a Garrison Court-Martial at 11 a.m., at Lieut. Johnson's marquee, when a prisoner was tried for drunkenness and insubordination, and the result was thus publicly announced on the 23rd :—

"Sergt. Richard, sergeant of the 1st parade company having been found guilty of the crime with which he stood charged before a Court-Martial, was sentenced to be reduced to the pay and duty of a a private centinel, but some alleviating circumstances having appeared in the course of the proceedings, and in the defence offered by the prisoner, he was recommended by the Court to the clemency of the Commanding Officer, which recommendation he was pleased to confirm, and the prisoner was restored to his former situation."

A perusal of the several Garrison Orders issued by Collins during his brief stay (from 16th October, 1803, to 26th January, 1804), discloses an amusing inkling of the military life of the period, and a few extracts will be read with interest.

"23rd October.—This being the anniversary of His Majesty's accession to the throne, the detachment will assemble in front of the encampment at twelve o'clock, and fire three volleys in honour of the day, after which the guard will mount at two o'clock.

"The presence of the officer of the day being at all times indispensably requisite in the camp, he is not, on any pretence, to quit it without the knowledge of the Commanding Officer. The comfort and appearance of the military depending much upon their cleanliness, the Right Honorable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were pleased to admit a certain number of women to accompany their husbands on the present expedition, for the purpose of contributing to that end, by washing for the detachment. The Commanding Officer therefore directs and appoints the following women to be so employed, and in the following manner, namely :—The wife of William Bean, private, to wash for 15 persons; the wife of George Carley, private, to wash for 15 persons; the wife of James Spooner to wash for 14 persons; and as an ample supply of necessaries has been sent out with the detachment, he will not admit of any excuse for their appearing in a dirty, unsoldierlike manner, discreditable to themselves and to the corps to which they belong. The different packages and cases in which the marine stores and clothing are contained, are not, on any account, when emptied, to be destroyed or converted to any other use without the approbation of the Commanding Officer.

"1st November.—The Commanding Officer is obliged to direct that in future the allowance of spirits shall be mixed with three waters, and issued twice a day to the detachment. The officer of the day will taste it when mixed. The quarter-master will continue to receive the allowance daily

from the Commissary, but he will take it into his charge, and see that it is mixed agreeable to the above order at the marine store tent.

"8th November.—The two casks at the watering-place, which have been appropriated to the use of the civil and military officers, being properly prepared to be shut up during the night, the centinel at that post will be withdrawn at seven o'clock at night, and planted there at the same hour in the morning. The keys of these casks are to be lodged with the Adjutant, and the persons concerned will attend to the regulation, and cause whatever water they may require to be got within the above hours.

"13th November.—The quarter-master will employ the tailor belonging to the detachment, and such other tailors as the Commanding Officer may appoint, in altering the clothing that became due in June last. The suits are to be fitted to the men, and made up according to the pattern established by the Admiralty. Each suit when finished is to be labelled, and put into the care of the quarter-master, until the whole are completed, when they will be issued. This work will be put in hand on Monday. A review of arms and necessaries to-morrow morning as usual, after which the Articles of War will be read.

"16th November.—A copper being erected near the watering-place for cooking the provisions, and proper persons appointed to attend it, the Lieutenant Governor prohibits the making of fires for cooking the convicts' provisions, in any other part of the encampment except on the beach near the carpenter's hut, where another copper will be put up for the accommodation of the people at that end of the encampment. The superintendents will attend to this regulation.

"21st November.—The Commanding Officer is concerned to be under the necessity of establishing the following drill for the non-commissioned officers. On Wednesday from six until seven in the morning; on Saturdays from two until three in the afternoon.

"23rd November.—The Commanding Officer is surprised to observe the unsteady appearance of the men at the evening parade. This can only proceed from their determination to evade the regulations which he adopted in the hope of preventing this unsoldierlike appearance that he complains of in them, and which if persisted in will compel him not to increase the quantity of water, but reduce the quantity of spirits which is at present allowed them.

"30th November.—The Commanding Officer hopes that no one of the detachment under his command, but such an unsoldierlike character as Thomas Hodgeman, would be concerned in any dealings or transactions with the convicts. They must perceive that the bad consequences that ever must and will attend such disgraceful conduct, and which he trusts none of them will ever be guilty.

3rd December.—The detachment will parade at eleven o'clock to-morrow in the forenoon, for the purpose of attending Divine Service. The guard will in future mount on Sundays at eight o'clock in the morning. The troop will beat as usual at ten, and the Church drum at eleven in the forenoon.

"27th December.—The Commanding Officer is concerned to observe the shameful conduct of several of the soldiers of the detachment. Drunkenness is a crime that he will never pass over, and to prevent as far as in him lies their disgracing themselves, and the Royal and Honourable Corps to which they belong, by incurring the censures of Courts Martial, he directs that in future their allowance of watered spirits shall not be taken to their tents but drank at the place where it is mixed, in the presence of the officer of the day. If this regulation shall be found insufficient, he assures them that the first man who is found guilty of drunkenness by a Court-Martial shall never again receive the allowance of spirits.

"The quarter-master will immediately cause to be dug a pit, at a convenient distance from the Southernmost part of the marine line, to be used by the detachment as a privy, and they are on no account to use any other. Earth is to be thrown into it every morning."

It will be observed from this notification that what is now adopted as the modern specific for an universal nuisance, was one of very early introduction into the colony.

"3rd January, 1804.—The Commanding Officer is willing to believe that the unsoldierlike behaviour of the prisoners Rae and Andrews will never be imitated by any of the detachment. He

feels it necessary to point out to them that it is the duty of all good soldiers to discountenance such a proceeding, and report it to their officers, as their concealing it may be attended with consequences very fatal to themselves, as well as injurious to the Service of their Sovereign, to whom every man has sworn and owes allegiance.

"17th January.—The detachment will parade at half-past eleven in the forenoon to-morrow, and at twelve o'clock fire three volleys, it being the anniversary of the day upon which Her Majesty's birth is kept. The quarter-master will issue a new clothing to the detachment, who will wear it to-morrow."

The penal settlement was broken up on 30th January, 1804, and Collins passed away for good from the harbour of Port Phillip.

In consequence of the semi-convict element in the primitive population of Port Phillip, and the existence of un-manumitted prisoners in the Government and assigned service, the presence of a detachment of soldiers in Melbourne was indispensable, and consequently four days after the arrival of Captain Lonsdale, the first Police Magistrate and Commandant, the "Stirlingshire" from Sydney (5th October, 1836) brought Ensign King with a detachment of 30 men from the 4th Regiment, and such was Melbourne's first military garrison. In 1838 a slight augmentation was made, bringing the number up to 35 rank and file, under two subalterns, with a "band" consisting of a drummer, minus a fife or other accompaniment. In January, 1839, there was a further increase, the town was made the headquarters of a Company, and the Officers were—Captain Smith, Lieutenant Vignolles, and Ensign M'Cormac. In December, 1840, the military establishment of Port Phillip is thus classified:—Captain: Charles F. H. Smith; Lieutenant: Francis Durell Vignolles; Ensign: Samuel Rawsen. Present—fit for duty at Melbourne—1 Captain, 2 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 3 corporals, 1 drummer, and 26 privates. At Geelong: 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 6 privates. On escort to Sydney—(not returned)—1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 5 privates. Commissariat Department: Deputy Assistant Commissary General—Charles Howard.

At the commencement of 1841 Captain Smith retired from the service, and the command for the time devolved upon Lieutenant Vignolles.

In 1842 the military consisted of a detachment of the 80th Regiment, and there were stationed in Melbourne:—Captain: C. Lewis; Ensign: M. D. Freeman; with 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, and 37 rank and file. At Geelong: 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, 6 rank and file; and at Portland: Lieutenant H. A. Hollinsworth, 1 sergeant, 6 rank and file. Commissariat, as before.

Thus the number went on alternating, and in a few years substantially increasing, the Officers were popular, and identifying themselves with every sport, amusement, and reunion on the cards; as ready to ride in a race as to participate in a duel; to dance at a ball as to assist in putting out a fire, and on the whole considered thorough good fellows. The Non-Commissioned Officers and privates also fraternized with the townspeople. Their duty mainly consisted in supplying gaol-guards and escorts, and only on a couple of occasions were they called out to quell a popular tumult.

The military for several years were miserably barracked, the soldiers in hovels, and the Officers in huts with some, but small, pretensions to comfort. The first barracks was a clay, bark, and bush erection on the "Government block" between King and Spencer Streets; the second the old brick gaol in Collins Street West, on its vacation as a prison; the third a corrugated iron range of buildings off Spencer Street, at the end of Latrobe Street, and the present barrack site on the St. Kilda Road was not thought of until January, 1849, when an Ordnance Officer from Sydney selected it.

The first Court-Martial held in the colony was on the 25th August, 1839, presided over by Major Ryan, from Launceston, when a private named Stokes was tried for robbing a comrade, and received a sentence of seven years' transportation. The second occurred on the 9th June, 1846, when Private Warrington was convicted of the double offence of drunkenness and using abusive language to Sergeant Leary. The Report of the Court was transmitted to the Commander of the Forces at Sydney, and the final result was three months' imprisonment.

The first soldier's funeral in the colony was on the 11th March, 1844. Sergeant M'Culla, of the 99th Regiment, was seized with sudden illness, and died in a few hours, presenting the indications generally attendant upon Asiatic cholera. His body turned blue, and when this got to be known, there was great alarm through the town, and rumour speedily circulated the astounding intelligence that several persons were attacked by similar symptoms, which was subsequently ascertained to be only a scare. Notwithstanding the temporary panic, M'Culla was interred in the (now) old burial ground with military honours, and a firing party of twenty placated his *manes* with the orthodox farewell volley.

In April, 1847, four small pieces of Ordnance were received in the town, and carriaged outside the barrack walls in Collins Street West, with their muzzles pointed towards the Yarra, as if to warn off any invading force rash enough to come up the river. There were then no intervening buildings to intercept the view.

The gold discoveries in 1851 necessitated a further increase of the military force, and consequently, on the 27th December, a reinforcement of Ensign Finch and 31 rank and file of the 11th Regiment arrived from Sydney. The immediate purpose of the addition was to enable the Officer in command (Captain Conran) to provide a Non-Commissioned Officers' guard for the Treasury, where much of the gold brought by the escorts from the diggings, used to be deposited; and an Officers' guard for the Gold Commissioners' tent at Mount Alexander. Lieutenant Maunsell was ordered to the Mount with a contingent, which was not to do any police duty. He was to have 10s., and the men 2s. 6d., extra pay per *diem*, an arrangement to which they could have no objection.

As with everything else, so with the military, did the immediate future work changes little expected by even the greatest wiseacre of the time.

The Old Colonist with the "marvellous memory," to whose kindness I have referred in other chapters, has favoured me with a memo. of military gossip of a highly readable kind. His style is more discursive than my sketch, and he does not limit himself to the chronological lines which I have drawn. As he writes solely from personal recollection, some discrepancies may be noticeable between him and me; but, after making all reasonable allowancies, the communication may be perused with much interest at the present day:—

"The first Garrison in Melbourne was composed of a detachment of the 4th Regiment, the 'King's Own,' a renowned and highly distinguished contingent of the British army. For upwards of 200 years this corps had been noted for its bravery, especially under Wellington in the Peninsular campaign When Sir Richard Bourke visited the infant settlement of Port Phillip in 1837, and landed where is now the Queen's Wharf, he was received by a guard of honour of the 'King's Own.' Captain Lonsdale, the first Police Magistrate of the new Province, and other officials, belonged to the same regiment, as also did Mr. George Wintle, the first gaoler, who had been regimental drum-major.

"In 1839 the barracks, consisting of a long slab building on the 'Government Block,' between West Bourke and Collins Streets, were occupied by the Grenadier Company of the 28th Regiment, who all wore bearskin hats, branded with the regimental number on the front and back. This distinction was given them to commemorate a deed of valour displayed when they landed at Aboukir Bay, in 1801, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. They were encountered by a French Infantry Regiment, which, at the point of the bayonet, they drove up the sand hills near the landing place, and, while thus engaged, were suddenly attacked in the rear by another French regiment; but they were equal to the occasion, for while the front rank defeated their antagonists, the rear rank faced about and served their opponents in a similar manner, an event unique in the annals of war, and worthy of being held in remembrance. One of their number died while in Melbourne, and the funeral procession, preceded by a fifer and drummer, playing 'Adeste Fideles,' passed down Collins and along Queen Streets, to the cemetery.

"The 28th were succeeded in Melbourne by the 80th, the head-quarters of which were stationed in Sydney. A Company, under the command of Captain R. Lewis, was ordered to

Melbourne. Captain Lewis was a Waterloo veteran, and a very determined man, as was shown by a circumstance that happened during his stay in Melbourne. A riot took place at the time when Mr. Henry Condell was elected a member of the New South Wales Legislature in 1843. A mob attacked the premises of a Mr. Green, an ironmonger, in Elizabeth Street, opposite the Post Office, and he used firearms to protect himself, and the soldiers having been sent for, the 80th, under Captain Lewis, appeared on the scene with fixed bayonets, and charged up Elizabeth Street from the Post Office as far as St. Francis' Church. The mob being thus dispersed, Captain Lewis told them to be careful and not bring them down a second time, otherwise he would have some of their lives. The warning had so much effect that no further trouble was given. This brave veteran eventually became Colonel of the Regiment, and saw much service in India. Lieutenant Beers, the second in command of the Company, and a cadet of a distinguished North of Ireland family, died here, and was buried by his comrades early one morning in a very quiet manner. The detachment of the 80th Regiment was replaced by a Company of the 99th, the head-quarters of which had recently arrived in Sydney. The 99th Regiment, all told, numbered 1100 men, with an average height of 5 feet 7 inches. Several of their superior Officers were Peninsular veterans, and altogether they were a splendid Regiment. They had a capital band, which introduced the celebrated 'Railway Galop' to these colonies, and delighted the citizens of Sydney by playing frequently in the Domain. The 99th lost their Colour-Sergeant while stationed here. Going out duck-shooting in the swamp, near Batman's Hill, and catching cold, it settled on his lungs, and carried him off in a few hours; he was buried with military honours. The Company of the 99th did not remain here long, and were relieved by a company of the 58th, only lately arrived from England, in New South Wales, and in about twelve months they in their turn were relieved again by another Company of the same Regiment, which arrived by the 'Shamrock' steamer from Sydney; and as there was not sufficient room in the barracks for two Companies, they were quartered in a store in Flinders Street. A number of juveniles were present to witness their landing, and as there were two Grenadiers with bearskins among the number, one of the boys was quite frightened by their appearance, and bolted off. The following Sunday the citizens were gratified to see two whole Companies of soldiers marching to church. They came along by Bourke Street to William Street, where the Protestants filed off to St. James', while the Roman Catholics, headed by Grenadier-Corporal M'Guinis (who afterwards joined the police), proceeded to St. Francis'. Sergeant Matthews, who was watch-house keeper for many years, also belonged to this Regiment.

"The 58th did not remain long here, as owing to the Maori outbreak in New Zealand, the 58th and 99th regiments were ordered off there, and some hundreds of the soldiers lost their lives through the incapacity of the Colonel of the latter Regiment, who was the senior officer. The 11th Regiment, which, by this time, had arrived in Sydney, supplied a Company to replace the 58th, under the command of Major Blosse, and during their stay the Orange riot at the *Pastoral Hotel* took place, in reference to a dinner given by the Orange Lodge on the 13th July, 1846, when banners were hung out of the windows, occasioning an exciting popular tumult. A number of men broke into Blundell's (a gunmaker's shop in Queen Street), and carrying off all the arms they could lay hands on commenced a fusillade at the hotel. The soldiers were summoned, and paraded under the command of Lieutenant Wilton, a Roman Catholic (as Major Blosse, the Commander of the Company, was laid up with a broken leg). He ordered them to load with ball, and if directed to fire, to fire low. They then marched off to the *Pastoral Hotel*, and on arriving there two sections were placed facing up and down Queen Street, and other two sections in Little Bourke Street. The Mayor then read the Riot Act, and requested the people to disperse, which they did very quickly, and thus the soldiers were saved the very disagreeable duty of firing on them. The 11th were succeeded by a Company of the 99th Regiment again, under the command of Major Reeves, and after remaining some time were again relieved by another Company of the 11th, under Captain Conran. The 11th were stationed here when the Prince's Bridge was opened in November, 1850, and fired a salute from some cannons placed on the south bank of the Yarra. They remained in Melbourne until the advent of the 40th Regiment in November, 1852. Much had been heard of this celebrated corps, so

that when they arrived in the 'Vulcan' troopship, the townspeople were sorry to learn that owing to sickness on board, the vessel had been placed in quarantine for a few days. As the 'Vulcan' was anchored off St. Kilda, the residents of that locality were delighted every evening by hearing the strains of the magnificent regimental band. At length the day came when the Regiment was transhipped into the 'Diamond' river-steamer for conveyance to Melbourne, and as she passed the abattoirs on her way up the river the band played that beautiful air from Maritana, 'In Happy Moments.' This favourite piece was the first and last music heard from the 40th band, as it was played by them when leaving the Railway Pier for New Zealand in 1860.

"As many of the men wore two medals for service in India, and were of splendid physique, there were few Regiments in the service that could have presented such an appearance. The colonists were proud of having such a distinguished Regiment in their midst, and many will never forget the numerous musical treats afforded them by the band, under the leadership of that efficient musician and first-rate performer, Mr. Henry Johnson, who is still in our midst as collector for the Melbourne Hospital. It seems almost as if the good old times and the Fortieth Band were inseparably associated.—Adieu."

Burial Grounds.

The eminence north-westward of the township of Melbourne, and then away in the country, which was afterwards used as a signal station for shipping, was first named "Burial Hill" by the European settlers. In after times it was favourably known as the Flagstaff Hill, for it was a most popular and pleasant recreation ground for the inhabitants.

Here upon the green hillside was inhumed the first white corpse—the remains of Willie, the child of James Goodman, who was buried there on the 13th May, 1836—the first of the new colonists who found an early and final resting-place in a Melbourne Cemetery.

The second funeral there was that of Mr. Charles Franks and his shepherd, murdered by some of the Goulburn blacks, on Franks' station, at Mount Cottrell, near the River Werribee. The bodies were conveyed on a dray to Melbourne, and accorded a species of public funeral.

The next occupant was a seaman attached to the revenue-cutter "Rattlesnake," a cruiser between Sydney and Melbourne. One day a boat shoved off from the vessel to land some firearms at Williamstown, and whilst the deceased was handling a loaded gun, it exploded and accidentally shot him.

The next was the wife of John Ross, a carpenter, who, in a fit of *delirium tremens*, committed suicide by shooting herself with a pistol. Her husband survived her for several years, and was a well-known resident of Heidelberg.

The infant child of a Mr. Wells closes the small death-roll.

In 1836 there were only three deaths recorded in Port Phillip, and but one in 1837, whilst the number ascended to twenty in 1838. In the beginning of the last-mentioned year the unsuitability of the place for a burial-ground capable of satisfying the increasing requirements of an enlarged population was so manifest that funeral operations were abandoned on the hill, and a more convenient locality sought elsewhere. It is to be regretted that the half-dozen corpses embedded in the Flagstaff Hill were not transferred to the first regularly constituted cemetery. Some years ago, on the transformation of the hill into a public garden, the burial-ground was not only securely railed in, but distinguished by a monolith, lettered on one side with the following brief, vague, and sad story:—

ERECTED
to the
MEMORY of
SOME of the EARLIEST of
The PIONEERS of this COLONY
Whose REMAINS were INTERRED
NEAR this SPOT.

This monument stands on the rise of the hill, a short distance from the Garden entry, at the intersection of Latrobe and King Streets.

An erroneous impression prevails, no doubt strengthened by misconceptions of old colonists, that no white people were ever buried on this hill, and that the human remains admitted to be there were the relics of half-a dozen Aboriginals, the first who died in the Melbourne district after its European occupation. But there never was any reasonable ground for such a supposition. After the appropriation of a regular site for a burial-ground, some blackfellows and executed criminals were interred outside its Northern boundary, near the Eastern corner, a portion of the now Queen Victoria Market in Victoria Street. When certain excavations were being made there, the poor remnants of mortality were rudely disturbed, and those who were unable to account for the circumstance were only too willing to assign it to some terrible unatoned-for tragedies perpetrated during the exceptionally sensational crisis which marked the first two or three years supervening on the gold discoveries.

There is a curious history connected with the first Jewish burial-ground. It was a piece of land presented for the purpose by a Mr. Abraham, one of the early colonists. It was on a stony rise at the Merri Creek, between the now Northcote and Merri Creek bridges, and in no way adapted for such a mortuary purpose. The deceased was a lady of nineteen, a Miss Davis, the daughter of a Melbourne innkeeper. Previous to the interment a sexton was despatched to prepare a grave; but when he commenced to do so, he found himself working on what nature had designed for a quarry, and he was able to make little or no progress downward. Two quarrymen were enlisted to help him; pick and shovel and crowbar delved away amongst the bluestone, and by the time the *cortège* had arrived the excavation was not half made. In fact the grave had to be absolutely quarried, and the funeral was delayed for several hours. At length Mr. Michael Cashmore—one of our Corporation Inspectors in 1884—read the usual prayers, and Miss Davis might be said to have found a resting-place in a sort of rude sarcophagus. Subsequently the coffin was exhumed and transhipped to Hobart Town. As a repetition of quarrying operations would be inconvenient on future occasions, the Jewish community applied to the Government for a burial-ground adjoining the reserve granted for a general one, and it was in some degree owing to the exertions of Mr. Ashur Hymen Hart that the request was, after some delay, acceded to. It is a singular and melancholy fact that the first Jew buried there was Mr. Lewis Hart, brother to A. H. Hart, by whom the obituary services were rendered. Mr. A. H. Hart afterwards had a handsome tombstone erected to the memory of the deceased. This monument bore the first Hebraic inscription in the colony, and it was written by the bereaved brother.

The Old Cemetery.

Unoccupied land abounded everywhere, and it had only to be asked for for public purposes. Accordingly an area of eight acres was assigned in 1838 as a public burial-ground. This space was afterwards extended to satisfy the demands of the various religious denominations. The Episcopalians obtained the first grant, next the Presbyterians, and the Wesleyans, Roman Catholics, Independents, and other sects at various times. Though the Government freely parted with the land, no public funds were allowed for fencing, and for a while the cemetery was an open common, trampled by cattle and horses and swine. To remedy in some measure this disgraceful state of things recourse was had to a public subscription, and the preaching of charity sermons. The management of the cemetery was very defective, probably by reason of the divided proprietary. The heads of the several religious communities were culpable for their irreligion in this respect, as a simple regard for the dead ought to have impelled them to concerted action. The Government neither cared or interfered.

The first male interred there was John Smith, a shepherd in the employ of Captain Pollock, a primitive settler in the Geelong district. He was speared one day by the Aborigines, and his remains were brought to Melbourne for interment. The second tenant was a child of Mr. Skene Craig, the first Commissariat Officer in the province, and alive (1884) in England.

The first female buried there was a young unmarried woman named Hannah Mayne. As the deaths recorded throughout the entire province in 1838 were only 20, and 67 in 1839, and as John Batman's funeral took place on the 8th May of the latter year, his was, probably, about the thirtieth interment in the Old Cemetery. As to the necessity for keeping anything like a register of the

interments, such a notion seems never to have occurred to the persons connected with the place; and some idea of the looseness observed may be gathered from the following extract of a communication with which Mr. George Walstab has favoured me:—

"My connection with the Old Cemetery as Secretary to the present Trustees, commenced in 1866, without records of any kind. The cemetery was closed by Proclamation, dated 1st June, 1854. The interments from 1866 to 1881, both inclusive, are 217." The "closure" indicated, was not an absolute prohibition to bury, as an exception was made in favour of those who had interment allotments purchased. The families of such persons still possess the right of burial there, but it is not often availed of. Even many who had relatives interred there purchased other burial sites, and had the human remains exhumed and re-interred in what was known for years as the New Cemetery.

It appears that originally the Governors of New South Wales were empowered to grant land for burial grounds and other public purposes—but by the Acts 5 and 6 Victoria, c. 36, sec. 3, special authorization was given to reserve land as sites for the interment of the dead. The following memo. on the legal history of the Old Melbourne Cemetery, supplied by a "learned friend," whose researches have occasionally been of a rather weird character, and dry-as-dust reading, is of sufficient interest from an antiquarian point of view, to be included in a narrative of this kind:—

"Previous to the year 1843, pieces of ground forming the Old Melbourne Cemetery seem to have been set apart and used by different religious denominations for the burial of the dead.

"On the 30th January, 1843, a Crown grant was issued to George Lilly, William Wilton, J. Jones Peers, Thomas Jennings, and William Willoughby, in trust for the interment of the dead according to the use of the Wesleyan Methodists.

"On the 18th May, 1843, a Crown grant was issued to the Right Rev. Wm. Grant Broughton, D.D., in trust for the interment of the dead, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland.

"On the 19th October, 1843, a Crown grant was issued to William Ryrie, James Oliphant Denny, and J. Hunter Patterson, in trust for the interment of the dead, according to the use of the Church of Scotland.

"On the 18th December, 1844, a Crown grant was issued to Michael Cashmore, Solomon Benjamin, and Ashur Hymen Hart, in trust for the interment of the dead, according to the custom of the Jews.

"On the 30th November, 1847, a Crown grant was issued to Robert Dunsford, Godfrey Howitt, Edward Sayce, and John Bakewell, in trust, for the interment of the dead, according to the use of the Society of Friends.

"And on the 30th November, 1847, another Crown grant was issued to the Rev. Alexander Morison, Thomas Fulton, and Edwin Mawney Sayers, upon trust, for the interment of the dead, according to the use of the Independents.

"The pieces of land comprised in these grants do not include the whole pieces of land known as the Old Melbourne Cemetery, but there is a portion which was used by the Roman Catholics, and another portion which was set apart for the burial of Aboriginals, which appear to be still vested in Her Majesty—no grants appearing of record.

"By the Act 14, Victoria No. 19, sec. 18, the Officer Administering the Government of Port Phillip was empowered by Proclamation to close the cemetery, except as to vaults or enclosed portions of land that were private property.

"By Proclamation of 1st June, 1854, John V. Foster, the Officer Administering the Government, closed the cemetery in accordance with the last-mentioned Act. After this Proclamation, the Old Cemetery seems to have slept for 10 years, and all about the previous title, too, seems to have been forgotten.

"By Order-in-Council (18th April, 1864), Richard Hale Budd, Alexander Brock, J. Cosgrave, J. Phillips, Robert Smith, and Moses Rintel, were appointed Trustees. This Order seems to have been made ignoring the previous Trustees altogether, and under the assumption that the provisions of the Cemeteries Statute 1864 were applicable.

"N.B.—These Trustees seem to have acted as under the Cemeteries Statute, 1864.



Scene in
Old Melbourne Cemetery.

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"By Part I. of the Amending Health Act, No. 310 (6th September, 1867) sec. 3, power was given to the Governor-in-Council to close any cemetery subject to exceptions, and by the 5th section of the Act rights of exclusive burial were saved if claimed as there mentioned.

"By Order-in-Council (28th October, 1867), under the last-mentioned Act, it was ordered that burials in the Old Cemetery should be discontinued, except by persons having rights of burial, who claim the right by notice in writing, left at the department of the Public Works within three months. This Order is published in the *Gazette* of 8th November, 1867.

"Application was made to the City Council to allow the foundations of a new wall proposed to be built round the Old Cemetery to be brought out on the footpath, and it appears that a new wall was built by arrangement with the City Council without reference to the parcels actually included in the grants of the Old Cemetery."

The Episcopalian subdivision of the ground was consecrated 18th April, 1838, by Dr. Broughton, the Metropolitan of New South Wales, on the occasion of his first Episcopal visitation, to Port Phillip; and on 20th October, 1844, a similar ceremonial was performed for the Roman Catholic compartment, by Archbishop Pohlding, then in Melbourne from Sydney.

In 1839, the Church of England authorities issued a formidable looking Schedule of Diocesan Fees, from which I transcribe the following items, as bearing on the topic under treatment:—Burial in a grave—Clergyman, 2s.; Parish Clerk, 1s.; Sexton, 3s. 6d.; Total, 6s. 6d. Burial in a brick or stone grave—Clergyman, 10s.; Parish Clerk, 5s. 6d.; Sexton, 5s. 6d.; Total, £1 1s. Burial in a vault—Clergyman, £1 1s.; Parish Clerk, 7s. 6d.; Sexton, 7s. 6d.: Total, £1 16s.

The proportionate equity of this tariff of required disbursements is not so self-evident as would be desirable, for one cannot well see any just reason why a Clergyman should be paid five-fold as much for reading at a stone grave as at an ordinary one, and more than ten-fold in a vault; or that whilst the Clerk's responses were worth only a shilling in one instance, they should run up to 7s. 6d. in another, without the addition of a single syllable in the latter case. The Sexton as the hardest worked, was underpaid in proportion; but then his grave digging was soft and shallow, and in no way to be compared with similar work at the present day. The charges made by other religious denominations were much the same, and except the prayerful portion, whose efficacy I do not presume to question, precious little equivalent was given. In addition to these items the ground had also to be paid for. One of the pioneer grave-diggers is, I am informed, alive in the year of grace, 1884, a resident of Collingwood. His name is William Willis, and though past his seventy-sixth year, is a hearty old buffer, who was provident in making provision for the sunset of life, and is reported to be fairly well in.

As was to be naturally expected, the tenanting of graves was followed by the erection of tombstones, and other more ostentatious monumental remembrancers. Some of the *mementoes* were fabricated of wood, and those of stone were chiselled out of a material imported from Hobart Town. Vaults after a time followed. The most skilful artist in this branch of masonry, was an individual named John Hughes, who stuck to his craft until after the gold discoveries of 1851, when he turned shopkeeper in a general way, and sold his wares at a small tenement in Bourke Street, next to the now so well known "Beehive" corner. He died in a few years, leaving a wife and son. The wife still lives in Fitzroy, and the boy, grown into a curious looking mannikin, was a well-known pauper exhibit in Bourke Street, where with a tin plate, inscribed "The Oldest White Child in Melbourne," fastened on his breast, he solicited the alms of the thousands of wayfarers who daily passed him. He too has followed his father to that country where mendicancy is unknown.

Primitive Funerals and Undertakers.

Nothing could well exceed the rough-and-ready style in which some of the early funerals were conducted, before the era of solemn-faced undertakers, glass hearses, nodding plumes, and automatic mutes. The coffins were uncouth specimens of clumsy carpentry—small packing-cases—wherein the defunct were thrust, with little or no attempt at sentiment. In one notable instance, an un-coffined

corpse was buried in Melbourne. One day in November, 1838, the remains of a man recently dead, were found in a hut a short distance from the intersection of Collins and Queen Streets. No one knew who he was; and there was no one to care what became of him. But, to permit his body to remain in a scorching hot wind was out of the question. At length three or four of the townsmen wrapped the poor corpse in some old bagging, placed it on a chair, and so chaired it away to the cemetery. Arriving there, there was no official to render any help; the buryers had to turn grave-diggers, and the ceremony perfunctorily got through was soon over.

For some years the conveyance of coffins to the grave was a carriage on men's shoulders, and for the best of reasons, viz.—there was no other town mode available.

There has been a controversy more than once raised as to the identity of the first person obliging enough to undertake professionally for the becoming disposal of the dead, and more than one claim has been advanced, for a distinction posthumous in every sense. The following advertisement (10th January, 1839) to my mind effectually settles the question :—

CARPENTER, JOINER, AND UNDERTAKER.

ROBERT FROST begs to inform the inhabitants at Port Phillip generally, that he has commenced business in the above branches, in Collins Street, Melbourne, and assures those persons who may honour him with their patronage, that all orders entrusted to his care will be promptly executed on moderate terms.

☞ Funerals attended on the shortest notice.

This bill of mortality did not promise much for fortune making in the particular line, because, as before stated, there were only 20 deaths in the province during 1838, 67 in 1839, though the rate rose in 1840 to 198.

The luxury of a hearse was unknown until the arrival of Mr. Samuel Crook, who opened a "Cabinet and upholstery warehouse," in William Street, near the wharf. In January, 1840, he issued a trade manifesto, concluding with the consolatory intimation that "Funerals would be furnished punctually, and conducted in the neatest manner possible; and a hearse is in course of building and will be let out on hire." Crook soon after removed his coffin factory to the site of the present Victoria Coffee Palace, adjoining the Town Hall, in Collins Street, where he worked his mortuary appliances for many years. A year after, Mr. Thomas Croft endeavoured to improve on Crook's announcement for he "Combines the office of sexton and undertaker, and performs funerals on the shortest notice, and on the most reasonable terms." As an N.B. he adds "A mourning hearse if required." There was also a well-known undertaker for a long time recognized as a Melbourne identity. He was Mr. Thomas Jennings, who, in his day, saw many of the residents of the Melbourne cemeteries quietly disposed of, and it was not until 1884 that he followed them.

Formerly burial-grounds were identical with church-yards, and under denominational control. As a consequence, the parish clerk was a small pluralist as to his duties, commencing with his various ecclesiastical attentions to the pastor and other sacred belongings, and ending with grave-digging. All his functions were covered by his appointment as sexton, a term of much comprehension, and thus it came, that, when the grave-yards were placed apart from the religious edifices, the sexton's vocation made him as much at home in the cemetery as in the vestry. But the march of time and the change of circumstances rendered it incompatible with the dignity of the clerkship, that the amalgamation of the "professions" should continue, and it was so divided that, the grave-digger was declared to be a separate, though not an independent functionary.

Resurrectionism and Ghosts.

For several years the Old Graveyard (cemetery it was never called) was quite outside the town. Northward the town in reality did not extend beyond Lonsdale Street, and the suburban residences

in that quarter consisted of a few comfortable hut-like cottages, some of them more than a mile apart. Vulgar credulity was exercised by rumours of resurrectionism and apparitions; and if only a tithe of what was gossiped about had happened, the ghostly flittings must have been incessant from curfew to sunrise. If one were disposed to give the subject any serious consideration, it would be found utterly untenable; for assuming the reality of a pro-medical raid, there would be no company left to perform in the hobgoblin pantomimes declared to be of common occurrence. If the graves so gave up their dead for the pecuniary advantage of the human night-ghouls known in Cockney slangdom as "bone-grubbers," it is not to be supposed that the ghosts would remain behind, though where they would betake themselves is not so certain. The looting and the spiritualistic theories are therefore irreconcilable.

The "body-snatching" scare, I have little doubt, was kept alive by the drunken maunderings of a once Collins Street denizen, who was transported from England for plundering a London cemetery; and whenever he over-indulged (frequently the case) he loved to fight his churchyard battles o'er again, and prate of the unholy exploits in which he was concerned before the London slums saw the last of him. Certainly at the time I write of, there were no public institutions where a practitioner could procure a subject for surgical experiments. We had no Professors of Anatomy, no University Medical School or students requiring ocular demonstration in the science of dissection, and the Doctors and Surgeons of Melbourne were, as a rule, a jolly easy-going race, satisfied with a paying practice, and not troubling their heads much in adding to their store of demonstrative physiological knowledge. I have, therefore, not the slightest hesitation in pronouncing the wholesale assertion so made as simply preposterous, though I have heard of three cases which did really occur.

The operators at the graves and in the surgery have, like the abstracted bodies, passed out of this world to account for themselves in another. The children of some of them are now holding positions of consideration in the present generation, and I have therefore, no intention of awaking the silence of the tomb by mentioning names. The following incident was communicated to me recently by a friend to whom I am much indebted in connection with my Old Time CHRONICLES. Some years ago in company with a Melbourne mechanic (since dead) he was passing the Old Cemetery, at which the companion warningly pointed, and with an ominous shake of the head, exclaimed, "Well, Sir, I should not like to have been buried yonder in the old times." On being asked why, his answer was that once upon a time the vault of an old colonist in which his wife was supposed to rest in peace, was believed to require some repairing in consequence of the wet having penetrated the foundation. He was commissioned to have the work done, and in doing so the vault was opened, and a careful look inside revealed the extraordinary circumstance that the lid had been shifted from the lady's coffin, and the coffin was empty. Shocked at this disclosure the repairer did not know well how to act, but had the presence of mind to re-adjust the lid without an assistant workman becoming aware of the circumstances. The vault was then put to rights, and it was a source of anxious thought with the discoverer of the corpse abstraction, whether he should communicate the shocking occurrence to the husband. After mature consideration he made up his mind that as the harm had been done and the period of the crime was uncertain, no good could result from simply rendering the unsuspecting husband miserable, who consequently remained in utter ignorance of a diabolical outrage, which it would be impossible for him to avenge. So the abduction of the lady corpse remained a close secret, and is now given to the public for the first time, but without the slightest notion of establishing any identity.

The ghost stories were even much more unreliable, though strictly they could not be denied a "shade" of probability. Whenever a person at all notable died, the body was hardly cold in the earth, when it was rumoured the deceased appeared in some place or other; and though no person in sober senses was ever forthcoming to bear witness to the fact, the mystic *canards* obtained a large share of belief. John Batman, it was solemnly averred, perambulated his favourite hill at "high twelve" every night, and continued "beating the boundaries" until even after the first crow of cock. His ghost-ship was effectually laid when in 1870, the levelling of the hill commenced, and he never troubled it after. Twice he was said to have haunted his venomous rival "Johnny" Fawkner; once at Pascoe Vale on the Moonee Ponds, where J. P. F. resided for several years, and once in Smith Street, Collingwood,

Fawkner's *habitat* for some time before he died. Fawkner when questioned on the subject, met it with an indignant denial. "Ho! Ho! take my word Batman would not be such a fool to play me such a trick, even if he could; and if he tried it on with me I would make it warm for the fellow." The comfortable old house in Victoria Parade, at the corner of Fitzroy Street, was erected at a very early date for Mr. Arthur Kemmis, one of the primitive merchants. He resided there only for a few months, when he died; and I have heard it solemnly asseverated that the place was haunted until Mr. (now Sir A.) Michie moved into it, and whilst there delivered a lecture on "Ghosts," in the Melbourne Mechanics' Institute. The presumed cause of the ghostly disappearance is the exorcising influence generated by the intellectual chemicals employed in the preparation of the lecture.

There is a popular superstition amongst believers in the supernatural, viz.—that ghosts particularly affect places of Divine worship, and consequently the old churches of St. James, St. Francis, the Wesleyan Chapel (once where the Bank of Australasia is now), and the first Scots' Kirk, had, in vulgar belief, their nightly disembodied visitants through the appearance of the several individuals who first officiated as clerks in these "holy places." Faint shimmering lights, it was said, used to be seen there, and whilst the attendant at the Roman Catholic Church loudly intoned a Litany, the others exercised their vocal powers in appropriate selections of hymnody. The most searching enquiry, however, could never elicit anything but the vaguest hearsay testimony on the subject. It used to be also stated and believed by not a few, that a ghost would occasionally make a night-run on the banks, unlock the safes, roll out the cash on the counter, and amuse himself as a teller by rattling the gold, silver, and coppers, without ever paying or receiving any current coin of the realm. The old Union Bank, at the north-west corner of Queen and Little Flinders Streets, was reputedly the most often so patronised whilst it was under the management of the late Mr. William Highett. In a conversation one day with him he assured me that the only nocturnal disturbance he ever heard there, was on an occasion when some depredators in the flesh displaced a number of bricks from the southern wall of the building, and would have succeeded in removing the bank safe with all the working cash, had he not been awakened by the noise, and appeared inside on the spot in the nick of time to spoil "their little game."

The early newspaper offices were particularly susceptible of *spirituous* influences, even of a more ardent flavour than the distillation of a cemetery, and it could not therefore be expected that such establishments should be disregarded in the spiritual world. The three primary journals—the *Gazette*, *Patriot*, and *Herald*, were consequently "ghosted," notwithstanding the efforts of "the Father of the Chapel" attached to each, to banish such inscrutable influences. The *Gazette* office was near the (now) Union Bank in Collins Street, and the haunter (or rather hauntress) was a white lady costumed in the style of an Irish Banshee, who was supposed to have "set her cap" (more properly her long undulating curls), at Mr. George Arden, the sprightly, smart pungent-penned editor. But her modesty prevented her ever appearing when he was there. The newspapers then were bi-weekly; so the editorial room was two-thirds of its time, especially at night, deserted. It was then she appeared on the *tapis*, overhauled Arden's writing-desk, sat in his chair, and read his letters. A veteran compositor, known as "Jupiter" Brown, declared that he often saw her. He used to be much about there at all hours, and she would glide quietly past him with as scant ceremony as if he had no existence, strike a light, not with a match-box as now, but by dipping the top of a lucifer in a small acid bottle, the primitive mode, quietly sit down, and set to work. He declared he had often followed, with the determination of questioning the unbidden intruder; but when he arrived within talking distance, some spell gave his tongue such a twist, and so benumbed his brain, as to render him unable to carry out his intention. When afterwards asked to account for his repeated faint-heartedness he curtly and invariably answered with a Latin quotation, the only one he was ever known to know or employ—"*Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.*"

Old "Jupiter" often put me off with this illogical platitude, and it was my fixed conviction that, as there was a tavern known as the *Imperial* close by, where Brown was a frequent visitor, as Minerva is said to have sprung from the head of the Olympian Zeus, so by the aid of Bacchus the White Lady of Arden was the imaginary cerebral offspring of the Melbourne Jupiter.

The ghost of the *Patriot* office, situated rearward of the now *Union Club Hotel*, Collins Street, was supposed to be the *umbra* of a compositor, first bullied and then discharged by the proprietor, J. P. Fawkner, when he went on a "bust," overdrank himself, got turned over into the Yarra, and drowned. To take it out of "Johnny" he watched his opportunity, penetrated to the limited premises when the men were away, and made "pye" of everything within fingers' reach. The disordered type was often shown to Fawkner, who would get into terrible tantrums, and vow vengeance on the dead man if ever he got hold of him. It occurred to me that the "pye" was the confectionery of living hands, for Fawkner's irritable temperament often thrust him into hot water, and made him the frequent victim of unseemly practical jokes. To all newspaper offices there is attached a subordinate ministering imp, designated the "Printer's Devil," and a diminutive specimen of this order of terrestrials was once connected with the *Herald*. He was simply known as Charlie, and no one, not even himself, could tell his patronymic. He was a wee street Arab, picked out of the gutter when such animals were scarce—a stray lamb rescued from destitution by Cavenagh, the first proprietor, and for his years was a smart, precocious, useful little fellow. One day he was killed by tumbling out of a baker's cart, wherein he was enjoying a free jaunt, and the sudden death of Charlie was regretted by all his *confrères*, old and young.

There was in the office a very smart compositor, named Mullins, rather given to "swiping," both on and off duty, and soon after Charlie's disappearance, Mullins, on what were known as "pub nights," declared that the boy used to appear to him at frequent intervals. Mullins would start, vow that the ghostling was right before him, grimacing and posturing, and then would rush to a neighbouring tavern, and absorbing there a counter-irritant, return refreshed, or, as he declared, all right for the time. The *Herald* office then comprised two detached cottages, situated near the Little Collins Street entrance to the Royal Arcade, and I had lately joined the establishment. One night I was up to my eyes with proof reading in the small, but not uncomfortable, editor's crib, when Mullins staggered in for something I was correcting. Looking up at him I banteringly asked, "Well, Jem, have you seen the devil to-night?" and I had no sooner done so than Mullins shook as if with terror, and pointing to the blazing wood fire in the corner, exclaimed, "Look, sir, there he is, perched on the uppermost burning log. Look! look! how he thrusts out his tongue and grins like a cat. Ah! there, he's off now, and I hear him tramping about the place in every direction." Needless to say, I neither saw nor heard anything to alarm me; so I told the scared Mullins that the devil tramping was in reality the "D.T-ing" of certain spirituous influences peculiar to his system, and teetotally differing in flavour and smell from the graveyard emanations by which he seemed to be possessed. The manifestations continued whilst Mullins remained on the *Herald*, and when he left they evaporated with him, and the ghost of the so-much-talked-of poor little "printer's devil" was laid for evermore.

But the most hideously grotesque ghost "yarn" spun in the olden time, sprung out of the first and second criminal executions witnessed in Melbourne in 1842. The first men hanged in the colony were two Van Diemonian black murderers, on the 20th January, and the next batch three white bushrangers, 28th June of that year. The condemned burial-ground was, as before noted, close by the north-eastern corner of the public cemetery outside the fence. Herein were deposited the remains of the blackfellows, and nothing further was heard of them for more than five months, when they were joined by the white fellows, and shortly after it began to be rumoured that on certain nights of the week (Tuesdays and Fridays) the most unearthly doings were indulged in by the ghosts of the five defunct individuals, who had the outside graveyard to themselves, but who, so soon as the night was well in, jumped out of their graves, and plunged into vagaries of a most astounding character, a species of pedestrianism which might be termed a combination of corroboree and hornpipe. The blackfellows in opossum rugs, and the whites in shrouds romped about in wild confusion, kicking and sparring at each other, prancing along by the northern boundary, westward to where the Melbourne pound was situated, and back to the starting point. The cattle-yard was at the now intersection of Elizabeth and Victoria Streets, and persons engaged here at unseasonable hours declared that they witnessed such exhibitions. One of these individuals

induced me to accompany him on a winter night to attest the performances, and though he protested he could see everything as described passing before his eyes, the only view I could obtain was the "cold, chaste moon," looking sulkily down through a dim cloud; and the only conclusion to which I could come was that my companion's superiority of vision was a species of second-sight, produced by the enlightening influence of an over-indulgence in alcoholism; and when I hinted so much I was plainly laughed at as a fool, who could not see beyond his nose. Richmond, Prahran, and Collingwood Flat had each its special guardian goblin in the popular fatuity, and though no reliable evidence, either direct or circumstantial, could ever be adduced to elicit a verdict of the existence of supernatural appearances, even from a jury of spiritists, a vague belief in such could not be effectually divorced from the public opinion of the period.

Readers at the present highly-educated time may consider it unpardonable trifling to reproduce such items of Port Phillip folk-lore, and my reason for so doing is a desire to convey an accurate notion of one of the idiosyncrasies of the time treated of. Besides, I am disposed to think that there is no country or era without its special psychological absurdities, and some of the supernatural fads of the present day are just as absurd and irrational as the gruesome traditions evolved from the Old Cemetery. From all I have read and heard of such mysterious influences, I have formed a conviction that the ghost theory in all aspects and ages is about the most arrant myth that ever imposed upon humanity. I cannot by any mental process bring myself to believe that any churchyard ever yawned in the sense enunciated by Shakspeare, or that in the discomforting dictum of Milton—

> "Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
> Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep."

Point Ormond Burial Ground.

Beyond St. Kilda, near what was once known as "The Little Red Bluff," moulders the dust of three men buried so long ago as the 21st April, 1840. Their names were—William Armstrong, Samuel Craig, and John James. They were passengers by the "Glen Huntly" immigrant ship, from Greenock, which arrived in the Bay on the 17th April, and having typhus fever on board, she was quarantined there, and all hands were camped near the beach. The three men were buried close by, and where they lay was enclosed with a wooden railing. The enclosure was preserved with some ordinary regard to decency for several years, but during the last decade, or more, it has been so utterly neglected that at the present time it is difficult to find the whereabouts of the graves. There are four or five old posts stuck in the ground, but in such a manner as not to distinguish the spot from the rest of the bare, weather-beaten plateau. Having, in the course of 1883, heard it stated that the municipal authorities of St. Kilda intended to take some steps to protect and specialize the locality in a befitting manner, and finding, after some time, that the project did not progress beyond the stage of intention, I ventured to communicate with the Town Clerk on the subject. For the courteous consideration accorded to my enquiries I beg to tender my acknowledgments, and as the topic has been lately ventilated in some of the Melbourne newspapers, I would hope that the following letters, addressed to me, may be deemed of sufficient interest to justify their publication:—

Town Clerk's Office,
Town Hall, St. Kilda,
7th January, 1884.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 31st ult., enquiring whether the St. Kilda Borough Council has done anything to enclose and distinguish the spot where three persons were buried at Point Ormond, in 1840.

In reply, I beg to inform you that as yet nothing has been done in the direction indicated. Some two years since the matter was brought under their notice (the Council), and it was intended to enclose the graves, and erect a memorial slab. The matter, however, still rests in abeyance. Within the last six months the Council made application to the Lands Department to have the reserve at Point Ormond placed under their control, with a view to a fence being erected along the cliff, and to plant certain portions, but was not successful.

The Reserve is at present under the control of a Committee of Management, consisting of the Honourable J. G. Dougharty, James Osborn, Samuel Griffiths, H. V. Duigan, and R. E. Jacomb, Esquires.

I have, &c., &c.,
JNO. N. BROWNE,
Town Clerk.

"Garryowen,"
Herald Office, Melbourne.

Town Clerk's Office,
Town Hall, St. Kilda,
16th January, 1884.

To "Garryowen,"
Herald Office, Melbourne.

Sir,—Referring to my letter of the 7th inst. acknowledging the receipt of yours of the 31st ult. respecting the graves at Point Ormond, I have now the honour by direction of the Council to inform you that it was their intention to expend a sum of money to enclose the graves of the three persons buried at the Red Bluff in 1840, had the ground in question been placed under their control, instead of which the Government placed this reserve under the control of several gentlemen, whose names were indicated in my previous letter. Whether those gentlemen will carry out the Council's intention in the matter I am unable to state.

I have, &c., &c.,
JNO. N. BROWNE,
Town Clerk.

It seems tolerably evident from the above that the St. Kilda Council has done all that could be reasonably expected to discharge its responsibility in the matter, and whatever blame may arise from a discreditable neglect must be transferred to other shoulders. To expend Borough funds in improving where no public ownership was legally vested, would amount to little short of a misappropriation. When the Government placed the reserve in a special trust, it was no doubt with the view that the Trustees should do something in the way of amendment, and the gentlemen nominated to the position, if they would not rest content with a somewhat inglorious sinecure, should bestir themselves in the public interest, and insist upon being supplied with sufficient funds to do at least what the Council offered. No outlay could possibly replace the Point in its condition in 1840, when the quarantine station was proclaimed there, for never again can it have the picturesquely umbrageous surroundings then so lavishly supplied by Nature. Civilization has not only shorn it of all its pristine attractions, but stripped it as bare as a picked bone. It is now a dreary, desolate, skeletony spot, though by a judicious and not excessive outlay, may be transformed into a most enjoyable and salubrious marine pleasure ground.

THE GRAVES AT KING'S ISLAND.

There is another old graveyard, now almost forgotten, around which gloomier memories associate than any of the preceding. Though not within the territorial circuit of the colony of Victoria, as the catastrophe through which it was inaugurated once overwhelmed Port Phillip with a profound feeling of sorrow, it may be regarded as coming within the legitimate scope of this narrative.

On a rising ground at King's Island, wrapt in the murmurs of the sad sea waves, and washed by the wild storm-spray, are five common graves containing the relics of three hundred and four human beings, the melancholy remnants of three hundred and ninety-nine persons who, in August 1845, perished in the wreck of the "Cataraqui," an emigrant ship from Liverpool bound for Hobson's Bay. The spot was enclosed and a memorial tablet erected at the expense of the New South Wales Government. Unable to say if this mournful *memento* was kept in a proper state of renovation; and desirous (if possible) of ascertaining its present condition, I sought for information on the subject in various quarters; but in vain, for no one could tell anything about it. At length I found a friend in need in Mr. A. A. Le Soeuf, the Usher of the Legislative Council, to whom I am much indebted for valuable information in connection with several chapters of my CHRONICLES.

He kindly volunteered his services, and most effectually kept his word. Through him I ascertained that the Melbourne Customs department possessed no special information on the subject. All that could be said was that King's Island was within the Governmental jurisdiction of Tasmania. A promise was, however, given that an official enquiry should be made. This was done accordingly, and on the 25th March, 1884, I was afforded an opportunity through Mr. Le Soeuf, of perusing a correspondence in relation to the matter. A communication from Mr. Alexander Wilson, Engineer in charge of Ports and Harbours, dated 24th March, enclosed a letter from Mr. Edward Nash Spong, ex-Superintendent of Cape Dickham Light, addressed to the Master Warden, Hobart. It was dated, Rhyndaston, 17th March, 1884, and supplied certain information, in the words of the writer, "chiefly obtained from my sons, who have often visited the spot." Next follows a rough pen and ink drawing of an "iron tablet about 6 feet by 3 feet, in three pieces fastened to a large rock just above high water mark." This description does not tally with the one printed in the Melbourne newspapers of the period. Next is given the "Inscription from Memory," also materially different from the published version. The communication proceeds thus:—"David Howie, the Straits Constable, arrived on the island three or four days after the wreck to visit the four Tasmanian women (Aboriginals) employed by him hunting for kangaroo on the island, and who informed him of the wreck. He buried all the bodies he found washed up, in two large pits, just above high water mark, which were afterwards fenced in by the Port Phillip Government, but all traces of fencing have long since disappeared from lapse of time and bush fires. The tablet is in a very corroded state from the action of sea water, and the lack of paint for so many years." The latter portion of this extract is, I fear, only too true; but the first half about the lady kangarooers is an amusing exercise of some fertile imagination. The circumstances under which Howie, at the time a sealer, found the survivors, and saved them from the horrors of starvation, have been truthfully and specifically detailed in the chapter devoted to Shipwrecks. As to the improvised cemetery referred to, it should be a sacred obligation on the Tasmanian Executive to save it from oblivion.*

The Melbourne General Cemetery.

As years rolled on, the City gradually spread its wings northward, and houses sprung up so close to the Old Cemetery, as to render it necessary to obtain another site more proportionate to the increasing mortuary necessities of the population. Accordingly, in February 1849, the City Council adopted a resolution on the subject, which was transmitted to his Honor the Superintendent, but nothing definite was determined until the following year, when on the 23rd May a communication was received by the Council intimating that 40 acres of land had been reserved for a new cemetery about one mile northward of the town, and this was the nucleus of the now "Melbourne General Cemetery." In September 1850, the Act 14, Vic. No. 19, was passed "For the Establishment and Regulation by Trustees of a General Cemetery, near the City of Melbourne." This new necropolis was opened for public use on the 1st June, 1853, and how admirably it has been managed there is no need to say. Its present extent is 100 acres; and, through the courtesy of Mr. A. Purchas, Secretary to the Trustees (who though far from being the least zealous of our public officers, is far from being the least abused), I am enabled to state that the number of interments there, viz., from the opening day to the 31st December, 1887, was 132,414, inclusive of both sexes.

The first male buried there was John Alexander Burnett, and the first female Jane Bell. If I mistake not, this Mr. Burnett was formerly chief clerk to the well-known mercantile firm of Dalgety, Borradale and Co., in Bourke Street West, and was esteemed a man of a highly-cultivated intelligence, and much commercial knowledge. Burnett Street, St. Kilda, was so named in compliment to him.

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*Full particulars of the wreck of the "Cataraqui" will be found on page 582, *ante*.

POUNDS.

The first Pound was established on the 13th March, 1839, off Flinders, between Swanston and Russell Streets, just northward of the Corporation Free Baths. Its keeper was a Mr. George Scarborough, who, though he would not take a champion prize for good looks, was a worthy and energetic fellow in his way. He lived in Melbourne until a few years ago, and often in days of yore had troublous times of it, in his altercations with goat-owning and fowl-loving ladies in their efforts to get impounded live chattels out of his grip, without paying his demands for fees and damage.

Ex. gra.:—It is recorded that on the 4th March, 1846, as Police-Sergeant O'Connor and some constables were driving a mixed herd of about 150 goats, mobilized in Melbourne and suburbs, to the Pound, and whilst the jailer was gleefully making arrangements for the reception of his welcome guests, the owner of a portion of them came to the rescue. She was a Mrs. Neave (a market poultry vendor), and aided only by a chopper which she brandished in a thorough Amazonian fashion, and single-handed, effected a deliverance. For such audacious lawlessness the officer "pulled" her before the Police Court, where she was fined 35s., with 3s. 6d. costs.

A monster sale of impounded goats was held 1st February, 1849, when 140 animals were knocked down for £9, though the Poundage fees alone would amount to £30. The Yarra-bank Pound was in a position which left it an easy prey to any unusual flooding of the river, and the keeper was ever in a state of uneasiness as to the probability of a flood. The inundation of December, 1839, swept over the place, and carried off most of the fencing; but as there happened on that day to be only a few temporary sojourners in "limbo," no further injury was done. At the period of the August flood of 1842, the Pound was crowded with a mob of offending cattle, which had a hairbreadth escape from wholesale drowning; but Scarborough was just in time with a staff of volunteer drovers to prevent the disaster by transferring the prisoners to a large yard attached to the *Caledonian Hotel*, in Lonsdale Street, a short way from the south-west corner of Swanston Street, where an asylum was found well above any probable flood mark. This led to the removal of the Pound from contiguity with the river, to west of the Old Cemetery, near the corner of Capel Street.

A MARVELLOUS MAGPIE.

There was for a time attached to the original Pound, as an *aide-de-camp* of the keeper, a member of the Ornithological tribe, a special favourite with the Pound *habitués*, from his liveliness of disposition, recklessness of habits, and looseness of tongue. It was a magpie, and such were the gifts natural and acquired of this wonderful bird, that he got to be known as "The Professor," though such an Institution as an University was about the remotest thing to be thought of. The biped had received a limited education, not taught at a Sunday-school, for his language was very bad, and his phrases, though choice, were extremely inelegant. He picked up a little of the worst slang from the ex-convict bullock-drivers and stockmen with whom he consorted, could fly into a public-house and call for "beer," and when a bar toper would oblige him, the "Professor" had the human accomplishment not disdained by some modern Professors of getting intoxicated, and when so muddled behaving in a very ungentlemanly manner indeed. Occasionally he would sink into the besotted condition that would justify a policeman in locking him up, not only as a drunken and disorderly character, but for using blasphemous and obscene language. But as he could not by even the longest stretch of legal ingenuity, be regarded as a "person" within the meaning of the Town's Police Act then in force, he possessed an immunity from the watch-house which he sadly abused. One Sunday forenoon the "Professor," through a desire to shake off the effects of a heavy spree, started from the Pound for a stroll up the Yarra. Captain Lonsdale resided in a comfortable cottage, at the western end of Yarra Park, then known as the Government Paddock. The inmates, with the exception of the lady of the mansion and a maid-servant, had gone to church,

and the former was engaged in private devotions. The "Professor" hopped his way to the house, and noiselessly entering the parlour stationed himself in a corner, and for some time was an unseen and attentive listener to the precations he heard read. Suddenly the lady was thunderstruck by hearing within a few yards of where she sat, a cracked, screaming, unhuman voice, bidding her to be off at once to an unterrestrial region of a name unmentionable, and on turning round in extreme alarm to question the intruder, she was horrified at beholding not only a speaking but a swearing magpie—certainly not a bird of Paradise, but more like a feathered imp, escaped from that mysterious region with the name of which he was so familiar. Whilst hesitating as to summoning assistance to eject the unholy visitant, the disturber solved the uncertainty for her by ejaculating a stunning oath or two, and making his exit through the open window.

But the "Professor" was gifted with another accomplishment less objectionable, and at times profitable to his proprietor. From habit in listening at the frequently-held Pound sales, and a course of drilling, he acquired the art of bidding at the beck of the auctioneer. Of course he could only do so in the most restricted sense; as his lingual faculty in this respect was limited to the enunciation of the word "ten" whenever his master indulged in a peculiar nod. The bird would be stowed away in sight of the vendor, upon whom on all such occasions he would keep a constant eye, and so the moment the signal came from the one, the "ten" issued from the throat of the other. This style of puffing was often the source of endless fun, though occasionally a bidder was bitten by the magpie's intelligence. Once there was a largely-attended sale of impounded horses and cattle, and amongst the former was a filly, much fancied by a well-known publican ("Jack Lamb") who reckoned upon knocking her down for a trifle more than a song. The bidding commenced at a pound, and to the surprise of most present, was run up by two voices (Lamb's and some other unknown person's in the crowd). After Lamb's pound bid, the other clapped on a "ten," which the auctioneer was not slow to pick up, and thus it see-sawed between the pounds and the shillings, until Lamb made it £20, when the opposition ceased and he was declared the purchaser. It was not until after the money was paid that the vendee became aware that he had been victimized by the magpie, who thus conspired with the Pound-keeper in this almost incredible and irresistibly comical mode of "skinning the Lamb." The "Professor" terminated his earthly career by a fate which has destroyed many an inebriate since. He was a special favourite at one or two taverns in Little Flinders Street, which he used to visit and "shout" for himself. In these places he was on "free grass," and always got what he asked for without payment. One evening he overdrank himself, and labouring under some affection not unlike a touch of D. T. in staggering home, he missed his way, tumbled into the Yarra, was unable to recover his equilibrium, and there was an end of him.

The second Pound was established south of the Yarra, under the charge of a Mr. T. M. Atkinson, and others soon followed in various country places. By a strange chance the Pentridge Pound was within the reserve of the now monster prison. In 1845, a Mr. G. P. Anderson was the Pound-keeper, and he promulgated a notice that if a number of cattle in his custody were not released within a specified time, they should be sold without reserve in the Pound-yard. Pounds were then a kind of roughly-enclosed stockade, and as the Great Penal Stockade (as it was at first called) was not commenced until five years after, the one must not be mistaken for the other. The black cattle now under the charge of the Inspector Poundkeeper-General, though select, are a very mixed herd. As they are not likely to be claimed, they would, no doubt, have no objection to be knocked down in "the Pound-yard," but the finding of purchasers would be rather difficult.

CHAPTER LII.

THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

SYNOPSIS:—A Commercial "Ring."—The Personality of the "Twelve Apostles."—Mr. Rucker Makes an Assignment.—The Bank's Bond.—Rucker Outwits the Bank Manager.—Rucker's Ante-nuptial Settlement.—His Marriage.—"A Man of Straw."—Bank Manager Boyd Puts on "the Screw."—The Apostles "Cornered."—Panegyric on Mr. Were.—His Official Dignities.—Sketch of the "Twelve Apostles."—Mr. Rucker's Letter to Mr. Were.

"RING," in old slang, was synonymous with "whitewashing," or taking the benefit of the Insolvent Act, and in the early commercial traditions of Port Phillip is to be found a curious combination or "ring," which, though not intending it, ultimately terminated in a general daubing of whitewash, either through direct insolvency or by assignment to creditors. Without, perhaps, a single exception, it was a general burst up, though three-fourths of the members afterwards recovered from the shock, did well and lived long in the colony. The "Ring" was known as "The Twelve Apostles," though for any special reason, except that they numbered just the round dozen, I could never ascertain. In 1841 the great commercial depression, which for three years overwhelmed the district, set in. A system of inter-trading and mutual paper accommodation existed of so reticulated a character as to render it not only possible, but something not far from a certainty, that if any of the so-styled principal mercantile or trading houses collapsed, others would be brought down, and there would be a grand smash, and thus the instinct of self-preservation fostered an ardent, and no doubt genuine, feeling of sympathy. It happened that Mr. W. F. A. Rucker, one of the pioneer traders, was indebted to the Union Bank in the sum of £10,000, and the Directory, apprehensive of some of the coming squalls, requested him either to reduce or "secure" this then large liability. Rucker had nominally ample assets, but of an immediately unrealizable nature, except at a ruinous loss; and he went fishing about the commercial waters in quest of any "gulls" who would consent to join him in a bond to the bank. He had formidable difficulties to encounter, for several to whom he applied refused to "bite" through considerations of ordinary prudence, and Mr. D. C. McArthur, the Manager of the Bank of Australasia, fairly warned some of his customers that if they had anything whatever to do with the Rucker *imbroglio*, they would have to remove their accounts from his money mart, and wipe out overdrafts where they existed. Rucker, however, persisted, and the fear of an approaching panic brought him success, for, after repeated refusals, he contrived to enlist a circle of backers in the following individuals:—

1. William Frederick Augustus Rucker, Merchant.
2. Thomas Herbert Power, Auctioneer.
3. John Pascoe Fawkner, Landholder.
4. Alexander McKillop, Settler.
5. John Moffat Chisholm, Landowner.
6. John Hunter Patterson, Landowner.
7. James Purves, Landowner.
8. John Maude Woolley, Settler.
9. Abraham Abrahams, Merchant.
10. Jonathan Binns Were, Merchant.
11. Horatio Nelson Carrington, Solicitor.

And

12. Patricius William Welsh, Merchant.

This classification is taken from *Kerr's Port Phillip Directory for 1842;* but though some of them are rated as landowners or merchants, they were all neck deep in other speculations, mostly of a risky character.

Such were the so-styled "Twelve Apostles" of Port Phillip to whom Rucker made an assignment of his property, nominally assessed as worth £40,000, and by a curiously peculiar arrangement, the "Holy Brotherhood" were rendered jointly and individually liable to the Union Bank of Australasia, not for the sum claimed, but for £10,000 each, or £120,000. Though these "Saints" comprised what might be termed a smart, wide-awake lot, one of them was so superlatively cute that, by a rapid and pleasant stroke of business, he showed himself the superior of his fellows, and actually succeeded in outwitting the Bank. After all the legal preliminaries were arranged, and the ominous parchments cut and dry, ready for the signatories, a certain hour of a certain day was appointed to put the finishing touches of pen and ink to the deed, which was lying like a State prisoner in the Bank parlour. The sharp practitioner referred to had his weather-eye open wider than the Bank Manager's, and, setting his solicitor to work, an ante-nuptial settlement of all his property was prepared in favour of an attractive spinster, whose services were retained as governess in a family residing at Heidelberg, and thither on the evening before the doomsday he hied, led off the consenting lady in triumph to the Hymeneal altar, and duplicated the prior settlement by another, ratified through the joint agency of a minister, a book, and a ring. He was present, however, at his post, in compliance with the Bank appointment, and no one there, save himself, had the slightest notion that there was a veritable "man of straw" amongst them. By this adroit move, one of the ten thousand pounder assets was finally disposed of. But it could be well spared, for when the time for action arrived, Mr. Thomas Elder Boyd, who succeeded Mr. William Highett in the Union Bank management, made short work with the Army of (Rucker's) Salvation, for he put on the screw most mercilessly, rushed station and various other kinds of property into a market where there was little demand for any sort of commodity, and at these forced sales everything was sold without reserve. "A tremendous sacrifice" was effected, and though the "Apostles" had to pay the piper, others danced to the joyous tune of some £50,000 ultimately netted by the purchasers, who, I have been informed upon reliable authority, were believed to have acted in complicity, if not with the Bank, certainly with its Manager. Three things are certain, viz., that the original £10,000 liability was paid, that certain persons pocketed handsome profits out of the purchases, and that the "Apostles" were so far cornered as to be compelled either to fly for refuge to the Insolvent Court, or compromise with their creditors. Even the hero of the ante-nuptial *coup* did not weather the storm, for he too went under water through other commercial causes. It was not to be expected that such a *bouleversement* could have run its course without the intervention of the Law Courts, and the consequence was a network of suits in Equity, Nisi Prius, and Insolvency, whose intricacies nearly exhausted the ingenuity and patience of Bench, Bar, and Jurors, a detail of which would fill a tolerably-sized volume. Sufficient to state that the "Apostles" withdrew from the struggle like a dozen squeezed oranges, yet with a recuperative power in the pips, which enabled them to resume the battle of life, and fight it so lustily that, except three or four of them, who either died soon after or left the country, they worked themselves into good positions in life; some in easy and some in affluent circumstances. Of the Twelve, ten are sojourning in that bourne from which there is no return, and only two remained amongst us until a recent period. One of these twins, and the chief of the tribe (Mr. Rucker), passed out of the world in 1882. "The Last of the Mohicans," the *ultimus Romanorum*, the solitary Apostle now remaining on earth, is Mr. J. B. Were,* an old colonist, dating from 1839, who has seen much of the ups and downs of Victoria; and, from various points of view, has been accounted both a good and bad fellow, using the adjectives in a general and inoffensive sense, as the goodness outweighed the badness in his organization. Largely engaged in the early commercial and other speculations, he had so shrewd an eye to business that certain sharp customers who were unable to "do" him were wont to indulge in a little spiteful merriment, by recasting his name and declaring that, though conventionally J. B., it should in reality be Jonathan "Be-Ware."

* Mr. Were died in 1885, since the above was written.—ED.

Mr. Were had more greatness thrust upon him than any other individual in the colony. On the 5th October, 1840, he was sworn in as a Territorial Magistrate, and claims to be the first specially appointed J.P. for Port Phillip, and the Senior Magistrate of Victoria. Mr. Were was also President of the first Bible Society, and the first importer of whisky; Director of the Union Bank; Director of the Melbourne Bridge Company; President of the first Chamber of Commerce; the first Agent of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; a member of the Society of Antiquaries of Copenhagen; the first Member for Brighton in our Legislative Assembly; and Consul for Heaven only knows how many distant realms, scattered over the globe from Norway to Peru, from Denmark to Brazil; indeed it would fill a catalogue to enumerate all his large and small dignities. In 1873 he was created by Christian the Ninth of Denmark, a Chevalier of the Third Class of the Order of Dannebrog (Standard of Denmark), which confers the rank and title of a Knight-Commander. In 1874, King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, bestowed upon him a Knighthood of the Order of Wasa; and in 1883 he obtained a Knight-Companionship of St. Michael and St. George through the gracious favour of Queen Victoria. It would be a sight worth looking at to behold Chevalier Were, A.B.C., &c., &c., "doing the Block," bedizened with the insignia of the various distinguished offices filled by him, the stars and ribands decorating a not unimposing figure, moving in a halo of pride and pomp.

As a sequel to notice I append two documents which will speak for themselves. The first is a brief sketch of "The Twelve Apostles" found amongst the papers of one of them, and courteously forwarded to me. It is in "the Saint's" own manuscript, and from an Apostolic standpoint, may be accepted as an authorized version of an incident often talked and joked over in the days of "Auld Lang Syne", though now rarely mentioned and comparatively unknown. It is written in a style to induce a belief that the author intended it for publication at some time or other. Here it is:—

"About this time an Association of mercantile men was formed, for the protection of the estate of W. F. A. Rucker, one of the earliest traders from Tasmania, who represented various interests there. Rucker had nominally possessed himself of houses and lands in and near to Melbourne. His bankers (the Union Bank of Australia) had, however, called upon him either to reduce his account or to realize upon his property. The cloud of pressure had begun to rise over the infant colony, indicating heavier pressure, and Rucker, it is supposed, at the suggestion of William Highett, the manager of the Bank, sought for guarantees to the Bank. It came about that he made a deed of assignment for the benefit of his creditors (of which the Bank and Highett were the principal) of all his property, the deed setting out that the assignees should be jointly and severally liable for ten thousand each. This was done, the property was scheduled to the following as assignees or trustees,

* * * * * * * * *

and the deeds deposited with the Union Bank. There was another outstanding liability of Rucker, about £2300, to the Bank of Australasia. The manager, D. C. M'Arthur, objected to be a party to the general assignment but he also held some deeds. It was arranged that Mr. J. B. Were, one of the Twelve, should give his bills to the Bank for the amount, and his security would be the deeds held by the Bank of Australasia. When this liabilty of Mr. Were's became due the property was not realizable. Mr. Were had a summons to pay the Bank of Australasia, and had to stump up something under £2500 for which he was handed bills of several of his brother Apostles to cover the amount, and the deeds representing these were handed to the Union Bank to represent a portion of the security made to the Twelve."

The bills fell due, were dishonoured, and the property representing them being unrealizable, a sort of panic set in among the settlers, coin was scarce and credit nearly defunct. The Apostles being the principal mercantile men, one after the other getting into difficulties. The Insolvent Court was sought for protection by most, and at the head of the schedules was the ten thousand pounds liability to the Union Bank. Some made assignments, others married making ante-nuptial settlements; but early or late the whole Twelve succumbed to the pressure, and the record is now matter of

history. The property had been gradually sold by the Union Bank, who are said to have recouped themselves with compound interest, with some lands which had been purchased from the Union Bank by Rucker, but none of the Apostles or their representatives were ever paid for their trouble, and Were, the only one of them who was compelled to advance £2500 some forty years ago, has not directly or indirectly to himself or representatives been recouped one farthing.

One peculiar feature of the arrangement may be mentioned, viz., that Highett had taken over amongst his personal securities from one of the Apostles (Welsh) "The Highett Paddock," originally purchased for a firm at the Cape of Good Hope.

This paddock was never put publicly into the market for sale until after Highett's decease, and it was always considered by the Apostles that it was part of their original protective security.

The following communication, addressed by the Arch-Apostle to not the least prominent of the Brethren, has been placed at my service by the recipient, with a declaration that he has no recollection whatever of the incident referred to in paragraph 4. It is worth a place in these CHRONICLES, as embodying the version of the principal actor :—

Melbourne, 2nd December 1867.

My dear Were,—The following statement comprises all the information which recollection, and the few papers in my possession bearing upon the circumstances attending your unfortunate entanglement in my affairs in November 1841, enable me to give you :—

1. That you joined ten others of our leading brother colonists of that day, in a generous and spirited endeavour to rescue me from a position of extreme embarrassment and danger, the effect of the first, and all things considered, perhaps the most disastrous crisis, with which the commerce of this colony has had to contend.

2. That I conveyed the whole of my landed property, which I had not long before acquired at a cost of about £44,000, to yourself and those ten gentlemen in trust, to provide funds for the retirement of my paper, then held by the Bank of Australasia, the Union Bank, and the Port Phillip Bank, in all about £16,000.

3. That by a subsequent arrangement between yourselves *you* undertook to settle with the first-named bank, whilst your co-trustees were left to arrange with the other two ; and

4. That in April, 1846, you conveyed to the Union Bank your estate and interest in the before-mentioned properties for the sum of £386 5s.

You are, of course, aware that the Union Bank have realized a very large sum from those properties, confessedly £50,000, but believed to be much more ; and that they refuse to account for the balance in excess of my liability to them (about £5000) proceeds, £50,000, liability, £5000 ; balance excess, £45,000 ; contending that the conveyances from yourself and co-trustees to the bank were not as we represent them to be, a continuation of the trust, but an absolute sale.—Yours very truly,

W. F. A. RUCKER."

J. B. WERE, ESQ., Hall of Commerce.



CHAPTER LIII.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

SYNOPSIS:—The First Races in Melbourne.—"Collar Grinning."—The Second Race Meeting.—The First Race Meeting at Flemington.—Formation of the Port Phillip Turf Club.—The Meeting of 1841.—Subsequent Meetings to 1846.—The Melbourne Meeting.—Petrel and "the Polka."—Subsequent Meetings to 1851.—"In Memoriam" of Mr. Isaac Hinds.—A Retrospect.—Venery.—The First Hunt.—"Old Tom Brown."—Mr. T. H. Pyke.—The First Pack of Hounds.—The Corio Club.—Death of Mr. John Perks.—The Werribee Hunt Club.—Mr. James Henderson.—The Hounds at Emerald Hill.

THE TURF.

HISTORY hath it that Melizyus, a king of Thessaly, was the first to tame horses for the use of man,

"And he himselfe did first the horse bestride;"

But history knoweth not, and is silent as to the *personnel* of the first horse-breaker in Port Phillip. Given the proverbial germs of an Australian township, the water-hole, forge, store and grog-shop, amongst all British-born colonizers, these are usually succeeded by a Wesleyan Chapel, a Temperance Society, a race club, or cricket club; and so it was in the instance I am writing of. The Wesleyans and the Teetotallers got the start of the Sporting fraternity, for in the beginning of 1838 a kind of association was *improvised*, which dubbed itself the "Melbourne Race Club," and its first step was a preliminary canter towards the inauguration of those "Isthmian Games" which aftewards became so *racey* of Port Phillip soil, and have since placed Victoria second to no other off-shoot of the Mother-country in that sport which has maintained a popularity in every clime and age, drifting back as far as a glimmer of history can be found to light the way. "Johnny Fawkner" commenced the *rôle* of the demagogue in this remote era, and he so far patronised the club as to permit it to hold its first gathering at *Fawkner's Hotel*, on the 15th January, when a Mr. Henry Allen was voted to the Chair. Business was commenced by a declaration that it was right and proper to initiate annual races, and the following office-bearers were elected *nem. con.*:—Stewards: Messrs. Henry Arthur and William Wood; Secretary and Treasurer: Mr. Francis Nodin; Clerk of the Course: Mr. David Morley. It was decided that the races should come off on the 6th and 7th March, and the stakes to be competed for were:—FIRST DAY.—Town Plate—25 sovs.; entrance, 1 sov.; distance, 2 miles; heats; the weights varying from 8st. 6lb. for three-year-olds to 9st. 12lb. for six yearers and aged. Ladies' Purse—Of 20 sovs.; 1 sov. entrance; gentlemen riders; distance one mile; heats; and weights from 9st. 12lb. to 12st.; adapted to the ages from three to six years and over. SECOND DAY.—The Hunter Stakes—15 sov.; entrance, 1 sov.; gentlemen riders; heats; one mile and a distance, with five leaps of four feet in height; catch weights. Beaten Horses—10s., post entry; one mile and a distance; heats; Town Plate weights. The following rules of management were agreed to:—No horses to be entered unless the real property of a subscriber of £2 to the race fund. The Clerk was authorized to superintend the marking out of the course and preparing it for the races; and the members of the Club were to dine at *Fawkner's Hotel* on the evening of the day upon which the Hunter Stakes were disposed of. All horses were to be entered for "the three first races" on the 5th March, between 7 and 10 p.m. Winning horses were to pay £1 to the Clerk of the Course "for the use and porterage of the scales and weights," and disputes (if any) were to be settled on the course by the Stewards, whose decision was to be final. Great were the preparations made for this interesting "Maiden" event, and the young men and maidens of

the time (children being then an almost unknown luxury) were on the tiptoe of expectation for *al fresco* flirtations.

Batman's Hill (which has since disappeared to make room for the *equilia* of steeds of different calibre, the steaming coursers with iron ribs and steel muscles) was then one of the half-dozen beauty spots about Melbourne. Until Batman bestowed his name on it, it was known as the She-oak Hill, because it was dotted with such timber; and the grassy flat that surrounded it on all but the Yarra side, and stretched away into the swamp, then swarming with native wild-fowl, was as if formed by Nature's hand for a racecourse, unless when inundated by floods. Here, where the Spencer Street Railway Station now stands, was marked out with a few stakes, saplings, and broad palings, Melbourne's first racing ground. A "Grand Stand" was formed by the lashing together of a couple of large bullock drays; and the jumps for the hunters were made up of a few logs and gum-tree branches. No such folly was then indulged in as training horses, for the animals brought to the post were the rough, hardy, hard-worked animals of the bush. The era for sporting silk jackets and caps, top boots and buff breeches had not arrived. The jocks were well content to show off in red and blue flannel shirts, cabbage-tree hats, and leather leggings; and the only accessories to modern sporting tournaments then in vogue were spurs and whip-cord, both of which were plied unmercifully. At the date of the races Fawkner's MS. journal had passed from the caligraphic into the typographic state, and of this printed prodigy there is no copy extant giving a report of the first races. Some years ago, however, an old colonist—long since gone to his account—favoured me with some *viva voce* particulars of the occasion.

First Day, 6th March, 1838.

The morning was as promising as the most ardent lover of a modern Cup Day could desire. Several hundred persons were present on the course, and order was preserved by half-a-dozen expiree convicts appointed as special constables for the purpose. Settlers rode in several miles from the country to be "all there," and five miles then counted for more than fifty now, for the bush was thick and troublesome, the travelling tracks few in number, and, such as they were, they were cut up into deep ruts by the lumbering bullock teams by which they were usually traversed.

Anything in the semblance of convenient locomotion was an extreme rarity in the small rural area of the province then settled, and folks coming from any distance for the occasion did so on horseback.

The starting post was fixed close by the now North Melbourne Railway Station, and the run was semi-circular, sweeping round in the direction of the Metropolitan Gas Works, thence straight home to the north-western ascent of the Hill, where a scanty scrap of bunting fluttered as a winning post from a pole of the clothes-line order.

J. P. Fawkner and Michael Carr, two of the earliest publicans, had put up what, for want of better, passed as refreshment booths. Each was simply a small cart, or rather truck, surrounded by four wooden uprights driven into the ground, with some old sails and bags nailed around to provide a precarious shelter. The liquids absorbed were rum, brandy, ginger-beer, and bottled porter. There were no sixpenny or threepenny "goes." The Jamaica, Cognac, Bass, or their very inferior counterfeits, were one shilling each "tot;" but the tipple most in demand was a "spider" (an infusion of brandy and ginger-beer), and the price paid for the "insect" was fifteenpence. Weak shandygaff (ginger-beer and beer) was the favourite beverage of such of the ladies as indulged in an out-door restorative. For the TOWN PLATE there were three entries—viz., Postboy, belonging to Mr. Robinson; the names of the other horses are not known, but they were owned by Messrs. Woods and Russell. Both heats were won by Postboy. The LADIES' PURSE was won by Mr. Wedge's mare, beating two others—names unknown; and though the sport was of a very indifferent quality, the spectators were willing to make allowance for unavoidable shortcomings, so pleased were they at the introduction of a pastime which recalled the kindred scenes of the mother

country they had left, the remembrance of which is always fondly cherished by the immigrant during the first few years of his expatriation.

Collar Grinning.

Amongst the obsolete amusements of Old England was a contortion contest known as "grinning" for a wager, and an ancient chronicle records that on Whit Tuesday (9th June, of 1786) a grand grinning match for a gold-laced hat came off at Hendon, in Middlesex. Six competitors were ranged on a platform, over which waved a banner thus inscribed in large capital letters :—

"Detur Tetriori; or
The Ugliest Grinner
Shall be the Winner."

Each individual was supplied with a horse collar, through which he was to perform. A solo of five minutes' facial distortion was to be executed *seriatim*, and then all were to join in a grinning chorus. The prize was won by an *employé* of a vinegar merchant, though he was accused of a foul, in consequence of having, just before the exhibition, rinsed his mouth with verjuice, whereby the dilated orifice would be rendered more hideous. There could be as little unfair play in so doing, one would imagine, as in a jockey artificially sweating down to a required light weight, or other preliminary training for any muscular competition. However, at the conclusion of the day's racing, the edifying scene of grinning through a horse collar was publicly witnessed for the first, and I believe, the last time in the colony.

As the assemblage was on the point of dispersing, some humorous customer, in a happy moment of swipy inspiration, suggested as a suitable afterpiece to the billed programme, that a grinning match be extemporized. Though there was no golden decked bell-topper for a guerdon, a hat was pressed into the service, and taken round to receive the contributions of the crowd. Silver coinage amounting to about forty shillings was soon dropped in, an inducement which quickly brought to the scratch four or five of the ugliest mugged fellows of the small community. The Grand Stand was to be the convincing ground. The equipments were borrowed without much difficulty, and a huge ticket-of-leave holder, afterwards well-known as "Big Mick," was, by common consent, appointed master of the ceremonies. He mounted the shaky, drop-like contrivance, and with the apparatus under his arm, looked as hangmanish as a "Jack Ketch," at an execution. When the competing team turned out, the favourite (decidedly the most ill-favoured), was found in the person of Thomas Curnew, about fifty years of age, and a carpenter by trade. Though he had not much hair, the crop was rugged and red, and so pronounced in colour as to make him appear skull-capped in fire. His mouth was a spheroid, slightly twisted, and his laugh was in itself, a whole grin, set off by an enormous set of tusky teeth. Divesting himself of a seedy peajacket, he was the first on board, and facing the populace, made such a frightfully wry face as cowed all opposition, and secured for him the distinction of a walk, or rather, grin over. "Big Mick," in a quick, business manner, adjusted the collar by arranging it on the other's head with as much painstaking as a *modiste* would evince in fitting a new bonnet, and shaking him by the hand, wished him luck, and jumped down. The "phizical" pantomime then commenced, and for ten minutes there was a display of physiognomical posturing, difficult to be accounted for by any deductions of anatomization. The bones, muscles, sinews, and tissues of Curnew's head seemed as if composed of whalebone and India-rubber. At one time his tongue looked as if jumping out of his mouth, his lips and palate would be drawn in as if about to be swallowed, whilst the chin and forehead approached as if to meet. His antics evoked thunders of acclamation, in the midst of which he regained *terra firma*, secured the proceeds of the hat-shaking, and betook himself to the Fawknerian booth, where the stakes were speedily melted down through the agency of a "fire-water."

And so wound up the first public race day in Victoria.

Second Day.—7th March, 1838.

If the first day was a comparative failure, the second was almost a total one. The HUNTER STAKES came to an utter *fiasco*. The five gum-tree leaps were so clumsily constructed that their *outre* appearance, frightening the horses, caused some of them to refuse absolutely, whilst another topped the eminence, and one of his forelegs slipping through the branches, both man and beast were so securely trapped as to be extricated with danger and difficulty. Mr. Wood's horse, ridden by Mr. De Villiers, subsequently an Officer in the Black Mounted Police, pulled off the prize, after one spill. For the BEATEN HORSE STAKES no one offered, probably because they were so beaten up by their previous efforts that they were reluctant to stake any more, post or no post entry. Besides, there was not much inducement, for the winner would fob nothing but the entrance money, and therefore no glory, and but very little of anything else was to be gained. The club dinner at *Fawkner's*, to which some outsiders were admitted, was a great success, considering the numerical strength of the company, and the excessive compotation indulged in. There was such a run on the landlord's limited stock of bad champagne, that it lasted no time, when the diners turned to hot toddy, and from that to brandy neat, and thenceforth straight drinking was the order of the night until the following morning, when there was scarcely a man amongst them who was not what is technically known as "suffering a recovery." Betting was very little indulged in at this meeting, and, as far as it went, it was even wagering. Some of the swells staked bell-topper and Manilla hats with each other, and gloves with the very few ladies in attendance. The mechanic, or the bush hand, ventured as far as bottles of rum, which were not only freely paid, but more freely drank, and the only casualty was a wretched member of the *demi-monde*, which even then had made its appearance, who rushing, about daybreak, in a state of *delirium tremens*, from a disreputable den in Flinders Lane, jumped into the river near the "Falls," and was drowned before any effectual assistance could be rendered.

The next year's meeting (1839), exhibited a marked advance upon its predecessor. A superior class of horses was being imported, and the advertisements in the two regularly printed weekly newspapers included notices of several well-bred stallions for stud purposes. The population was also rapidly increasing, and the consequence was the manifestation of greater interest in the fostering of the principal national sport. The races were taken in hand with much more spirit, but this ought not to lessen the credit due to the few plucky pioneers of 1838. On the 9th February, 1839, a meeting was held at the *Lamb Inn* (on the site of the now *Scott's Hotel*), "for the purpose of electing Stewards for the Melbourne Races." Mr. W. D. G. Wood was installed as Chairman, and the following appointments were made for the current year, viz. :—Stewards: Messrs. W. D. G. Wood, Thomas Glass, Anthony Cottrell, and John Aitken; Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. John Wood; and Messrs. E. D. Wedge and John M'Nall, Clerks of the Course. Resolutions were passed :—(1). That the races be run over the Melbourne Course on the 15th and 16th March, each day at one o'clock; half-hour between starts. (2). The rules of the English Jockey Club to be observed, and no horse to be allowed to run unless the *bonâ-fide* property of a subscriber of two sovereigns to the Race Fund. (3). No horse to be allowed to run if imported after date. (4). Entries to be made between 8 and 10 p.m. on 14th March. (5). All matches to be entered by the Secretary; and (6). The winners of stakes or match to pay one sovereign to the Race Fund. The movement having now assumed more pretentious and methodical proportions, some sort of system, though of a rude kind, was introduced. It was resolved to have an all-round or circular course about a mile in extent, and for the Grand Stand, instead of spliced drays, a small stage or platform was erected, not at all unlike the scaffold on which the first blackfellows were hanged in Melbourne, as uncouth-looking, insecure, and even more shaky.

On the eve of the battle all the entered horses were required to appear on view at Batman's Hill for the gratification of the *connoisseurs* and gossips of the day, and though there had been but brief time for preparation, the turn-out was better than expected.

THE SECOND RACE MEETING.

First Day.—Monday, 15th March, 1839.

TOWN PLATE, all ages, 2 sovs., 30 sovs. added from Race Fund; heats, 2 miles and a distance; weights, from two-year-olds, 7st. 9lb.; six and aged, 10st.; mares and geldings allowed 3lb.

Mr. Brown's b m Mountain Maid	1	1		Mr. P. Scott's c g Shamrock	3	4
Mr. M'Nall's b g Peacock	2	2		Mr. Cottrell's b m Fancy	4	3

The Mountain Maid had it all her own way in both heats.

A MATCH for 20 sovs., p. p., Mr. Pitman's chesnut pony Tuppy against Mr. E. D. Wedge's piebald pony Friday; heats; twice round the course.

THE LADIES' PURSE of 2 sovs. each, with 30 sovs. added; weights same as Town Plate, heats; two miles; gentlemen riders.

Mr. Brown's Mountain Maid	1	1		Mr. M'Nall's Peacock	Dist.
Mr. Wood's Pet	2				

Second Day.—16th March.

Such a wholesale turn out of the Melbournians was witnessed that it was said the town had more than doubled its entire population. The weather was glorious, Batman's Hill was grand, the course in capital order, the people in excellent humour, but the racing very poor.

HURDLE RACE for all ages; 3 sovs. each, with 30 sovs. added; heats; two miles with six leaps of 4 ft. 6 in.; Town Plate weights; gentlemen riders. The winner of the Town Plate or Ladies' Purse to carry 5 lb. extra. Only two horses started, viz.:—

Mr. Batman's Postboy	1		Mr. Wood's Trump	dis.

There were four jumps, and these, though in no way formidable, were awkwardly constructed. Trump was the superior animal, though he baulked the first leap, but was landed safely over with the third try. At the second jump Postboy knocked down a rail when Trump's owner, for some unstated reason, withdrew him and the other went his way leisurely, took the rest of the leaps, and, of course won. An objection lodged with the Stewards was compromised by the owners of the horses agreeing to another trial of speed, which was fixed for the 1st of April.

THE TAVERN PLATE of 1 sov., with 20 sovs. added; heats; one mile and a distance; Town Plate weights; the winner of the Town Plate and Ladies' Purse to carry 5 lb. extra. Five horses started, viz.:—

Mr. Cottrell's Fancy	1	1		Mr. Carr's Governor Bourke	4	4
Mr. P. Scott's Shamrock...	2	2		Mr. Wood's Pet	5	5
Mr. Batman's Postboy	3	3				

SWEEPSTAKES of 15 sovs.; heats; one mile and a distance. Post entry of 1 sov., and catch weights. No winner to compete. Three horses started, viz.:—

Mr. P. Scott's Shamrock...	1	1	Mr. Wood's Pet	3 dis.
Mr. Carr's Governor Bourke	2	2		

Upon the whole the meeting was pronounced to have been a success. No accident of any account occurred, the people were more orderly than expected, the Stewards much lauded for the efficient manner in which they had acquitted themselves. The only *contretemps*, if it can be so termed, was a detected case of pocket-picking. There was some notion of pitching the Van Diemonian "buz-bloke" into the river, but instead, he was kicked off about his business.

On Fools' Day, 1st April, the disputed match between Postboy and Trump was decided at the same place, and it proved the most sensational of any of the races yet run. Though the day was fine, the course was deep and slushy in consequence of recent heavy rain. Preliminary differences sprung up at the post which it took two hours to adjust, and, at length, when the people in attendance were putting it down as "a sell," the horses were started. Postboy, in the first heat, did not take kindly to the four leaps, and had to negotiate each of them several times. He managed two by the help of steel and whalebone, but at the third fell heavily, shooting his rider upon his head so violently, that blood spirted through his nostrils. Yet, singular to say, he rallied sufficiently to be able not only to ride, but to win the second and third heats. Meantime, Trump took all the leaps flying, and won in fine style. After the lapse of some three-quarters of an hour Postboy's rider was firmly re-mounted, and the horses went away on the second heat, but Trump became unmanageable, and so Postboy, evidently improved by his late reverse, scored an easy victory. The golden rule, *Palman qui meruit ferat*, was never so capriciously reversed by chance as on this occasion, as there could be no comparison between the horses. Trump was the favourite, as was also his owner, who had incurred much trouble and outlay in promoting the success of the past race meeting, and the public would have been better pleased if victory had declared herself on his side.

Preparations for the next year's gathering (1840) were commenced at a more seasonable time than hitherto, for a public meeting to arrange for the ensuing races was held on the 9th October, at the *Lamb Inn*, with Mr. H. F. Gisborne presiding. This Mr. Gisborne had just arrived from England with the appointment of Commissioner of Crown Lands, and was not only the best amateur sportsman of those times, but as ready with pen as whip, and some very smartly-written turf notices of his appeared occasionally in the newspapers. The Stewards nominated were Messrs. H. F. Gisborne, W. H. Yaldwyn, J. D. Baillie, and John Hunter; Secretary and Treasurer: Dr. Barry Cotter; and Messrs. Salmon and Hawkes, Clerks of the Course. It was decided that the races should take place on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of March, 1840, over a course to be selected by the Stewards; and the regulations were substantially similar to those of the previous meet, with the addition that horses imported after date from Van Dieman's Land or New South Wales, and which had won any stake or plate, shall carry 7 lb. extra. A private match had been some time before run at Flemington between two mares belonging to Messrs. John Brown and John Highett, and the superiority of this place for a race-course suggested itself so forcibly that it was determined that the coming race meeting should be held there. This, therefore, was the first time that the since far-famed Flemington was so utilized. Country visitors flocked into Melbourne before the races, and the inns, now increased in number and superior in accommodation, were crowded.

The First Race Meeting at Flemington.

First Day, 3rd March, 1840.

The new course had been put to rights as far as limited means and appliances would permit. The Grand Stand was a rough scaffolding near the river side. The winning-post was planted close by, and a short space of the run home was staked and roped. Ranged near the Stand, between the course and the river, were four publicans' booths, kept by Messrs. Lewis Pedrana, Thomas Halfpenny, J. Moss, and William Sidebottom. Pedrana's was the Grand Stand Refreshment mart, a sort of bower of Bacchus, fabricated out of ti-tree with the foliage left on. Moss and Sidebottom had small tents; but Halfpenny's was a substantial, commodious, weatherboard three-roomed structure, partitioned with Chinese curtains. He had as head-waiter, for £1 10s. per diem, an individual who afterwards became a wealthy publican, was an Alderman of Fitzroy, with a street of that city called after him. He could reckon his annual income during the gold fever, by thousands; but, getting entangled in commercial shoals, he ultimately sank in lower water than ever. On the first day the Grand Stand booth (never the best paying one in the old times) took about £30; Halfpenny's, £80; and the others, some £40 each—large pickings considering the people present; but wages were high, and employment brisk.

The fees paid by publicans for this privilege of out-of-town grog selling, went towards the remuneration of some special constables sworn-in to maintain good order. These pacificators (*lucus a non lucendo*) were, *pro tem*, under the control of the then Chief-Constable (Mr. William Wright, better known as "The Tulip"). This "Tulip," of whom some amusing reminiscences are given in an earlier chapter, was the Grand Marshal of several of the earlier meetings at Flemington, and he got through his unenviable mission as satisfactorily as could be reasonably expected. There was a large attendance from Melbourne, though pedestrians complained bitterly of the long tramp, and would have much preferred if the Stewards had not changed the *venue*. Numbers travelled by rowed boats from town, for river steamers were then an unattainable luxury, and rail transit was not even dreamed of. The other modes of conveyance were "mounted," dog-carts, bullock-drays, and the like.

THE FIRST RACE.

Though not in the official programme, the opening race was a match for fifty guineas, between Lieut. Vignolle's bl. c. Conrad, two years, and Mr. Gisborne's b. c. Hassan, two years; heats; two miles and a distance; owners riders. The betting had been freely offered and taken, two to one on Hassan.

The first heat was won without any extraordinary effort by Conrad. After starting in the second heat, Hassan threw his rider, Mr. Blakeney, and broke his arm, so that Conrad had easy work to make the winning. The riding by Gisborne, as the owner, was waived by consent, and Blakeney, unfortunately for him, acted as a substitute.

THE TOWN PLATE.—Of 5 sovs. each, with £50 added; heats, two miles and a distance; weights for age, from the two-year-old at 8 st., to 10 st. for the six-yearers and aged; mares and geldings to be allowed 3 lb.

Mr. Wood's bay mare, aged, Mountain Maid—black and red 1 1
Mr. Powlett's brown horse, 5 years, Sir Charles, green and blue 2 2
Mr. Browne's chestnut mare, 6 years, Old Countess—tartan and black cap 3 3
Mr. Bailie's brown horse, 6 years, Duke of Argyle—pink and white.
Mr. Willis's brown gelding, aged, Deceiver—red and black.
Mr. Russell's brown gelding, Freedom, 6 years—green and gold.

On this race the betting ranged from 2½ to 3 to 1 against Sir Charles and the Mountain Maid, both freely backed against the field. None of the others were looked at.

THE LADIES' PURSE—Of 30 sovs., with 3 sovs. entrance added; three mile race; gentlemen riders, and weights from 9 st. for two-year-olds to 11 st. for six-yearers and over.

There were only three starters, viz. :—

Mr. Wood's b g aged, Will-if-I-Can—red and black 1
Mr. Highett's b m Music, 6 years—crimson and black cap ... 2
Mr. Russell's b g Freedom, 6 years—green and gold, black cap ... 3

The owners of each animal rode, and Will-if-I-Can was the favourite. Whipcord seemed to be particularly in request, and applied accordingly. Mr. Wood had not much trouble in pulling off the prize.

THE MAIDEN PLATE.—For horses who never ran for any stake or plate. Entrance, 2 sovs., and £25 added. Heats, one mile and a distance. Weight for age.

Mr. Carrington's ch g Romeo, 3 years—red and black 1 1
Mr. Yaldwyn's b h Blacklegs, 4 years—black and white stripes ... 2 2
Mr. Powlett's b f Matilda, 2 years—green and blue ... ... 3 dis.
Mr. Highett's Irish Lass, 5 years—crimson, and black cap ... 4
Mr. Russell's c h Pickwick, 5 years—green and orange.

In the betting, Matilda had the call at 2 to 1; and 2 to 1 were freely given against Blacklegs. Romeo could do as much as he liked in both heats; and Matilda was drawn after the first. Pick was nowhere.

A PRIVATE MATCH was run for 20 guineas, between Mr. Powlett's bay pony Peter, and Mr. Highett's bay pony Banker. One mile and a half; when Peter won easily.

Second Day.—4th March.

THE TAVERN PLATE.—For all ages. 3 sovs. entrance, with £50 added. Heats, two miles and a distance. Town Plate weights.

Mr. Brown's ch m Countess, 6 years—tartan ... 1 1
Mr. Wood's b m Mountain Maid, aged—black and red 2 2
Mr. Highett's b m Luna, 4 years—striped tri-colour.
Mr. Powlett's br h Sir Charles, 5 years old—green and blue.
Mr. Willis' br g Deceiver, aged—black and red.
Mr. Baillie's br h Duke of Argyle, aged—pink and white.
Mr. Gibb's ch m Maid of Lorne, 4 yrs—black and pink.

Only the two old mares started, and they appeared to be pretty well matched. It was almost neck and neck running throughout both heats, which were won by a shave. The old ladies got unmercifully punished, and until their dying hour ought not to forget that day's whippings.

THE TRIAL STAKES.—For two and three-year-olds. Two sovs. entrance, with £30 added. Heats, one mile and a distance. Mares and geldings allowed 3 lbs.

Mr. Carrington's ch g Romeo, 3 years—red and black 1 1
Mr. Powlett's bl f Matilda, 2 years—blue and green ... ... 2 dis.
Mr. Ewart's b f Deception, 2 years—black, pink and green 3 2
Mr. Gisborne's b c Hassan, 2 years—black and crimson.
Mr. Vignolle's bl c Concord, 2 years—pink and brown.
Mr. Baillie's b f Western Lass, 2 years—pink and white.
Mr. Evans' b f Maid of the Mill, 2 years—tartan.

Matilda was the favourite, and disappointed her admirers. In the first heat she had no chance against Romeo, who was master of the situation all through; and in the second heat she ran against a post and threw her rider. Hassan made no show at all, and Conrad, Western Lass, and Maid of the Mill did not start.

PONY STAKES, for horses 14 hands and under, 1 sov. entrance, with £20 added; heats 1 mile and a distance; catch weights.

Mr. Powlett's b h Peter—blue and green ... 4 1 1
Mr. Gourlay's b p Banker 1 2 2
Mr. Baillie's Tom Bowling—pink and white 2 3 3
Mr. Watson's ch p Fairy—green.
Mr. Strode's b p Baron Munchausen—white.
Mr. Carrington's b p Tory—true blue.
Mr. William's g p Conservative—green.
Mr. Ewart's b p Deception—black, pink and green.

Deception, the Baron, and Conservative were scratched; Fairy and Tory were not placed; and Peter, who put forth indomitable pluck, "broke the bank" after a hard day's work and a well-won fight. Peter, Tom Bowling and Deception were the favourites, especially the latter, in whose favour 2 to 1 was freely offered. The result proved that so far as his backers' pockets were concerned, his hipponymic was no misnomer.

Third Day.—5th March.

A HURDLE RACE was the first event on the card, for which there were only three starters.

Mr. Wood's ch g Capsicum, aged; owner rider—red.
Mr. Highett's Irish Lass; 5 yrs.; owner rider—red and black.
Mr. Yaldwyn's bl g Snowball, aged—black and white stripes.

A short time before the starting hour the Stewards very unceremoniously postponed this race to a day unnamed.

The HEIDELBERG CUP, 3 miles, gentlemen riders, 50 sovs., and 5 guineas entrance. Town Plate weights.

Mr. Wood's br g Will-if-I-Can, aged—red and black 1
Mr. Highett's b m Music, 6 yrs.—crimson and black cap 2
Mr. Powlett's br h Sir Charles, 5 yrs.—green and blue 3
Mr. Baillie's br h Duke of Argyle, 6 yrs.

Mr. Yaldwyn's b h Blacklegs, 4 yrs.—black, pink and white; withdrawn.
Mr. Russell's b g Freedom, 6 yrs.—green and gold, black cap; withdrawn.

The four that came to the post made a capital start, and kept well together until half round the course, when Blacklegs bolted, and so lost all chance of the race. Coming to the distance, Will-if-I-Can shot a head, and won by several lengths, Music and Sir Charles working hard for second place. The winner's condition rendered it an easy victory.

The BEATEN STAKES (heats) summoned to the start half-a dozen competitors for the first heat, but only the following two showed at the end:—

Mr. Highett's b m Irish Lass ... ... 1 1 | Mr. Russell's br g Freedom 2 2

It was an easy race in both trials for the Lass, for Freedom never had the ghost of a chance.

A HACK RACE (heats) wound up the day's sport. A dozen started, but only two were placed.

Mr. Reid's b m Medora ... ... 1 1 | Mr. Highett's b f Banker 2 2

This was almost a repetition of the running for the Beaten Stakes. Medora won both heats in a canter.

There was very little money wagering, but many pairs of gloves changed hands, a mode of gambling to which the ladies were by no means averse, for in any contingency the odds would be altogether in their favour. The great defect of the meeting was over-riding and over-beating, and but little or no regard was shown to weight or condition.

It was the first time that silk was sported, and the riders seemed so anxious to show off their uniforms that they appeared to the spectators as so many equestrian posturers instead of riders—coloured bipeds astride quadrupeds, working their bodies into every conceivable variety of position of which the human frame is capable, whilst their limbs wantoned in the most extravagant eccentricities of action. They evinced an utter recklessness of not only themselves, but the unfortunate animals they bestrode, and whether winning or losing they leathered the horses as if their arms were so many threshing machines. But there was much real enjoyment, for the populace went, saw, and laughed, returned home, some of them very drunk, and fewer quite sober, all comparatively in good humour. The special constables during the three days had a jolly sinecure of it, for, when in the humour, their "Tulip" was not a hard task-master, so that between their pay, and the countless free nobblers, and pots of half-and-half they imbibed, their only wish, in all probability, was that the three days might be extended to three hundred and sixty five, Sundays included, and if it happened to be a leap-year, as it was, so much the better. Though there was a large ingress of settlers during the week, the nights passed quietly enough for the homely townspeople. An occasional wayfarer, policeman, or watchman was knocked into a gutter; but, unlike the larrikinism of now-a-days, the capsized individual, instead of being half-choked or robbed, would be picked up where he fell, taken to a neighbouring tavern, and there either grogged or cashed as a *solatium* for contused head or offended dignity.

I have described this first race meeting on the now famous Flemington Course with more minuteness than I should otherwise have done, through a desire to preserve in some permanent form, the particulars of an event memorable in the Sporting Annals of Victoria. Such is the why and wherefore of the foregoing narrative of the inauguration of horse-racing at a place which has become

par excellence the hippodrome of the Southern Hemisphere. Who shall be the *raconteur* of the run for the last Cup won there?

"The Rubicon" was now crossed, racing was an accomplished fact, and the young province most willingly committed to periodical race meetings near its capital. The spirit so kindled and fanned during the last two years, burned with a steadier flame during 1840, and private matches were run in several country places. Towards the close of the year the expediency of placing the affairs of the Turf on a permanent footing, engendered a desire for the foundation of some governing body of a representative character, able and willing to assume authoritative functions. Action was promptly taken accordingly, and the result was officially promulgated by the publication of the following notice in the newspapers :—

THE PORT PHILLIP TURF CLUB.

AT A MEETING
Held on the
12th DAY OF DECEMBER, 1840,
At Melbourne,
For the purpose of Establishing
ANNUAL RACE MEETINGS
In the
COUNTY OF BOURKE,

With a view to the Improvement of the Breed of Horses in the Colony generally, it was resolved—

1st. That a Committee be formed, to be called "The Committee of the Port Phillip Turf Club," and that to them and the Stewards be confided the entire management and arrangement of the races.

2nd. That the races take place annually, at such time or times as the Committee shall appoint, and that the first meeting be held on the 13th, 14th and 15th April next.

3rd. That the Committee do take for their guidance and direction the rules of the Newmarket Jockey Club, as far as the same are applicable to the circumstances of the colony.

4th. That annual subscriptions and donations be received, and that a book be opened for that purpose forthwith.

5th. That all subscriptions and donations be under the direct and entire control of the Stewards, whose decision in all cases of dispute shall be final.

6th. That the following gentlemen do constitute a Committee, three to form a quorum :—

J. D. LYON CAMPBELL, Esq.
C. H. EBDEN, Esq.
J. HAWDON, Esq.
HUGH JAMIESON, Esq.
GEORGE B. SMYTH, Esq.
WILLIAM VERNER, Esq.

7th. That the following gentlemen be requested to act as Stewards at the ensuing races :—

J. HAWDON, Esq.
G. B. SMYTH, Esq.
W. VERNER, Esq.

Of the members of this first Turf Club Committee not one now (1884) survives. They were all gentlemen of the highest respectability, public-spirited, and sincerely devoted to the land of their adoption. Their names appear frequently in other chapters, wherein are described movements of various kinds, with which either as regards some or all they were more or less identified.

The entrance fee for membership was to be five guineas, with an annual payment of £2 2s. 6d., and "The Port Phillip Turf Club" was to be constituted on the 2nd January, 1841, all the members to be elected by ballot, the names of intending candidates to be sent to the Chairman (Mr. Verner) by the 24th December.

Amongst the rules adopted was the following :—"All horses entered to race to take their ages from the 1st day of August, that is, a horse foaled any time in 1840, after the 1st day of August, will be deemed one year old on the 1st day of August, 1841."

The Meeting of 1841.

Batman's Hill was now, by common consent, abandoned as a racing arena, for the special fitness of the Saltwater River Flat was undeniable. For several years the new locality was known simply as "the Racecourse." Gradually a small hamlet sprung up on the main thoroughfare from Melbourne to Mount Macedon. "Bob" Fleming, one of the first colonists, who took to retailing meat for the sustenance of the Melbournians settled down there, and it was in compliment to this pioneer butcher, the dozen huts and shanties were dignified by the name of Flemington, a nomenclature subsequently extended to the racecourse. It was therefore determined by the Turf Club that the next meeting should come off there, and it did so accordingly, with Messrs. W. Gardiner, and J. Rowe as Clerks of the Course. At four o'clock on the evening of the entry day (the 12th April) all the competing horses were paraded on the eastern side of Batman's Hill, and there was a strong muster of Melbournians to behold the turn-out. On the opening morning and under favourable weather, people began to flock from all parts to the since well-known banks of the Saltwater River. There was a town band of three performers in attendance, mastered by Mr. G. B. Hailes, afterwards a prosperous timber merchant and J.P., who played on the bass viol. His services were retained for £20 by Mr. Thomas Halfpenny, the keeper of the principal booth, the *William Tell*, constructed of green bushes and canvas, and close by the Grand Stand a shaky concern of stringy bark and ti-tree.

The course is described "as an excellent piece of turf, selected with considerable judgment." The attendance on the first day was good, but as a drawback it is recorded that "for aristocracy, fashion, and beauty, the muster was scanty; and the fatal glances of the black eye and blue were

'Like angels' visits, few and far between.'"

First Day.—Tuesday, 13th April.

Town Plate.—Entrance 10 sovs., with 50 sovs. added; heats; two miles and a distance; weights, from 8 st. for three year-olds, up to 9 st. 10 lb. for six years and aged.

Six horses were entered, but only five started, and the result was:—

Mr. M'Nall's g h Plenipo, aged, black and white stripes	3	2	1	1
Mr. Watson's ch m Countess, 6 yrs., crimson and black	1	3	3	3
Mr. A. Hunter's ch g Romeo, 5 yrs., crimson and green	2	1	2	2
Mr. Carrington's b h Councillor, 4 yrs., black and red, black cap	4	4	dis.	
Mr. Sherwin's g g Mustache, aged, blue	5	5	dis.	

There was no jockeyship, yet good racing. Plenipo, at starting five to one, took the lead, Countess and Romeo close up, and when within 100 yards of home, they passed him, had a very sharp run in, the lady beating the gentleman about his own length. In the second heat the same condition of things was repeated until near the close, when Romeo came to the front, with Plenipo a good second, but the two winners—the first and second heats—appeared much distressed. For the third heat Councillor and Mustache were drawn, and only the other three started. It was a spirited effort, in which the riders rendered but small service, Romeo winning by half a length. There were now three winners of a heat each, and what is very unusual, there was a fourth or conquering race to be decided. The three horses got off well, but the heavy day's work so told upon the Countess that her ladyship was obliged to strike her colours very soon. Plenipo got the lead, and several times struggled hard to bid "Romeo, Farewell;" but Romeo would not be shelved and was only conquered by a neck.

The Publicans' Purse.—Entrance, 6 sovs., with 50 sovs. added. Distance and weights same as before. There were only three starters, and both heats were won through good riding by Lamb's b h Clinker, 5 years, beating M'Nall's b g Woodman, and Hunter's b m Venus.

THE MAIDEN PLATE, of 5 sovs. entrance, and 25 sovs. added, heats one mile and a distance, with same weights, was won (both heats) by Powlett's Matilda, beating Snodgrass's Baroness, Wright's Freedom, Sherwin's Viscount, and Reid's Diamond.

Though the monetary affairs of the province were in a most unsettled condition, several hundreds of pounds changed hands by the day's chances. The few policemen and special constables deputed to preserve order permitted much disorder, and drunken horsemen caused sad annoyance. One man was ridden down, and had his chest trampled in by an intoxicated, mounted scoundrel, who narrowly escaped lynching. There was a small party of the border police (an equestrian corps of ex-convicts) in attendance, and one of them getting mad drunk, drew his sword, and threatened to kill everybody. Though he did not keep his word, he acted in such a manner as to create a general panic, for he is reported to have "cloven one man through hat to skull, causing him to bleed freely, a second over the nose, dividing the cartilage, and a third over the shins making him dead lame." He was at length secured, and under the existing Convict Regulations flogged within an inch of his life the following day.

Second Day.—Wednesday, 14th April.

LADIES' PURSE.—Entry 5 sovs., with 20 sovs. or more added. A three-mile race, gentlemen riders. Weights from 10 st. 5 lb. for 3 years to 12 st. for 6 years and aged. This prize was borne off by M'Nall's Plenipo, from Powlett's Boliva and Hunter's Romeo.

TRIAL STAKES, for 2 and 3-year-olds, 4 sovs. entry, and 30 sovs. added. Heats, 1 mile and a distance. Weights: 2 years, 7 st. 4 lb; 3 years, 8 st., with an allowance of 3 lb. to mares and geldings. Five started, and the first heat was won easily by Ewart's Prince Albert. The second heat was won by Clarke's Tally-ho, with The Prince, who threw his rider, nowhere. In the interval before the third start, it was ascertained that the first winner was disqualified, and the stake was awarded to Tally-ho without any further trouble.

THE PONY STAKES was for horses 14 hands high and under, with 2 sovs. entry, 20 sovs. added; heats, 2 miles and distance. Catch weights. Half-a-dozen started, and both events were easily pulled off by Watson's Medora.

The next was a SWEEPSTAKES for beaten horses. Catch weights. 1 sov. entrance, 15 sovs. added. Heats, 1 mile and a distance. Post entry. It was won by M'Nall's Woodman, beating four indifferent competitors.

Third Day.—Thursday, 15th April.

THE TURF CLUB CUP.—STEEPLECHASE.—5 sovs. entrance added to 50 sovs., over 3 miles of country selected by the Stewards, with 9 leaps of 3 feet 3 inches, composed of three-railed fence, blocked with brushwood. Weights from 10 st. for 3 years to 11 st. 10 lb., 6 years and aged. Horses to be the *bonâ-fide* property of members of the Turf Club. Gentlemen riders. Three started, viz.:—

Powlett's Conrad, ridden by Mr. Munday
Arundel's Camden, ridden by Mr. Hunter
Snodgrass's Tom Jones, ridden by Lieut. Vignolles.

The trio had a good start. The first jump was baulked by Conrad and Camden. Tom Jones had a regular burster at the second last fence, but without injury to horse or rider. He was soon on his legs, and came in an easy winner. Conrad got on fairly well, but all the combined powers of steel and whip unstintingly applied failed to carry him over the last leap.

The *finale* was a HURDLE MATCH between seven starters, and won by Highett's Una, with Tom Jones second. This stake was for all horses, 3 sovs. entry, and 20 sovs. added. Same distance and leaps as the Steeplechase.

In 1842

The interest connected with the yearly race gathering increased much in attractiveness for the public. It commenced on the 1st March, an intensely hot day, for a thermometer on the course was up to 135, and the publicans made a great harvest. This year each booth-holder had to pay £10 for permission to erect his groggery on the course, and the average cost of putting up an establishment was £40. The Town Plate was won by Lamb's Plenipo, the Ladies' Purse by Hunter's Flying Shingler, and the Maiden Plate by Snodgrass's Baroness. The horses were, generally speaking, in the reverse of good condition. The day's amusements were varied by the occurrence of a curious case of police obstruction. At this time the police authorities had a rough-and-ready way of dealing with prisoners in custody, not only disregardful of anything like comfort, but frequently, of ordinary humanity. At race meetings it never occurred to them to erect a shed or pitch a tent on the course as a receptacle of persons arrested. A long strong chain stapled to a tree was the watch-house, to which the handcuffed culprits would be padlocked in all sorts of weather, wet or dry, baking or drenching, and here for hours unfortunates were exposed. There were present on the course a Mr. Oliver Gourlay, a fast "deil-may-care-ish" merchant of the period, and the Hon. James Erskine Murray, a Barrister, the most popularity-loving Scotchman in the province. Some half-a-dozen prisoners were on the chain, snarling, and incessantly yelling for water with not a a drop to drink. Some constables marched up an additional prisoner charged with shying an emptied rum bottle at some person, and he was so roughly handled by his captors that Gourlay and Murray cried out shame, and backed up by such encouragement, a few rowdies had some notion of not only effecting a rescue, but shivering the main chain, and emancipating the whole lot. In the midst of the turmoil, Dr. Martin, a Territorial Magistrate, resident at Heidelberg, rode by, and seeing that an outbreak was imminent unless a prompt blow was struck, ordered the arrest of Gourlay, who was forthwith violently dragged from his horse by District Chief-Constable Brodie, pinioned, and chained up with the rest. Murray vehemently remonstrated, and would have been hooked on too, but owed his escape to the fortunate combination of being the scion of a noble Scottish house and a member of the Port Phillip Bar. After an hour's parboiling, Gourlay was released on bail by Mr. William Verner, another J.P., and on appearing next morning at the Police Court, the alleged offender was committed for trial at the Criminal Sessions. Six weeks after this, Gourlay was one of five gentlemen volunteers who gallantly rode down and captured a band of bushrangers on the Plenty, and in consideration of the intrepidity so displayed, the Crown Prosecutor entered a *nolle prosequi* for the racecourse escapade.

The second and third days of the meet were much cooler and pleasanter in every way than the first, except that the racing was not so good. To maintain order a number of ticket-of-leave convicts were enrolled as special constables—a most injudicious step—which gave great public offence. Several times during the two days there was much danger of collisions between the free population and the hectoring blackguard squad of batoned bondsmen; but fortunately beyond some vehement shouting and threatening nothing serious occurred.

In 1843

The races were run on three consecutive days in March, and in the interest taken in them there was a perceptible annual increase. The Town Plate for 50 sovs. added to 10 sovs. entrance was won (both heats) by Fletcher's Romeo.

1844.

The 19th March was the first of the three days' races this year, and though a terrible financial crisis had purged the colony for the past two years, and times were hard enough, the monetary atmosphere was just brightening, and the settlers were in every disposition to enjoy themselves. The

consequence was the largest influx of strangers ever known to Melbourne, and the (then) immense number of 5000 persons witnessed the sports of the morrow. It was very sultry, the atmosphere muggy, with occasional puffs of hot wind, but towards noon there was a crashing thunderstorm, with slight showers of rain throughout the afternoon.

THE TOWN PLATE was won by Mercer's Rob Roy, whilst Snodgrass's Billy-go-by-'em pocketed the TRIAL STAKES, and Kilgour's Bolivar the PUBLICANS' PURSE.

The weather was much pleasanter on the second day, the attendance good, and the running ditto. The result of the three days' meeting showed that though there was room for much improvement in the training and get-up of horses, evidences of no little progress in this respect were manifest, which would gradually render the Port Phillip Turf Club Meetings all that they should be.

1845.

A special charge of £5 per booth as a police rate was levied upon the racecourse publicans, to remunerate special constables for the maintenance of good order, and as there were a score of booths, a sum of £100 was available for the purpose. The command of the course was placed under Mr. Charles Brodie. There was fine weather on the opening day (25th March) and a numerous turn-out of the public. This was the year when the famous stock-horse Petrel made his *début*, and carried all before him.

THE TOWN PLATE was for 40 sovs., added to 6 sovs. entrance. Heats; 2 miles and a distance; weights as for previous similar competitions, and the result was:—

Campbell's Petrel	...	...	...	...	1	1	Purves' Banker	...	...	...	...	4	4
Collins' Smolensko	...	...	...	...	2	dis.	Lang's Hendric	..	...	...	...		
Dowing's Romeo	...	...	...	...	3	2							

Petrel was the favourite, and won the two heats without difficulty.

THE MAIDEN PLATE was won by Brown's Adela, beating 4 others; and the PUBLICANS' PURSE fell to Smolensko out of six applicants.

The Second Day was drenched with a drizzling rain, which soon cleared off, and there was a larger attendance than on the day before, and more enjoyment. The Saltwater River was studded with a flotilla of private boats unseen there previously, and unequalled since.

Smolensko won the LADIES' PURSE, beating Romeo, Banker, and three others.

THE PORT PHILLIP STAKES fell to Crook's Gay Lad, and the PONY STAKES to Henderson's Pussy.

On the Third Day the STEEPLECHASE was won by Bond's Flying Shingler. A CONSOLATION and HACK RACE concluded the meeting. The last day of the week witnessed a private match for £100 aside between Petrel and Smolensko (Tasmanian) 3 miles and a distance. The former won easily, and not less than £1000 was lost and gained on the event. The evening of the 28th was signalized by a grand Race Ball, but a heavy rain kept away a number of ladies who had intended to be present. There was a good band, better dancing, and an excellent supper. The attendance numbered 120, and the proportionate paucity of the fair sex was compensated for by the complacency of the ladies there, who are reported in a Melbourne newspaper "to have worked double tides to keep the gentlemen in partners;" and very ungallant and ungentlemanly was it to exact such a species of hard labour.

1846.

Early in March there was a very spirited race meeting at Geelong, when Petrel beat Smolensko and several others in the first heat for the TOWN PLATE, and had a walk-over in the second. Here, also, it was where Austin's Bunyip essayed his first race, and won the THREE YEAR-OLD STAKES.

THE MELBOURNE MEETING

Commenced on the 24th March, and wonderful expectations were entertained as to what Petrel would do. For some weeks previous it was reported that the V.D.L. champion, Paganini, was coming over from Hobart Town to show his tail to every horse in Port Phillip; but this all ended in smoke. Another Vandiemonian favourite, Paul Jones, was put forward with much consequence, and the loud and excited crowing of the partisans of the two horses was amusing. Each was heavily backed, and a big pot of money, for the time, changed pockets.

TOWN PLATE.—Heats; 2 miles and a distance. 50 sovs. added to 7 sovs. entrance. Weight for age: 3 yrs., 8 st.; 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb.; 5 yrs., 9 st. 4 lb.; 6 yrs. and aged, 9 st. 10 lb.

C. Campbell's ch g Petrel, 4 yrs.	...	2	1	1	Quinan's bk m Maid of the Moat, 4 yrs.	3	
Carpenter's b h Paul Jones, 4 yrs.	...	1	2	2	Cowell's b h Quicksilver, aged ...	...	Broke down.

Petrel, on stripping, seemed in good condition, though perhaps a little high, whilst Paul had evidently the better training, and was in almost perfect racing order.

In the first heat Petrel was ridden by a bush jock named Muff, and from the manner in which he spoiled his horse's chance he did not belie his name. Paul Jones was splendidly piloted by one Tom Cooke, and after a good start Paul and Petrel ran some distance nose and nose, after which Paul succeeded in obtaining a short lead, and kept it by little more than a length until the run home, when Petrel made a spirited neck and neck race in, and Paul won by a head. "The Muff" unmercifully flogged his animal. Time, 4 min. 11 sec. The result nearly sent the Van Diemonian portion of the attendance wild with joy. They ranted and roared, and jumped and swore, and one fellow in his delirium made for the river, in which he leaped, and was with some difficulty saved from drowning.

In the second heat "The Muff" was cashiered, and his seat on Petrel transferred to a pig-skinner known as "Sandy, the Butcher." Only the two horses came to the post, and during the 55 minutes that intervened since the first heat, the excitement and expectation that prevailed was up to white heat The Port Phillipians were confident that Petrel would yet recover his lost laurels, and the Van Diemonians never questioned the possibility of Paul Jones adding to the honours he had taken. Still amongst the aspirations cherished in the minds of both parties, there was the acid of uncertainty. After a capital start was effected, Paul Jones shot ahead and kept the lead for nearly half-way, when Petrel freed from the incubus of "The Muff" handicap, and well-handled, went up passed the other, never lost ground, and amidst vociferous acclamation was landed a winner by four lengths. The Van Diemonians were now beside themselves, but with feelings of a different kind, and the betting, which between the heats was 10 to 3 on Paul, now veered round to 5 to 1 on Petrel.

In the third heat Paul Jones again led, but was speedily overhauled, and afterwards made no show. Petrel won easily by several lengths, hard held.

For the MAIDEN PLATE five started, and there was a spirited neck and neck race between Rowan's Juliet and Collier's Figaro. These were both two-year-olds, and Juliet won by half-a-length. The distance was one mile, and it was done in what was considered good time, viz., 1 min. 56 sec.

THE PUBLICANS' PURSE was won by Collins' Smolensko. The course was in good condition and well kept, the weather was agreeable, the people orderly, and it was pronounced to be the best day's racing enjoyed in Port Phillip.

On the Second Day the LADIES' PURSE was carried off by Petrel, beating Smolensko and four more. Petrel led, and had it all his own way except for one short critical moment when the Smolensko-ites had reason to hope, but that was all. The PORT PHILLIP STAKES were won by Austin's Bunyip, for whom greater triumphs were in store, and Kirk's Rough Robin was the conquering pony.

The Third Day was darkened by clouds of dust, and the sport much eclipsed in consequence, and the occasion was rendered notorious by acts of rascality, rarely, if ever, paralleled on the Melbourne Course. A HURDLE RACE was run, and won by Borradaile's Wild Harry. Several horses

started, and there were as many baulks and falls. Wild Harry was leading, and came down in taking a hurdle, when as Jane, the next animal, was passing, several persons rushing between the mare and the leap, prevented her going over. Mr. Dewing, the rider of Wild Harry, was lifted into the saddle, and, resuming the race, came in cantering. Jane followed, and her rider, Mr. Main, jun., objected to the help given to Dewing. As Dewing after the race was going from the weighing stand to the Stewards' enclosure, he was bludgeoned by a ruffian and for a few moments it was thought he was killed. He was lifted in a state of insensibility off the ground, carried on board a steamer, and conveyed to Melbourne. He remained in a precarious state for several days at the *Pastoral Hotel* in Queen Street. A reward of £100 was offered, and the murderous assailant, who was subsequently identified, received a sentence of twelve months' imprisonment. In after years an appreciative modern Government rewarded the political services rendered by this same individual by appointing him a J.P., and one of the dispensers of justice to Her Majesty's subjects.

This meeting was characterized by much violent rioting on the outskirts of the course. On one of the evenings Mr. Edward Argyle was quietly riding home from the day's fun, but fun of another kind lay in wait for him on the road. Three scoundrels waylaid and attempted to murder him. He rode for his life for two miles, pursued by the yelling savages, was at length overtaken, felled from his horse by a blow with a loaded whip-handle, and whilst on the ground was kicked and stoned to the very verge of death. His murder was prevented only by the galloping up of a Mr. Page, by whose intervention he was saved. A person named John Maher was afterwards arrested as one of the offenders, and tried at the Criminal Sessions. He was convicted of an assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, and Judge A'Beckett sentenced him to transportation for life. He was sent away to Van Diemen's Land, and died there after a few years' penal servitude. This unfortunate person, though his guilt was undoubted, was said to be the pliant instrument through which another party, who took good care to abstain from any overt participation in the disgraceful outrage, wreaked vengeance for some personal enmity entertained towards Argyle.

PETREL.

There was no public man in the province now half such a favourite as the unknown bush-hack, who had become so famous that hero-worship, if such a sentiment existed, was for the time banished and horse-worship reigned in its stead. The name of Petrel was a household word. Everyone was asking who was Petrel; where he came from; who was his sire; his dam, and what was his pedigree? But poor Petrel had no place in a stud book. He was a species of foundling, picked up by chance, and columns were written about him in the newspapers—much of it pure gossiping invention. The following account of his antecedents is, I believe, substantially correct. A Sydney racer, known as Steeltrap, was supposed to be his sire, and there was a strong family resemblance between father and son. All that is known of Petrel's dam was that in 1841, a man journeying overland from Sydney to Adelaide stayed for a short time at the Grampians. He had in his possession two fine mares, supposed to have been stolen, and both in foal. The stranger found employment on the station of a Mr. Riley, where the mares foaled and one of the youngsters was Petrel. They remained there for a couple of years, and in 1843, when horseflesh was beginning to command something like a price, John Giveng, an overseer of Dr. Martin, bought both colts for £36. Petrel was then turned into a stock horse, there was much speed in him, and he exhibited as a sort of show animal before strangers. One day as several stockmen were out riding, an emu was sighted, a hunt extemporized, and Petrel not only distanced all the others, but ran the emu down. Petrel at this time was rising four years old, a dark chesnut, 16 hands 1 inch high, the head beautifully formed; but the build of the animal, though symmetrical, seemed as if too powerful for a racer in the hind quarters. This imparted a clumsy appearance, but the same indications have distinguished some of the fleetest English horses. Distance, whether long or short, or weight light or heavy, were matters of small moment to him. Mr. Colin Campbell soon heard of this rough diamond, and wishing to have him, the ownership was exchanged by Mr. Campbell swopping a

mare worth £20. Petrel was then carefully looked after, put in condition, and his first race was on the 20th February, 1845, at the Pyrenees, where he won the three-year-old stakes. The same year for the GEELONG TOWN PLATE, one-and-half-miles, he was beaten by Sweetmeat. One writer declares Petrel to have been foaled between the 10th and 15th October, 1841, by a Steeltrap mare from either Operator or Theorem. Petrel was raffled on the evening of the 30th March, 1846, at the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street, when there were 40 members at £5 each, and the prize was drawn by Mr. J. C. Riddell, who in a few days after, had the horse put up to auction at Kirk's Bazaar in Bourke Street, when he was knocked down to Mr. Borradaile for 150 guineas. Subsequently he was despatched to Sydney to sweep the turf before him, but he was beaten by a celebrated New South Welsh horse—Jorrocks, and also by Blue Bonnet. The Sydney-ites went into raptures at the blowing being soon taken out of the Port Phillipians; but it could not be denied that Petrel had suffered much during a whole week's rough passage between Melbourne and Sydney, and that he was run too soon after his arrival.

More will be heard subsequently of Petrel's successes and reverses—for he experienced both. Suffice it here to state that after figuring in the race field until he was 14 years old, his then owner (Mr. James Austin) turned him loose, to live on grass for the rest of his life, and he so existed until he passed the quarter of a century.

PETREL AND "THE POLKA."

Of all the unexpected events that could arise from the sudden appearance of a racing star in the sporting firmament, the most singular is that of Petrel being the medium through which the popular Polish dance of the "polka" should be first publicly introduced to the Terpsichorean votaries of Port Phillip. Yet so it was. The new owner of the horse (Mr. Riddell) took it into his head to finish up the race week of 1846 by giving, on the evening of the 31st March, a grand Petrel Ball in the *Royal Hotel*. It is recorded of it that 100 ladies and gentlemen participated in the festivities, that the "polka" was there "half-stepped" for the first time on Melbourne boards; and "at the end of the room were suspended over the fireplace, the saddle, bridle, spurs, whip, and colours used in Petrel's turf performances."

1847.

The meeting of this year was remarkable as the first time when race-goers in any number patronised what was then known as Picnic Hill. The Hill was so far away from the winning-post that, as a rule, sight-seers did not care much about it, but it was now slowly growing into favour. The 6th April was the appointed first day, and there was a good deal of interest shown in the meeting in consequence of the appearance of not only Petrel and Paul Jones, but of Bunyip, a horse of much promise, and Emerald, who had gathered some green bays in New South Wales.

TOWN PLATE, 100 sovs., with 7 sovs. entrance. Weight for age, viz., 3 yrs., 8 st.; 4 yrs., 8 st. 10 lb.; 5 yrs., 9 st. 5 lb.; 6 yrs. and aged, 9 st. 10 lb. Heats, 2 miles and distance.

Austin's br g Bunyip, 4 yrs.	1	1	Wright's b h Paul Jones	4	3
Handford's b h Conrad, 4 yrs.	2	2	Chamber's c g Emerald	5	4
M. Gill's ch g Petrel, 5 yrs.	3	dis.			

FIRST HEAT.—Petrel and Bunyip went together from the post, when the latter soon led, and so continued to the end an easy winner. During portion of the race Emerald and Petrel were side by side, when there was a jostle, and Petrel's rider (Sandy "the Butcher") struck the other jock with his whip, and so caused Emerald to swerve outside a post. This had the effect of disqualifying Petrel's rider. Paul Jones behaved so indifferently as never to have had the ghost of a chance.

In the second heat Paul led, but soon retired from the front, which was taken and kept by Bunyip. Time—1st heat, 4 min. 14 sec.; 2nd, 4 min. 15 sec. The year before Petrel's time was 4 min. 11 sec.

The TRIAL STAKES were taken by Bessy Bedlam, a brown filly from the Austin Stable, and Bunyip won the PUBLICANS' PURSE in a field of eight.

This day passed off in an unprecedentedly quiet manner, the judicial punishments of the previous year probably exercising a salutary effect in preserving the peace.

On the second day Bunyip beat Petrel and three others for the LADIES' PURSE, and the meeting went over the third day, and was pronounced to be a great success. In addition to Bunyip, the Austins got up a minor sensation by displaying on the course a four-legged goose, hatched on the station of Mr. Josiah Austin. The quadruped marched about on all fours as naturally as if the extra pair constituted no deformity.

BUNYIP,

The new idol, before whose prowess the short-lived renown of Petrel was doomed to pale, was got by the Duke of Argyle, a horse shipped from Sydney by the Hon. J. Erskine Murray, out of an imported Arab mare belonging to Mr. J. W. Shaw. She formed part of the stock of Messrs. Smyth and Prentice, squatters, and was purchased at a sale of Kirk and Harlin, well-known auctioneers. Bunyip, a yearling colt, was bought at the same sale for £7 10s. by Mr. Austin, and shortly after began to give indication of the stuff of which he was made. He was first run when a three-year-old, at Geelong, on 4th March, 1846, when he conquered Stevenson's Cornet. Three weeks after witnessed his *début* on the Melbourne course, where he secured the PORT PHILLIP STAKES. His third appearance was at Colac, 4th February, 1847, where the COLAC and SQUATTERS' PURSES fell to him; and turning westward, on the 16th of February he won the TOWN PLATE and LADIES' PURSE at Belfast. On the 10th March he pocketed the GEELONG TOWN PLATE, walked over for the MERCHANTS' PURSE, and the next day won the PUBLICANS' PURSE. Hitherto he had never been beaten, and was considered the champion of the turf.

1848.

Up to this period the Flemington Course was held under no stronger tenure than sufferance, and there was not even a line of writing to authorize its occupation. It was at length determined to apply to the Government for the issue of a ten years' lease to Messrs. W. F. Stawell, J. C. Riddell, and J. F. L. Foster, as Trustees for the public. The application was granted, and the Turf Club commenced the partial fencing of the course, and had a substantial Grand Stand erected.

The meet of this year came off on the 5th, 6th, and 7th April, and this was the first occasion of a publican venturing to put up a drinking-booth on the Hill. The enterprising individual was Mr. Timothy ("Tim") Lane, a well-known Boniface of certain largely-developed peculiarities, but one who had a special knack of making money. He kept the *Builders' Arms*, in Little Collins Street, and no man of his time was better known, or oftener laughed at. "Tim's" establishment was accordingly perched on the hill-top, and he drove a roaring trade there for the first day; but on the second a strong wind came roaring about him, and his tentage, barrels, pewters, bottles, grog and swipes were blown away as if they were a heap of egg-shells, and it was with much difficulty that the heterogeneous assortment was saved from destruction in the Saltwater River.

Petrel was the only favourite forthcoming, and his *prestige* had now waned — whilst as to Bunyip, from whom so much was expected, he was not only now out of running, but it was averred that the best of his running days were over. The weather was as unpropitious as it could possibly be. Day No. 1 was a terror of wind and dust; No. 2 more boisterous, if a shade less dusty; and as to No. 3, barring the dust, it was a combination of wind and rain, with the meteorological embellishments of thunder and lightning superadded. These discouraging climatic conditions exercised a depressing influence, and everything was flat and tame and dull.

Petrel won the TOWN PLATE, beating Garryowen, a much-admired horse, belonging to Mr. Rawdon Greene, and was ridden by a jockey named Holmes. He also took the PUBLICANS' PURSE,

whilst the Austins, with Bessie Bedlam, appropriated the PORT PHILLIP STAKES and the LADIES' PURSE. On the last day there was a HURDLE RACE once round the course, heats, which was also won by another Austin horse, well ridden by Mr. R. Greene.

1849.

The Geelong races were run on the 7th and 8th March, and the result of the first day was conveyed by overland express for the *Herald*, and arrived that night in time for next morning's issue of the paper. This was the first feat of the kind effected in the colony. The courier was a Mr. Patrick M'Grath, then a shipping reporter on the paper, who was afterwards a City Councillor for Gipps Ward. He had a miserable, toilsome ride of it, for neither roads nor weather were in the best condition. But he did it with two good horses, and though he was half drowned at the Saltwater River, where in the darkness he missed the punt, he swam his horse safely over, and reached the office about midnight.

THE MELBOURNE MEET

Of this year was not well patronised, occasioned by a scarcity of money, a fall in the price of wool, and the frequency of races in the interior; but an evident improvement was remarked in the general turn-out of the people, and the number of vehicles which put in an appearance.

The TOWN PLATE was the great event of the first day (27th March), and six horses came to the post, including Petrel, now owned by Mr. T. Austin, and Bessy Bedlam, owned by J. Austin. Mr. Lyall, one of the Stewards, officiated as starter, and, on the dropping of a flag, the horses got away, and Petrel and Bessy soon had it all to themselves, the mare, after an exciting run, winning by half a length. The three miles were done in 5 min. 56 sec. Lyall now proclaimed it to be no race, inasmuch as though there was a lowering of the flag, he did not say "off," and a majority of the Stewards concurring, though none of the owners of the horses offered any objection, it was decided the race should be run again. Petrel was withdrawn, and Bessy Bedlam also won the second heat, beating Harper's Orlando, Greene's Garryowen, and Mills' Little John. Lyall's mismanagement was severely animadverted on, and, though the day's programme was thus unexpectedly increased, no one denied that a bungling, though unintentional, injustice had been done.

In the ALL-AGED STAKES (heats) Petrel ran away from the rest, and was an easy winner.

On the next day prizes fell to both Petrel and Bessy, the former winning the LADIES' PURSE, and the latter the PUBLICANS'.

Some drunken scrimmages occurred, and a most cowardly and unprovoked assault was committed on Mr. John O'Shanassy, full particulars of which appear in the Chapter of Trials.

Petrel scored the FORCED HANDICAP on the third day, and on squaring accounts had a balance on the right side of the ledger to the tune of a £50 note.

1850.

The course was now in part enclosed by a fence, and an entrance gate fixed close by the river. The meeting commenced on the 19th March, with a lack of interest through the disappearance of Petrel and Bunyip from the scene, without leaving any successor for the public favour, though Bessy Bedlam was in no want of admirers. The TOWN PLATE was won by Bermingham's Merino, beating Bessy Bedlam and Crosbie's Waverley. Distance, 3 miles (heats). Time—1st, 5 min. 56 sec.; 2nd, 6 min. 4 sec. Merino was a very fine black gelding, broad-hipped and deep-chested, bred in 1845, for Mr. James Henty. The PAUL JONES CUP was contested by four, and won by Mr. Dwyer's Ellen, but the Stewards allowed a protest, when it was ran again for on the second day, and won by Simpson's Maid of the Mist. The TRIAL STAKES terminated in a dead heat between Mr. Maine's

b f Rachel and D. C. Simson's b f Maid of the Mist; the former by Romeo, and the other by Paul Jones. The others divided the spoil. The LADIES' PURSE, 3 miles and a distance, was run in 6 min. 20 sec.—considered the fastest time for the length yet obtained. It was won by Merino over three others. The STEEPLECHASE was taken by Mr. Chitty's Big Milk over one Sober Robin, and a very milky and sober affair it was. The winner was a clumsy, ugly brute, but his competitor had a drunken instead of a "sober" Robin on his back, who went very near landing brute and beast in the Saltwater River.

On the first day two men were killed—one run over by a gig, and the other ridden over. On the evening of the third day John Beech, a painter was drowned whilst returning to Melbourne in a steamer. Being drunk, he tumbled overboard—the first fatal accident of the kind. Much of the success of several annual gatherings about the time was justly attributed to the business tact and activity of Mr. James Henderson, the Club Secretary.

1851.

The 4th March was the first day, and there was a vast improvement in the attendance and quality of the sport as compared with the preceding year. Three steamers plied between Melbourne and the course, and one (the "Maitland") carried a thousand passengers.

THE TOWN PLATE was for 60 sovs., with 6 sovs. entrance. Four miles. Weights from 7 st. 6 lb. for 2 yrs. to 9 st. 10 lb. for 6 yrs. and aged.

M'Laughlin's ch g Dauntless, 5 yrs. 1	Walker's bk g Blue Ruin 3
Austin's b g Bunyip, aged 2	

Four others started. The race was a capital one, and the time 8 min. 16 sec. Dauntless won by two lengths, the riders whipping severely. The winner is chronicled as "being in good condition, as wiry as a rat-trap, and with the wind of a blacksmith's bellows." Bunyip's owner was much surprised at, for him, a most unexpected result.

THE ST. LEGER was for 100 sovs., with 10 sovs. entry, for three-year-old colts and fillies. Weight, 8 st. 10 lb., 1½ miles. Six started, and the winner was Mr. Geo. Maine's b f Maid of the Mist. Time, 2 min. 52 sec., the fastest on the Melbourne course. Won "without turning a hair," and it was stated that at top speed it could be done in 3 sec. less.

THE ROMEO AND FIGARO PURSE, 5 sovs. entry added to 100 sovs., the gift of Messrs. D. C. and H. N. Simson, for two-year-old colts and fillies, the produce of Romeo and Figaro; the second horse to receive 25 sovs. out of the purse. Weight, 8 st. 7 lb. One mile and a distance.

H. N. Simson's b c Flying Pieman 1	H. N. Simson's ch f Enchantress 0
Jas. Austin's br f Enigma 2	

A neck-and-neck race between the two placed. When 200 yards from the start the saddle of Enchantress shifted, and the rider was rolled over.

THE PUBLICANS' PURSE was won by Petrel.

On the Second Day the course was soaked with rain, and very heavy. The race of the day was the STEWARDS' PURSE (heats) which fell to Petrel, beating Maid of the Mist, Dauntless, and others.

On the Third Day the STEEPLECHASE was won by Henderson's b h Nimrod, beating half-a-dozen others, all of them aged, and each weighted at 11 st. 11 lb. There were 14 jumps, and several falls, but no one was much hurt.

The then Mayor of Melbourne (Mr. W. Nicholson) presented a 20 sovereign cup for beaten two and three-year-old colts and fillies, which was won by Rachel.

The meeting closed with an incident of a regretful character. Mr. Robert McNamara, a farmer, residing at the Moonee Ponds, was there throughout the meeting, and on the last evening, whilst returning from the course, was thrown from his horse, and so fatally injured that he died in a few days. His funeral was the largest attended known in Melbourne to that time.

I cannot close this *résumé* of the Melbourne Race Meetings without a few words *in memoriam* of an old sporting official whose name was for many years synonymous with the Flemington Course, with which he became early associated, and continued until a few years ago, when he retired, and death severed his earthly connection soon after. This gentleman was Mr. Isaac Hinds, and "Old Ike" was one of the best known of the Old Identities. He was the first bank-teller in the colony, being appointed to that position in 1837, when Mr. W. F. A. Rucker opened an agency for the Derwent Bank in Melbourne. Mr. Hinds was afterwards a wool-broker, and took high rank in our early Colonial Freemasonry. But I speak of him as the weigher of the Flemington Course, a position which he held for a long time, and in which he was regarded as a trusted favourite by all brought into business relations with him. He was an enthusiastic sportsman in more senses than racing, and his name should not soon fade out of public memory.

A Retrospect.

Wide as the poles asunder are the Cup Carnival of to-day, and the Flemington Meet of forty years ago; and there were many features of the Sports of the good old times which one would like to see mingled with the present. There was a touch of romance surrounding the early gatherings which has completely died out, and would now be looked for in vain. Everyone then went to see the races, whilst now three-fourths of the people go either to try their luck in sweeps, or with bookmakers, show off on the Lawn, or to get baked on the Hill, feeling very little more interest in the running than an anxiety that the horse they backed should win. For about twenty years the winning-post was up by the river, and extending down from it, towards the Hill, between the course and the river, was a row of publicans' booths, where the refreshments, though not of the daintiest, had a full and plentifulness about them which amply satisfied stomachic longings. A railway was then undreamt of, and the two modes of egress and regress from and to Melbourne were the road and the river, both of which were always largely patronised. Steamers used to be laid on from the wharf to the course, leaving about eleven o'clock and returning at sunset. However they managed it, or wherever fished up, there was always a "nigger band" on board; if not the real article, undoubtedly an excellent black-phizzed imitation, and these whitey-black minstrels discoursed a discordance of "music" of the most "stunning" character. The steamers were invariably packed with passengers like herrings in a barrel, and, at 2s. 6d. per head each way, reaped a profitable harvest. What was known as a packet license was taken out by the master of each craft, which was supposed to authorize only the vending of grog *in transitu*, but this was a rule quietly ignored; for the moment the steamers were warped to gum-trees rearward of the Grand Stand, they engaged in an active nobblerizing competition with the publicans ashore—a proceeding little relished by the landsmen. As the police and special constables on duty were not indisposed, for sufficient consideration, to connive at small breaches of the law in this way, the regular Boniface was obliged, resignedly, to grin and bear it. If there was amusement going down, it was nothing to the noisy and intoxicated babelment of the up trip, and the wonder was how half the passengers on board did not tumble overboard. Yet only on one occasion was there a death by drowning, and even a good dip rarely occurred in this way, whilst the risks and accidents by the overland *route* were numerous. The road journey out was always worth looking at. Carriages were then rarities, and even a four-in-hand drag seldom to be met with; but the Flemington Road, from Melbourne to the Saltwater River, was an irregularly-linked chain of vehicles of every grade, from the squatter's or town swell's tandem, rotating downward to the buggy, dog-cart, butcher's or baker's trap, and ending with the drays, where, in a promiscuous fashion, the mother of a family and a numerous brood of youngsters might be observed indulging in the open air enjoyment of a feather or chaff bed. The only engine of locomotion then available that I never saw on road duty of a race day, at least with a living passenger freight, was the bullock team. The vehicular branch of transit was, however, outdone by the equestrianism of the age, for every quill-driver, counter-jumper, tailor, or tinker who could raise a "few bob," chartered some kind of a screw (old or young, good or bad, was no difference, provided only it had four movable legs), at the livery stables or "bazaars," as they were

styled, where there was any number of them collected from every point of the compass for hire; and thus Jack was as good as his master—for the time, at all events. The "croppers" along the road were innumerable. Still there were very few broken limbs, either because the nags were not in the humour for bucking, or the road was soft and yielding. This was also the period of pleasant and enjoyable picnics, and around by the bottom of the hill, embedded in thick brushwood, were scattered groups of people, of every age and condition, partaking of the contents of crammed hampers and baskets, and ready to hail every passer-by to "come and share pot luck." As a rule there used to be not only more eating in proportion to the attendance, but a great deal more drinking than now, and a drunken row was the inevitable wind-up after the racing was over. There were special constables to keep order on the course in the vicinity of the Stand and the run in; and a party of mounted police, and as many of the town and country constabulary as could be spared for the general supervision of the place. There was no such thing as a temporary lock-up for tipplers; but a readier, though less comfortable, mode of detention was devised, and this consisted of two or three bullock chains welded together and stapled to a tree, and to this, very unlike "Orient pearls at random strung," the apprehended Bacchanalians would be manacled by one wrist. Here the restrained toper might fret and fume as he liked, and the punishment often amounted to torture from the broiling heat of the sun or the pelting rain; but, wet or dry, it was all the same, for the chain remained a fixture until evening, when the prisoners were marched into town by the police, headed by the Chief-Constable, travestying the triumphal return of some Roman conqueror exulting over the living *spolia* he had secured in the wars. Some of the race rows occasionally terminated seriously for the belligerent powers, and often afforded an opportunity for squaring the score of an old feud or gratifying private revenge. A ruffianly system of way-laying on or off the course was once introduced; but some convictions following, the transportation of one would-be-murderer for life, and the imprisonment of two or three lesser culprits, put a stop to such a cowardly and brutal practice.

As for the racing itself, its quality improved by degrees, and the performances of such crack horses as Petrel, Bunyip, Bessy Bedlam, Merino, and others remained indelibly inscribed in the early sporting annals of Port Phillip. Up about the Stand, by the river bank, and on the Flat, the hum of busy life buzzed merrily about, and the adroitness of industrious rascality was not idle. The bookmaking craft had not yet come to the front, and, as there was little or nothing done in sweeps, the honourable occupation of the "welcher" had no scope. The pickpockets were, however, efficiently represented, and they took good care to make their hauls in the field; for though the return steamers might present ample opportunities for dishonest harvesting, the passengers, though full almost to overflowing in a certain sense, almost unfailingly left the course with very empty pockets. The broad-fakers, the magsmen, and the thimble-riggers affected the racecourse, and the unsuspecting were accordingly victimized without scruple.

It would be difficult to say when gambling on the Melbourne racecourse first made its appearance—probably with the first regular meeting there in 1840. This was before the era of the bookmaking and welching tribes, and the police of the period used to make spasmodic efforts to suppress any overt acts of "spielerism" and "thimble-rigging." They, however, neither scotched nor killed the snake, which lengthened its coils every year, and at the race gathering in 1847 it is averred that no less than seventy notorious gamblers were in professional attendance. As there was then no enclosed "Hill," and the winning-post was by the river side, the magsman and rogue operated on the Flat, where divers and sundry other "flats" of the kind specially wanted were willing victims for sacrifice. On the second day of the races a thimble-rigger was caught cheating *in flagrante delicto*, and it was proposed to rope and drown him in the Saltwater River; but the timely arrival of some special constables saved the scoundrel from a fate which he almost deserved. The following morning he got three months on a tread-mill, then in good working order at the gaol.

In the way of amusement, the first attempt at originality emanated from the brain of an eccentric blacksmith, known as "Old Cooper," who devised what he was pleased to denominate "an aerial machine," and it paid him well for two or three meets. This curious fabric was a wooden abortion, built something after the model of an unwheeled, hoodless perambulator, capacious

enough to seat six persons. Four posts were sunk in the ground, and, by means of some cross-beams and a couple of stout ropes and pulleys, worked by two men, the passengers were lifted up and let down in a jig-jog way that gave unbounded satisfaction to the customers. The tariff was one half-penny per head per minute, or half-a-crown an hour; but ten minutes was considered a sufficient turn. Cooper always stood by officiating as engineer-in-chief, cashier, and time-keeper—and there, with an old silver turnip of a watch in hand, he performed his duties with the most undeviating punctuality. He did good business, and worked hard till after the last race, when he usually adjourned to the next drinking-booth, and left the aerial machine to look after itself until next morning. The jolly old fellow was a general favourite, and even the most mischief-loving scamp (there were none of our latter-day larrikins) would never think of injuring him or his belongings. It was not to be always "cakes and ale" with the veteran Vulcan, for a regular merry-go-round soon drove him out of the running, and he went completely to the dogs soon after. When the Benevolent Asylum was opened "Old Cooper" became its first inmate, and he gave up the ghost there more than twenty years ago. Though off races were occasionally held at Sandridge, near Elsternwick and Williamstown, and country meetings came to be established in different part of the province, the Melbourne gathering was the universally-accepted event of the year. The race nights were noisy ones in town, and many a rough handling the "Bobbies" got; but if there was a cut head the roysterers were generous in supplying a sticking-plaster of more patent healing power than Apothecaries' liniments. Bank notes would pass to the police exchequer if the phlebotomist were watch-housed as a *solatium* for either wounded head or dignity, and the police office charge-sheets were every morning so light as to be inexplicable to those who were neither in nor knew of the secret agency operating as a peacemaker.

There was also nightly a Race-ball, a dinner or other festive demonstration at the *Lamb Inn*, the *Prince of Wales*, or some other principal place of entertainment, and, taken as a whole, the Old Turf times were infinitely more jolly and enjoyable, notwithstanding all their drawbacks, than people of the present generation can bring themselves to imagine.

The writer of this sketch was the first to suggest the changing of the Grand Stand and winning-post from near the river to the hill. He was engaged on a Melbourne journal, and, when the paragraph appeared, was laughed at and chaffed for giving expression to a notion so preposterous. But he was no idle dreamer, and he knew that it was only a question of time when he suggestion would be turned into a reality. He has often since stood on "the Hill," gazing across at the whereabouts of the Old Stand, and looking around and over the heads of the many thousands congregated on a Cup Day, his memory strays back to the olden times, when the circumstances above detailed occurred, and he wonders still at what the unfathomable womb of the dim future may have in store for the Flemington Racecourse. He stood on the hill on the first occasion of the winning-post being planted beside it. Who will be on "the Hill" on the day when the last race will be run there? As there will, some time or other, be *a last man*, so will there be assuredly a last race meeting at Flemington; but when that event will come off is a question to which there can now be no answer.

VENERY.

Bonwick, in his *Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip*, thus notices the earliest meet in the hunting field:—"The first hunt with hounds was on 28th August, 1839. There were fifteen red-coats, led on by 'Old Tom Brown.' A kangaroo was started; the chase was brilliant; the forester distanced the horses and dogs; and we have reason to believe, he regained his family home in safety." If the historian uses the term "red-coats" literally, as implying that the fifteen Nimrods were so costumed, I am disposed to question the accuracy of the statement, for it is extremely improbable that there was anything like fifteen fox-hunting uniforms then in the district. Furthermore, though this might have been the first mounted hunt "with hounds," it most assuredly was not the first kangaroo-hunting

with dogs, for Fawkner's party, who had two kangaroo dogs with them, beguiled their Sundays in 1835 in such an anti-Sabbatarian pastime.

The first name that I have met with as the keeper of a pack of hounds was Mr. T. H. Pyke, in 1844, who afforded the sportsmen in and around Melbourne occasional runs in the country, about the Werribee and Keilor. No doubt from the earliest time the settlers scattered throughout the province would, now and then, take the field after a kangaroo or emu, though this five-footer of a bird was not easily overhauled, and found little difficulty in kicking over the best kangaroo dog that might come to too close quarters which was not often the case unless in ascending a range. Down hill the emu could extend its short wings, and make short work of the chase. The dingo, or wild dog, was much more suitable as an object of hunting, for the animal might be said to partake as much of the nature of the fox as the dog; in size, form, and habits it resembled Reynard, and afforded good sport to a pack of hounds. The dingo, therefore, was as a rule, hunted until other favourites of the English chase were introduced. It was not very long before such began to appear in the country. By the middle of 1845, Pyke had some foxes, and on the 30th August one of them was started at Penny Royal Creek, some capital sport ensuing. The fox after a smart run shaped in the direction of Williamstown, and *en route* an amusingly unaccountable metamorphosis occurred, for the huntsmen were in at the death—not of a fox, but an emu, and by what possibility the exchange was effected could not be explained. A newspaper of the time records that Mr. William Stawell rode a horse chartered from Mr. J. G. Taylor, who kept the *Bakers' Arms Hotel* in Elizabeth Street, nearly opposite the Post Office, and that the animal was accidentally killed during the run.

By the next year hunting had become more general. A club, known as the Corio Club, was in existence at Geelong, and it had as its huntsman a Mr. John Perks, who was much of a favourite. He resided in a hut on Willis's Cattle Station, at Indented Head, and one day in November, 1846, going some distance into the bush, and not returning so soon as expected, some friends started out in search, found him dying, and he immediately expired. It is supposed he had been sun-struck.

Messrs. Ferrers and Mercer also kept hounds, and hunted twice a week about Buninyong and the Leigh; and Mr. Bacchus, junr., showed off at the Werribee, where a Hunt Club was formed, when some fallow deer were imported to Geelong in June, 1849. On the 11th July, one of them, a poor little mite of a thing, was enlarged at the Little River, but in less than twenty minutes it was caught, and died shortly after. The next night there was a Hunt Ball at Geelong, attended by a hundred visitors. Mr. James Henderson, for years the Secretary of the Port Phillip Turf Club, was also the proprietor of a hunting pack, and in 1851 a stag was imported from Van Diemen's Land. On the 28th of September there was a grand turn-out of the Hendersonian hounds on Emerald Hill, and a field of fifty horsemen. The stag was let off, and after a two-mile spin towards Caulfield, then a houseless and unsettled region, the panting animal burst into a mia-mia of Aborigines, and frightened almost out of their senses, not only black men, women, and babies, but also the inevitable native camp following—a hungry horde of mangy dogs. The stag got off, making for what was then known as Big Brighton, where he was run down; but the dogs were whipped off, and the quarry saved for another day. Several of the equestrians were unwillingly treated to spills, but the most unfortunate of them was a once sporting physician, for a newspaper reports, "that Dr. Black had several falls in the commencement."

CHAPTER LIV.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES *(CONTINUED).*

SYNOPSIS:—Mr. Robert Russell, Mr. F. A. Powlett, Mr. D. Gordon, and Mr. McArthur, first Cricketers.—Formation of the Melbourne Cricket Club.—The First Cricket Match.—Formation of the Melbourne Union Cricket Club.—First Printed Score.—The First Inter-colonial Match.—Aquatics: First Sailing Match.—The First Regatta.—Introduction of Billiards.—Athletics: The First Football Match.—The First Prize-fights.—Matters Piscatorial: The Waltonian Club.—The First Oysters.

CRICKET.

WHATEVER doubt may surround the origin of horse-riding, there is little as to the fact of England being the cradle of cricket, though there is a singular omission of it as a game in the schedule of sports compiled by command of the first James. The term is derived from the Saxon word, *Cricee* or *Creag*, a crooked club, shaped like the original bat, and cricket is supposed to be a modification of the old English amusement of *Club and Ball.* It is, however, the national game of Englishmen, and as the sun is supposed never to set on the British Empire, cricket must be ever in a state of sunshine in some part or other of the globe, for the bat, ball and wicket, form an Institution wherever the "Meteor flag of England" floats on the breeze. Horse-racing nevertheless had the start of cricket in Port Phillip, though they were both inaugurated there in the same year (1838). The first race meeting commenced on the 6th March, and the first cricket match was played on the 22nd November, on the green velvety level near the foot of Batman's Hill, just off Spencer Street, on the site of the present Victorian Railway Station.

There is still surviving in Melbourne a gentleman who wielded the willow on this memorable occasion. He is Mr. Robert Russell, my antiquarian referee to whom I have already acknowledged my deep indebtedness for the valuable assistance cheerfully rendered in the most difficult branches of this work. Mr. Russell thus details the circumstances under which the Melbourne Cricket Club was formed:—"Mr. F. A. Powlett was the real originator. I remember well his proposal on Batman's Hill and a list was made at once. A copy being posted in the Pavilion of the M.C.C. The foundation-stone was thus laid by Mr. Powlett, probably the best cricketer of the time. It was Mr. D. Gordon M'Arthur, (brother of D. C.) who purchased for the club the first bats, balls and stumps, the receipt for payment of which he handed to me as a memento."

Appended is a copy of the "list" referred to, which may be considered the Club's charter. The original is in Mr. Russell's possession:—

"It is proposed to form a Cricket Club with one guinea subscription.

"A. Powlett (paid), R. Russell (paid), A. M. Mundy (paid), C. F. N. Mundy (paid), Geo. B. Smyth (paid), Smith, Donald M'Arthur, P. Snodgrass, William Ryrie, Highett, Williams, Meek, Jamieson, Webster, Sams, Brock, Bacchus, Allen, Pitman, Hind, &c., &c."

The Donald M'Arthur here named, has been dead for some years; but, another well-known name-sake and brother of his, Mr. D. C. M'Arthur, the "Father" of all our bank managers, is still (1884) alive,* and he also did good service on the cricket ground in his day. Three days subsequent to the formation of the club the maiden match came off. No score or any detailed account of the play of such an historically interesting event is extant, but I find the following notice of it in the *Port Phillip Gazette* of 1st December, 1838:—

* Mr. D. C. McArthur, died on the 15th November, 1887.

First Cricket Match.

"Pleasure and recreation are absolutely necessary to relieve our minds and bodies from too constant attention and labour. With truly gratified feelings therefore, did we witness the gentlemen of the district assemble last Saturday week, on the beautiful pleasure grounds around this fast rising town, to bring into practice one of the most elegant and manly sports that can be enjoyed. Yes, it was pleasurable to witness those whose mental and enterprising minds had turned this, but short time since, wilderness, into a busy emporium of traffic, relinquishing for a time their occupation, and uniting their efforts to establish sports such as these. During the week arrangements had been made by the Gentlemen Civilians of the district to play a match of cricket against the Military. Captain Smyth, with the enthusiasm natural to him, and desirous of forwarding everything, either really beneficial or of useful amusement, joined by many of those who had retired from the service, but whose hearts are still with it, mustered on the ground a company with which they would have attempted a more stirring contest. It was a heart-enlivening sight to witness from an adjacent hill the ground as it was laid out. Camps pitched, banners tastefully arranged, and the all-enlivening smiles of beauty that would have graced many a far-famed *tournament* of the olden times, formed a scene that we trust often again to witness. At twelve o'clock precisely, a signal called the players to their post, when the game commenced—the Military taking the first innings. We have not the particulars of the game before us, and can therefore, but briefly notice those who particularly distinguished themselves. After a duration of some hours it concluded by a triumph on the part of the Civilians. Mr. Powlett's and Mr. Donald Gordon M'Arthur's bowling, and Mr. Russell's batting, attracted universal applause. On the whole the game was played with an *esprit de corps*, a judgment, and an activity, that a first-rate club in England might not be ashamed to boast of."

To this, Mr. Russell supplies an addendum, viz.:—"As to the cricket match, I cannot say positively, but I feel sure it was played close beyond Batman's Hill, not far from the Officers' Quarters. A Captain Peppit, from Sydney, played on that occasion—a splendid point, very long in the reach. The Civilians won the match. I forget any special incidents—but I know I met Captain Peppit in the evening over a glass of grog at the *Lamb Inn*. No uniform or distinguishing dress was worn. The bats, stumps, &c., I have no doubt, were "O.K.," and probably were those purchased by D. G. M'Arthur for the club, the receipt for payment of which he gave me, and I still hold. I fancy Stubbs played on the side of the Military, but I may be wrong. The 'Stubbs' here referred to, was a once well-known Melbourne auctioneer, Mr. Thomas Stubbs, whose florid style of advertising and 'pushing' his wares, induced a belief that a shred of the puffing mantle of the whilom London George Robins had been blown over the seas to him."

Outside the M.C.C. there were some fair average cricketers, and prompted by the good example, they hastened to start another Association under the designation of the "Melbourne Union Cricket Club." This was mainly membered by persons in retail lines of business and tradesmen. On the 12th January, 1839, a match was played between two branches of the community known respectively as "The Gentlemen of the District," and "The Tradesmen of the Town," when the "Gents" were soundly drubbed; but, in a return match on the 19th, the tables were completely turned, mainly through the exertions of "Gentleman" Powlett, who got 120 runs. Mr. James Webster, an excellent player, met with an accident in the height of the game, which prevented his continuing in it. Mr. Thomas Halfpenny, now of Studley Park, then a stalwart, strapping publican, was a prominent figure in batting and wicket-keeping with the Traders.

The Second Cricket Match.

Benedick v. Bachelor.

The Married and Single residents of Port Phillip met in a field on the 30th March, 1839, in a well-played and highly interesting game. The Husbands won with five wickets to fall.

A match in return was played between the Married and Single on 1st February, 1840, with the following result:—

BACHELORS—First Innings	39	BENEDICKS—First Innings	90
Second ,, ...	180—219	,, Second ,, ...	52—142

The Bachelors winning by 77.

The play was at the old place at Batman's Hill, but as the weather was unfavourable, and it blew a gale throughout the day, the enjoyment was very much lessened by the high wet grass and the sticky soil.

The "Who shall," or conquering match, came off on the 7th March, and the following report is transcribed from an old '40 newspaper:—

"CRICKET.—The third match between the Married Men and Bachelors of Melbourne ended in favour of the Single beating their opponents in one innings with 93 notches to spare. The bowling and batting of Mr. Powlett were beyond all praise; indeed, this gentleman's playing would do infinite credit to any cricket club in the world. The batting of Mr. T. F. Hamilton, too, was equally fine. "Tom" was the first to go in, and the last to come out, and was not idle during his innings. While the Single men can bring to the scratch such players as Messrs. Powlett and Hamilton, the Married folks have not the slightest chance with them. The fielding on both sides was much better than formerly, and here, if anything, the Benedicks had the advantage; but fielding well without good batting and bowling is of no use. The day was remarkably fine, and the players were honoured with the presence of several ladies."

The Bachelors won in a single innings, in which they made 197, against 104, the product of the double effort of the Married. As the score upon this occasion is the first ever printed in the colony, it is worthy of preservation as a rare historical stray:—

MARRIED—FIRST INNINGS.		BACHELORS—FIRST INNINGS.	
Maine, caught by Powlett	0	Hamilton, caught by Macarthur	79
Ledbeater, bowled by Hamilton	2	Chisholm, bowled by Macarthur	1
Russell, caught by Chisholm	4	Powlett, bowled by Macarthur	55
Smith, bowled by Powlett	0	Barry, bowled by Macarthur	0
Campbell, bowled by Powlett	1	Draine, bowled by Cavenagh	2
Capt. Bacchus, bowled by Hamilton	0	Browne, bowled by Macarthur	2
Lovell, bowled by Hamilton	1	Vignolles, caught by Macarthur	2
Cavenagh, caught by Chisholm	28	Hogue, bowled by Cavenagh	10
Macarthur, bowled by Hamilton	4	Pittman, bowled by Cavenagh	1
Mundy, bowled by Hamilton	0	Sams, not out	18
Yaldwyn, not out	8	Cormick, bowled by Cavenagh...	6
Byes	21	Byes	21
Total ...	69	Total ...	197

MARRIED—SECOND INNINGS.			
Russell, bowled by Powlett	0	Macarthur	0
Lovell, bowled by Hamilton	3	Yaldwyn, caught by Chisholm	5
Cavenagh, bowled by Powlett	1	Smith, bowled by Hamilton	0
Bacchus, bowled by Powlett	0	Byes	12
Maine, run out	5	Total ...	35
Campbell, bowled by Powlett	0		
Ledbeater, bowled by Powlett...	0		
Mundy, bowled by Powlett	9		

Of the above the only two now in the colony are Mr. Robert Russell, a Benedick, and the Hon. T. F. Hamilton, a bachelor on the day of the match; but the Hon. "Tom" soon after abandoned his state of "single blessedness," and passed along the risky *sacra via* by which pilgrims are admitted to the elysium of matrimony.

On the 1st November, 1841, a meeting of the Melbourne Cricket Club was held at the *Exchange Hotel* room, in Collins Street, when an election of a Directory took place, and the following appointments were made, viz. :—President: Mr. F. A. Powlett; Vice-President: Mr. H. F. Gurner; Hon. Sec.: Mr. George Cavenagh; Treasurer: Mr. W. V. M'Vitie; Committee of Management: Messrs. D. S. Campbell, C. Thompson, Robert Russell, George Were, Edward Sewell, Redmond Barry, T. F. Hamilton, J. W. Stevens, and Alexander Orr. Office-bearers to be members of Committee.

Powlett, Hamilton, and others of the early cricketers, brought their bats with them from Home, and Stubbs secured a supply of bats and wickets from India. The Tradesmen's or Union Club continued its practice, and in 1842 a Brighton Club was formed, and shortly after a Geelong Club sprang into existence. Frequent matches used to be played at Batman's Hill, with an occasional move to the side of the Flagstaff Hill, and Brighton.

The Melbourne and Brighton Clubs

Had in contemplation a match which was long expected, and much talked about. It was at length played on the Easter Monday of 1845 (24th March) near Batman's Hill. There was a grand turn-out of the fashionable world there; and it received a solemn and "learned" *imprimatur* by the presence of the Superintendent (Latrobe), the Crown Prosecutor (Croke), the Deputy-Sheriff (M'Kenzie), the Crown Solicitor (Gurner), and a large admixture of both branches of the legal profession. The wickets were pitched at noon, and the play commenced with much spirit by the Melbournians going in and scoring 70 runs. The Brightonians then took their first innings, making 62. Both sides next "spelled" (it is not difficult to guess the "spelling-bee" operated upon for half-an-hour), and resumed, when the Melbournians were unable to cope with the terrible bowling of their opponents, and only scored 55. The Brightonians won with ease, and their bowling was figured at 70. It was of such a quality as, according to a cricketing authority, "to do honour to Kent at any time," but the Melbourne fielding was the better of the two. In connection with this match the following incident proves incontestably that there are times when, even in the cricket field, an outsider may score a large innings: A Mr. John Highett was amongst the players, and being a gentleman whose purse never ran below low water-mark, on this day he had £500 worth of bank notes in one of his coat pockets. Stripping for the game, he unthinkingly left the money where it was, and placed his coat where he could conveniently find it when the fun was over. As dressing time arrived, the garment was *non est*, and the batsman had to return home *sans* coat or cash. The thief was, however, so conscientious, that next day the habiliment was found done up as a parcel, and deposited near the door of the Police Court. Though un-noted, it was labelled, and addressed to the care of the Chief Constable. No tidings of the thief or money ever turned up, but there can be little doubt that the paper money was promptly placed in the melting-pot of the publicans, and thus into speedy liquidation.

The return match was disposed of near the Brighton Beach on the 5th April. There were a few changes in the individuality of the teams. Brighton took the palm for bowling, and Melbourne for fielding, whilst it was a drawn battle over the eatables and drinkables at a dinner served at *Crosbie's Hotel* in the evening. There was a large influx of visitors from Melbourne, who enjoyed themselves immensely.

The score was:—Melbourne.—First innings, 55; second innings, 91. Total, 146. Brighton.—First innings, 121; second innings, 13. Total, 134.

Melbourne was the arena of the conquering match on the 26th April, where the Brightonians carried off a crushing victory in one innings, in consequence of some of the best Melbourne bowlers being on the absentee list.

The scoring was:—Melbourne.—First innings, 57; second innings, 10. Total, 67. Brighton.—First innings, 74. Total, 74.

Melbourne and Geelong.

On Easter Monday (5th April), 1847, the Melbourne and Geelong Clubs met on the Melbourne Ground, where there was an attendance both numerous and fashionable, the Superintendent (Latrobe) and the Resident Judge (A'Beckett) being the most imposing of the "big wigs." The bowling of Mr. Matson, and batting of Messrs. Thomson and Sladen (three Geelon-geese) was declared "to be unequalled in the colony, especially the bowling;" whilst on the Melbourne side, the batting of Messrs. George Turnbull, William Philpott, and Lieutenant Rush was "remarkable" (whatever that may mean); and in fielding Melbourne established its superiority.

The score was:—Melbourne.—First innings, 99; second innings, 101. Total, 200. Geelong.—First innings, 45; second innings, 63. Total, 108. Won by 92.

At 7 p.m. both Clubs dined together at the *Shakspeare Hotel*, corner of Collins and Market Streets.

A new Club was formed in Melbourne, and great doings were promised on its behalf. It was called the Albion, and it was crowingly announced that a superior supply of bats and balls had been ordered from England, but little or nothing was afterwards heard of the movement.

A New Cricket Ground.

The temporary play-ground at Batman's Hill was found to be in some respects not the best adapted for cricketing, and the club selected a more commodious and convenient spot on the south bank of the Yarra, between the river and Emerald Hill. It was a slice of the place that "Johnny Fawkner" turned into a cultivation paddock in 1835, and grew a crop of wheat there. Something like the beginning of the Flemington Racecourse, it was "jumped" by the Club, and an unauthorized occupation winked at by the authorities. In 1848, the Superintendent gave a formal permission to use ten acres of the area as a Cricket Ground, and the cricketers were so elated with their good luck that they proposed to work wonders there in the way of fencing and planting, and innumerable other important *etceteras*. The club happened to be at this time in a condition of comparative prosperity, and consequently it effected a good deal of what was so promised. There were 127 members, and they went to work with a will. The ten acres were soon enclosed with a strong four-rail fence, at a cost of £30 13s. 4d., and 1116 yards of the ground turfed for £24 13s. 6d. September saw them not only out of debt, but when the outstanding subscriptions were got in, they would be £120 in credit. In the beginning of 1849, the Melbourne Club was challenged to play a match against all Van Diemen's Land, but obstacles intervened to prevent its acceptance.

Europeans v. New Hollanders.

What might be termed almost an International match was got up in 1850. It was a trial of strength between eleven natives of Europe and eleven New Hollanders—or natives of New South Wales (including of course Port Phillip, not yet separated). It was played on the 18th November at Geelong, on the ground of the Corio Cricket Club. The wickets were pitched at 11 o'clock, and the play showed that although the New Hollanders were the best bowlers, their fielding was indifferent.

The score was:—Europeans.—First innings, 25; second innings, 75. Total, 100. New Hollanders.—First innings, 59; second innings, 42. Total, 101.

And so the Antipodeans "saved their bacon" by 1.

The First Inter-colonial Match.

Towards the end of 1850, the Melbourne Cricket Club challenged the cricketers of Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania) to play a match of eleven gentlemen of Port Phillip (now Victoria) against as many Van Diemonians. After due negotiation it was accepted, and came off at Launceston on the 11th February, 1851. It is needless to say that for many weeks it was the incessantly-talked-of topic, and excited an intense degree of interest at both sides of Bass' Straits. The toss for innings was won by the Tasmanians; the Victorians were put in. Mr. Powlett, the best all-round cricketer in Victoria, was prevented from playing through having sprained his ancle a few days before. In him the Victorians had an irreparable loss, and had he been there there was small doubt that the result would have been reversed. The Van Diemonians won by 2 with 3 wickets to spare. In batting the latter were indifferent, but their fielding was remarkably good, and on something like good ground the Victorians would, it was thought, have little difficulty in winning. Considering the many Inter-colonial and Inter-national cricket matches which have since taken place, as this was the precursor of so many subsequently renowned cricket *tournaments*, I have deemed the scoring on such a memorable occasion a relic of sufficient interest to be presented in detail.

VICTORIA.

First Innings.

Cooper, b M'Dowell	4
W. Philpott, c Maddox, b M'Dowell	17
Hamilton, b M'Dowell	10
Lister, run out	10
Thomson, b M'Dowell	1
R. Philpott, b Henty	12
Antill, st Marshall	0
Brodie, c Henty, b M'Dowell	17
Marsden, b Henty	2
Hall, not out	6
Harvey, b Henty	0
Byes	1
Leg Byes	2
	82

Time, 2 h. 5 m.

Second Innings.

Hamilton, lbw, b M'Dowell	35
Brodie, c Tabart, b Henty	5
Hall, lbw, b M'Dowell	6
Lister, c Maddox, b Field	3
Thomson, b Henty	0
W. Philpott, run out	3
Cooper, b Henty	0
R. Philpott, c Westbrooke, b Henty	1
Marsden, b M'Dowell	2
Harvey, c M'Dowell, b Henty	1
Byes	1
	57
First Innings	82
Total	139

Time, 1 h. 20 m.

TASMANIANS.

First Innings.

Du Croz, b Antill	27
Marshall, c Lister, b Antill	13
Field, b Antill	0
Maddox, b Antill	1
Gibson, b Hamilton	8
Westbrooke, b Antill	10
Arthur, b Antill	1
Tabart, b Hamilton	2
Giblin, not out	7
Henty, b Antill	0
M'Dowell, c Antill, b Hamilton	11
Byes	10
Leg Byes	6
Wide Balls	8
	104

Time, 2 h. 40 m.

Second Innings.

Du Croz, b Antill	6
Giblin, b Antill	1
Westbrooke, c Cooper, b Antill	4
Tabart, not out	15
Field, c Thomson, b Brodie	1
Gibson, b Antill	1
Marshall, c Antill, b Antill	0
Arthur, c Harvey, b Antill	0
M'Dowell, not out	4
Maddox	0
Henty	0
Byes	3
Wide Balls	2
	37
First Innings	104
Grand Total	141

Majority for Tasmanians 2 with 3 wickets to spare.

As a mark of the kindness and good feeling of the Tasmanians towards the Port Phillipians, not the slightest breath of applause escaped from the multitude, numbering over fifteen hundred collected on the ground during the two days over which the match extended; but a marked silence ensued, as though they thought they had committed a breach of hospitality in thus defeating their guests. This generous and manly feeling will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it.

In referring to the match a Melbourne newspaper thus remarks:—"No sooner had the 'Shamrock' discharged her passengers in Launceston, than the whole town was in a buzz, each and every person trying to outstrip his neighbour in every kind attention which the most genuine hospitality could suggest. Everybody invited everybody, and the difficulty was how to contrive so as to partake of all that was offered. From the time of landing to the time of embarking, the same spirit continued—dinners, balls, musical parties, picnics, and every description of entertainment was got up to give a hearty welcome to the strangers from Port Phillip. On the morning of departure from Launceston, as an indication of the good fellowship and friendly feeling displayed, the Launceston Band volunteered their services to enliven the scene, and cheer the return of the cricketers. They accordingly formed opposite the *Cornwall Hotel*, the head quarters of the Victorians, and played several tunes in first rate style, amongst them 'Home Sweet Home.'"

The Tasmanian cricketers also met them there, and the opposite elevens, with their friends, walked arm-in-arm to the steamer, the band playing before them. On their arrival at the wharf, "God Save the Queen" was played, and Mr. Wm. Philpott, in a few brief remarks, thanked the assembled multitude, in the name of Victoria, for their unbounded kindness, and especially for this last pleasing demonstration at parting. The Victorians assembled on the deck of the "Shamrock" echoed the feelings uttered by Mr. Philpott with a thrice renewed explosion of cheers, a compliment as loudly reciprocated on shore.

WHISKERS *v.* NO WHISKERS

Antecedent to the Victorian gold discoveries, towards the close of 1851, a bearded man was as much a *rara avis* in Melbourne as a bearded woman is in 1884. Whiskers of the patterns known in slangology as the "mutton chop," or the "Newgate fringe," were hirsute luxuries tolerated by the usages of city and suburban society, and though the bare faces were largely in the majority, whiskerandoes were to be frequently encountered. The M.C.C. included amongst its members individuals who wore whiskers and those who did not; and this is how it came about that a match was made between elevens of the Whiskered and Whiskerless. It was played on the 26th April, when there was a prime day's fun on the Trans-Yarra Cricket Ground. There was a very large attendance, the day was fine, and the work commenced at ten o'clock. The result was that the "hairy side" won by seven wickets to spare, and here is the scoring total:—

NO WHISKERS.—First Innings	87	WHISKERS.—First Innings	144
,, Second Innings	90	,, Second Innings	36
	177		180

As an amusing reminiscence I append the names of the players of this remarkable occasion:—

WHISKERS.—Messrs. J. C. Brodie, T. F. Hamilton, W. Philpott, Geo. Cavenagh, — Were, — Sims, E. Bell, W. H. Hull, E. P. Sturt, W. H. Campbell, T. Thorpe.

NO WHISKERS.—Messrs. — Lister, — Hervey, — Hart, D. S. Campbell, H. Creswick, Robt. Russell, M. A'Beckett, — Locke, E. A'Beckett, V. Stephen, Fitz Stephen.

The wonderful progress in cricket for the last thirty years has been well and often described in book and newspaper, and, perhaps, there is no incident in the strange eventful history of Victoria more calculated to exemplify the extraordinary development of the colony, than a comparison of the first cricket match on Batman's Hill in 1838, and the cricketing feats recently witnessed in Melbourne;

and the astonishment evolved cannot fail to be amplified when it is borne in mind that Russell, one of the founders of the M.C.C., and Halfpenny, of the Union, still (1888) live and move amongst us, and though not as lively as of yore, like two old crickets chirping about the city, and beholding, with just feelings of self exultation, the results of a movement of which they were the originators, though, in the cricketing world of to-day their names, if not unknown, are probably never mentioned.

AQUATICS.

Salt or fresh-water amusements were not held in much esteem by the early Port Phillipians, possibly in consequence of the distance of the Bay from the town, and it was some years before any regularily organized movement towards establishing marine sports were inaugurated. Through the kindness of Captain David Fermaner, a veteran tar, and a resident of the locality modernly designated Newport, I am enabled to supply a brief record of the First Sailing Match in the colony. Towards the close of 1838, Mr. George Arden, a co-proprietor and editor of the *Port Phillip Gazette*, imported from Sydney, a cutter, baptized "The Devil Afloat." A Captain Boden, still, or recently living in Horsham district, owned a schooner-rigged boat known as the "Eliza," and he and Arden agreed upon a water race for £25 aside, the course to be across the bay, from Point Gellibrand, at Williamstown, to the Red Bluff (Point Ormond), near the place subsequently named St. Kilda, and back. It was arranged that Fermaner, who had a smart little cutter of his own, should anchor off the Bluff, and the competing boats were to round him, and then home. The most important personage on the water was Mr. John Batman, in a boat rowed by four of his historical Sydney Aboriginals. "Eliza" and the "Devil" started on their competing trip, and succeeded in safely circum-sailing Fermaner. Their progress, however, was not anything like first-class time, Fermaner reaching Williamstown before them.

Towards the close of 1840, when the few colonists were prepared to attempt anything suggested for business or pleasure, there popped up a notion to celebrate the infancy of the ensuing year by a grand marine demonstration, and accordingly rapid preparations were made to render the project a success. Subscriptions were raised, an elaborate programme (on paper) was issued, and Messrs. W. H. Yaldwyn, F. A. Powlett, and James Simpson, were nominated as stewards of

THE FIRST REGATTA,

Which was appointed to come off on the 12th January, 1841, in Hobson's Bay, accordingly. The attendance was by no means a popular gathering, for it was confined to such of the well-to do townsfolk as felt disposed for a brief change of air. There was no steamer accommodation; boating down the river was not much cared about; and as for an overland excursion to Williamstown, the swampy, rocky, circuitous bush track by which it could only be made, was not attractive to either pedestrians or equestrians. Several boat-loads put off from the North Beach (Sandridge). Superintendent Latrobe was there, and an indifferent town band, playing on the poop of the "Eagle" (flagship), contributed a noisy quota of discordant music.

There were six matches in all, with a general entrance payment of 2 sovs., viz.:—

No. 1.—A £40 PURSE, FOR ALL SAILING BOATS OR CRAFT TRADING IN THE PORT.
Won by Eagle (Willis), the second boat, the Fanny (Gilligan), receiving £10.

No. 2.—FIVE-OARED WHALE BOATS (not exceeding 27 feet).

1st place (£30)	...	...	...	Nancy (Ward).	2nd place (£10)	...	...	Hero (Stoney).

No. 3.—SHIPS' CUTTERS (SAILING).

1st place (£20)	...	...	The John (Cummins).		2nd place (£10)	...	...	Midge (Fowler).

No. 4.—FOUR-OARED GIGS.

1st place (£20)	...	...	... Red Rover (Storey).		2nd place (£10)	...	...	Eagle (Willis).

There were on the card prizes for jolly-boats and dingies, but they eventuated in waste paper.

A lunch was given on board the "Eagle" by Captain Buckley, and there was a regatta ball the following evening, at the *Caledonian Hotel* in Lonsdale Street.

Two of the widest-awake of the Melbourne "pubs" (Thomas Halfpenny and William Mortimer) were amusingly "sold" in this affair. Led to believe that Sandridge Beach would be the centre of attraction, they planted booths at the southern end of the present Bay Street. Halfpenny chartered a monster canvas over-all known as the "Sadi-Mahomet Tent," used by a loud-puffing auctioneer (Charles Williams) as a portable auction mart. Mortimer simply transported an ordinary tent from town, and fixed it on a convenient site. Everything was ready on the appointed morning, except the customers, who gave Sandridge the go-by, and went away to Williamstown, the side of the Bay where the regatta really came off. Whilst the two disconsolate tapsters were bemoaning their ill luck, intelligence arrived that there was to be a sort of steeplechase or hurdle race about a mile distant, in the direction of St. Kilda. Mortimer, being the lighter equipped of the two, decamped with his grog and a large tarpaulin, and on reaching the race-ground, near the present *Beaconsfield Hotel*, by means of a pole and a gum tree, quickly improvised a drinking saloon, and made well by it, for the day was excessively warm—porter, 3s. a bottle; other things in proportion—and he netted £120. Halfpenny was much embarassed by his elaborate *impedimenta*. However, he hastily packed a lot of drinking stuff, with two chairs, into a dray, and, under the foliage of a large she-oak, he soon got rid of not only what he brought with him, but a relay of drinkables sent for during the day. "All's well that ends well"; and so the evening's reflection of the two grog vendors wore a much more cheerful aspect than their ante-meridian meditations.

On the 1st January, 1844, there was to be a grand demonstration at Sandridge, and though there had been a deal of preparatory puffing, it ended in an amphibious *fiasco*. The thing had, no doubt, been got up as a New Year's ruse, by some enterprising publicans, who saw a chance of making something out of it. Induced by the displayed posters, a large number of persons repaired from Melbourne to Sandridge, and the so-called regatta was commenced by Mr. F. Liardet starting, with pistol-shot, the first race, viz.:—For Amateur Pulling Boats, £4 and £2 prizes for the first and second placed. The course was from Sandridge round the ship "Glentanner," anchored some way off Williamstown, and back. Three boats went into the contest, viz., the Naiad (whale-boat), pulled by Strode, Dunn, Young, Hodgson, M'Kay, and Stanway (steersman); the Lubra: Wilson, Tallan, White, Knight, and Kilburn (steerer); and The Peri: Carl, Passmore, M'Farlane, Kell, and Ker (steerer). The whaler had not a chance from the beginning, and was three-fourths of a mile rearward at the end. There was a spirited pull between the other two, and The Peri conquered.

The second event was a sailing match between the Spray, Shamrock, and Wave, for £10, and was won by the first-named.

Sir John Franklin, the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and Lady Franklin, being on a private visit to the Superintendent of Port Phillip, were present, accompanied by the Resident Judge (Jeffcott), and at the sight, according to an old journal, "pleasure beamed on every countenance." The managers of the "*fête*" immediately decided on a change of front, and started a PONY RACE for a saddle and bridle, valued at £7, which was taken by the animal of a Mr. M'Vitie. This was followed by a HACK RACE for a new silver-handled whip, and won by the grey horse of a Mr. Ross. A town band was in attendance, which, if report is to be credited, "contributed its share to the general jubilee," though the public found little for joyfulness in the day's proceedings.

BILLIARDS.

This game was introduced to Port Phillip in 1838. The first licensed table was owned by Mr. J. H. Umpleby, the landlord of the *Angel Inn*, at the north-eastern corner of Queen and Collins Streets, where the new English, Scottish, and Australian Chartered Bank is now erected (1888). The room was a one story store-like brick structure, and facing Queen Street. For years after the discontinuance of the "groggery," it was well known as the auction mart of Mr. T. H Power, anciently recognized as one of the "Twelve Apostles," and modernly as an honourable and independent

member of the Legislative Council. Mr. William Smith, Melbourne's second publican, the keeper of the *Lamb Inn*, the biggest of the original hotels, which stood where is now *Scott's Hotel*, Collins Street West, was the next licensee, in 1839; and the third billiard-room was opened in 1840 by a Waterloo veteran named John Bullivant, in a small hostelry called by him the *Waterloo Hotel*, located at the north side of Little Collins Street, some twenty yards westward of Queen Street. One of the best early players was a Phil. Burgin, a confectioner, and singer of Irish comic songs at public entertainments; but his muffins were always more palatable than his melodies. The second best was Melbourne's primal barber, a notability in his day, and known as "Jack" Lamb. In course of time several spacious billiard rooms were erected as appendages to some of the principal hotels, and the game grew in popularity. Good players and good tables were not uncommon, and amongst the amateur workers of the cue the late Sir John O'Shanassy held a prominent position. It is on record that a very exciting game was played at the *Royal Exchange Hotel*, in Collins Street, on the 28th April, 1847, for £100 a-side, 500 up. It was looked upon as a champion match, for one of the players was a Mr. Dalgleesh, of high repute in Van Diemen's Land, and his competitor was Auguste Suchet, a Parisian, a well-known nobbler vendor in King Street. The interest in the issue was very brisk, and so was the betting—the odds being, in the beginning, in favour of the Hobartonian, and subsequently veering Port Phillip-ward. The contest lasted for three mortal hours and a half, when the skill and coolness of the Frenchman triumphed, and he won by 151. A newspaper of the day thus crows over the great conquest:—"This achievement is only another wreath to entwine in the crown of victory which has declared for Port Phillip in almost every sporting engagement undertaken by her adopted sons."

The first bagatelle table (a metallic one) was started on the 1st December, 1849, by a Mr. Davis, in Elizabeth Street, one door from Bourke Street.

Golf.

Though the term is derived from the Dutch Kolf, a club or bat, golf is a Scotch game, played with an end-crooked club or bat and a small ball. On an occasion of Mr. William Westgarth visiting Europe, a few individuals subscribed two guineas each, and deputed him to purchase a number of golf clubs and balls. The consignment came to hand in May, 1849, and some golf matches were started. As the play season would commence when cricketing ceased, golf, it was thought, would succeed as a popular pastime, but it did not. It seems to have dropped into oblivion, and with it disappeared the Westgarthian importation, whither or where is more than I am able to say.

Skittles.

Practically this old English game of ten pins, with one knocked off to evade an interdiction at one time imposed by the Home Government, was introduced at an early period of our history in connection with a race of publichouses requiring aids of an occasionally questionable character to help them in their business. An old English writer thus describes the game:—"The pins are set up in an alley, and thrown (not bowled) at with a round piece of hard wood, shaped like a small flat cheese." A skittle-ground was a favourite resort of the shady element attending the old races at Flemington, and Collingwood used to be a great place for pitching at nine pins; but in those open-air dens of what often bordered on iniquity, the proverb, "Tisn't all beer and skittles," was verified, for worse practices prevailed, and beer was always in more abundance than skittles. Of course, especially in late years, what was virtually a rule had many unobjectionable exceptions, and even in 1850 skittles was so far a recognized institution that a Society for its promotion was formed, and in October a prize-belt of the value of five guineas was offered to the best skittler. It was won by a confectioner named Pink, possibly from his skill in using a rolling-pin, and he was proclaimed the nine-pin champion of the Province.

The First Ball-Court.

The hotel at the northern side of Little Bourke Street, between Elizabeth and Russell Streets, which has never changed its name from the *Rising Sun*, is a very old hostelry, and was founded by Mr. Michael Lynch, long since dead. In his day he was not only actively associated with the various charitable institutions, but he indulged in private benevolences of which few, save himself and the *beneficiares*, were cognizant. It was he who caused to be erected off the side of the street opposite the hotel the first ball-court in Melbourne. It was commenced in January, 1847, the walls of brick and flagging, with flagged floor, and a covering of net-work. It was placed in charge of a keeper, appositely named John Lyng, for a more nondescript looking old fish of a fellow could not be picked up anywhere. The place was opened on the 1st March (St. David's Day), when the first rubber of hand-ball in Victoria was played there. It was a match of two at a side—two soldiers and two civilians—the military representatives being Sergeant Simpson and Corporal M'Guinness of a detachment of the 58th Regiment, then quartered in Melbourne; and their opponents were Patrick Kennedy, a slightly eccentric bootmaker, and Daniel Wellesley O'Donovan. Lieutenant Rush, of the Regiment referred to, and Mr. John O'Shanassy were appointed scorers, and such was the interest felt as to the issue that £50 changed hands on the occasion. The rubber was three games, and the first was won by the Townsmen; the second, so well contested, that it ended in what is technically termed a "set"; and the third bout, after a struggle sustained by infinite activity and skill, was carried by the Townies. Kennedy's "tossing" was immensely admired, and the on-lookers were unanimously of opinion that it would be difficult to beat it. This ball-alley was in great vogue, and the hitherto hidden prowess of some first-rate players was waked up there, amongst them being a Mr. Richard ("Dick") Foley, the best hand-ball player that ever exercised thews and sinews in Melbourne. After the gold revolution in 1852, "Dick" tramped off gold hunting, and to the regret of a large circle of friends no tidings of him ever after reached Melbourne. The ball-court too met with a tragical end, for one night in May, when it was fast rising in public estimation, a terrible storm rumbled over the town, and amongst the damage done one-half of the alley was carried away.

Athletics.

A fact not generally known by the present generation of Victorians, is that the first foot-racing in the colony was performed by the Aborigines, who also effected the first ascent of a greased pole here. In January, 1839, there arrived from Sydney what was known as the "Black" Protectorate, a Board of five gentlemen charged with the onerous duty of watching over the native race and providing, within certain limitations, for their temporal comfort and safety from European aggression. In the month of March, these delegates, wishful to ingratiate themselves with the tribes then hanging about the township, considered there was no more effectual way to produce a favourable impression on a blackfellow than through the *œsophagus*, and so invited some 400 or 500 dusky guests to a big feed of "tucker" on the afternoon of the 18th March. This gastronomic exhibition was held over the Yarra near the site of Government House, and the blacks cheerfully responded. Prior to the banquet, foot-racing was organized, and half-a-dozen matches were run for knives, tomahawks, and looking-glasses; but the distribution of prizes was not confined to the winners, for the donation was general. A ti-tree skinned and shaped into a smooth pole was well greased, and a cast-off bell-topper hoisted aloft. The novelty of trying to climb this, so unlike the ascent of unbarked trees, gave immense gratification to the darkies, and one strapping young fellow in the third attempt succeeded in carrying away the coveted trophy. Boots, blue shirts, and some pairs of old trousers were successively exalted to the pride of place, manfully struggled for and secured. At four o'clock the repast was served, and to anyone acquainted with the Aboriginal appetite for viands cooked in the English style, it is unnecessary to say, that the eating ceased only with the strength to masticate or, rather, to swallow. The "ladies and gentlemen" kept on devouring until they were absolutely brimful, and even then it

was with extreme reluctance they gave over. One huge fellow stowed away so much that he was only saved from bursting by a couple of his companions rolling him up and down the hill until the excessive food was subjected to a process of packing. The food provided consisted of heaps of bread and beef cut into junks, and two large boilers of strong, unmilked, yet well-sugared, tea; and though no knives nor forks were provided, the blacks easily dispensed with the latter, preferring Nature's fork, a good finger, to toys which, even in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, were sneered at as a piece of affectation.

There was a general turn-out of the townspeople to witness the day's doings, and such a sight has possibly not been since witnessed in Melbourne. The Aborigines, polite and grateful in their own way, gave a Corroboree for the gratification of the white fellows, with about 40 black performers.

Gymnastics.

In 1850 a movement was commenced for the initiation of an annual gathering, as a means of fostering a taste for the useful and salubrious exercises of the gymnasium. It was taken up with much favour, and it was announced as being "under the patronage of His Honor the Superintendent, His Honor the Resident Judge, and His Worship the Mayor." The meeting was to be held on the Melbourne Racecourse, commencing at 11 o'clock on Monday, 12th August.

Those games excited fully as much interest as the Annual Races, and nearly as many persons were assembled to witness them.

At the appointed hour a bugle sounded to prepare, and, according to the newspaper report, there must have been from five to six thousand persons on the course. The Stand was filled with ladies, and the carriages opposite gave brilliancy to the meeting; which, judging from the eager smiling faces, was one of very pleasurable excitement.

First Prize: Quoits, 21 yards. Entrance, 10s. 1st prize, £8; 2nd, £3. The competitors were: Messrs. Hamilton, Sutcliffe, Cooper, Hervey, Wood, Swanston, and Rankin.

A Hundred Yards Level Race, £5. Entrance, 2s. 6d. The starters were Messrs. F. Stephen, Pinkerton, G. Meredith, J. Johnson, Davies, J. M'Lean, T. Butler, G. Barnes, J. Holmes, W. Richardson, J. Benstead, H. Manuel, C. Frazer, H. Stephen, G. Ross. Manuel passed at a winning pace, which he kept up to the winning-post, increasing his distance from the rest as he drew to the close. Pinkerton made a good second, and indeed the whole field made a capital run of it. The ground was covered in 11 seconds.

Jumping in Length, £5. Entrance, 2s. 6d. Competitors: Messrs. Toner, Lyall, Bruce, Ryan, and Clements. Ryan, who was an athletic, well-formed man of much elasticity, won, though not without great competition, by about two inches only. The jumps were very close, and the winning one was ten feet two inches.

Three Running Jumps in Length. £3. Entrance, 2s. 6d. Messrs. Patrick Ryan, George Meredith, W. Lyall, M. Keogh, Robert Fenton, and William Toner competed, and the winner was Ryan, who covered thirty-two feet four inches in the three jumps.

Putting the Heavy Stone of 22 lb., £5. Entrance, 5s. Entries:—Messrs. Ritchie, M'Dougall, Toner, Grant, and Bell. A deal of interest was excited by this contest. The cast of M'Dougall, thirty feet in his first throw, tested the metal of the others, and no one could compete with him, until Bell, without divesting himself of his coat, very coolly pitched the stone two feet further. M'Dougall strained every nerve in his after throws, and although near the mark could not come up to Bell, who was declared the conqueror.

Putting the Light Stone of 14 lb., £2. Entrance 2s. 6d. Entries:—Messrs. Shumack, Bruce, Ebzer, Grant, Hogan, Crocker, Manuel, M'Kenzie, Mason, Ritchie, M'Dougall, Armstrong, M'Nabb, and Heffernan. This game was but indifferently contested; the throwing was inferior to that of the heavy stone, and the furthest throw, that of Mason, the winner, was little further than Bell's cast with the 22 lb. The winning cast was 33 ft. 4 in.

THROWING THE HEAVY HAMMER of 20 lb., £5. Entrance 2s. 6d., was contested by Messrs. Campbell, M'Dougall, Mason, and Ritchie. The issue lay between Campbell and M'Dougall, the other two being far behind. The pitches of these named were within a few lines of each other and delivered easily and scientifically. The prize was, after a hard contest awarded to M'Dougall, for a cast of 47 ft. 8 in.

THROWING THE LIGHT HAMMER of 9 lbs.. £3. Entrance 2s. 6d. There were nine entries, but in consequence of the first cast, made by a Mr. Armstrong, sending the hammer into the crowd who pressed into the ring, this game was postponed. The hammer, which was propelled with great force, struck a horse and gave it the staggers. Had it missed the horse, in all human probability it might have done something much worse and brought the games to a lamentable conclusion.

HURDLE RACE of 400 yards, six leaps three feet six inches high. To the 1st, £8, 2nd £3. Entry 5s. This was essentially the event of the day, and the starters were Messrs. Weston, Hamilton, Henry Stevens, W. Pender, Smith, Murray, Evans, Quin, Holmes, Hayes, Pemberton, junr., Pool, O'Brien, and Thomas Clancy.

"Bellows to mend" was the order of the day at the fifth hurdle; and at the sixth the two leading runners, Hamilton and Pool, tipped the hurdle and came down, Holmes rushed in before they could regain their feet and was declared the winner. But one accident occurred on the course. Mr. Robinson, of Condell's brewery, in leaping his horse over the ropes, was thrown and received several severe contusions. No limbs, however, were broken, and he soon recovered.

Second Day.—Tuesday, 13th August.

HOP STEP AND JUMP, £5. Entrance, 5s., for which four competed, viz, Messrs. John Ryan, William Pender, John Bell, and Joe Mason. Pender covered 33 feet, Ryan 35, Mason 36, and Bell 38 ft. 2 in., thus winning.

STANDING HIGH JUMP, £5. Entrance 5s. Only two entries, viz., Messrs. John Ryan and Alexander Lyons. The standard was a bar working in grooves, one inch apart. It was placed at 3 ft. 6 in., and cleared by both, and also at 3 ft. 9 in. At 4 ft. Ryan cleared, had some two inches to spare, and won, as the other tipped it.

RUNNING HIGH JUMP, £5. Entrance 5s. Only two entries, viz., Messrs. John Ryan and George Kerridge, when Ryan was again a winner. Both went over the bar at 4 ft. and 4 ft. 3 in.; at 4 ft. 6 in. both carried away the bar, but Ryan beat the other at 4 ft. 7 in.

RUNNING JUMP IN LENGTH, £5. Entrance 5s. Won also by Ryan beating Gilbert Meredith.

THE FIRST FOOTBALL MATCH.

This now favourite pastime was not much practised by the Victorian ancients, possibly because they were either too bent on money making—which was only too often recklessly spent in dissipation—or that there was no native element sufficiently adolescent to take part in such a rough and ready mode of enjoyment. Occasional private matches used to come off, but no regularly advertised trial of "footing" was known until the 26th August 1850, when there was a numerous convention of "kickers" at Emerald Hill. It was intended that a football match should be run as an item of the gymnastic sports, at the racecourse a fortnight before, but it was then treated to a kick over. Messrs. Francis Stephen and Dalmahoy Campbell were, however, resolved that a football match there should be, and it was through their exertions the present one was worked. Two elevens were scratched by the gentlemen mentioned from two hundred persons, the first pick, or "scratch," being decided by a toss up. The following are the names:—

Messrs. F. Stephen (Captain), Mills, F. Warman, Colgin, Ewers, Wood, Butler, Clancy, Smith, W. Barry, Collins.

Messrs. D. Campbell (Captain), C. Campbell, Barry, Dowling, W. Warman, Brodie, Pender, Wilson, Carew, Hinton, Cain.

The entrance was 10s. each, the £11 to be pocketed by the winners. For two and a half hours the match was contested with much spirit. Great good humour prevailed, and the Stephenites, after a stiff struggle, were proclaimed the conquerors. The captains, at either side, were gentlemen of the numerous colonial tribe of Stephen, so well-known as "Frank," and the other a member of the clan-Campbell, never called anything but "Dal." "Frank" is still amongst us, as the City Solicitor, the projector of a life-boat of alleged marvellous properties, and the inventor of the once popular political slang term, "Old Hat." "Dal" has long ago gone under; but while overground was universally esteemed as a stock and station salesman, and a genuine good fellow. In his day he was a City Councillor, an expert in judging the qualities of fat cattle, and testing samples of whisky; and though last, not least, one of the best hand-ball players in Port Phillip.

THE SECOND GYMNASTIC GAMES.

First Day.—27th August, 1851.

This year's meeting was held at St. Kilda, immediately opposite the only hotel (the *Union*).

The first contest was the FOOT RACE—100 YARDS—for which fifteen entries were made, and the first prize was carried off by Mr. H. Manuel (the winner at last year's games), Mr. Davis being second, Mr. T. Pinkerton, third. Time 9½ sec. (Very fast.)

JUMPING IN LENGTH.—This feat was performed to perfection by Mr. Patrick Ryan, who took no less than 11 ft. 4½ in., standing.

THREE SUCCESSIVE JUMPS IN LENGTH.—Mr. Patrick Ryan again proved himself the victor by clearing 34 ft. 6 in. in three jumps, which was pronounced to be "tremendous."

PUTTING THE HEAVY STONE was accomplished by Mr. Dalmahoy Campbell, who placed it 26 ft. 10 in. Mr. Campbell generously awarded the prize to go to a foot race for next day.

THROWING THE HEAVY HAMMER.—Mr. Alexander Campbell, the Harbour Master, defeated Mr. Dalmahoy Campbell. The distance attained was 45 ft. 7½ in. At the second throw Mr. D. Campbell let the hammer slip through his fingers and fell flat on his back, when he was lifted from the ground by four strapping fellows and carried off amidst the loud cheers of the spectators.

HURDLE RACE.—Ten competitors entered the list for this burst, and it was declared in favour of Mr. T. Pinkerton—Patrick O'Brien second.

WRESTLING MATCH.—This was contended for by six individuals. Osborne and Healy first entered the lists, and the struggle was declared in favour of Healy. The next was between Ward and Hocking; the latter was the victor. The third pair were Keane and Murdoch, and the trial was won by the latter, who afterwards decided the contest by throwing Hocking.

Second Day.—28th August.

Although the weather was as unpropitious as could well be, the attendance was pretty fair. The first contest was for the HOP, STEP AND JUMP STANDING, for which there were two entries. Mr. John Ryan and Mr. Charles M'Carthy, who after three endeavours could not attain more than 31 feet 6 inches. Ryan then made 31 feet 10 inches, and was declared victor.

HOP STEP AND JUMP RUNNING, with four entries, for a prize of £3, viz. — C. M'Carthy, Calloo, Ryan, Clancy. It was well contested, and it was difficult to distinguish between the merits of Calloo and M'Carthy; the latter, however, in the third spring covered 39 feet 3 inches. distancing his antagonist by 7 inches.

HIGH STANDING JUMP.—Only two competitors appeared in the field, Patrick Ryan and John Miller; the latter endeavoured unavailingly to clear the rail at a height of 4 feet 2 inches, but Ryan easily cleared 4 feet 4 inches, and won.

RUNNING HIGH JUMP.—Only two competitors, Clancy and Miller, the former of whom won by clearing 4 feet 8 inches, which his antagonist was not able to perform.

LONG RUNNING JUMP.—For which the following entries were made :—John Ryan, Chas. M'Carthy, and M. Calloo. The latter was nowhere, and the contest lay between Ryan and M'Carthy, when M'Carthy cleared the astonishing distance of 18 feet 2 inches.

RACE OF 200 YARDS.—For which eight entries were made, viz.:—J. Pinkerton, P. Ryan, J. Gregory, W. Weston, J. M'Laren, W. Copeland, H. Hammond, and W. Baker. The whole made a fine start, but Pinkerton soon shot ahead and increased his distance from his rivals as he neared the flag; he was followed within two yards by Ryan, who could not overhaul him.

FOOTBALL MATCH.—This was unfortunately left to the last, and amidst heavy rain and a pelting gale of wind did the adventurous lovers of field sports persist in the amusement. Two teams were chosen. Mr. Dalmahoy Campbell chose ten for his side, and Mr. Were an equal number. Sometimes the apple, or rather ball, of contention, was flopped into the middle of a pool of water, and the whole lot got a good ducking. The event was not concluded, owing to the bad weather, and the stakes were returned.

PRIZE-FIGHTING.

Fisticuffs, not the regular pugilism, which, when scientifically learned, constitutes as justifiable an acquirement as any of the other arts of self-defence, but the besotted and brutalizing inter-punching, known as prize-fighting, was an early coloniser of Port Phillip—though mostly indulged in by stealth, and apparently beyond the purview of the police—a protective corps disposed to wink at it oftener than not. Prize-fighting was, no doubt, introduced by the early expiree convicts and ticket-of-leave holders, for it was an accomplishment much cultivated by the prison portion of the population of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. One feature of it, however, must be recorded in its favour, when compared with the early duelling, for there was no such sham about it as blank-loaded pistols, firing in the air, or shivering with fear when on the ground. The prize-fighters set to work in *sober* seriousness, with fists, and they had before them the bad example of their supposed superiors, for the first duel came off in Port Phillip on the 2nd January, 1840. There was also more "claret" tapped in a pugilistic engagement than in an "affair of honour," for it is an amusingly remarkable fact, that in all the would-be pistollings of which anything is known, in no instance was blood drawn, except the first, when one of the principals shot a fragment off the top of one of his own toes. Public prize-fighting was a luxury not often indulged in—but, now and then a "mill" would be heard of after it was over, as having taken place at the Brighton Beach, the Saltwater River, beyond Williamstown, or at Keilor, when the newspapers would raise a hubbub, and inveigh against a demoralizing custom, and an inactive police. Sometimes the fighters, bottle-holders and backers would be bound in recognizances to answer any information that might be filed against them; but nothing was ever heard of any further prosecutions. I have no intention of scheduling the various engagements of this kind, and will present only two as samples:—

On the 16th August, 1847, there was a considerable turn-out of "The Fancy" at a place known as "The Springs," some ten miles from town, on the Keilor Road, to witness a "set-to" between a Scotchman named Lovet, and Whelan, an Irishman. Five hundred persons formed the ring, within which the two combatants pummelled each other unmercifully for two mortal hours, doing no less than fifty-six rounds, or about one per every two minutes. The conflict was at last terminated by what is known in pugilistic slang, as a "nose-ender" from the Paddy, which led Sandy to momentarily believe that not only his nose, but everything attached to it, was ended as far as this world went. The sponge was immediately thrown up for him, for he was unable to throw it himself, and the principals and bottle-holders having shaken hands, the motley crew returned to town. Whelan was the favourite, and (as so stated) £250 was won on him. The police heard nothing of it until hours after all was over.

On the 10th January, 1848, a morning's brisk work was gone through within three miles of Melbourne, on a skirt of swamp over the Saltwater River, and opposite the Flemington Racecourse. The following notice of the field-day is copied from a Melbourne newspaper of the 11th:—"A

regular 'scene' took place yesterday morning, there having been no less than three prize-fights on the banks of the Saltwater River, about a mile and a half from Kellet's public-house. The six combatants, accompanied by their seconds and particular friends, started for the 'battle-field' on Sunday afternoon, and quambied near the spot that night. At an early hour yesterday morning nearly all the cabs in town were in requisition, proceeding with their cargoes to the scene of action, and at a few minutes past five o'clock the first fight commenced, between two fellows known as 'Deaf Dick' and Jem Edwards; stakes, £25 to £20 against the latter. Fifteen rounds were fought in twenty-one minutes, and after a hard push Edwards was proclaimed the conqueror. The second battle was between a bricklayer's labourer named Mahony, and a Pentonvillian named Roberts; twenty-four rounds in thirty minutes. This is represented as being a 'good stand up fight and hard hitting,' Mahony beating. The stakes were £20 aside; the betting was in Mahony's favour, and as much as five to one was offered against 'the Penton,' but not taken. The third match was between Paddy Sinclair and a person known as 'Black Steve,' for £10 aside, but after three or four 'smashers' Steve gave up. There were no less than eight hundred persons present, and after the 'sports' commenced, Lieutenant Mair, Chief-Constable Brodie, and the mounted police were on the ground, when the former having called upon the persons present to disperse, was coolly informed that his order would not be complied with. The police then advanced towards the ropes, and the Commandant was proceeding to read the Riot Act, when some unequivocal symptoms of resistance exhibiting themselves, and there being only three mounted men available, it was deemed advisable to withdraw from the ground. Chief-Constable Brodie has, however, taken the names of many who were present, and intends filing informations against them."

The hitting herein described must have been both hard and fast, but as I am no authority in this particular branch of athletics, I must leave it to some expert to pronounce upon the probability of the time being correctly given.

Piscatorial.

The angler could often enjoy a rare day's amusement before the Yarra and the Saltwater River were poisoned by the foulness of local industries; and though the disciples of Izaak Walton were not then numerous, the water-side sport was by no means disregarded.

The Upper and Lower Yarra, the Saltwater River, and the Deep Creek were the favourite fishing stations. At the Studley Park Falls, at certain periods of the year, herring would come down the river in shoals, and bream and perch abounded in the Yarra and Saltwater rivers from Melbourne to the Racecourse, whilst the Deep Creek at times was well-stocked with delicious blackfish.

The following are a few of the notable incidents of the primitive days of the rod and line in Port Phillip:—

In August, 1847, the Upper Yarra was swarmed with herring, and they were so easily caught that at Prince's Bridge—then in course of erection—they were hooked with pins.

The Good Friday of 1848 (21st April) was something extraordinary in the way of herring fishing in the Yarra, and about 150 rod-men were out. A few blackfish were nabbed, one of them weighing 7 lb. Some Sandridge fishermen during the night of the 27th February, 1849, made a great haul of fish, between Sandridge and St. Kilda. They fell in with a shoal of salmon trout, netted over two hundred dozen, and experienced much difficulty in getting them ashore.

The 17th October witnessed an unusually large attendance of anglers at the Yarra, from the New Bridge to Studley Park. There were some large takes, and amongst them a herring in weight 3 lb., "which surprised every one."

On the 12th April, 1850, Henry Williams, a stonemason, was fishing at Batesford, beyond Geelong, when he captured the largest eel ever taken there up to that time. It measured 42 inches in length and 14 in girth. The most dexterous handlers of the rod were Messrs. Isaac Hinds, Thomas Halfpenny, John Stephen, William Kerr, and Michael M'Namara.

The trading fishermen soon learned to resort to some of their unfair practices in which that fraternity has since become such adepts. The most reprehensible conduct was alleged against them, and they were known at night to lay down close nets from bank to bank of the two rivers, and sweep everything in the form of a fish, even to the spawn. Remonstrance against such foul play was so unavailing as to render it necessary to organize measures of co-operative resistance to such misdoings, and accordingly

The Waltonian Club

Was formed in 1850 for the preservation of the river fishery. A meeting was held on the 24th July at the *Fitzroy Arms Hotel*, corner of King and Little Lonsdale Streets. It was decided to start a Protection Society under the above designation, for the purpose of preventing poaching in the Yarra and the Saltwater River; and for promoting the healthful and invigorating old British sport of angling. The entrance fee for members was to be 2s. 6d., and 1s. per month as subscription. The officers chosen were — President: Mr. John Stephen; Vice-President: Mr. J. T. Smith; Hon. Secretary: Mr. William Stewart; Treasurer: Mr. John Cosgrave; Committee: Messrs. Lewis Pedrana, M. Dent, Isaac Hinds, Charles Morgan, Frank Stephen, Henry Rankin, George Williams, James Hay, and J. Manton, with power to add, etc., etc. An address was adopted for presentation to Mr. James Simpson, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the County of Bourke, soliciting his co-operation towards the conservancy of the Yarra and Saltwater River fishing within legitimate bounds. The Commissioner assisted the Society in every way in his power, and much good was done so long as it continued in existence.

The First Oysters.

Those bi-valves were first known as an esculent in Port Phillip in 1835. They were found by the sailors and bark-strippers from Launceston, whose operations at Western Port are described elsewhere. The best place for obtaining the shell-fish was off Signal Point, at the mouth of Sandy Creek, a short distance from Cowes (Phillip Island). The locality now known as Cowes was first named "Elizabeth Cove," after the schooner employed in the transport of bark from the mainland to Launceston. In the beginning, the oysters could be picked up like paving-stones at low-water; but, when the surface crop was disposed of, dredging was resorted to. Delicious oysters were afterwards procured without difficulty at Corner Inlet (Port Albert), on grounds known as Shallow Inlet, and a small island at the east side of Port Albert, named Clonmel, after the steamer wrecked there in December, 1840, on her passage from Sydney to Melbourne. Oysters were also gathered at the bar, near what was designated "Stumpy Jack," a rock marking the entrance of the old channel from Williamstown to Melbourne. It was an occasional recreation of John Batman to indulge a spell of oyster fishing with two or three of his Sydney natives, when one of the blackfellows would roll overboard on a diving expedition after the other "natives." Thomas Halfpenny, the old Studley Park Ranger, before quoted, once took it into his head to turn oyster-fisherman, and had a peculiar instrument made for grappling with the capturing difficulty, which succeeded better than the Batman Aboriginal contrivance. The Halfpenny gear was a clumsy concern, which he called "the tongs." It was something in the shape of two poles, each 20 feet in length, having strong long-toothed iron rakes attached, and braced near the centre with iron, in such a manner that it worked like a scissors. This could be plied by two men in a boat, the oyster ground scraped, and the shell-fish hooked or scooped up. Oysters were also disinterred from reefs in Geelong Harbour, and though large and puffy, were never of much account. The Western Port oysters were for a time the regular market stock, but the famed Sydney Rock soon eclipsed them. As years rolled by, and the town with its population and trade increased, the oyster shop made its appearance. Amongst the oystermen themselves, especially the first two who opened shop in this way, a bitter enmity prevailed, and the manner in which the competition was pushed yielded no small amusement to the public. Their names were Peter Perkins

and Henry Clegg. One of them lived in Bourke Street, near the first wooden theatre, on the site of Hosie's popular Pie-shop, and the other in Little Bourke Street, rearward of the Post Office.

Though the Aborigines of Port Phillip ate various kinds of the *testacea* and *crustacea*, such as fresh and salt water mussel, periwinkle, limpet, cockle, sea-cucumber, &c., &c., much doubt has been entertained as to oysters having formed any portion of their food, though the blacks in parts of Queensland were undoubtedly oyster eaters. Notwithstanding positive assertions to the contrary, I am disposed to think that the Port Phillipians fed on oysters—shells of which were found in abundance at the place now known as Greenwich, near Williamstown, on the shores of Corio Bay, and other coast localities. Heaps of them used to be dug out of the water-banks, and small vessels were employed to dredge for them, as material for lime. The lime employed in the original buildings was procured by piling a heap of such shells on large blazing logs, when they were speedily transfused into a lime as white and fine almost as flour. Captain Fermaner has assured me that he found oyster-shells in some native camps, and they were evidently not brought there as empty ornaments, but for a more necessary purpose. Some immense deposits of large coarse cockle-shells were also discovered, and it is difficult to believe that whilst the cockle-fish was swallowed, the other and more savoury edible was thrown away.

CHAPTER LV.

A BUNDLE OF OLD ADVERTISEMENTS.

ON the principle of *noscitur a sociis* there is no surer mode of ascertaining the feelings of a community at any particular period than a study of its newspaper advertisements; for they are, to all intents and purposes, its companions for the time, and the *media* through which are ventilated its wants and wishes, its frivolities and perplexities. This department of an extensively circulated journal may not be inaptly assimilated to a telephonic gallery, by whose agency, opportunities, and facilities of inter-communication are afforded, applicable to universal use. This species of literature reflects with more fidelity than any other the conditions of individual and general temperament, and as a social, economic, and even political weather-guage, is as unerring as the reading of the barometer, or the pulsations in the human system.

If London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna, as they are now seen, could have access to a newspaper press issued during the first years of their existence, what curious untold relics of rare historical value, would not their advertisement columns reveal! In this respect Melbourne was peculiarly fortunate. for in less than a year after the fixing of its township it had its newspaper, such as it was, with its advertisement columns as indicators of the form and pressure of the hour. The site of Melbourne was determined on, on the 4th March, 1837; the first sale of Crown lands was held on the 1st June following, and the 1st January, 1838, witnessed the birth of Fawkner's puny journalistic manuscript bantling, the *Melbourne Advertiser*. Except a three months' *hiatus*, caused by the temporary cessation of the first newspaper, which was terminated by the establishment of the *Port Phillip Gazette* the connection has never once been cut to the present moment, when the journalism of Melbourne may fairly compete with kindred institutions throughout the world. I have prepared a collation from a series of old advertisements, which cannot be read with other than a strange interest, because of the beginnings of businesses, professions, and other avocations to which they refer. It would be a matter of no concern now to hear of the arrival of a lawyer, a doctor, a monthly nurse, an undertaker, a barber, an apothecary, or a tailor, or the importation of a stallion, a piano, or a cask of whisky; but a notice of the individuals who were the first to engage in such and other enterprises in the colony, is a very different thing, and to the antiquarian, the general reader, and the investigator of the wonderful progression of Melbourne in a short half century, such facts, though apparently trivial in themselves, cannot be devoid of interest.

In the chapter on journalism, reference is made to the advertisements published in the *Advertiser*, and in the early numbers of the *Gazette* and *Patriot*. The town was very limited, the population small and sparse, and trade and commerce inconsiderable, until the close of 1838, when the settlement began to make head-way. At first the advertising notices were principally devoted to announcements from storekeepers (as sellers wholesale and retail were then styled), *Fawkner's Hotel*, and shipping agents; but gradually the area was enlarged, and one by one new arrivals popped into print, and put forth their claims for public patronage. The first of the "barber" fraternity opened shop (24th October, '38), as "John Lamb, hairdresser, in Collins Lane, near the *Royal Highlander*." This Lamb, by no means as sheepish as his name might imply, in course of time cut his connexion with the painted pole, and took to billiards and grog selling. As "Jack Lamb" he was well known on the early turf, was once the landlord of the *Albion Hotel*, in Bourke Street, and as a billiard player his brand was A1.

Thomas Capel, the first brewer, signifies that he sells "Capel's beer entire," and that "beer equal to any brewed in Melbourne is to be had at the Britannia Brewery, near the Wharf, at 2s. per gallon."

Mr. John Hodgson, once well-known in Legislative and Civic circles, appears to have been the first introducer of musical instruments, for in November he advertises for sale "two superior pianos, one an elegant cabinet, and the other a horizontal." His stock was soon after increased by a supply of accordeons, flutes, clarionets, hunting and other horns, and some compass-fitted walking sticks. He must have found much of this a dead stock, for some of the articles were as unsuited to the public requirements as could be, and selected with about as much judgment as was shown three years after when Mr. T. C. Riddell, an ancient wine and spirit merchant, actually got out from England a consignment of skates.

Potatoes first opened their eyes at the corner of Flinders and Queen Streets, where Frederick Pitman "offered a few tons of the best at the moderate charge of 9s. 6d. per cwt. cash;" and P. W. Welsh was not behind in the provender line, as he was ready to sell oats at 6s. per bushel of 40 lbs., and at the same shop were also to be purchased a cigar-case with flint and steel, playing cards, lucifer matches and wax tapers. He also had on hand several numbers of the *Pickwick Papers* for one shilling each.

Three ladies were early in the field catering for their own branch of the public. The first was Mrs. Lilly who (26th October, 1838) "apprizes the ladies of Melbourne that she has opened a quantity of baby-linen and children's dresses assorted, and for sale at the lowest prices." A week after she is vastly improved upon by Mrs. Aberline, who "opened a Tuscan Straw Bonnet establishment in Queen Street, and had received a quantity of Tuscan, Dunstable, and coloured silk bonnets at lowest prices." Mrs. Stewart strikes in the next week by "informing the ladies that she has commenced business as a dressmaker, and hopes by proper attention to orders to merit a share of public patronage. For cards of address apply at *Gazette* office."

The first manufacturer of leather appears to have been Richard Tancred, in Tancred's Lane, off Collins Street and Flinders Lane, and had "sole, kangaroo, and kip, sheep and basil, &c., both imported and manufactured by self; and to be sold on the lowest terms for good payments."

It was a neck-and-neck race between the men *costumiers*, but Mr. T. O'Reilly had the start in Collins Street as a "fashionable tailor." Close on his heels rushed Henry Grayling, late from Jermyn Street, St. James', London, tailor and habit-maker, in Little Collins Street.

In the course of a few weeks Mr. O'Reilly has evidently got into trouble of another kind, as he issued a published manifesto in these words:—"Having seen my name posted up by a person named Finnigan, I beg to inform him that I have no wish for his wife to remain in my employ; but she having informed me that they had entered into a written agreement to separate, they taking each a child, I employed her as a housekeeper."

The first saddle and harness maker made his appearance in December, 1838, in the person of Thomas Jackson, from London. Orders were receivable "at Mr. John Moss's ale brewery, back of the *Ship Inn*, or at Mr. Smith's *Lamb Inn*." During the next month John Dinwoodie, saddler, collar and harness maker, from London, notifies his intention to commence business on the 19th, in Little Collins Street.

Connubial unhappiness publicly showed itself so early as 1838, for on the 25th October, Thomas Coombes, wheelwright, cries down the credit of his "better-half" by "cautioning the public against allowing his wife, Mary Anne, to go 'on tick,' as he will not be responsible." And the second to proclaim his domestic troubles was a James Connell, whose wife, "Shine," had unceremoniously given him the slip, and he consequently disavowed all further pecuniary liability on her account.

The first engraver, John Greene, started business in a wee brick cottage just westward of the *Temple Court Hotel*, in Little Collins Street. I have in my possession a silver crest and monogram done by him, the first of the sort in Melbourne, and an exhibit of handicraft which would not discredit one of the metallic operators of the present day.

The first confectioner's shop was opened in Collins Street, and issued its programme in 1838, after this fashion:—"Overton and Hill, bakers, confectioners, rusk and fancy biscuit makers. Ready to receive orders for wedding, dinner, and supper cakes, dressed dishes, pasties, patties, supplies, &c." Mr. Overton is (1888) residing near Melbourne, and an interesting reference to him appears in the Chapter on "Gas," for he was the first to apply it to shop lighting in Melbourne.

The first Servants' Registry Office was kept by Edward Cockayne, who advertised his head-quarters as "at the *Ship Inn*, near Custom House, Flinders Lane."

The first imported stallions are notified towards the close of 1838, viz., "Romeo, a beautiful Entire horse," belonging to John M'Nall; "Young Clydesdale, the best horse in the district," owner, John Hodgson; and "Noble," belonging to Alfred Langhorne.

The "night-hawks" were early abroad, judging by the rewards offered in connection wtih nocturnal depredations, for the Rev. James Clow promises to pay £10 "for information leading to the recovery of a quantity of silver plate stolen from his house on the night of 27th October, '38, *i.e.*, table, dessert, tea, and egg spoons, dinner and dessert forks, soup ladle, gravy spoon with open division across, marrow spoon, and butter knife."

George Smith, the proprietor of the *Lamb Inn*, was so plucked by fowl-stealers that he offers £10 reward for information whereon to convict the thief.

Crown Land trespassers were also making a commencement, for Captain Fyans, P.M. "cautions persons against gathering, without being duly authorized, shells on pretence of burning lime on the shores about Geelong; also, burning and collecting limestone, or removing anything on the Government ground."

In the *Gazette* (28th August, 1839), there is an advertisement from two or three bachelors who wished to become respectable members of society, *i.e.*, entering into the matrimonial state, and they expressed a hope "that no prudish fears will withhold the ladies from answering this appeal to Cupid, but will joyously come forth in all their pristine purity, to meet half-way those who will be but too happy to link their fates together in the happy bonds of holy matrimony. Letters addressed A. B., care *Gazette* Office, will meet with the greatest secrecy and attention." The gentlemen, notwithstanding the scarcity of eligible spinsters, soon grew more exacting as to personal and pecuniary attractions, for in July, 1841, a young gentleman of good expectations advertises for a wife with £3000. "She must be tall, and well-proportioned in every respect; but above all must have small feet and well-turned ankles, an expressive black or languishing blue eye, good teeth, and pouting lips." It is not at all likely that he was suited.

A curious glimpse or two are obtained of the early business vocations of Mr. J. T. Smith, the seven times Mayor of Melbourne, for cropping up in the trade notices is one dated 26th March, 1839, in which he opens the Australian Store in Collins Street (the heart of "the Block") where he vends groceries, ironmongery, tobacco, and slop clothes; and notifies "that coffee will be roasted and ground early every morning of a superior quality; also a small supply of fresh butter." In April, 1840, "he retires from the grocery and store business, and is going into the timber trade."

In 1838 John Briars announces that he has opened a stone quarry within two miles of Melbourne, where he had a supply of nine-inch coursers, and foot base stones on hand, and for sale by the load or otherwise. John Bennell, senior, of Little Bourke Street, advertises superior shell and stone lime, deliverable over Melbourne at 1s. 9d. per bushel; and so that purchasers may be sure of correct measure, he sent a bushel that they might measure for themselves. He was soon followed by Adam Murray, who in 1840, pompously announces "that he manufactures shell lime after the directions of Signor Ancello Cornaro, modeller and plasterer to the King of Naples, at 2s. 6d. per bushel. Stone lime free from sand or other impurities, prepared specially for the erection of churches, bridges, gaols, and other edifices of a permanent character, 2s. to 2s. 6d."

T. S. Kay, from London, commenced business in Bourke Lane, "in the manufacture of nautical and optical instruments, where he had for sale spectacles and reading glasses, and informed the public that experience has proved beyond the shadow of doubt that the dust so often flying through the metropolis has a most baneful effect upon the vision."

The first publicly proclaimed dancing master appeared in September, 1840, in the person of C. Clarke, who was "prepared to give tuition in dancing in the house in Bourke Street, recently occupied by Dr. Cotter." In 1843, Monsieur E. C. Greene (a gentleman of colour, though not so stated in advertisement), member of L'Ecole Polytechnique, Paris, opened a "Fencing and Dancing Academy," at the corner of Lonsdale and Queen Streets.

The first restaurant was opened in Melbourne in March, 1840. It is advertised as a tea, coffee, and dining-room, at the corner of Flinders Lane and Elizabeth Street, by Richard Graham, who emphatically declares that no trouble will be spared in promoting the comfort of his customers. "Up-country settlers leading their teams to Melbourne will find good accommodation on the premises," where there were single and double beds, and the newspapers were taken in.

The first regular tobacconist was Jno. Macheeknie, who commenced 28th September, 1839, in "a fancy snuff and cigar shop," in the Market Square, next to the "Sporting Emporium." The "blowing up" of this individual has been narrated in a previous chapter.

About the same time D. Dole advertised himself as an operative chemist and druggist in Collins Street. He performed operations of bleeding, capping, and tooth-drawing, and for the convenience of his customers was supplied with a varied assortment of groceries of the best description; but intermingled with the black and green teas were such trifles as quills, ink, and sealing-wax, fancy snuffs, turpentine, and French polish.

In October appeared in town a personage who afterwards made a noise in more capacities than one, and whose name appears in the "Corporation" and other chapters. He was a Mr. Michael M'Namara, a Sydney tailor, who opened "the Emporium of Fashion in Little Collins Street, and was ready to make naval and military uniforms to order, equal to any imported from London or Paris."

In November, 1839, George Arden, a co-proprietor of the *Gazette*, offered for sale "an English-built bush or travelling carriage and dog-cart, brought overland from Sydney, capable of holding four persons, and worthy the attention of squatters who have the happiness in this land of toil of possessing wives whose kindly and womanly offices can make the rude hut of the lonely squatter enviable to the inmates of a palace."

The first coachbuilder was Ebenezer Brown, who at same time started the business of "making in all its branches," in Little Bourke Street; and Lewis Robertson, a duly qualified veterinary surgeon, was not only willing to doctor, but also to train horses, and, furthermore, "to give security in any amount."

The first published place of accommodation for horses was kept by James Graburn, who "called attention to the superior character of his livery and bait stables, where none but steady grooms were employed."

Quite a flutter was occasioned among the small *beau monde* in January, 1840, when "Mrs. Brown, dressmaker to the Countess of Llandaff and the ladies of the Court of Dublin, begged respectfully to inform the ladies of Melbourne and its vicinity, that she had commenced business at No. 4 Little Flinders Street East, and wanted two out-door apprentices." But she was soon cut out by Mrs. Margaret C. Dick setting up in Collins Street. Her credentials set forth "that she had served under Mrs. Williams, dressmaker and milliner to Queen Victoria."

Rowe and Co. (1840) initiated a somewhat pretentious medical establishment in Collins Street, next the Club House (now *Union Club Hotel)*, not only as manufacturing chemists, but as having "received a select assortment of the newest and most fashionable remedies, on the purity of which the profession and public may depend." For domestic use they supplied "pearl sago, sal volatile, salts, Robinson's patent groats and barley, pickles, capers, Lucca oil, and superior snuffs and lemon syrup."

A new pastry-cook had also commenced under the name of J. Davies, who informed "the gentry and public that he had a constant supply of soups, jellies, and brawn, and that dishes of all kinds are made to order." He was soon outdone by Philip Burgin, from London, as a "pastry-cook and confectioner in all its branches. Jellies and blanc manges, mock-turtle, ox-tail and mulligatawney,

with wine biscuits equal to Lemaun, of Threadneedle Street, London." This "Phil" distinguished himself in other more questionable ways, for he turned into a professional billiard player and marker, took occasionally to the stage, and was the first to sing to a public audience, the Cockney doggerel, misnamed an Irish comic song, "Paddy's Wedding."

The first issue of *Kerr's Melbourne Almanac and Port Phillip Directory*, in January, 1841, contains a cloud of advertisements, indicative of a marked improvement in the trading habits of the community. In it are to be found the commercial notices of most of the early merchants such as Ashurt and Co., W. and H. Barnes, O. Williams, W. Westgarth, J. Cropper and Co., J. Bullen, Worsley and Forest, Campbell and Woolley, Heape and Grice, Hunter, Somervail and Co., J. B. Were, Thomas, Enscoe, and James, F. Pittman, P. W. Welsh and Co., Langhorne Bros., &c., &c. D. H. Ley appears as the first advertised gold and silversmith, working jeweller, and watch and clockmaker. He professed to be stocked with a splendid variety of London-made jewellery, chains, seals, and watches, by the most celebrated manufacturers. He was ready to repair and rate chronometers, and make Masonic jewels to order. H. G. Harrington had succeeded Rowe and Co. in the apothecary's shop next the Club House. His stock-in-trade went far outside the pharmacopœia, for he vended with his medicines innumerable trifles such as English honey and West India tamarinds, Tomlin snuffs and boxes, lucifers, Promethean and magic lights, pickles, jams, and marmalades, preserved meats and high dried sprats, lemon syrup and raspberry vinegar, table and pudding raisins, Indian currie powder, and wine-glasses and tumblers.

R. Wilson and Co., chemists and druggists, are advertised at the corner of Collins and Queen Streets, where they had, at very great expense, fitted up a sodawater machine and fountain, from which the public could be supplied with most delicious beverages, viz., sodawater, effervescing lemonade, and raspberryade, either in draught or in bottle.

A wholesale and retail draper, silk mercer, and haberdasher (W. Empson), appeared in Collins Street, with every description of drapery and fancy goods of the newest style, sprinkled with such useful commodities as Tuscan and Dunstable bonnets, Wellington boots, sheets, pillow-cases, and table-cloths, and only stopping at stretchers and mattresses of every kind.

The tobacco, snuff, and cigar business soon spread, and, amongst others of lesser note, James Dick, junior, Collins Street, offered weeds of various brands, with Taddy's plain and fancy snuffs, real Planchadoes, superior Young Queen, Havannah, and Chinsurah cigars, plain and fancy pipes, &c. But in August, 1842, Miss Jane Browne made a further advance by opening a cigar divan, coffee and reading-room, in Elizabeth Street. Intending patronisers were assured that it was a place "combining every convenience for the enjoyment of smokers, as well as of those who love to cull the flower of literature while sipping 'the cup which cheers but not inebriates.'"

The florists appeared in 1841, when Daniel Bunce was prepared to sell packages of seeds and specimens of indigenous plants, made up for exportation, at one guinea each. He was also open to "lay out and stock gardens and pleasure-grounds, and had fruit and forest trees and seeds of all kinds." He was outbid in public favour by Francis S. Dutton, of Collins Street, announcing "receipt of, direct from the celebrated florists, Avan, Eaden and Son, Harlem, and Cornelius Stegenhock, of Nordyk, a large assortment of the choicest roots of tulips, hyacinths, jonquils, anemones, ranunculus and narcissus, ever imported." But Bunce for many years continued to be regarded as the professional horticulturist of the district. He accompanied the explorer Leichardt on one of his North Australian expeditions, and he finally obtained the Curatorship of the Geelong Botanical Gardens, where he died some years ago.

There was not much newspaper puffing amongst the Melbourne butchers, who probably spent all their "blowing" energies in preparing their meat for the market; but one queer old fellow of them so believed in the magic of type, that he occasionally issued notices of a somewhat original make-up. He was the Adam Murphy already named, and he changed from lime-selling to the block and cleaver, at which he did not prosper, and subsequently resorted to half-a-dozen other means of obtaining a crust. In 1841 his butchery was in Bourke Street, near Swanston Street, where he professed to "retail roasts, steaks and chops, at 20 per cent. below rate." As a sample of his mode of advertising, I transcribe

a declaration "that the bullocks he now possesses for smallness of bone and deliciousness of flesh, are in no respect inferior to those which grace Nature's silken carpet beside the beauteous Lakes of Killarney."

The primitive barbers, who attended customers at their houses, never got on well together; indeed they lived in such a state of mutual hatred that, if they could only do it without fear of Judge or Jury, they would have a pleasure in shaving one another. A pompous and combative member of the tribe flourished in 1841, and for several years after. His chequered pole was displayed from a shop in Elizabeth Street, between Collins and Little Collins Streets. His name was Alfred Cooper, and in his first advertisement "he hoped to gain a share of patronage from an enlightened public, and put an end to the system of extortion hitherto practised by the Knights of the Razor. Easy shaving, 3d.; fashionable haircutting, 6d.; and he undertook to carefully 'ground' and set, not only razors, but surgical instruments." Two months after he "warns ladies and gentlemen about trusting their lives in the hands of certain parties who profess to be tradesmen, situated in the precincts of Flinders Lane," taking care to add "that his Macassar pomade being in the original jars, ladies and gentlemen are requested to send their empty pots." Cooper's *bête noir* was H. S. Milbourne, who kept a little shop in Little Flinders Street, and rather prominently advertised his capabilities and his wares. He not only shaved, but hair-dressed and perfumed, set razors and made ordered wigs, fronts, and ringlets. He had not only "an extensive stock of every description of perfumery, including combs and brushes," but he outdid his competitors by keeping a private room for hair-cutting. This Milbourne appears to have incurred the ire of others of the craft besides Cooper, for in 1842 one Walsh, who introduced himself as a newly-arrived hairdresser from New Bond Street, London, through the public press wished "Milbourne, the barber, to recollect that he who lives in a glass house should not throw stones," a time-worn truism, which embodies a bit of advice applicable to other handicrafts than the tonsorial.

In 1844 two somewhat special advertisements appeared, viz.:—It was announced as something novel on behalf of J. A. Marsden, that he had in his shop (Collins Street) "the most splendid exhibition of Berlin patterns ever imported to the colony, consisting of designs for chair-covers, piano-stools, ottomans, &c., in every variety of size and figure." This Berliner is the "Big Marsden" referred to in other chapters, and who may be still seen (1888) airing himself about the streets of Fitzroy, and administering justice, untempered with mercy, as a local Magistrate. He is nearly as bulky, but not quite as smart, lively and long-winded, as in days of yore.

J. S. Lambert, established in Queen Street, vouches for his ability "to repair and clean guns and pistols in a Mantonian and Purdeyian style that cannot be equalled by any other shop. . . . . No imported or cobblers' rubbish applied—nothing but colonial workmanship, even to the nipple."

Little Bourke Street was the head-quarters of the pristine oyster vendors, and one of them, named Clegg, startled the community with an announcement of turtle soup; but when it came to be spooned it was found to be a heterogeneous home-brewed compound, which was "mock" turtle in the most unrestricted sense of the epithet. I believe the first real turtle soup was advertised in August, 1845, by J. W. Cowell, the then proprietor of the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street. He not only guaranteed it to be such, but assured his customers "that there was a constant supply always on hand, and that he had engaged the only professed cook in Melbourne."

In every annual balance-sheet issued by the Management of the Melbourne Hospital appears a quiet, unassuming little bequest of £5 from the executors of Margaret Carroll; and how few know anything of the kindly donor, who went her way to the Old Cemetery many a year ago! She was one of the old confectioners, who kept an establishment in Elizabeth Street, and in 1845 she advertises "her thanks for the success of 'The Melbourne Restaurant,' and solicits attention to her extensive stock of pastry, jellies, sodawater, lemonade, &c., with innumerable articles for morning refreshment." Mrs. Carroll was a widow lady with three daughters, one of whom was the handsomest girl of her time. The old lady had a "refrigerator" established on the counter, upon the cooling virtues of which she never tired expatiating. All the girls died young, and she followed them; but her name remains perpetually associated with the existence of Melbourne's oldest and principal Charity, through the periodically recurring gratuity demised by her benevolent thoughtfulness.

On the 26th May, 1845, the following trade circular appeared in the newspapers :—

New Drapery Establishment, Commercial House, (Late R. Spence's), Elizabeth Street.

JOHN O'SHANASSY and CO., beg to announce to their friends and the public in general that they have commenced the Drapery Business in the above house.

No need to indicate the identity of the principal partner in the above firm, for few guessers will mistake the individual. The premises consisted of a small one-storey tenement on the eastern side of Elizabeth Street South, a few yards distant from what was known for many years as the Clarence corner, where the City of Melbourne Bank now stands.

In August, 1845, the following announcement appeared in the newspapers:—

Daguerreotype.—Little Flinders Street, at the stores lately occupied by Messrs. E. Westby and Co.

MR. G. B. GOODMAN begs to inform the inhabitants of Melbourne and its vicinity, that he has taken those extensive premises lately in the occupation of Messrs. Westby and Co., Little Flinders Street, and nearly opposite the residence of William Hull, Esq., J.P., where he will commence practising the above art on Monday next, the 11th August, where he hopes by attention and care on his part to receive here as great a share of patronage and support as has hitherto been kindly extended to him in all the adjacent colonies that he has had the honour of visiting.

For the information of those who may not have studied this most interesting and marvellous art, Mr. Goodman begs to state that sitting does not exceed five seconds, and the whole picture is finished and delivered in four minutes, thus avoiding the delay and tedium attending frequent and protracted sittings, and ensuring by the nature of the operation (which is the reflection of the figure itself fixed in a mirror) a true and faithful likeness both of face, figure, dress, expression, &c., &c., ; in fact the portrait is a stamp of the original, and produces in effect a

SECOND-SELF.

As Mr. Goodman's stay must be very limited, he would particularly impress on those who may wish to patronise him the necessity of making an early application.

Price of each Portrait—one guinea, including a handsome gilt and Morocco case.

Specimens to be seen at the Stores, Little Flinders Street, at Mr. Cashmore's, corner of Collins and Elizabeth Streets, or at the Office of this Paper.

Mr. Goodman does not seem to have made a bad thing of it, for after being in business for four months, and taking £870 in cash, he rather unexpectedly packed up one summer morning and packed himself away, bag and baggage, to Adelaide.

In 1846 the notion of versified advertising was realized by some of the more energetic of the retailers. There were two or three semi-professional rhymesters in Melbourne, and though no doubt ample value was given for the fees paid, some queer outbursts of rigmarole occasionally appeared in the newspapers. From a small pile I cull three specimens :—

Henry Baker opened a tavern known as the *Imperial Inn*, a tidy two-storey house, erected on portion of the site of the Exchange in West Collins Street. He was a pragmatical, dumpyish sort of fellow, who always appeared with a very clean-shaven face, and was white aproned from chin to ankles. He was a precise and painstaking man of business, and established a *table d' hôte* from which he hoped to realize a large fortune, though eventually his estimate of the probabilities was considerably in excess of the net results. In an ode headed "Comfort and Economy," the merits of the Bakerian establishment are indicated in a style more above than below mediocrity, as evidenced by the following stanzas which I extract:—

"There 'cleanliness' and 'order,' hand in hand
O'er the arrangements of his house preside,
Where wholesome viands on the table stand,
And genuine liquors pour their generous tide;
Combined with which his reasonable charges,
Each guest's advantage very much enlarges.

"'Tis there that 'new-come' emigrants may find
A home at once—cheap, tranquil, and select,
Fit for the wanderer—whose peace of mind
Has been by adverse circumstances wreck'd;
And who escaped from ship-board and its riot,
Would fain think o'er his future plans in quiet.

"Nor is it less adapted for the sons
Of lusty toil, who, hastening from the bush,
(Leaving their flocks and herds on distant runs),
Then into the town impatient push;
Intent, for once at least, to have a fling,
And in 'true bushman style' to drink and sing

"There may they quaff their draughts secure from harm,
No noxious drugs within the goblet lurk,
For 'Baker's' spirits, howe'er strong their charm,
Deal not in any hocus pocus work;
And he disdains to carry on a trade,
Which is not on an honest basis laid."

Like the P.S. of a lady's letter, there is an *addendum* far outweighing in importance the body of the communication. Towards the end, the Parnassian stilts are kicked off, the writer regains the *terra firma* of plain unadulterated prose, and winds up with this alluring and matter-of-fact intimation:—

SCALE OF ACCOMMODATION.

	s.	d.
A hearty breakfast at 9 o'clock, charge	1	0
A substantial dinner, at 2	1	0
A comfortable tea or supper, at 7	1	0
A good bed in a cleanly room	1	0
A good tea, bed, and breakfast	2	6

☞ Board and lodging, 12s. per week, payable in advance.

Henry Baker subsequently transferred the *Imperial* to other hands, and in 1848 became the founder of the hotel at Heidelberg to this day favourably known as the *Old England*.

William Howe commenced the dyeing business "next to Mr. Gregory's iron store in Collins Street, where ladies' cloaks and riding habits, doe and buckskin breeches, &c., were cleaned and finished up in true fashion. Gentlemen coming from the bush could also have their clothes cleaned, repaired, dressed, and pressed in a few hours." His success was tolerable, but when the following *farrago* appeared over his name in the newspaper in November, 1846, his business so increased that opposition shops were started in such numbers as to terminate disastrously to the whole lot:—

"Respectfully the undersigned
Soilcits all to bear in mind,
That he crape shawls, veils, and silk dresses,
Most beautifully dyes and presses;
And renders clothes whate'er their hue,
Grey, drab, or brown, or dusky blue,
A matchless black or perfect sable,
By process quite inimitable.
And 'ere the sun has twice gone down,
His 'first-rate finish' can be found,
His 'unique' flag is now unfurl'd—
'Without a fraud I cheat the world.'
FOR
I am a dyer—a dyer of blue;
I can dye an old coat, and make it look new;—
And when it is done, I'll wager a crown
It surpasses the finest new cloth in town.
My liquor is pure, as my customers know;
And to strangers I sing out—Attention!! Ho!!!"

Howe next shifted his quarters to Queen Street, where ladies' cloaks, riding habits, shawls, and gentlemen's raiment of all qualities, were cleaned, dressed, and pressed on a principle unrivalled in the colonies.

To his Dyery he annexed an "Imperial Leather Legging Warehouse and Shepherd's Life Protector, and Renovating Mart." To puff the new branch the services of the poetaster were secured, and the issue was half a column of bombastic epic doggerel in this strain:—

"Halt, gallants, halt! and let reason persuade you
That comfort and beauty are excellent things—
With beautiful truth as an angel to guide you,
Pray read what the muse in her truthfulness sings.
First—Howe's IMPERIALS claim your attention—
Their beauty and comfort are now so well known,
Napoleon Le Grand—it is proper to mention—
Invented them on an Imperial throne.
In peace or in war, or whenever he mounted,
His equipments were suited for comfort and ease—
He wore his Imperials happily appointed—
Complete Leather Leggings right over his knees.
Their texture and colour and polish surpasses
The blackest and brightest that Warren can show—
Though you rode fifty leagues over rivers and marshes,
Take them off, you're as clean as a drawing-room beau.
For sportsmen who dash through scrub and through water,
And recklessly ride over creeks and ravines,
When the game is a-foot—and no object a matter,
Imperials—Imperials, just suit for such scenes."

Brighton, originally known as Waterville, a more appropriate appellation than its successor, must have been in 1846 a somewhat different locality from what it is in 1888, as judged by the following notification of its then first and only innkeeper:—

BRIGHTON HOTEL.

T. M. CROSBIE, in returning his grateful thanks to the gentry of Port Phillip for the liberal patronage which he has received since he has opened the above Hotel, takes this opportunity to inform those families that have hitherto patronised him, that he has made extensive improvements in his establishment by an additional number of bedrooms, and other alterations, which will ensure the comfort of those parties who may honour him with a visit.

T. M. C. also begs to inform his visitors that his cellar is always stocked with wines and spirits of the very best description, which he will dispose of at the Melbourne prices. The use of the bathing-house will be given gratis to parties staying at the Hotel.

N.B.—The Omnibus will commence running three times a week, viz., Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, till further notice, leaving the *Brighton Hotel* at half-past 8 am, and the *Prince of Wales Hotel* at half-past 4 p.m.

The locomotive requirements of the early Brightonians must have been of a rather limited character, when a tri-weekly 'bus, making an up and down trip every second day, Sunday excluded, sufficed.

About the same time a fact deemed of much interest to agriculturists was publicly notified by Mr. John Harlin, Glenvale Farm, Upper Plenty, who proclaims the purchase of the well-known Threshing Machine called the "Challenger," of 5-horse power, and his readiness to execute any orders for threshing grain in his neighbourhood, on very reasonable terms. He engages that his machine will not break or injure the grain or straw, also thresh clean.

To any member of the bachelor tribe in quest of a wife, the following advertisement, extracted from a newspaper of August, 1849, is recommended as a model upon which to frame any public appeal he may wish to make to the fair sex. Though its insertion will cost more than the specified shilling, its probable success will far outweigh the extra outlay:—

MATRIMONY.

WANTED A YOUNG LADY WILLING TO STATE PARTICULARS.

"A gentleman in comfortable circumstances, of respectable connexions, but of reserved manners, is desirous of engaging with a young lady possessing some personal charms, and belonging to a family of real worth—as a

partner for life. Delicacy naturally revolts from making public such peculiar intentions, but not wishing to employ the agency of relations or friends in such a matter—the advertiser trusts that this may meet the eye of some lady willing to communicate on the subject—who will not hesitate to confide in the honour of a gentleman, and address him through the post only, directed to X.Y.Z., *Argus* Office, stating age, complexion, religious denomination, profession or business of her parent, number of brothers and sisters, her own preference for a tall or a short man, and for a life in the town or country, and the objects of her greatest interest both as regards sentiment and occupation."

There is one omission in the foregoing which intending applicants are recommended to supply *i.e.*, to require, in addition to the "profession or business of the parent" (evidently referring to the father), some particulars as to the accomplishments, temper, and idiosyncrasy of the possible mother-in-law. Whether the gentleman of "respectable connexions and reserved manners" succeeded in securing the "personal charms" for which he yearned so ardently was never communicated to the public, but it is to be hoped he did.

In the last chapter a *résumé* was given of the regularly established sports and pastimes; but independent of these, special amusements were occasionally got up, mainly through the exertions of some enterprising publican wishful to do an extra profitable stroke of business. The following advertisement thus intimates some "great expectations" in this line, to come off on the Boxing Day of 1850:—

CHRISTMAS SPORTS.

"Christmas comes but once a year,
And when it comes it brings good cheer."

HENRY CONWAY,
Travellers' Rest, Collingwood,
RESPECTFULLY invites all lovers of fun and frolic to the
UNRIVALLED SPORTS
With which Boxing Day will be celebrated at his establishment.
The commencement will be a
GOAT RACE,
In which eight thoroughbred Billy-goats will run for half a mile; each regularly caparisoned with saddle, bridle, etc., and ridden by a boy all booted and spurred. Several hurdle leaps to be taken in rare Newmarket style.
The feat of
CLIMBING THE GREASY POLE,
Prize, a Silver Watch, is the next part of the performance; after which
TWO HUNDRED PIGEONS
Will be shot at; the best marksman to receive a suitable reward.
THE RAT HUNT
Follows, in which three hundred trained rats will figure, and from which the greatest amusement may be anticipated.
THE PIG WITH THE GREASY TAIL
And many other
OLD ENGLISH GAMES
Will wind up the day, which will be one of the pleasantest Boxing Days ever spent in Port Phillip.

A considerable number of persons collected to witness the performance, but though the people were there, the goats and the rats, the pigeons and the booted and spurred boy jockeys, forgot to put in an appearance, and the consequence was a general "sell." The place selected would be an inconvenient sporting arena, though it was then much of an open common. The *Travellers' Rest* was a quaintly-constructed tavern, years agone demolished to give way for the structure now known as King's College, in Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, opposite Faraday Street.

The now so well-known *White Hart Hotel*, at the top of Bourke Street, is prone on gala days to sport a great variety of bunting in honour of whatever may be on, and as an invitation to the public to step in and test the quality of its tap; but its proprietor would never dream of getting up such a bill of fare as the following—projected and issued by a Mr. Henry Lineham, who "bonifaced" the same establishment, though under a rather a different face more than thirty years ago:—

1850.

NEW YEAR'S DAY!!!
OLD WHITE HART INN,
GREAT BOURKE STREET.

THE Lovers of the good old English merriment are invited to witness the different sports opposite the above Inn on

TUESDAY NEXT,
consisting of
GOAT RACING—PRIZE, A SUIT OF CLOTHES.
CLIMBING THE GREASY POLE—PRIZE, HAT AND GUN.
A PIG RACE WITH GREASY TAILS.
QUOITING AND SKITTLES.

The whole to conclude with a
GRAND MATCH
at the old English Game of
FOOTBALL.

Luncheon will be provided.

The great demonstration came off accordingly, though the programme was very considerably curtailed. At the time there was a splendid sweep of lightly timbered grassy land away northward—the Churches of St. Peter and St. Patrick (then in course of erection) being the only breaks, and here on the site of the Parliament Houses used to occur every sort of human amusement, from holiday jollification to a nocturnal sticking-up. By night it was the most villainous, and by day the most innocent of the public thoroughfares. To-day it may be said not to abound in either quality. If the villainy of the *locale* has vanished into the unsubstantial region of tradition, it may safely be averred that it has taken the innocence along with it.

Many years ago a small chemist's shop was started near the Colonial Bank in Elizabeth Street, on the site of the pile of buildings now designated O'Connor's Chambers. The projector of the druggery was Dr. W. H. Campbell, who annually made a great Christmas spurt in the newspapers to provide a tobacco treat for the inmates of the Benevolent Asylum and Immigrants' Home—a laudable effort, which to the medico's credit be it said, invariably eventuated in the letting off of a considerable quantity of smoke. The pill factory passed in an early stage to Mr. Nicholas O'Connor, an obliging and skilful prescriptionist, who stuck to it until he made a fortune, and then retired to enjoy a well-deserved *otium cum dig.* in a suburban seclusion.

Auction Rhodomontade.

The old Melbourne "Knights of the Hammer" were a long-winded fraternity, and it would be impossible for tongue or pen to puff in a more bombastically inflated style than they did, especially in the advertising columns of the newspapers. Since the initiation of auctioneering as a mode of pushing on in the world, "buncombe" in some form or other was an inseparable accompaniment to the operations of the hammer, and in its use it is no exaggeration to declare that the old Auctioneer here "beat Banagher." This style of blowing wares intended as a "tremendous sacrifice" upon the altar of Mammon, has been always more or less in vogue, and recent events tend to establish an increasing belief in its efficacy; but no comparison can be instituted between the modern crowing and the sonorous cock-a-hooping with which auction sales used to be heralded in the olden time.

The first two auctioneers who made themselves heard in Melbourne (A.D. 1838) were George Lilly and Charles Williams. In January, 1839, they were re-inforced by James Purves, who commenced business as an architect, building surveyor, and house and land agent. In March he was followed by Thomas H. Power, as an auctioneer and commission agent; and before another year had completed its cycle the number ran up to a dozen. Auction rooms of sufficient capacity were difficult

to be obtained, but Williams secured the largest two-storey house in Melbourne—one built for Batman, at the south-west corner of Collins and Williams Streets—where he remained until the formation of an Auction Company, to which the premises were transferred. As the most lucrative business was land selling, the sales took place in tents pitched on the ground, enlivened by the music of either a bellman or bugler, and fortified by such an overwhelming supply of "refreshments," of which everyone might partake, as to be responsible for the ruin of many otherwise well-conducted individuals, who began as auction loungers, and ended as disreputable cadgers and confirmed drunkards. It would be no easy task to find in the whole world of English typography more amusing reading than a selection of "elegant extracts" from the auction advertisements of the period of which I am treating, and the grandiloquent nonsense, which would be mere frothy rubbish in the case of a town of ordinary progression, is spiced with a genuine interest by the marvellous leap into greatness made by Melbourne in some years less than half a century. The most unblushing gasconade has been turned by it into prophetic veracity, the most conscious romancing into stern reality.

With these introductory remarks I present a few specimens, without any further addition than may be needed to render them intelligible, and establish as far as possible the particular locality. In announcing a sale on the 20th April, 1839, Williams thus spouts over some land in West Collins Street, declared to be the most valuable allotment in the Township of Melbourne:—"Its advantages are peculiarly attractive; it faces the superb basin of the lovely Yarra, the favourite spot for mooring vessels upon their arrival at the capital of Australia Felix; between the river and it is the ground to be converted into the Grand Foreign Import and Export Wharf, the erection of which will very shortly be undertaken, by orders from Her Majesty's Government. In the immediate vicinity of the admirable allotment are the Queen's Custom House, the Cathedral about being erected, the Union Bank, the Market, the Melbourne Club House, the beautifully situated and elegantly arranged residences of the Postmaster-General and James Smith, Esq. Within a few chains are the extensive warehouses of Strachan and Co., Mason and Co., R. Reeves, Esq., and Mr. Charles Williams. Lady Franklin has described this province as a 'Paradise.' General Bourke has declared it to be 'the Region of Fertility.' Surveyor-General Mitchell pronounced it 'a country prepared by the bountiful Creator of the Universe for the replenishing of the earth.' Sir George Gipps has at length determined that justice shall be done to us; Courts of Sessions and Requests are already instituted; a Supreme Court of Judicature will be immediately established, and branches of all the Sydney offices; an entire Regiment will shortly be quartered here; the power of steam will lend its aid to the magic progress of this favoured region, and the effects of so extraordinary a combination of favourable circumstances to this attractive spot, will first be discoverable in the enhanced value of this peculiar locality, immediately opposite to which will land thousands of immigrants weekly, and the produce of every nation, and then an acre of this spot may not be attainable for £10,000."*

In June, 1839, the same individual thus jubilates upon an area in Elizabeth Street, between Bourke and Little Collins Streets:—

"Could the newly-arrived immigrant be conducted blindfold to the spot, his mind being unprepared by an anticipatory description, upon the darkening hand being removed, he would conceive himself translated to an enchanted scene, and when he would be then informed by authority, in which he could place confidence, that that spot was one of the best mercantile sites in the capital of Australia Felix, the annals of whose rising people stand unrivalled in the history of the world, he would surely endeavour to become a competitor to obtain a portion of this favoured spot."

Three months later, Mr. Williams started an enterprise, which may be termed our First Land Lottery, and though the patriotic project did not take, the bombast with which it was launched is worthy of preservation as an unique specimen of its kind. It thus reads, as extracted from the *Port Phillip Gazette*, 18th September, 1839:—

"Enterprising Public of Australia Felix read—think for yourselves, for your children, for your friends, an opening is now within your grasp by one step to become, and to make them, independent—

* The events of 1888 amply show there was a kind of prophetic prevision in Mr. Williams' remarks notwithstanding.—ED.

an independence which we all are so earnestly seeking to obtain, and which the celebrated Bard of Scotland so beautifully pourtrays the advantage of:—

> 'My youthful friend do gather gear
> By every will that's justified by honour;
> Not to hide it in a hedge,
> Not for train attendant,
> But for the glorious privilege
> Of being independent.'

"An agent to a gentleman of capital, who is absent from the colony, thought it wise to invest the money left at his disposal in the purchase of some of the frontages in Collins Street, which commanded such competition at the last sale. Since then the number of applicants for these portions has been so numerous, and a feeling of regret being expressed that they should have fallen into the hands of a capitalist, the agent has thought that he would be acting in accordance with the desire of the philanthropy of his principal, to give every individual in this happy land the power of becoming possessed of its most important spot, and in order to accomplish this desired object, proposes thus:—To make the four Grand Frontages to Collins Street four prizes, and four hundred of prime cattle of all ages, in ten prizes, forming a Grand Lottery, consisting of four hundred tickets at £20 for a whole ticket, £12 for a half, £7 for a fourth, and £5 for an eighth. A prospectus of the plan can be seen at the office of Mr. Williams, who will issue tickets, and further information will be given in the public papers as to the day upon which the drawing will take place, when it is to be hoped that all the beauty, rank, and respectability of Melbourne will meet together, to enjoy all the delicacies of the season, and to taste the sparkling wines of Germany, France, and Spain." But the public failed to see the valuable considerations, so thrust into its face, the tickets were not taken up as confidently anticipated, and the philanthropic intentions of owner, agent, and auctioneer were suffered to run waste as if so much Yarra water.

In the beginning of 1840 there were only two hotels, with scarcely a score of houses, in Bourke Street, about half-a-dozen habitats, and only a single "groggery" in Swanston Street, with Melbourne a straggling township, little more than three years old, yet Mr. Williams in offering some land in the vicinity does the prophetic in this strain:—"The olden inhabitants of Melbourne imagine that Bourke Street will be the leading street of this far-famed city; Swanston Street leading direct from the grand crossing-place of the Yarra (an old punt with almost impassable approaches) has been lately established as the grand thoroughfare to the Sydney Road." Salmon, a rival land and house agent, appears to despise Williams's high falutin, and boldly stigmatizes such diction as "silly remarks, trashy quotations, and miserably abortive efforts to write English." Williams, so far from being daunted by such "sarkasm," seemed to have drank in increased inspiration from the rebuff, for two or three weeks after, in advertising a corner of Collins and Williams Streets, he thus rhapsodizes: "Would a ray of light but be thrown into the abyss of futurity, there is no doubt that the multitude of competitors who would assemble at the spot on Saturday would be the most extraordinary event of this extraordinary city, for every mansion, every home, every skillion would pour out its inmates for the purpose, though experience of the past should be considered as that ray, still in listless doubt will they sit down and cogitate, wondering how this will turn out."

A corner of Collins and Stephen Streets, then in the bush, evokes this gush; "Surely, if ever 'coming events cast their brightness before,' they do so now; the rapid rise that must take place in town allotments will be truly astounding, and if ever money is to be made by purchases in Melbourne, it is to be done now."

George S. Brodie, a phlegmatic Scotchman, must have been considerably warmed up by the way in which Williams "worked the oracle," for he thus follows suit in selling some land in Collins Street:—"On the opposite side of Swanston Street, a little nearer the Yarra, and the spot intended for the erection of the bridge, stands the reserve for the Courts of Law* and the various appendages connected

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* Now St Paul's Cathedral site.—ED.

have immensely gratified the residents of that quarter, who always had a weakness for "pye" of any therewith, which we must soon see commenced and completed." Further on he unwittingly affords a marvellously true glimpse into futurity, for in the language of the scribe, "Collins Street, extending from the Market Place to Swanston Street will be the grand promenade of Melbourne. It will be the situation for our retail merchants to exhibit their wares to the beauty, the fashion, and the multitude which will constantly frequent it." The presence and surroundings of "the Block," in 1888, attest with wonderful accuracy the fulfilment of this hap-hazard prognostication in 1840.

Mr. Williams in puffing an allotment at South Yarra thus glowingly eclipses his previous achievements. "The harmony existing among all denominations of religious sects, leaves no doubt that this will be the 'chosen land' for the working out of the Millenium, and that in those happy days the price of land cannot be computed." In selling land (February, 1840) in the neighbourhood of the Yarra, Power declares "that the pure water of the river cannot be equalled anywhere; and of the salubrity of the air and the beauty of situation, it would be plagiarism to speak. The advancement of Melbourne surpasses wonder, and leaves all past calculations of the stranger but idle when he beholds reality itself—a petty little settlement of two years' growth already matured into a large and important city."*

Williams is soon grinding away again over some land easterly of the *Argus* office, and extending to Russell Street, then known as the Eastern Hill. As an inducement for the purchase of the property it is stated that on the allotments "is a quarry of the most superior stone, and there is not a shade of doubt this land will turn out the most profitable speculation ever entered into. The purchasers upon this occasion must realize a sum in twelve months more than a Rothschild could ever have contemplated." Power again tackles South Yarra, within one hundred yards of the river. In his opinion "it is ever charming and ever verdant, except where the chaste native flower throws in variety of colours to dazzle and arouse our admiring senses. How can it be otherwise when Winter's chill is never felt, and the ardent rays of the summer sun are gently cooled by the placid zephyrs rising from the beauteous banks of the lovely Yarra, and gracefully moving the heads of the slumbering shrubs when they collect the essence of flowers which in sportive playfulness they scatter around, hallowing the air with a choice frankincense that would make you think for the moment all was ideal, and that you had suddenly passed into a Celestial garden from Melbourne, and all done in the short space of five minutes, and in less than a mile?" Power and Williams were Irishmen, but as a painter or dauber of words, the former "licked the other into fits."

A corner of William and Little Collins Streets was given over to the hammer of Salmon, who thus sketches this perspective of its surroundings:—"In other directions see the beautiful rise of hill and dale, with its thick clothing of beautiful verdure; also the many craft trading and discharging at the Queen's Wharf; as the view extends, the calm, clear, and beautiful water of the Yarra Yarra may be seen wending its sinuous course almost to the heart of this happy and well-nigh enchanted place."

Williams soon collared his competitors in the "pumping-up" process as witness the following specimens taken at random from his land-selling promulgations. Getting out to Heidelberg he mounts his hobby and thus blows: "The Rosanna Estate may well apply to it the expression of the most renowned of the ancient poets,—*Hic est aut nusquam, quod quaerimus*—here or nowhere may we hope to find what we desire. It overhangs and runs into the village of Heidleberg, the loveliest villlage of the plain, the situation of which is naturally beautiful. At the foot of it runs the meandering, limpid waters of the Yarra, upon the banks of which even at the present are scattered in a most picturesque manner a number of rural cottages." Offering land in West Collins Street, facing a Church reserve, he exclaims, "The building of St. James' Church proceeds rapidly. When this magnificent edifice shall be completed, and the Church reserve tastefully laid out, and surrounded by a handsome cast-iron railing, this, the only square in Melbourne, at the West end of the town, and decidedly the healthiest, cannot fail to become the select spot for fashionable residences and gay promenades." Popping up at Geelong some time after he indulges in a grandiloquence which must

† Melbourne was not so created until 1848.—ED.

kind, whether manufactured out of flour or type:—"Underneath lies the Bay of Corio, in comparison with which the Bays of Dublin and Naples fall into insignificance, for here there is not a charm wanting that the imagination of the poet in his brightest pictures of Elysium ever dreamt of, or attempted to depict." Having an estate known as "Gartur" to knock down at the Merri Creek, he thus premonitorily flourishes over the intended sacrifice:—"Casting our eyes around we see a city springing up with a rapidity unparalleled in the history of nations, equalling the enterprise and perseverance of the greatest republic of this century. A country, whose numerous inhabitants with their flocks and herds, can only be compared to the Patriarchs of the East, and by their wealth even outvie the nobility of England. A seaport where at all times may be seen forests of masts, and from its excellent situation and safe anchorage, will, without doubt, be the 'Venice of the Southern Clime.'" Towards the end of 1840, some land near the Richmond boundary of Jolimont, was for sale, and the omniscient auctioneer, in gauging the public taste, finds it necessary to modify his former opinions on the Yarra in general thus:—"Melbourne will shortly go out of town owing to the waters of the Yarra being salt below the 'Falls,' and to the superior beauty of this locality. Fashion now seems to fix her abode in that quarter (Richmond), and the talent of a conjuror is not required to foretell that ere six months the locality around Melbourne will be studded with the dwellings of the wealthy and respectable."

Brodie, however, clings with unshaken loyalty to the river, for in disposing of a property in the vicinity of the Vice-regal mansion he remarks:—"The Yarra Yarra almost sweeps past it; it overhangs the wide and extensive reserved domain of Government, which, though now clad in Nature's simplest garb, must speedily assume a very different appearance, and come forth adorned and decorated with architectural splendour, exhibiting what the art and taste of genius can display." Foster and Davis, for several years a leading auctioneer firm in a general way, in September, 1841, had for sale under a writ of *scire facias* a cottage site in Brunswick Street, at the corner of William (now Moor) Street, Fitzroy. The neighbourhood was then known as Newtown, and the only track through it, that could at all approach even an approximation to a main thoroughfare, was Brunswick Street. This highway the auctioneers designate as "the Darlinghurst of Melbourne," and "as a place of residence the superiority of Newtown over any other spot in the vicinity of Melbourne, is evidenced by the fact that the majority of the leading men in Melbourne have established their residences in this delightful and salubrious village. To walk through Brunswick Street and view the chaste and costly edifices on either side, surrounded respectively by beautiful and tastefully-laid-out gardens, together with every other luxury usually adorning the abodes of the wealthy, &c., &c." I walked through this "Darlinghurst" at the time referred to, and failed to be impressed by the visual and salubrious delights so specifically dilated upon. The "street" was a rough un-made bushway, without a sign of channelling, metalling, gravelling, or even levelling. From the Parade to Palmer Street there were half a-dozen tidyish cottages at each side, but none of them containing more than four or five rooms. From Palmer Street, northward, a mud or wattle-and-daub hovel was thrown up here and there, and about the inter-section of Moor Street, then blocked up by a queer two-storey, brick-nogged rookery planted at the end of the track, was a group of seven or eight cabins, in which pigs, had they the right of free selection, would hardly condescend to wallow. As for the tastefully laid-out gardens and other luxuries, they only existed in imagination.

Of the Old Melbourne auctioneers some of them acquired rapid fortunes, and rapidly burst up. Others attained assured positions in society; but few of them made any name in public life. Mr. Peter Davis filled the office of Mayor of Melbourne, Mr. Dal. Campbell sat for a short time in the City Council, but Messrs. T. H. Power and J. P. Bear stepped higher, for they were members of the Legislative Council for several years. The sole survivor in 1884 was Mr. Bear, then in England. He was a partner of the firm of Bear and Son, and with Power and Campbell constituted three of the principal station and stock-selling houses of a by-gone generation.

CHAPTER LVI.

EARLY SKY-LARKING AND DUELLING.

SYNOPSIS:—Sergeant Staunton.—Origination of Larrikinism.—The Early Sky-larkers.—"The Charcoal Boys."—Two "Gentlemen Johns."—"Jack" T—— and "Jack" F——.—Old Sam's Peccadilloes.—Dr. Martin and the Secreted Padlock.—D—— and his Sword.—The Melbourne "Nickers."—The Dog-and-Bell Trick.—The Duello.—The Clonmel "Text-Book of Honour."—The "Thirty-six Commandments."—The First Duel.—Peter Snodgrass versus William Ryrie.—A Nocturnal Ride in Search of Pistols.—Ammunition at a Premium.—A Lady on the Scene.—The Meeting.—The Fiasco.—Subsequent Challenges and Meetings.—John Bourke and the Hawdon Duelling Pistols.—H——l versus the Doctor.—D. Mc—— versus S——.—Snodgrass versus Redmond Barry.—Powlett versus Hogue.—Craig versus Broadfoot.—The Honourable Gilbert Kennedy versus Demoulin.—"Jam Bullets" and "Jam Satis."—Ross Challenges Croke.—Playne Challenges Curr.—A Poultry Dispute.—Griffin Challenges Synnott.—Bulletless Pistols.—Another Fiasco.—The Honourable Gilbert Kennedy versus C——.—Sprot versus Campbell.—A Flash in the Pan.—Doctor F—— versus Doctor T——.—Allan versus Purcell.—Arrest of the Principals.—Mr. Frank Stephen and the "Hand and Foot Trick."

Wild Oats.

TO little ingenuity has been employed in tracing the origin of the term "larrikinism," as designating a comparatively modern human development, which has gathered into the most mischievous social ulcer of the present day, for its contagion communicates to both sexes of successive rising generations of young colonists. Philologically, the word "lark" is traceable from more than one root; as, for instance, from the sky-lark that mounts in the air, and sings flying. And so, "sky-larking" was adopted as a nautical term for mounting the highest yards of a ship and sliding down the ropes, a species of marine recreation permitted under certain conditions. Others derive it from the Anglo-Saxon word *lac* (sport), and also from "leary," an old cant word, signifying flash, sly, knowing—viz., "leary bloke," a clever customer. I am disposed to adopt the first etymology, and by extending the Jack Tar metaphor, apply sky-larking or larking, as engaging in fun or frolic in an unrestrained and boisterous style, just such an ebullition of the animal spirits as would exactly fit in with the essentials of an uproarious nocturnal grog spree. Furthermore, much misconception exists with reference to the prolongation of the dissyllable to a trisyllable, *i.e.*, stretching lark-ing into lar-ri-kin, but I am in a position, from personal observation, to definitely settle that point. About 1850, there was in the City Police Force, a Sergeant John (or as he was commonly called "Jack") Staunton, a medium-sized, bull-headed Irishman, with darkish face, slightly asthmatic, and thick lips, through which, when giving evidence in the Police Court, he slightly "slavered," and thereby acquired a habit of frequent application of his coat-cuff to his mouth. Staunton, though somewhat dull, was a plodding and highly useful officer, and in his day did good service in ridding the community of some of the wicked excrescences which have existed in every state and every age. Little Bourke Street, with its purlieus, was then as now the main nursery of city crime, and Staunton was not only a power but a terror to the thieving and night-birding fraternity. Staunton's education was on a rather limited scale, and in his vocabulary he was wont to include as "larkers" everyone engaged in nocturnal illegalities about town, especially disturbances originating in public-houses, or indulged in by persons during the enjoyment of late hours. Upon such offenders "Old Jack" had what is known as a terrible "down," and frequently appeared as police prosecutor in such cases. There was something wrong about the tip of his tongue, rather too big for its place, I thought, which imparted a lisp and stammer to the enunciation of some of his words, especially those where double consonants interposed, and one especially, "larking," he could never distinctly master. The "r" and the "k" conjoined seemed too much for him, though separately

he could manage them well. But when both united against him the guttural and palatal requiring for their amalgamation, a quivering motion of the tongue, with its pressure against the roof of the mouth, and a depression of the under jaw, was a mouthful quite beyond his capacity. Therefore, when a magistrate would ask Sergeant Staunton what his charge was against a particular prisoner, he would give his lips a wipe and a screw, and would try to answer "He was a lar—" the "k" caused him to stammer and draw breath, and in his plunging towards the far end of the word, he floundered between the "r" and the "k," and to enable him to reach the terminus, the "r" was duplicated and backed by an "i," a third syllable being so formed, which Staunton employed as a stepping-stone, and jumped across. The response therefore, took this form, "He was a lar—ri—kin, your Worship," and so was coined a word now of common use, which will yet be incorporated in the English language, like other slang expressions seemingly so necessary that one wonders how they could ever have been done without.

But, though the designations are analogous as coming from the same shell, it would be a gross injustice to rank the ancient larkers with the modern larrikins as birds of a feather, for there was a wide divergence between the two classes in action, motive, and even temperament. Larrikinism is the outcome of various causes, climatic, dietary, defects in the educational bringing up, moral, religious, &c. In its indulgence it far exceeds the traditionary limits of the sky-larkers, and drifts into excesses of the most criminal kind, not unlike in some respects, the ruffianism of the Mohocks, with which the streets of London rang in the beginning of the 18th century. In all their mad wild revels, their

> "Reckless days and reckless nights,
> Unholy songs, and tipsy fights,"

The larkers in old Melbourne would as soon think of cutting their own throats as robbing a man, and I have found no authenticated instance of their having offered insults to any woman passed in the streets in their intoxicated raids.

The old sky-larkers were drawn from the cream instead of the scum of society, the scions of families of good blood and reputation, who came to Australia in search of fortunes—gay sparks, some with light and few with heavy purses, the contents of which were sent flying in every direction. Many of them took up land in various parts of Port Phillip, commencing on the Plenty, and trending northwards along the rivers in the interior away to the Murray. From this aggregation stood out prominently what was known as the "Goulburn Mob," dashing, gentlemanly, intellectual and good-looking fellows, who led a monotonous, industrious, life in the bush; but the moment they got a chance flocked to Melbourne, went the pace there in a manner conducive to the health of neither body nor pocket, enjoyed life while they could, then returned to the drudgery of station work, and so came and went until the "wild oats" were not only sown, but the crop reaped with a vengeance. Some of them, at the turn of the tide, settled down quietly and amassed fortunes, afterwards enjoyed both in the colony and at home; but death made sad havoc with many, for the best and the brightest and the gayest of the frolicsome scapegraces went down before its remorseless scythe.

The first head-quarters of what the newspapers were wont to designate the "Waterfordians" (after the mad Marquis of Waterford), were established in 1839, at the *Lamb Inn*, the second hotel in Melbourne, an unpicturesque, ramshackle, straggling wood and brick batch of apartments, thrown together on the site of the present *Scott's Hotel*, in Collins Street. For some reason or other, not known to posterity, they passed under the title of "The Charcoal Boys." Possibly it was because of some association of ideas in the colour of charred wood, and the darkness under cover of which their escapades were indulged. The *Lamb Inn* was opposite the then Melbourne Club, which got into full swing in 1840, and this proximity afforded a favourable opportunity for uniting the several forces in the event of any combined movement; for, be it written, not to their disadvantage, that the Waterfordians usually pulled well together; there was no splitting into factions, and, unless a row over the dining or card-table, and a hostile meeting ending in an abortion, no *inter se* feuds ever existed. In a short time, the Club completely eclipsed the mad doings of the *Lamb*, and in the course of a few years the *Prince of Wales*, in Little Flinders Street, was an occasional contributory;

but the Club finally outran all competition, and its larking achievements did not die out for nearly a decade. The Club was in itself the focus of every harum-scarum undertaking that could be imagined, and to such a height did its post-prandial excesses in a short time reach, that it became necessary to establish in connection with it a "receiving-house" as a harbour of refuge—a queer unhallowed sanctuary, to which such as were *pro tem* unfit to mingle with the ordinary Club society, voluntarily banished themselves like fallen angels. This rowdies' home was an old shed-like, brick-nogged, one-roomed rookery, perched rearward of where the Australian Club-house is erected, in William Street. The *maître d hôtel* of this retreat was a biped known as "Old Sam," so dog-visaged that he would pass for a living Cerberus, only that he was one-headed. It differed from the Club in its mode of maintenance, for there were no annual or other subscriptions, and no bills to be squared up—its revenues arising solely from voluntary donations, given with no stinted hand. It was regulated by a code of sumptuary laws of a very peculiar nature, few in number, and as immutable as those of the Medes and Persians. *Ex. gra.*, the *cuisine* was of the simplest kind, viz.—bread, bacon and eggs, steaks and chops fried or grilled, beer in the pewter, with brandy either neat or infused in cold or hot water and sugar. Potatoes, tea, coffee, or other un-alcoholic or unfermented drinks were rigidly prohibited. Plates or forks were not permitted; a tin dish full of smoking food was placed on a rough table, and every one disposed for a feed cut a junk of bread, covered it with a wedge of meat, and so could "cut and come again" as often as he wished. There were two or three rough stools for common use, and such a convenience as a stretcher or bedstead was tabooed. A dozen mattresses, with a pillow and blanket each, were littered along the sides, and thus couched on these "shakes-down," the inmate could eat, drink, sleep, and wake, *ad libitum;* but on no account was any person to divest himself of any wearing apparel other than his hat, overcoat, and boots. A rigid embargo was placed on cigars, but "baccy" might be puffed or chewed until doomsday. There was not much luxury in this human sty, but it was wonderful how speedily shattered nerves were braced, and the equilibrium of a swimming head restored, by the unrefined regimen of this refuge for inebriates. It was known as "the Den," and though its life was a merry, it was not a long one, for both "Sam" and "the Den" soon dropped out of existence, and were utterly forgotten long before the last of the larkers retired from the stage.

The ancient rowdies were under the leadership of two "Gentlemen Johns." A Mr. "Jack" T—— commanded the regular Club contingent, and a Mr. "Jack" F—— wielded a despotic authority over the "Denites," from which there was no appeal. This brace of "Jacks" embodied two plucky, high-spirited and jovial gentlemen, high-minded and honourable in the ordinary pursuits of life. After their exuberance of animal spirits had in some degree evaporated, they settled down into comparatively easy-going customers, and no doubt looked back with regret upon many of their by-gone frolics. "Jack" F—— was the master of a graceful and eloquent pen, and some of his contributions to the *Port Phillip Gazette* for which he occasionally wrote, displayed no inconsiderable ability. They have both long since passed away from earth, and though there have been many better, there have been a great many worse colonists amongst us.

To attempt any detail of the madcap pranks of this constantly-recruited horde would be a futile task, for their name was legion; and any specific enumeration would be as tedious as going through the catalogue of a public library. A few samples will therefore be given in a general way picked up at random from memory and hearsay. "Old Sam" was a worthy of wicked proclivities, and fertile in devising the nocturnal exploits to be undertaken. Some of the most desperate raids would be plotted at the "Den", from which the party detailed for duty would emerge like a pack of demons, coursing through the inadequately protected streets, knocking over the private watchmen, or "Charlies," mobbing the police, breaking windows, removing sign-boards, and planting them in out-of-the-way places. Stables would be forced open, the horses turned adrift, and traps carried off and used as barricades across some of the streets. An audacious attempt was one night made to capsize a theatre, the ludicrous particulars of which have been given in a previous chapter. Neither the places of public worship, nor some of the ministers of religion were deemed *sacrosanct*, for the boys once ascended to sacrilege by scaling the tower of St. James' Church, and

removing the bell, which they restored next day. This was wicked enough in all conscience, but it was subsequently cast into the shade, when a furious trio rushed the residence of Parson Thomson, the Episcopalian minister, in Church-street, broke into the place, fustigated his reverence, and smashed several articles in his parlour. The next morning a Police Court prosecution was initiated, but influence was brought to bear as a successful mediator, and the outrage was condoned upon terms never made public, but which included an apology in writing. Even so late as 1849, church gates used to be abducted, and the Independent and Scots' Churches were the last levied on in this manner. In the Western Market Reserve, a few yards from the Police Office, stood a venerable bald-headed gum-tree, where a bell was fixed ostensibly to ring the convict labour gang, employed on the streets, and the few other assigned servants at work about, to and from the depôt, but made generally useful in the case of a fire breaking out in warning the public. This belfry would be climbed by the night owls, and a stunning alarm pealed forth, which from the furious rapidity of the ding-donging, would lead to a supposition that all Melbourne was in a general conflagration. The bell was even carried off bodily and interred near the cemetery, where it was afterwards unburied, and resurrectionized into its former prominent position.

Once upon a time, during the Christmas holidays, an effort was made to induce the old clipper-clapper to do duty as a joy bell and in order to properly superintend the operations, a jovial Solicitor, and one of the original members of the Club, was appointed Master of Ceremonies, and he planted himself in an adjacent branch for the purpose. The bell was worked by a couple of ropes attached, at each of which three or four pair of unsteady hands pulled, and the hilarious bellringers shouted and yelled, and ya-hooed and tugged like a watch of bewitched sailors; and so between them and the bell, there burst forth such a sonorific medley, the overwetted whistles now in the ascendant, and immediately drowned by the metallic uproar, that the townspeople started in their beds in bewilderment, not knowing what all the turmoil was about, but fancying that Melbourne was either in a state of earthquake or overwhelmed by some other calamity. Those who ventured out of doors could perceive no reason to account for the tintamar, though the bell kept clinking away in a spasmodically eccentric style. The police hurried towards the quarter from which the pell-mell evidently proceeded, and on their appproach the roisters ran away, leaving their *coryphæus* aloft to look out for himself. In trying to get down, this worthy got dovetailed between the two limbs, and, gripped around the waist by some of the branches, was kept in a state of suspension—a kind of Mahomet's coffin the reverse of agreeable. His recent carousals, and the manner in which he was left to shift for himself aloft, so ruffled his plumage as to cause his temper to belie the Meek-ness of his name, and he shouted and plunged and kicked in such fashion that only for the hard and fast manner in which the old tree clutched him, he would have jerked himself from his anchorage, and been either brained or maimed through his impetuosity. When the constables arrived all they could see was a pair of legs working in convulsions; but a little further investigation revealed the whole case, and the belated blusterer was with some difficulty extricated from the precarious position in which he had got so singularly jammed. Instead, however, of being relegated to the adjacent lock-up, as a man found under suspicious circumstances deserved to be, he was allowed to go home quietly, for the guardians of the peace in such times were disposed to overlook trifling improprieties, for certain well understood considerations. "False fire-alarms" was another of the favoured recreations. The watchman and constables were provided with rattles to spring in any emergency, and the roisterers roared and rattled about the street too, and with such frequency that the shouting of "Fire! fire!" grew into something like the proverbial cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" and the townspeople were often in such uncertainty as to be unable to decide as to whether they should consider the uproar as a signal of fire or no fire. Pickets of twos and threes often detailed themselves from the main body for special duty. For years there was a formidable-looking water-hole at the eastern conjunction of Collins and Elizabeth Streets, and it was called Lake Cashmore, after an Israelitish draper, whose shop was within a couple of yards of its northern extreme. Though not deep enough to drown a person, the unfortunate wight pitched into it got well soused in slushy water, and it was

in every sense a mud bath in which no sane individual would like an immersion. The night-hawks would prowl about here within the shadows of the houses or concealed behind a fence, and when a constable or watchman passed he was pounced upon, chucked into the lake and had to scramble ashore blowing like a porpoise and shaking himself like a water-dog.

Many of the *spolia opima* would be carried to the "Den" and the Club, and one of the annexes of the latter place, a sort of lumber-room, was used as a store for the wreckage, and was at times quite a Curiosity Shop, from the miscellany of odds and ends collected there, such as bobbies' batons, door-knockers, bells, bell-pulls, and bell-handles, and even bell-toppers, snatched from the heads of passers-by. There was in Collins Street an ironmongery establishment kept by a Mr. Jackson, and known as the "Golden Padlock," by virtue of which a large wooden gilt symbol of the trade swung out from over the shop door. This was unhooked one night, and borne away as a great prize, and for safe keeping was placed under a bed in one of the principal sleeping apartments of the Club House. Dr. Martin, a most peaceably-disposed individual, arrived in town from a long bush journey at an early hour in the morning, and, feeling too fatigued to proceed to his residence at Heidelberg, turned into the Club for a bed, and was shown the room where the big padlock was quietly reposing. He went to bed over it, and slept the sleep of the tired, unsuspicious of the mischief that was tucked away beneath him, and was very disagreeably surprised by the entrance of the Chief-Constable before breakfast, an intrusion which was an unwelcome disturber of the sleeper's blissful oblivion. Martin was a Territorial Magistrate—a thing not to be lightly trifled with—and awakened so suddenly, he looked angrily about, and sharply inquired the reason of the intrusion. The officer apologized, but intimated that he should do his duty, disagreeable as it was. An audacious outrage had been perpetrated during the previous night; Jackson's monster padlock, the admiration of Melbourne, had been carried off, and there was reason to believe that it would be found in Dr. Martin's bedroom. A search was instituted, and it did not take much time or trouble to fish out the stolen property from under the bed. The discovery riled Martin considerably; he cut up roughly over the "roasting" that awaited him next day, and vowed vengeance on the jokers, if he could only find them out, for he was incapable of entering into the spirit of what was regarded as capital fun by the young bloods, who were only too glad of a chance to tease such a dry old stick. The fact was, the Doctor's arrival was expected, and the room reserved for him, and the golden padlock was purposely secreted in its hiding-place. The *depôt* at the Club was an advantage, for, as its existence was well known, the owner of an abstracted article, or the police, knew where to look out for missing strays, and people in quest of a sign-board, a knocker, bell-pull, or kindred trifles, of which all traces had been apparently lost, would call there the same as visits are now made to a railway luggage-room or a dead-letter office.

Demolishing the Corporation channel-bridges at the street corners was a prevalent diversion, and also visiting a wooden punt that did duty before the advent of a bridge over the river. The puntman (an irascible old fellow) resided in a hut at the southern side, and every night before retiring the punt would be hauled over and made fast round a tree-stump. The larkers would cross by the "Falls" or in a boat, and, creeping round, unwarp the punt quietly, pull across on it to the northern side, and then, by shouting and yelling, break the slumbers of the old punter, who would rush out to find himself powerless, with a large amount of insult added to the inconvenience, for he would have to get a boat next morning wherewith to cross, and take possession of his raft. In their nocturnal peregrinations some of the larkers would be literally so blind drunk as to be unable to see where they went or what they did. There were then no public lamp-posts for them to bob against; but if a bit of fencing barred their way, they fancied it to be something obstructing them, and would pitch into it in rare style. Once three of them were staggering through William Street, and they fell against a small empty brick store. In their cups, imagining that it was some huge fellow that was showing fight, they set to work and levelled it. Another time the trunk of a tree on the site of the present Town Hall incurred the displeasure of a couple of them, and they kept hammering away at it for a couple of hours, until compelled by the police to forego their intentions.

There was a well-known Attorney named D———, who used to indulge in some extraordinary single-handed vagaries. A member of a militia corps in England, whence he emigrated in 1838, he brought with him his military outfit, and when regularly on the "ree-raw" he would dress himself up in his regimentals and, armed *cap-a-pie* with his drawn sword brandished over his head, rush like a maniac through the streets, and if he met any notable person on his way, would compel him, irrespective of the state of the weather, to drop on his knees and beg his life. One wet night, when Collins Street was not only inches, but almost feet, in slush, this madman was in his tantrums, and one of the most precise and punctilious of Melbournians had the misfortune to cross his path. The scimitar was immediately flashing in the moonlight, while the holder of it grasped the other by the collar, and vowed instant decapitation unless he dropped on his marrow bones and begged his life. The condition, uncomfortable in every sense, was complied with, and the head so stipulated for was in after time the wearer of a judicial wig for many years in Victoria.

There was one fast gentleman of the period who singularly enough afterwards attained high position in the Police Department, who never ventured abroad on any after-dark expedition without the companionship of a formidable stick; and so that he might never be left alone in this respect, he appointed an old fellow named Austin M'Ginty his "Stick-in-Waiting," or cudgel-keeper. M'Ginty was caretaker at St. Patrick's Hall, a connection which, doubtless, specially fitted him to be the custodian of shillelaghs. However, he was the Groom of the Sticks, which were stabled under the Hall stairs, and he received a weekly stipend for keeping them in order. Three or four times a week, about midnight, a thundering knock would be rattled on the door, and a croaking voice from within would screech out "Who's there?" to which would be made the interrogative response, "Are you awake, Ginty?" "Aye, aye, your Honor," would be crooned out; "What do you want now?" Whereupon the mandate would be thundered forth, "Come, jump up quick, man, and give me a stick." Ginty would spring from his lair, and, opening the door, would produce two or three of the saplings in his charge, one of which would be speedily selected and marched off with. However, I never heard of any broken heads following, and the sticks were never known to do much harm.

At the Restoration a section of the London street bullies was known as "Nickers" (whether after Old Nick or not I cannot say), and their missiles were some of the least-valued coins of the realm. According to Gay in the *Trivia*—

> "His scatter'd pence the flying Nicker flings,
> And with the copper shower the casement rings,"

And the amusements of the Melbourne scampdom used to be diversified by the shying of coppers in the theatre and other places. On the 10th January, 1845, an audacious exhibition of this kind occurred at noon-day in the heart of Collins Street. On the site of the Union Bank then stood the *Royal Hotel*, the resort of the sporting fraternity, and on the opposite side was the most fashionable draper's shop in town, known as Williamson's. Here there was a *cheval* glass, valued at £17, kept for the convenience of the numerous customers, and it attracted the drunken attention of half-a-dozen "Nickers," who procured a large supply of a mintage then in circulation, long since called in—a species of heavy penny-piece. With this artillery, or rather rifle practice, a firing party commenced across the street, which was kept up for some time, luckily without knocking out any eyes or cracking any skulls, though several squares of glass in the shop windows were destroyed, and the mirror shattered in pieces. A bet of a dozen of champagne was the prompter of the outrage, The leader of the exploit was a Mr. J. D. Hill, one of whose limbs was so enlarged by *elephantiasis* that he was known as "Montefeetio." How he managed to drag himself along was matter of surprise, but more so was the possibility of showing his heels with sufficient quickness out of several scrapes with which he was mixed up, and this he would contrive to do rapidly and cleverly too. In the present instance he cleared off at once out of town, and the Police Court proceedings, which old Charlie Williamson vowed he would take, were deferred until something could be known of "Montefeetio's" whereabouts. In the meantime the affair was compromised, like many other transactions of a kindred kind.

But of all the eruptions in which the Waterfordian distemper manifested itself, the most comically grotesque was the dog-and-bell trick, which was thus performed:—A certain house, where there was a strongly-secured door-bell, was selected, and after the family had retired, an ill-natured dog was put into a collar and a two-ended rope, the extremities of the cordage being securely fastened to both bell and door handle. The dog immediately after commenced to bark and plunge furiously, and the bell got into such a state of terrible tinkling that the inmates, believing the house to be on fire, rushed promiscuously to the door to ascertain what was up. When an affort was made to open the door, the dog pulled fast the other way, the bell all the time merrily going, a half-a-dozen larkers encouraging the animal to resist in every possible way. And so it continued until either the bell-wire or rope broke, or some of the not over-active police arrived to quell the fiendish hullabaloo. The gentleman who stabled his sticks in St. Patrick's Hall, was of an inventive turn of mind, and one day he conceived a happy notion of improving on the dog trick, and succeeded to his heart's content. His invention was this:—The dog was to be no longer tied to the rope, which was to have instead a shin of beef or a sheep's head firmly annexed. The dog was then set on the bait, and the animal lost no time in endeavouring to emancipate the joint. He pulled and plunged, and snarled and gnawed, whilst the bell was actively at work, and the astounded residents were hastening to the rescue. At every attempt to draw in the door, the prize receded from the dog, was sometimes jerked out of his mouth, and he was made furious, by the belief that some opposing power was trying to cheat him of his booty. Labouring under such a mistaken notion he would jump towards the door, which, in self-defence, would be jammed in his face, and not again opened in a hurry. Other vagabondizing dogs usually joined in the fun, and the shindy was often indescribable. The inventor is still (1888), I rejoice to write, alive and well in Melbourne, and no one, to see the respectably sedate, good-humouredly-serious, and mildly-mannered looking man, who now contemplatively strolls along "the Block," could ever imagine him to be the deviser of the most screaming farce that was ever put upon a stage, with an ill-conditioned brute of a dog as the principal of the *dramatis personæ*.

Such is a meagre outline of an institution which made no small noise during the infancy of the colony, and though totally indefensible upon any moral or rational ground, there was a vein of chivalry permeating the "larkism" of old, when compared with the "larrikinism" of modern times. The old night prowlers, though gentlemen in name, were guilty of many ungentlemanly indiscretions; but with all their rowdyism they were generous in a way, and ever ready to make compensation for injuries inflicted. If they cut a head, they were not unwilling to supply a plaster, which accounts for the almost total absence of prosecutions against them. In only one very outrageous case, where a sergeant of police was dangerously assaulted, was a Criminal Sessions conviction obtained, and even then a further pecuniary *amende* was voluntarily made to the sufferer. There was a complete absence of malice in their out-door revelry, which might be compared with their duels, as displaying a *penchant* for fun more than for mischief; and as for murderous street robberies, the cold-blooded mutilation of policemen, befouling the streets with obscene language, assaulting or insulting women, would not be thought of. They were fast and furious, reckless and extravagant, impulsive and intemperate; and where too much steam was generated, the high pressure should be reduced by some safety valve or other. As a body, they paid the penalty of their excesses, for the many went the way of all flesh, prematurely, and the few remained as striking examples of how years and circumstances will sometimes effect such a metamorphosis in the man of fifty from the stripling of twenty, as to make it impossible by any evidence short of ocular demonstration to induce a belief that they were actually the one and same individual.

The Duello.

At the period of what is known as the Batman-*cum*-Fawkner occupation of Port Phillip, pistol-shooting as a fancied mode of retaliation for personal affronts was in vogue in Great Britain, and during the ten years—1835-45—eight remarkable meetings are recorded as having taken place in

England, two of which terminated fatally, and in two others severe wounds were inflicted. It is, therefore, by no means surprising that it should be imported with other conventional usages from Home. But it is a singular fact, that in none of the several duels fought, or pretended to be, in this colony, not one instance has occurred in which either challenger or challenged, or seconds, ever drew blood from the other. No life was sacrificed, no limb injured to the extent of an adverse scratch, not even the slightest personal casualty witnessed, if I except the incidents where one belligerent skinned one of his own toe-tops; another ignited his nether garments, and the coat and hat of others were perforated. It is difficult to account for such general harmlessness in the indulgence of a dangerous practice upon any other grounds than a presumption that the challenges were given under certain stimulating influences, and acted on with an impatience that allowed the nervous system insufficient time to recover its ordinary steadiness, and the eyes to banish the faculty of double vision, which over-indulgence in inebriating fluids is supposed to confer. The hand was therefore shaky, the aim uncertain, and the result innocuous. Furthermore, the Port Phillipian duelling was impregnated with an element that would not be admitted into English or Irish affairs of honour, viz., a desire on the part of seconds, concurred in by some of the principals, to turn the affair into a joke—an Antipodean travestying quite foreign to the recognized style in which such matters were disposed of in other places. Ireland was the hot-bed of the Duello during the eighteenth century, and the *modus operandi* there may be quoted as an authority on the subject. At the Summer Assizes held at Clonmel, the capital of Tipperary, a meeting of gentlemen delegates from the great fire-eating counties of Tipperary, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon assembled (*Anno* 1777) to settle the practice of duelling and points of honour. In this serious and solemn conclave a code of honour was affirmed and prescribed for general adoption throughout the country, and the fighting community accepted it as a text book. It was an elaborate production, embodying no less than three dozen rules of practice, and was irreverently known as the "Thirty-six Commandments." From a copy before me I transcribe two of the regulations as relevant to the subject under treatment:—

"No. 13.—No dumb shooting or firing in the air admissible in any case. The challenger ought not to challenge without receiving offence, and the challenged ought, if he give offence, to make an apology before he come to the ground; therefore child's play must be dishonourable on one side or the other, and therefore it is accordingly prohibited."

"No. 15.—Challenges are never to be delivered at night, unless the party to be challenged intend leaving the place of offence before morning, for it is desirable to avoid all hot-headed proceedings."

There is much good sense in these stipulations, which were as a rule utterly disregarded in Melbourne, for the challenges were generally off-hand, the dumb-shooting and air-firing frequent, while such by-play as blank-loading was never once contemplated as a possibility by the fighting authorities referred to. The facetiously-termed "hostile meetings" were of frequent occurrence in the early years of the colony, but as no record of them is obtainable, anything like a complete list is not to be thought of, and I am therefore necessitated to confine my selection to a few of the more remarkable, as gathered from the old newspapers, though the most amusing of them have been hunted out by personal enquiry of the very few old colonists now living, and capable of giving information.

The First Duel.

It would be difficult to meet with a funnier episode than is to be woven out of the circumstances connected with the first summons to the field of honour in Port Phillip; and it is questionable if anything racier ever happened even in Ireland, a country proverbial for powder-burning gentry during the eighteenth and a portion of the nineteenth centuries. The Christmas-tide of 1839-40 was a "brighte and a merrie" one, for there was an influx of filled purses from Home, and everyone who could scrape up anything for a "ran-tan" in town, rushed thither to see "life," and, as invariably happens in certain cases suffer for the transient enjoyment. The Melbourne Club was

then about to prepare its first year's balance-sheet. Matters were warm and comfortable there, though frequently somewhat too fast and furious, and it, and the *Lamb Inn*, just over the way, were the head-quarters of the fastest and most furious of the hot-blooded youngsters about town. On the evening of the 1st of January, 1840, a select dinner-party assembled in one of the club-rooms to bid hearty welcome to the newly-arrived year, and here gathered as choice a dozen of exuberant spirits as could well be found from that day to this. They sat round a table of "full and plenty," where no stint was imposed upon the animal enjoyment of eating and drinking; and after dinner there was no disposition to bring the convivialism to anything like a premature termination, so there they stayed without giving a thought to an early break-up—

"Bousing at the nappy,
An' getting fou and unco happy."

But happiness, wherever and whenever it does happen, must, like all other mundane visitations, have an end. And so the inevitable came sooner than expected on this occasion. When the wine, or rather the brandy, was in the wit flew out. "A cup difference" arose between Mr. Peter Snodgrass and Mr. William Ryrie, and heated words and offensive insinuations followed. Snodgrass was the son of a Lieutenant-Colonel of distinction, and may be supposed to have inherited a martial ardour, which he was never reluctant to suppress when any occasion arose to excite it, and accordingly, a circumstance not surprising to those who knew his temperament, he forthwith challenged Ryrie to mortal combat. The verbal cartel was accepted as willingly as it was offered, and the next essential to be looked to was the selection of seconds, when Lieutenant Vignolles, of the 28th Regiment, a detachment of which was then stationed in Melbourne, was chosen as the challenger's best man, Mr. T. F. H—lt—n consenting to act in a like amicable capacity for the challengee. The shooting match was fixed for daybreak the following morning, on the western slope of Batman's Hill, now the site of the Spencer Street Railway Station, and there was not much time for effecting the preliminary arrangements. But an unexpected and formidable difficulty interposed *in limine*. Strange and unaccountable omission! The Club was not provided with such gentlemanly indispensables as duelling pistols; and worse too, it was impossible to procure any in town without exciting a curiosity which might spread the matter abroad, and conduce to its interruption by police or other interference. Not only were the two principals, but even all present, eager to see the frolic out in what they conceived to be the only legitimate and gentlemanly way, and a council of war was held to consider how the fix could be removed.

Mr. Joseph Hawdon, of Heidleberg, was the possessor of a splendid case of hair-triggers, which could be got, if only their owner could be got at; but he was enjoying the pleasures of his peaceful home, and that was eight miles in the country. This was a gloomy and disheartening look-out. "The golden hours" were plying their wings, it was close on eleven o'clock, and the dawning of the day could not by an human agency be deferred even for a minute. Fortunately, there was present a man worthy of, and equal to the occasion. H—lt—n, Ryrie's second, had a good horse in the Club stable, and fresh from the "land of green heath and shaggy wood," was an expert plucky rider, as firm in the pig-skin as on the solid ground, and jumping up, proclaimed his readiness to ride *instanter* to Heidelberg, storm the Hawdon domicile, and either return with the pistols, or never more show his honest face amongst them. This offer was rapturously applauded, and forthwith carried into effect, for the nag was readied in quick sticks, and the pistol-hunter dashed out of the Club-yard amidst the hearty congratulations of his *confrères*, who wished him God speed on his unpeaceful mission, and promised to make a night of it until his return.

"Wee mounted on his grey mare Meg,
A better never lifted leg,
Tam skelpit on,"

And no stranger night-ride was ever effected in the colony. It could not be compared to Tam O'Shanter's drunken canter, for as the Scots' Church did not lie in the route, there was no

Kirk of Alloway to pass, and therefore no chance of hearing old Clooties blowing bagpipes, or being "catched wi' Warlocks i' the mirk." And lucky was it for the madcap equestrian that it was so, for if chased by witches, he had no brig of Doon with its running waters to save him from being "cutty-sarked," for the Merri Creek was then dried up, and there was not as much of a current as could by any possibility operate as a spell upon supernatural pursuers. There was no analogy between it and the achievement of John Gilpin, except -

> "That like an arrow swift he flew,
> Shot by an archer strong,—"

For the rider was even better in his work than the horse; and there was this difference between it and Turpin's famous ride to York, that Tom rode a white mare while Dick's Bess was black, and there was besides no turnpike in Port Phillip to be jumped. Arriving at his destination, the dreaming Hawdon was broken in upon, the pistols were obtained, and the eight miles back were thundered over again in a double-quick time never out-paced since. It was about 1 o'clock when the courier galloped up Collins Street, flourishing a pistol in each hand, very much inclined to shout out his success, but that he was partially tongue-tied through gripping the bridle between his teeth. Re-entering the Club and exhibiting the emblems of his good fortune, he was welcomed with uproarious applause, and regarded as the hero of the moment. A further hitherto unthought-of complication now arose, for though they had the pistols, there was no ammunition. On the Christmas Eve preceding, an explosion occurred in the Market Reserve, which blew up the "Sporting Emporium" (the only powder and shot mart in town) with its whole stock of combustibles, and there was only one other place where cartridges could be obtained; but the difficulty was how to procure them. The Military Commandant was a Captain Smith, who resided at the Officers' quarters at the West end of Bourke Street, and it was proposed that Lieut. Vignolles should rouse up his superior officer and endeavour to procure the needful. But this he point blank refused to do, as the consequences of such an application by him might turn out rather unpleasantly. It was suggested that the meeting should be deferred, but the intending combatants were so intent upon a mutual slaughter that it would not be listened to, and again H—lt—n stepped into the breach, and vowed that sooner than have the fun fall through, he would go and get what was wanted at any risk. Again, the reverse of a "messenger of peace" he sped forth; but this time on foot, and making his way to the mansion of Captain Smith, knocked up that warrior, and obtained an interview. After much hesitation, the captain yielded, and the ambassador had just converted a capacious coat-pocket into a powder magazine, when the Captain's wife, fancying something very wicked was going on under her roof-tree, quietly left her bed, and peeping through a partially-opened door, saw what they were up to. Starting out *en deshabille*, she seized the new-comer by the collar, and commanded him to unpocket what he had so carefully secreted. There was a regular tussle over Tom's pocket, the lady pulling and shaking him a good deal; but, of course, all he could do was to passively resist by holding tight by the magazine, which was so poked and knocked about, as to lead to some apprehension of a blow-up from the friction. However, Tom was determined not to surrender what his wrestler was disposed to regard as contraband of war, and he directed his efforts to retreat towards the doorway through which he jumped, snatching his half-severed coat-tail out of the fair fury's grip, and emerged into the open air, not only with a divided skirt, but rent up to the shoulder-blades. Away he retraced his steps; and now that the pistols and ammunition had been secured, the next thing to be looked up was a surgeon, for they were all positively certain that, so deadly would be the fray, a surgeon's services should be provided. There was then resident in Bourke Street a Mr. D. J. Thomas, a son of Old Cambria, though much more given to talk of the leek than to eat one. No person was better known in the by-gone times than "Dr. Thomas" as a surgeon of considerable skill, and an ardent lover of practical jokes, and so it was that he was called upon to turn out and take the field, which he did without much reluctance. Every obstruction now removed, the party moved off to the convincing ground, a grassy common on the verge of the swamp northwardly adjoining Batman's Hill. By this time it was clear daylight, and

as fine and fresh a summer morning as could be desired. The distance was measured, the pistols primed, and the men placed; but just as the fatal signal was about to be given, Snodgrass, who was always a victim to over-impatience, or ultra excitement on such occasions, so mismanaged his hair-trigger, that it went off too soon; so, instead of slaying his antagonist, he wounded himself in the toe, and came to grief. Ryrie, as a matter of course, could not think of behaving so unhandsomely as to shoot a man down, and forthwith flared up in the air. Thomas was immediately at work with the wounded patient, who, though literally prostrated, was found to have sustained no serious injury. There was no decollation of the stricken member; the nail was gone, the flesh slightly abraded, and the hœmorrhage but minimum. Some lint and bandaging which the surgeon brought in his pocket soon made the warrior right, and he was laid out on the grass, whilst the others, foiled in their fun, resolved to improvise a substitute of some kind, it did not matter much what it might be. There were about a dozen present, and it is no exaggeration to say, taken as a whole, they were more than partially inebriated. They had come there for a special purpose in which they were disappointed; but they were not to be done out of their morning, so there should be a shine, even if some of themselves were to die over it. Several suggestions were made and put aside, until one drunken humourist hiccuped something in effect that as the captain's ammunition was nearly all there, they could not do better than back Dr. Thomas against a tree as a mark for some pistol practice. Thomas, who had a slight impediment in articulation, grew alarmed, and stuttered out a vehement objection. Though a great joker himself, he had no liking to be turned into an Aunt Sally of this kind and experimented on with bullets instead of sticks. A compromise was finally effected by Thomas consenting to allow a new bell-topper he wore to do proxy for himself, and upon this *corpus* nailed to a gum-tree they operated in rotation with the two hair-triggers, until the Smithian cartridges were exhausted, and the medico's head-gear well riddled. Thomas looked with a wry face upon his well potted tile, upon which it was not necessary to have a *post mortem*. The party now thought of returning home, and by the aid of a couple of stout, though unsteady arm-holders, the wounded hero managed to limp, the principal figure in a grotesque procession which made its way in a condition of loud jollification to William Street, for not wishing to show at such an unfashionable hour at the Club, they turned into the "Den" of old Sam previously described, resumed their compotations, and remained there until that period vaguely defined by the phrase known as "all hours." The two principals and the medico have long since "gone under." The seconds are still (1884) in the land of the living—one a settler in Queensland, another in Victoria, where he has served his adopted country in more than one capacity, and is generally accounted to be, if not the wisest, about the best fellow throughout all its length and breadth. And such is the story of the curious and dramatic incidents surrounding the first "affair of honour" in Port Phillip never before printed, and communicated to the writer by one of the two survivors.

The Hawdon Duelling Pistols.

History is silent as to what became of the brace of "bulleteers" referred to in the preceding sketch, and this is to be regretted, for as relics of a banished epoch they were almost as deserving of preservation as the Henty plough or the Fawkner printing press. But though the shooters have sunk into oblivion, it is a remarkable fact that the man who first utilized them in the colony, and on Her Majesty's service, too, is still "alive and kicking" in Melbourne. In 1837, Mr. Joseph Hawdon contracted with the New South Wales Government to convey a mail overland to and from Yass—a portion of the route to Sydney; and the work, then an arduous and dangerous undertaking, was commenced on the 1st January, 1838. The first mailman was John Bourke, a Hawdon *employé*, and before starting the Joseph Hawdon duelling pistols were placed in his hands as a means of defence against the aggressions of possible bushrangers and probable Aboriginal assailants. I have in my possession an autographic account of Bourke's first three months' journeyings, and a marvellous narrative it is. He continued overlanding in this work for a year, during which he rode eleven thousand miles, and must have had a charmed life to have escaped the innumerable dangers which

beset him every league he travelled. I have not heard whether he was ever obliged to use the shooting-irons with effect; but in such an emergency he would be equal to the hair-triggers, for he was a good marksman, and would be more likely to kill or wing an opponent than to "toe" himself, as happened in the first duel described. Thirty years ago John Bourke was a man of means and position in Melbourne, was on terms of special intimacy with Sir (then Mr.) John O'Shanassy, and it was on his repeated suggestions that O'Shanassy, when Chief Secretary, took up and expedited the memorable adventure to be known subsequently and for all time as the "Burke and Wills expedition." In those days of affluence Mr. Bourke little dreamed that the whirligig of time would bring him to the low-water mark of a sub. or super in a Government department; but in his, as in many other cases, the French proverb was verified and the unexpected happened. For years he filled an humble billet in the General Post Office, and being advanced in years his lowly position became precarious. Bourke was superannuated recently (1888), but it was a pity to divorce him, the first Melbourne and Sydney overland mailman, from the Post Office, so long as he was able to render any value for the very moderate wage he received.

The second "affair of honour" was disposed of at the beach close to Sandridge, in February, 1841. The belligerents were the surgeon of a recently arrived immigrant ship, and a Mr. H——l. They were placed at twelve paces, and a pistol handed to each. H——l fired without effect, whilst the other refrained from firing. The *medico* then asked his adversary if he was satisfied, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, proclaimed H——l to be no gentleman. He also demanded to be paid £5 2s. 6d. as damages for the tarring of the mattress and blankets on the voyage out. H——l declined to settle the little bill, and there the matter was allowed to rest. The doctor had been "called out" by the other for using insulting language, provoked by the desecration of the Æsculapian bedding.

One evening in July of the same year a Mr. S——— and a Mr. D. Mc——— formed two of a dinner party at a Melbourne hotel, when the potations being more potent than the Yarra fluid, hot words ensued, and S——— applied an embrocation of steaming whiskey-punch between Mac's eyes. An appeal to arms was a matter of course, and the diners-out adjourned, with some friends, to see it out in the moonbeams at the Flagstaff Hill. Two aimless shots were exchanged, the warriors made it up, and the gathering returned to convivialism, and did not get home till morning, by which time the carousers were all gloriously drunk. *In vino veritas*, and the truth leaked out, amidst much merriment, when the seconds accounted for the bloodless battle by declaring that they had forgotten to put bullets into the pistols. The flash in the pans, however, accomplished as effectual a peace-making as a leaden recipe might have done.

In August, 1841, occurred a hostile meeting, remarkable in consequence of the position attained in after time by the principals. Mr. Peter Snodgrass was by no means the least pugnacious individual of an extinct generation, and it did not take much to get up a *casus belli* with him. Mr. Redmond Barry was a gay and promising young Barrister, and the two were prominent members of the Melbourne Club. Barry had written a letter to a friend, who injudiciously showed it to Snodgrass, about whom it contained some reference, which was deemed to be personally offensive, and a challenge was the consequence. The gage of battle was taken up, the preliminaries were quickly arranged, and in the rawness of a winter's morning the meeting came off by the side of the "sad sea waves," between Sandridge and the present Albert Park Railway Station. Though the weather was the reverse of promising, Barry made his appearance on the ground done up with as much precision as if attending a Vice-regal *levée*. Even then he wore the peculiarly fabricated bell-topper, which a future Melbourne *Punch* was destined to present to the public in illustrated variety; he was strap-trousered, swallow-tail coated, white-vested, gloved, and cravated to a nicety. He even carried his Sir Charles Grandison deportment with him to the pistol's mouth, and never in after years appeared to such grandiose advantage as on this occasion. When they sighted each other at the recognized measurement, before Barry took the firing-iron from his supporter, he placed his hat with much polite tenderness on the green sward near him, ungloved, drew down his spotless wristbands, and saluted his wicked-looking antagonist with a profound obeisance that would do credit to any mandarin that ever learnt salaaming in the

Celestial Empire. Then taking his pistol, and elevating himself into a majestic *pose*, he calmly awaited the word of command. Snodgrass fussed and fidgetted a good deal—not from the nervousness of fear, for he was as brave as an English bull-dog, but rather from a desire to have the thing over with as little ceremonial nonsense as possible, for he was Barry's antithesis as a student of the proprieties. It was his over-eagerness on such occasions that caused his duelling to eventuate more than once in a *fiasco*, and unfitted him for the tender handling of hair-trigger pistols. By a laughable coincidence, the present "engagement" was terminated in a manner almost precisely similar to what happened at the duel of the year before, when a hair-trigger prematurely went off. The same kind of fire-arm was now in use, and just as the shooting-signal was about to go forth, the pistol held by Snodgrass, getting the start, was by some inadvertence discharged too soon, whereat Barry at once magnanimously fired in the air. Little could either of the duellers foresee what futurity had in store for both. The one grew into the esteemed and popular forensic Advocate, and on to the eminent and universally-valued Judge; whilst the other, in the following year, was a gallant capturer of bushrangers, and ended his career as an active Member of Parliament, and a voluble if not eloquent Chairman of Committees in the Legislative Assembly.

In 1842 Mr. F. A. Powlett, a Commissioner of Crown Lands, quarrelled with Mr. A Hogue, a merchant, concerning one of the many entanglements into which the commercial affairs of the well-known Mr. F. A. Rucker were involved, and there was a challenge in consequence. The well-known Mr. C. H. Ebden was Hogue's second, and the meeting was held under the hill at Newmarket, near Flemington. There were two exchanges of shots, an evidence that mischief was meant; yet no injury was sustained by either side, if Hogue's coat be excepted, through which Powlett sent a ball each time.

Mr. Skene Craig had charge for a time of the first branch of the Commissariat Department established in Port Phillip. He subsequently joined Mr. A. A. Broadfoot in mercantile pursuits, and the firm of Craig and Broadfoot occupied a displayed place in the old *Directories*. Once they happened to have quarrelled over a matter not immediately connected with the counting-house, and C. challenged B. They met at three o'clock on a fine summer morning on the northern slope of Batman's Hill, and at the urgent request of one of them, who firmly believed he should be winged or otherwise maimed, Dr. W. H. Campbell was in attendance for any surgical operations that might be impending; but luckily his services were not called into requisition. Craig discharged his pistol at the other without hitting him, and Broadfoot returned the fire by aiming at the moon, which happened to be quietly and sadly looking down on their harmless folly. A reconciliation was without much difficulty effected, and ratified at a champagne breakfast given by Broadfoot, which was shared in by the principals, seconds, half-a-dozen extra official friends, and of course "the doctor."

"Putting on jam," a phrase of modern slang, and increasing in popularity, has a very different meaning from the manner in which that much appreciated conserve was applied on the occasion of a duel professed to be fought forty-five years ago (1843). There was then in the colony the cadet of a noble Scotch family, known as "the Honourable Gilbert Kennedy," who, though afflicted with lameness, was nevertheless sufficiently "game" to be in almost every mischief that happened within miles of his whereabouts. On the occasion now written of he got up a "tiff" with a Mr. George Demoulin, more for fun than other reason, and lost no time in challenging him. Demoulin was something of the "softie," and it was arranged that he should be the subject of a soft practical joke, which would have no more disastrous effect than the loud laugh it would raise at the expense of the individual operated on. A harmless arrangement was entered into by Kennedy and the two seconds, that Demoulin's pistol should be charged with powder only, and Kennedy's with powder and jam, which was accordingly done. The meeting came off soon after sunrise, on a wide open space, near the junction of Lonsdale and Spencer Streets, and all concerned, with half-a-dozen outsiders in the secret, put in a punctual appearance. So far as Demoulin was aware, it was to be a deadly struggle fought at close quarters, and consequently the warriors were stationed at only a few paces from each other. They were both accounted good shots, and one of them at least had but slight hope of either or both of them withdrawing from the strife without loss of

life, or most certainly being maimed. On the word being given both pistols were discharged, and behaved as well as they could under the circumstances, that of Demoulin's going off and doing nothing more, whilst Kennedy's went home to the point towards which it was directed. Kennedy took cool steady aim at his opponent's head, and the jam cartridge landed on his forehead, scattering over the bridge of his nose and eyes, the unusual effect so alarming him that he sang out his brains were blinding him. He did not fall, but was in such a terrible state of alarm that it was some time before he could be made sensible of the fact that his cranium was unbroken, and he still retained in his head as much brains as that upper storey was ever furnished with. On clearly comprehending the trick played on him, he was very wroth, but could not long withstand the peals of merriment by which he was encircled, so he yielded with good grace to the spirit of the time, and joined heartily in the laughter evoked at his expense. The young sparks who embarked in the wild frolics of the period were generally well educated at high class schools in the old country, and a knowledge of the grand dead languages of Rome and Greece was not unfamiliar to them. In an outburst of exhilaration the *sobriquet* of "Jam Satis" was conferred by some classic humourist on Demoulin, who, however, never could take kindly to it.

When medical men appear on a battle-field it is generally in a professional capacity, in the hope that the fortune of war may turn up something in the way of a surgical operation; but an amusing exception to this rule occurred in Melbourne in 1845. The official leader of the then Port Philip Bar was Mr. James Croke, a sour-looking, rough-faced, irascible though well-meaning man, whose years had landed him in the stage of the "sere and yellow leaf." Amongst the secondary grade of the legal profession was an even sourer-faced Attorney, Mr. James Hunter Ross, as straight as a lamp-post, and as hard-visaged as if his figure-head had been carved out of a block of granite. Croke was Irish, and Ross was Scotch, and one day they were both retained on opposite sides in a Supreme Court suit before Mr. Justice Therry. In the progress of the cause some interjectional remark of the Attorney riled the easily disturbed temperament of the Barrister, who, turning furiously on the other, told him "that he had trumped up the case for his own benefit," which so irritated the usually unruffled Caledonian that for the moment he had some notion of bringing his affronter rather unceremoniously to the "floor of the Court." The good-tempered Judge was quick to note the brewing storm, and with his accustomed tact made some remark which had the effect of turning it off. Croke, as quick in forgetting as provoking, thought no more of the occurrence; but not so Ross, who quitted the place in terrible dudgeon, and resolving in his mind that Croke had not heard the last of it. The next day Dr. Thomas Black, who resided in Lonsdale Street, received a communication from Ross, conveying a wish to see him at his earliest convenience. Black lost no time in complying, and on arriving at Ross's found him in a state of intense excitement, pacing up and down the room. Without waiting to be questioned he roared out, "I have been grossly insulted by old Croke, and I wrote to him to say that I shall call him out if he does not apologize, and he won't do so. I wish you would see him, and say from me that unless he sends an ample apology he will have to do the other thing." Dr. Black accepted the commission of "a friend" with the intention of doing the peace-maker if he positively could, and for this purpose he betook himself to Mr. Croke's house in William Street. "Old Croke," who was making ready for dinner, met him in his shirt sleeves, and when informed of the object of the mission, stared with astonishment, and exclaimed, "Insult Ross, do you say? God bless my soul, my good fellow, such an idea was the furtherest from my thoughts. Why, man alive, the thing is preposterous!" After some further conversation Croke again vociferated, "Apologize! I apologize? Why, man, I never could think of apologizing for anything I do in the discharge of my official duty. If Ross thinks I meant to offend him, I am very sorry, for we have met in each other's houses. What I said was in a public capacity, and if it gave offence I regret it; but to think of sending an apology to Ross, I never could do anything of the sort." Dr. Black asked if Croke would authorize him to say to Ross that he (Croke) was sorry Ross should have taken offence at what had been said, but that he (Croke) declined to apologize for anything said or done by him in a public capacity. Whereupon the other responded, "Oh! most certainly, you may do so if you like," and here ended the interview. Black

next sought the irate Ross, and with the oil of a persuasive tongue so salved the lawyer's wounded dignity that he expressed himself as being "thoroughly satisfied." On the day after, Judge Therry visited Black and thanked him cordially for the trouble he had taken in arranging the unpleasant difference that occurred in Court. He added that having learned something of an intended hostile meeting, he had recourse to measures that would have prevented such being carried into effect, but he was thankful to Dr. Black for having relieved him from what would have been, under the circumstances, an extremely disagreeable duty.

In March, 1845, a comical rumpus occurred between two gentlemen in the Commission of the Peace. A meeting of Territorial Magistrates was being held at the Police Office, to consider the propriety of a separation of the town and district business, which, up to that time, had been transacted in the Court-house, whereby detriment and inconvenience were entailed upon suitors. Amongst those in attendance were Mr. Edward Curr, the political Nestor of the province, and Dr. George Playne, a fashionable, youthful Club Physician. By the term "Club" it is not meant to convey that Playne was what is known as a "Club Doctor," attending the invalid members of a Benefit Society, for a dole hardly sufficient to find the medical attendant in boots, but an *habitué* of the Melbourne Club, having plenty of money to spend, and knowing how to spend it. Whilst Curr was addressing the Chair, Playne contemptuously ejaculated the remark "paltry," whereupon Curr turned round, and looking his interrupter sternly in the face, declared "it was time he was taught to use the language of a gentleman." Playne boiled up with indignation, but with much difficulty kept his choler bottled until ten o'clock next morning, when he uncorked it in the form of a challenge to the other, which was entrusted for delivery to Mr. John Carre Riddell, who waited upon Curr and presented a written mandate, requesting an apology or the alternative to name a friend. Curr declining point blank to do either, was, for his contumacy, posted at the Club. The following day he quietly repaired to the Police Court, and had Playne bound to the peace. Curr subsequently addressed a long letter to the newspapers, in which he elaborately vindicated himself from accepting the challenge, and certainly for reasons, the sound good sense and logic of which it would be difficult to controvert. He considered himself more than justified in not "going out" with his challenger, because Playne was simply "a Bachelor Justice," and known only as the Secretary to the Club, whereas he (Curr) was "an ancient patriarch of the land," with fourteen children under his roof, to be provided for; and furthermore, he was of such bodily bulk, that any person capable of drawing a trigger could hardly, by any possibility, miss him. The conditions, domestic and corporeal between himself and Playne were so different, that no cowardice could fairly be attributed to him for declining a battle so unequal. The good sense of the Curr manifesto was so irresistible, that its writer secured the sympathies of the public, and after the Doctor had passed through a lively ordeal of laughing and chaffing, all recollection of his unprovoked indiscretion quickly passed away.

A very amusing attempt to vindicate the offended dignity of wounded honour occurred, although I am unable to state the precise day or year, but it was probably in 1845, or thereabout. Mr. Synnott disposed of a station at the Anakies, near Geelong, to a Mr. Frederick Griffin, and amongst the chattels to be taken over, according to the Griffian notion of the bargain, were some poultry. This was disputed by the vendor, and the vendee, determining that he would not be victimized by what he considered rather "foul" play, incontinently challenged the other to mortal combat. Now, Griffin was as much of a fire-eater as the other was a fire-hater; the one vowed "he'd pepper the other," and this other was thrown into an awful funk that more than half killed him. If there was a thing in the world he dreaded, it was a pistolling encounter, and what on earth he was to do he did not know. Of course, he could, if he wished, decline to meet the other, but to be publicly pilloried as a coward was only next to being shot, for he was not in heart a craven; though overwhelmed by a species of nervousness, almost indistinguishable from fear. The seconds were nominated, and in the course of the preparatory arrangements, from what they had ascertained of the perturbed state of the Synnott mind, they were led to believe that it would be an absolute impossibility to bring the second man to the scratch, if the meeting were to be a *bonâ-fide* one. Under such exceptionable circumstances it occurred to them that a ruse would not only be excusable, but justifiable, and they consequently

agreed that the pistols should be charged with powder only. An assurance to this effect was imparted to Synnott, and considerably pacified him, but Griffin was to be kept in the dark. The sham battle came off at the Little River, where Griffin put in an appearance, cool and determined, and confident, that for him, at all events, it should be no bloodless or barren victory. Synnott, though having the fullest confidence in the promise given by the seconds, was shaking with apprehension, in fact, almost unmanned by the most dreadful of apprehensions, the shadowy nature of which he could not bring himself to steadily look at. The men were placed, a bulletless pistol handed to each, and the ominous word "fire" sung out. Griffin did his part, as he thought, with unerring effect; but was perfectly astounded at what he saw before him, viz., his antagonist with his "unmentionables" on fire about his lower extremities. The fact was that the shooting signal so paralysed all muscular action in Synnott that his pistol hand, instead of extending, dropped to his thigh, the piece exploded, and the powder igniting his trousers, the whole affair was simply turned into one of blazes. No serious injury was, however, suffered, for by prompt aid, the conflagration, which had not time to make much head-way, was fortunately extinguished without trouble or danger. Griffin rubbed his eyes, and could scarcely credit what he beheld before him. There was his foe, not standing, but prancing about, and his own aim was taken at such an altitude that it could never have descended to such meanness as to shin the man whom he was bent on either killing or winging. A light suddenly broke upon his mind and he became convinced that he had been in some way or other (how he did not yet guess) shabbily tricked, and he made up his mind to have the mystery quickly solved. Confronting the two seconds he declared he should forthwith challenge and shoot them both unless they told "the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," and as there was nothing for it but an open confession, the circumstances attending the concoction of the humane, and in every sense, harmless hoax, were frankly detailed. Griffin was in an awful pelter for a while, and could not be mollified, but at length, whatever sense of the ludicrous was in him, broke out, and the whole affair was so irresistibly funny, that it could end in no other way than good humour, the effects of which swept all the bitterness of the poultry away, and the incident was only remembered to be heartily laughed at whenever mentioned, not only for many a year after, but even by old colonists in the present day.

About 10 a.m. on 27th June, 1846, two gentlemen, blankly known as A—— and C——, rode up to the *Pier Hotel* at Sandridge, and asked for a cup of tea. The harmless beverage was given and drank, after which the strangers intimated that they were only out for an airing, and cantered away as if bound for St. Kilda. They were not long gone when a Mr. H—— appeared in a stanhope, and started off after the others, who joined him at a short distance in the bush. A suspicious-looking individual, name not known, next showed, and stated that he was on the look-out for one of Liardet's boats, and lounged up and down on the sand. The Hon. Gilbert Kennedy next galloped up, and passing on, the whole group assembled in the scrub near the head of the lagoon, where it became so evident to the few Sandridge-ites then in existence that mischief was brewing, that a courier was forthwith despatched to town to inform the police of the harm that was in the wind. Meanwhile a hostile meeting was hastily gone through at the lagoon, Kennedy and C—— being the principals, and A—— and H—— the seconds. Shots were exchanged without any harm, an explanation ensued, all was over, and the ground was speedily cleared. The engagement originated in a quarrel over a game of cards at a Melbourne hotel, on the previous night. In an hour or so after Chief-Constable Sugden and Sergeant Rose of the Mounted Police came tearing down from town, but only in time to learn some exaggerated intelligence of the shindy they were in such a hurry to prevent.

In 1846, Messrs. Alexander Sprot and William Campbell (not the so long well-known "Honourable" of that ilk), two settlers in the Western District, had some verbal altercation, in the course of which Campbell accused Sprot of having slandered him, and Sprot challenged the other in return. Sprot's friend was a Captain Adams, Campbell's a Mr. R. Crawfurd, and it was arranged that the fight should take place in the neighbourhood of Belfast, but it got bruited abroad, and the authorities had initiated measures to prevent it. The parties then agreed to outwit the police by going out of the colony, and cross the border into South Australia, and this was done without

delay. The meeting was to come off at a spot indicated at the river Glenelg, an the 27th June. It was previously understood that Adams, as the challenger's friend, should provide fire-arms, but through his inability to procure proper duelling pistols, he was forced to do with common pocket pistols of such an inferior description that the seconds experienced considerable difficulty in properly loading them. On Campbell being handed his he looked at it with contempt, and sneeringly observed "that it would be the merest farce to fight with such ridiculously miserable things." When the word was given, Campbell's piece merely snapped, and Sprot's with a struggling effort, barely managed to go off, but do nothing more. Campbell was then asked to withdraw the offensive expression which had provoked all the trouble; but he would do nothing of the sort, and preparations were being made for a second round, when Adams gravely declared that as there was no medical man in attendance, he should withdraw his principal from the field. In this determination he persisted, and the four companions re-crossed the boundary line, and returned home, after riding four hundred miles for the most miserable flash in the pan imaginable. A newspaper war followed, and columns of original correspondence were printed in acrimonous vindication of the circumstances under which such a ridiculous farce was brought about.

On the last day of October, 1849, there was a merry-making party at the *Prince of Wales Hotel*, then a fashionable rendezvous in the eastern quarter of Little Flinders Street; and in the course of the enjoyment, a Dr. F—— and a Dr. T—— got up an altercation which was "seen out" the following morning on the then unpopulated Collingwood Flat near to the present Abbotsford Convent. Shots were exchanged, and T—— received F——'s ball through his hat, and had a rather narrow shave of being brained, for some of a not over-luxuriant crop of hair was singed across the crown of his pate. This was considered quite a satisfactory result, and a thorough reconciliation ensued.

About 4 o'clock on the morning of 11th December, 1850, a duel was unexpectedly prevented at Emerald Hill. A Mr. John Allan, from the Pyrenees, was staying at the *Prince of Wales*, and another country settler, named Purcell, was quartered at the *Port Phillip Club Hotel*. Allan was examined as a witness in a trial in which the other was concerned, and his evidence was so displeasing to Purcell that it led to a dispute, and thence proceeded to a challenge. Arrangements were in train on the hill summit, but the fun was spoiled by the appearance of Chief-Constable Bloomfield, with a half a dozen subordinates, and warrants were issued for the arrest of the principals, who were confined in the magisterial retiring-room, when Purcell thrust an offensively-worded note at Allan's face, with an accompaniment of a coarse and opprobrious nature. Allan refusing the cartel, was struck by Purcell with a whip, and a scuffle followed, in the course of which Mr. Frank Stephen, as mediator, experienced a practical exemplification of the aphorism that

> "Those who in quarrels interpose
> Will often wipe a bloody nose,"

For though his nose remained intact, Purcell administered a header, which stove in the lawyer's hat, and momentarily astonished the wearer, who, however, lost no time in recovering himself and pitching into Purcell with a will, treating him to what is known as the "hand and foot trick," and levelling him. The Police Court idlers were now in their glory, a crowd had by this time collected, and a ring was being formed for a continuance of the exhibition, when the police interfered, and Purcell was secured. The intercepted duellists were subsequently bound in heavy bonds to keep the peace for six months. Stephen having repaid what he got with much more than an usurer's interest, took no further action for the battering of his bell-topper, and it would have been better for Allan if he had allowed the squabble to remain where it was; but he took it into the Supreme Court, where the assault cause of Allan *v.* Purcell was tried on 10th March, 1851, when the jury awarded a farthing damages, in addition to £10 paid into Court. Such was Judge A'Beckett's opinion of the transaction that he refused to certify for costs.

Here end my gleanings in the traditional stubble-field where the "Wild Oats" were sown, when Port Phillip little dreamed of the golden future which the *Parcæ* had in reserve for her.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE AGE OF GOLD: ITS BIRTH, AND EARLY DEVELOPMENTS.

SYNOPSIS:—Early Prospectors and Prospecting.—Mirabilis Annus.—Gold in the Pyrenees.—The First Gold Buyer.—The First Gold Proclamation.—The First License Regulations.—The First Gold Exhibits.—The First Ballarat Licenses.—Further Regulatians.—The First Government Escort.—Its Arrival.—The First Melbourne Coach.—Ballarat in its Glory.—The Stampede from Melbourne.—A Journalistic Collapse.—A Busy Day.—The Straits of Trade.—The Doctor's Procession to the Diggings.—The Mount Alexander Gold Field.—The First Melbourne Gold Circular.—Attempt to Start a Newspaper.—Finding of the Several Gold Fields.—Doubling the License Fee.—Doing the Doctor.—The State of Melbourne.

GOLD, defined as "the purest and most ductile of all the metals," was in all ages deemed the the most valuable. Its possible discovery was the dream of the ancient voyagers, and whether they adventured north or south, east or west, hope waved a golden symbol before their eyes, and all their perils by sea or land were illumined by an ardent expectation that the attainment of untold golden treasures would constitute not the least of their rewards In California, which was ultimately instrumental in precipitating the unearthing of the auriferous riches of Australia, gold was found by some Spanish officers in 1539, and forty years later (1579), after Sir Francis Drake took possession of the country in the name of Queen Elizabeth, in an account of his discovery, he declared "that there is no part of the earth here to be taken up wherein there is not some probable show of gold or silver." Two-hundred and seventy-two years later still, the first gold-seekers at Ballarat used the same words as to the abundance of the gold indications, but much more unqualified as to quantity. The first Australian gold "discoverer" was an impostor amongst the first batch of convicts arriving at Sydney. With two or three brass buckles and a guinea, he manufactured some specimens of gold ore, which he announced as having been found by him amongst the pebbles in a creek a few miles away, and on the strength of such good luck, endeavoured to obtain clothes and provisions from the Government store, as the reward of his enterprise. The allegation was investigated, the deceit detected, and the fellow was flogged for his fraud. A few years afterwards the same man was hanged for a graver offence.

In 1837, a convict assigned servant, employed as a shepherd at Bathurst, declared that he had found some gold specimens in the bush; but, as he was unable to produce them, and had no corroborative testimony, it was assumed he was not a truth-teller, and a twenty-five lash castigation was the reward of his temerity.

The likelihood of the Australian continent containing extensive gold deposits was known more than thirty years before they became a grand reality—Count Strelecki, who spent some time in Port Phillip, and made himself quite at home amongst all its mountain-ranges, its valleys, rivers and water-courses, prepared a very valuable Report upon the geology of the then most remote portions of the country. This document was presented to the House of Commons in March, 1841, and the following extracts possess a special interest as bearing on the subject of this chapter:—

"The country between the Murray and Lake Omeo" (he wrote) "shows on an extensive scale the primitive and secondary rocks; a gillite and quartz rock on one side, to the east; old red-sandstone, with conglomerates, on the other, to the west.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

"Indications of simple minerals and ores appear, indicative of such being buried beneath, hardly however, worth the trouble of seeking for."

With reference to Gippsland, the Report proceeded—

"Economical mineralogists may derive from the examination of the rocks of the dividing ranges, traces of ores hidden by still unexplored chains from the eye of the traveller."

Further on there is this intimation :—

"An auriferous sulphuret of iron, yielding a small quantity of gold, sufficient to attest its presence, but insufficient to repay its extraction, as existing generally throughout New South Wales."

This Report was concurred in by Sir Roderick Murchison, the eminent geologist, who referred to it in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institute of Great Britain. In 1847, Sir Roderick, in a letter to Sir C. Lemon, printed in the *Philosophical Magazine*, expresses a belief "that auriferous alluvia would be found at the base of the Western flanks of the dividing ranges."

It appears, from the evidence given by the Rev. W. B. Clarke, before a Select Committee of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, that as far back as 1841, he discovered gold in the monntainous country to the west of the Vale of Clwyd; that in 1843, he spoke to many persons of the abundance of gold likely to be found in Australia; that in 1844, he exhibited a sample of gold in quartz to the then Governor, Sir George Gipps, to Mr. J. P. Robinson, then member of the Legislative Council for Melbourne, to Mr. Justice Therry, and to several other persons; but, that the subject was not followed up, "as much from the considerations of the penal character of the colony, as from the general ignorance of the value of such an indication."

It is difficult to assign with certainty, anything like a precise date to the period when the Melbournians had the first intimation of the probability of the existence of the precious metal in Port Phillip. In 1851, Mr. Jackson, for years resident at St. Kilda, met in Hobart Town, William Buckley, the "Wild White Man," the runaway convict from the Collins' Convict Expedition of 1803, who consorted for over thirty years with the Aborigines, and it was asserted by Buckley that gold abounded in the Capé Otway Ranges, and he could point out where it was to be found; but little attention was paid to the statement, for at the time the air was darkened by rumours of the existence of gold in several places.

In 1841, two persons, named Armstrong and Sharp, were reported to have discovered small quantities of gold, both at the Plenty Ranges and the Pyrenees, which they had forwarded for testing and sale to Launceston, and receiving no return, they were discouraged from further searchings.

In 1842, it was communicated to Captain Lonsdale, the Sub-Treasurer, that an old fellow known as "Gum" was mysteriously engaged in supposed gold workings in a secluded nook of the Plenty Ranges. Some troopers were despatched to beat up his quarters, as gold-hunting without proper authorization was then an offence punishable both criminally and civilly. "Gum" was found at home, taking his ease, but no gold was found on him, though the hut contained an old pair of bellows and two dilapidated crucibles—strong circumstantial evidence in themselves, but of no account when uncorroborated by collateral testimony. "Gum" was rather surprised, but not much disconcerted by the visit. He quietly told the police he was an honest man, who earned a livelihood by doing odd jobs of fencing, and hunting for lyre birds and other saleable live stock to be procured in the adjacent forests. The recluse of the Plenty came to be known as "Gum, the Gold-hunter," though the manner in which he carried on his craft as a gold-worker could never be found out. His den was at the head of the river, primitive in construction and unique in design. A huge gum tree came to grief from the combined effects of bush fires and tempests. A portion of the trunk remained standing, and the burnt part was scooped out by the aid of adze and axe, the space between it and some boughs was covered in with bark, and two apartments were formed, one to serve as kitchen and residence, the second as *cubiculum*, store-room, and laboratory. Once a quarter the solitary inhabitant, with a small wallet slung on his back, journeyed into Melbourne, got rid of his burden, and returned with a stock of supplies. He had come to Port Phillip from Van Diemen's Land, was a quiet, steady-going, taciturn individual, who minded his business (whatever it was), and spoke little with anyone. His wallet was supposed to be a golden one, and whoever was the recipient of his smelted wares, kept the secret well.

One day in March, 1847, a shepherd entered the shop of Mr. Forrester, a jeweller, in Collins Street, and exhibited some metal which he desired to have tested. It was a sample as big as an average apple, and the shepherd thought it was copper. He said he had found it amongst the roots of a tree blown down by the wind at a place some sixty miles from Melbourne, where there was plenty more of it; but the precise whereabouts he declined to disclose. Forrester applied some tests, when the specimen proved to be a veritable golden apple, inasmuch as it contained sixty-five per cent. of pure gold. Forrester became its possessor, and the shepherd left, promising to soon return with a larger quantity, but for some never-discoverable reason did not keep his word. There happened to be in Melbourne at the time a well-known Captain Clinch, master of the "Flying Fish," a popular craft which traded between Melbourne and Hobart Town, with whom Forrester was on terms of intimacy, and he presented Clinch with a slice of the "golden apple," but to newspapers only did he appear to have imparted any intelligence of his transaction with the shepherd. Upon Clinch returning to Hobart Town, he was more open-minded than the Melbourne jeweller, for he communicated the facts as I have detailed them to the *Hobart Town Courier*, and it was the receipt of that journal of the 19th May, 1847, which informed the Melbourne newspapers that gold was indigenous to Port Phillip, but the whole thing was treated as a hoax.

No further gold intelligence turned up for more than a year, when in July, 1848, another shepherd put in an appearance with a paper of what he declared to be gold dust, gathered as he protested under a tree only a few miles out of town, but the locality he would not name. On examination the sample did contain a small proportion of gold.

About the same time a shepherd boy called at the shop of Mr. Robe, a jeweller in Collins Street, and displayed some gold, which he alleged had been found by him at the Pyrenees, but it was a very poor specimen.

In the course of this same year a shepherd employed on the Station of Dr. William Barker, at Mount Alexander, found in a gully some particles of what was most probably gold, though they were thought to be iron or copper. He kept them for some days, when a man named Fryer (after whom the well known Fryer's Creek was subsequently named) in the course of a land-hunting excursion dropped into the finder's hut, and was shown the discovery. He so joked the man about his supposed treasure that the shepherd rushed out in a rage, and flung his specimens away.

In January, 1849, the startling intelligence of the golden wonders of California created an intense sensation in Melbourne, and there was a partial exodus to the El Dorado. Ships were laid on at once for San Francisco, industrious and well-to-do artizans broke up their homes, scattered their household goods, and hied away over the seas—many of them like people who make a hasty marriage, repenting in leisure the speed with which they jumped from certainty to uncertainty, and in some cases something much worse. The Melbourne journals remonstrated vainly against such imprudent expeditions, and one of them thus grandiloquently wound up a long and laboured stay-at-home exhortation:—

"The golden fleece of our pastures, waving fields of golden grain, and the golden oil obtainable from our seas, are the true gold for us, bringing happiness and content to the producers; while an interminable thirst for the precious metal, which can only be assuaged by the sacrifices of all pastoral and agricultural pursuits, must render the people wretched and debased, and the country a desert."

It was during the same month of January that another shepherd boy, named Thomas Chapman, made his appearance at the shop of Mr. Charles Brentani, another Collins Street jeweller, and showed some samples of a metal, picked up by him in his wanderings through a ravine in the ranges of the Pyrenees, where he was employed shepherding. On examination it occurred to Brentani that the metal was gold; but as two heads were better than one he consulted with a Mr. Duchene, an assayist, and after due testing the specimens were pronounced to be unmistakably gold of the best quality. On a further consideration it was resolved that Duchene and the lad should return to the Pyrenees, when the latter was to point out where he had found the metal. He was to be liberally rewarded; Duchene and Brentani were then to take further steps to work the wealth believed to

be within easy reach, and henceforth everything was to prosper in the most agreeable manner.

From this starting-point of our early gold questings the current of events runs through an uneven and occasionally unreliable channel. Reticence, exaggeration, and not unfrequently falsehood, as it suited the whims or personal interest of the individual concerned, stamped the intelligence presented to the public; and even this, such as it was, leaped out in fits and starts through the local newspapers, and at times took a private trip to Sydney, through the Press of which city it made its way circuitously back to Melbourne. Anything like a lucidly consecutive narrative cannot be given, and this *précis* will present the several details in the order of time in which they were submitted to the public, who simply read and wondered, believed and disbelieved, but were almost unanimous in a firm conviction that sooner or later "something would turn up."

Duchene, and the lad Chapman, started for the Pyrenees, and returned after an absence of some days, when Duchene declared they had found auriferous indications in abundance, and extending over a large area of country. If he could be believed, he brought back with him about £100 worth of ore. Brentani, Forrester, and Duchene formed a second expedition, and after proceeding some miles they had a disagreement on the Keilor Plains, which led to Duchene's secession and return to Melbourne on the 30th January. He forthwith indulged in what is known as "drawing the long bow," and treated the newspapers to some dazzling revelations of his first trip, previously kept back. The gold he described as being in abundance, and of a quality superior to any he had ever before worked. The value of what he had seen was actually incalculable. There was one tract of country, five miles in extent, on every yard of which there were indications of gold. He picked up one nugget, weighing 2 lb. 3 oz., which yielded 90 per cent. of the precious metal. It was a lump interspersed with a few quartz pebbles.

On 1st February, a bush-hand—said to be an adult shepherd, interviewed Mr. Robert Cadden, the Clerk of the District Police Court, and offered to make affidavit that five weeks before in traversing the country he found some dust, and a few small specimens which he was sure were gold. These he was unable to produce or account for, and where he met with them he refused to say. He was a man of simple appearance, but his dress and manner caused his statement to be discredited.

Brentani returned on the 2nd February, tired with what had turned out "a wild-goose chase." He penetrated to within seventeen miles of the Pyrenees, where nothing like what they were in quest of was to be found; and whilst the shepherd boy was undergoing a talking-to for misleading, he dashed into the bush and vanished. After waiting some time for his appearance, Melbourne was re-sought without him.

The next day, worked upon by the many Pyreneean rumours flying about as numerous and disquieting as a swarm of mosquitoes, a well-equipped party of half-a-dozen amateurs started from town at an early hour, resolved to explore the whole Pyrenees or perish in the attempt. Unfortunately they overdid it in their desire to have things comfortable on the march, and with this intent were accompanied by a dray laden with supplies. The "supplies," however, included a six gallon measure of brandy, which was broached ere they were half-a-dozen miles away, and the result was that half of them returned heavily intoxicated to Melbourne, whilst the residue after a two days' further jollification were ashamed to come back, and resumed their journey on the 5th. A little further progress quickly knocked them up, and under the darkness of a hot-wind night, they sneaked back like tame mice after their companions.

It soon oozed out that no one save the boy (Chapman) had any knowledge of the golden locality. He was believed to be in the service of Messrs. Hall and M'Neil, two settlers, squatted near Burnbank, and to have found the gold near or at a place known as the Doctor's Creek. He had disposed of 22 ozs. to Brentani, and 24 ozs. to Duchene. As to the supposed findings of the latter they were put down as spiteful "buncomb" to annoy Brentani and his friends. As to the boy no one could glean any tidings of him. Some were so uncharitable as to hint that he had met with foul play, and others that he had levanted from the province.

The greatest interest was now abroad in Melbourne, for nothing was talked about save Gold! Gold! Gold everywhere—in the family circle as at the street corner, in the Melbourne groggery as

at the Melbourne Club. People were beginning to be affected by gold on the brain; and to calm public excitement the Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe) ordered Sergeant Rennie to take six black troopers with him and be off to explore the Pyrenees. Away they rode amidst a shower of good wishes for their success. During their absence another Pyreneean shepherd arrived in town. About gold he had no knowledge whatever; but as to the "vamoosed boy" he knew him well from the descriptions given; though all he knew of him was that he was called "Tommy," and was a Pentonville "exile."

Search parties now grew numerous, in twos, and threes, and more; but wherever they went they were dogged by the mounted police. On one occasion, towards the end of February, one of the parties fired some long grass to interrupt the police *surveillance*, and thereby caused an extensive bush conflagration. Now and then a wayfarer would exhibit in Melbourne a piece of quartz with just the smell of gold adhering to it, but by some strange singularity nothing tangible could ever be ascertained as to where these gold-smelling relics were found.

Sergeant Rennie and his black patrol returned as news-empty as they went, for they saw and found nothing of the substance so ardently longed for. For want of something to say they put in circulation absurd rumours about the parties who had professed to find gold being merely thieves who had stolen it in specie, then melted it, and taking it to the bush to avoid possible detection, brought it back to town, pretending to have found it. But gullible as the public mouth often is this *canard* was too big a bone to be swallowed.

In March some curious disclosures found their way into print anent the runaway "Tommy," who was declared to have decamped to Sydney, where he was retained as a servant in an hotel. It was now averred upon his authority that his disappearance from Port Phillip had been caused by Duchene and Brentani having threatened him with a criminal prosecution if he could not succeed in finding for them the place were he picked up the gold. This so frightened him as to make him cut their acquaintance. As to gold-finding, one day he came upon some samples, the appearance of which he much liked, and had planted them for safe keeping. The next day he was shifted to another part of the run, but carried his hidden valuables with him, and had thence come to Melbourne without revisiting the first place, but he knew its whereabouts well. It was about 120 miles from Melbourne. On reaching town he showed Brentani his find, and bartered 24 ozs., valued at £60, with him for five shirts, a coat, pair of braces, and £20. Duchene paid him £8 for about 14 ozs., and Brentani offered him £200 to point out the gold-bearing spot, but he refused.

Such is the version of the Chapman-*cum*-Brentani golden episode, as collated in piecemeal from the Melbourne newspapers. The Press at the time laboured under infinite difficulty in obtaining full and explicit information from the parties mainly interested, and as I would not wittingly do an injustice to the memory of Mr. Brentani by the insertion of uncorrected possible inaccuracies, I append Mrs. Brentani's version of the interesting event, extracted from a letter written by her in the *Argus* controversy already referred to:—

"My husband, the late Charles Brentani, and I settled in Melbourne in the year 1845. He carried on business as a jeweller in premises in Collins Street West, near Queen Street, and subsequently he removed to the premises now occupied by Messrs. Berghoff and Touzel, as tobacconists. In the month of May, 1849, a shepherd, then aged about twenty-two, entered our shop, and asked me to buy a lump of yellow metal weighing between 12 ozs. and 13 ozs. I did not then know the value of the article, but handed it to a Mr. Garrow, one of our *employés*, who tested it, assisted by a Mr. Forrester, who was a working-jeweller in our employ. They told me it was gold. My husband was away at Geelong at the time on business, and I did not know the metal's worth, but pending his return I made him a small advance, and my husband afterwards paid him the balance. This shepherd was Thomas Chapman, a native of Whitechapel, London, and he told me that he found the gold under the following circumstances:—He was employed at the time on Messrs. Hall and M'Neil's station, Daisy Hill. One Sunday morning in the month of May, while at a creek watering his sheep, he saw the sun shining on the nugget which was sticking out of the bank of the creek, and he later on in the day returned and took it away with him and brought it to Melbourne. On my husband's

return he questioned Chapman about the place where he found the gold, and he volunteered to show Mr. Brentani and some friends the place. A party was accordingly made up, consisting of some five or six friends. About three days after they had started, Thomas Chapman, to my surprise, returned alone, and gave as his reason that he was afraid of the foreigners, and had given them the slip. He said he wished to go to Sydney, where he had friends, and he proceeded there by a steamer, the "Shamrock," I believe. A rumour got abroad that Chapman had been made away with, and met an untimely end. I never again heard of him until 1874. In that year, he having heard that my daughter, Mrs. Sabelberg, was living at St. Kilda, called at my son-in-law's house, and my daughter sent for me to see him. Although time and privation had left their traces, I remembered him at once, and to make quite sure I asked him several questions relating to incidents of his early life, which he answered without hesitation. Although in Australia during its palmy days, fortune had not smiled upon him, as he was poor, feeble, and apparently in ill-health. I helped him in a small way, and he afterwards proceeded to a station owned by Mr. Buckley, of the firm of Buckley and Nunn, where he obtained employment, and very shortly afterwards I heard of his death."

In May it was reported that a fencer named Nial had discovered auriferous indications in Gippsland, and had secured a piece of gold as big as a man's hand. In November, some young men, hailing from the Pyrenees, were in Belfast, and exhibited some gold specimens, which, they said, had been found between some rocks on the banks of a creek.

Nothing noticeable transpired for several months, until the April of 1850, when another Pyreneean shepherd looked in at Brentani's, and displayed a bag of dust containing a small admixture of gold. He gathered it at the Pyrenees, about seventy miles from the scene of "Tommy's" good luck. Except an occasionally groundless rumour about some fabulous gold-finding, the yellow fever which prevailed so intermittently during the previous year, died out, and all thought of nuggets, samples and specimens passed away. To produce so much calmness in this respect a counter-excitement much contributed, for 1850 was the Separation year, and during its latter half Port Phillip reeled like a half-drunken man, filled with a delirium about the good things that were to come, and the political millennium to spring from the erection of a district into a self-governing colony, ravings resulting in vain but harmless delusions, dreams as far from being realized to-day as they were then.

Mirabilis Annus.

Except old Father Time, who is seized of everything in the future as well as the past, no one in the colony could have the faintest notion, when the old year was rung out, of the wonders contained in the womb of the new year, that was rung in. There were no Spiritualists in Melbourne to invoke inspiration from the world of shadows, though there were two or three professional fortune-tellers, who pretended unerring powers of divination. There were also some astute "weather-wake" politicians, who assumed a faculty to prognose everything likely to happen; but no one was to be found capable of the roughest approximate guess of the extraordinary physical and social revolution which was close at hand, the crisis of which would have commenced just as the next new year would make its appearance. 1851 opened on the colony with a midsummer of unusual drought, parching hot winds, and a water-famine, only comparatively harmless, in consequence of the scattered nature of the squatting homesteads, the limited number of flocks and herds, and the total absence of that since well-known and deserving class of the community known as selectors. January was arid and hungry, and the croakers sang out that the worst had not yet come. February appeared like some supernatural power bent on the destruction of the settlement, resolved to waste the length and breadth of the territory with fire and sword, leaving it a boundless desert of dust and ashes. The 6th of February, the baleful historic "Black Thursday," clothed in fire and sheeted in burning forests whose wild, angry flames and smoke eclipsed the sun in several places, can never be forgotten. It fell upon the young colony as if likely to crush it; and the people were so awestruck that it required some time before the panic caused by the shock could be shaken off, and the ordinary avocations of

every-day life resumed. But this was not for long, and people had soon some other evolvements from the laboratory of Nature to wonder at. Ere two weeks had passed the astounding intelligence was posted down from Sydney that, on the 12th February, Mr. E. H. Hargreaves, a returned Californian miner, had discovered what got to be known as the Bathurst Goldfield. This was a panic of a very different kind, and the astonishing news, supplemented upon the arrival of every sea-going and overland mail from Sydney, so bewildered the people as to render them for a while incapable of action, almost of thought. Of course it was in everybody's mind that everyone should be off to the "diggins," as the treasure-ground was termed. Trade slackened, business depressed, and there was a general stand-still. Tenants gave up their holdings without observing the etiquette of a week's notice, and many of them flitted, forgetful to pay the rent. The coasting trade from Melbourne to Sydney was an exception to the general rule of dullness, and dozens, scores, and hundreds winged their way northward, resolved to return when they had made their fortunes. Many who had staked their all in Melbourne bravely held their ground, the sagacious and long-headed brought their heads together, and the only rational conclusion followed, viz., to use every effort to find out gold deposits in Victoria, which would in some degree, if not completely, counteract the attractive influences of New South Wales, and so keep the Victorians at home. There was an impression indelibly imprinted on the public mind, not only of the residents of Melbourne, but throughout the province, that hidden layers of golden store existed in several localities, if they could only be found; and to stimulate and prosecute researches towards this end, both hope and energy were directed. Small volunteer parties lost no time in instituting gold searches, and in a few months news of small findings dribbled into town. Early on a Sunday morning (1st June) a labouring man called upon Mr. Howie, a watchmaker, in Elizabeth Street, and, producing a small bag, rolled upon the counter thirty pieces of yellowish composition, which he pronounced to be gold. They were tested, and found to contain gold of the poorest description. Several of the pieces weighed ¼, and others ¾ oz.; and the man, leaving one of them with orders to have a ring manufactured, departed with a promise to return in a few days. Howie elicited in conversation with the stranger, that the latter, whilst engaged digging on the River Plenty, had accidentally turned up the treasure-trove. He would not give any further particulars, remarking "that he must have enough himself first, before others got possession of his secret." On this becoming known, hunting expeditions were hastily formed, and money was raised in various ways. In one instance, half-a-dozen carters clubbed and sold four of their drays to provide for the purchase of equipment, whilst the other two vehicles were laden with provisions and implements to be used in the future operations.

On the 4th June, a bushman called at the *Waterman's Arms*, in Little Collins Street South, a few yards from Elizabeth Street, and showed to the landlord (Mr. W. Clarke) some splinters of quartz with a metallic substance attached. Clarke had them immediately examined by what he believed to be a competent judge, who pronounced the yellow stuff to be gold. The finder said he had got them within four miles of Melbourne; and Clarke, having wormed out the place, was off there without delay, only to have his trip for nothing.

Rumours now came pouring into town that gold (as yet not even seen) abounded at the Pyrenees, the Goulburn, the Murray, and almost every other nameable place throughout the interior; and not only gold, but silver, copper, coal and other minerals. Brentani and Crate (another jeweller) declared that they had lately obtained some specimens found at the Pyrenees, and it was proclaimed as a certainty (but by whom could not be ascertained) that a rich vein of platina had been discovered at a place named (not inappropriately) Mount Disappointment.

The public feeling was now worked up to a boiling-point of distraction; and to increase the general state of unsettlement, an insane reaction suddenly set in, in the form of a mad spirit of speculation, to check which the banks raised the rates of discount. Provisions grew scarce, and leaped to such a price as added to the general embarrassment. Alarmists predicted a coming famine, and to such an extent did this go, that on the 6th June a meeting of citizens was held to consider the propriety of starting a milling and baking company, so as to keep down the price of bread. After some discussion, it eventuated in the nomination of a Committee "to devise the best means of immediate relief to the industrious but overburdened portion of the community." The movement

went no further; but, the more effectually to allay the fermenting disquietude, a requisition was presented to the Mayor for the convening of a public meeting upon the subject. The gathering came off accordingly at the Mechanics' Institute, on the 9th June, "to take into consideration the propriety of offering a suitable reward to any person or persons who should be the means of making known the locality of a gold mine within 200 miles of Melbourne." The Mayor presided, and, after the conventional quantity of talking, the following resolutions were agreed to:—

"1.—That this meeting is of opinion that gold in considerable quantities exists in close proximity to Melbourne, and that a subscription ought to be forthwith entered into, for affording a reward to any person or persons who shall disclose to a committee, to be appointed, a gold mine or deposit, capable of being profitably worked, within 200 miles of Melbourne.

"2.—That the Committee, hereafter appointed, be instructed to apply to the local Government to induce it to promise its influence in procuring a grant out of the Land Fund, to any person who may discover any gold mine capable of being profitably worked within this province.

"3.—That a Committee be appointed by this meeting for the purpose of receiving and disposing of the subscriptions; also for receiving all communications upon the subject, and instituting the necessary inquiries thereon; also for applying for the countenance and assistance of the local Government, and generally to carry out the immediate intention of the meeting.

"4.—That the following gentlemen be appointed a Committee for the above purpose:—The Mayor (Mr. W. Nicholson), Dr. A. F. Greeves, Messrs. Abel Thorpe, John O'Shanassy, Richard Heales, J. P. Fawkner, William Westgarth, Andrew Russell, J. A. Gumbinner, A. H. Hart, Thos. M'Combie, Peter Davis, Germain Nicholson, John Hood, David Young, and Jno. Hodgson, with power to add to their number." A sum of £30 was subscribed as the nucleus of a search fund.

About this time Mr. Frank Stephen, the well-known Solicitor, as expert in his powers of conveyancing on legs as on parchment, made one of a party of two to set out for the Plenty, with only a spade and small basket of provisions. In a few days they returned with 1½ oz. gold, found, as stated, about 45 miles from town. These specimens were submitted to Superintendent Latrobe, who requested Messrs. E. P. Sturt (the Superintendent of Police) and — White (a surveyor) to set forth on a tour of inquiry.

In a few days there appeared in the town William Aberdeen, a hawker, who reported that he had on the 5th of June camped in some ranges on the run of Dr. Ronald, at the Plenty, and next morning whilst walking along the banks of a creek he found two or three grains of a shining substance, which he took to be gold. He then set to work in earnest, and by next morning had secured many particles, thirty of which were each nearly as big as a pea, and the remainder something smaller than grains of rice. All of them he obtained by the side of two creeks, and travelled four or five miles in so doing. He had no pick or other instrument to help him. Whilst gold-hunting his dray was robbed of some £10 worth of stores; and he subsequently sold his treasure to a Mr. Johnstone for £17 18s. 1d. He refused to specify more particularly the topography of the place where he met his good fortune. He saw over 100 persons out gold-hunting about creeks and gullies. The soil in which he found the gold was of a reddish nature, and the country abounded in a flinty sort of stone, which, when broken, presented a yellowish hue. The place was about 30 miles from town.

The enchantment lent by distance to the view did not satisfy the sensation-mongers who mischievously amused themselves by circulating false alarms of the most absurd character, by which the "enchantment" was brought momentarily into Melbourne only to turn to disenchantment and disappointment. Indications of gold, it was confidently reported, had been found at Emerald Hill and the Flagstaff, Studley Park, and Collingwood Flat, and as a consequence hundreds of "flats," men, women, and children, armed with spades, shovels, pitchforks, pokers, and even knives and forks, invaded the localities named, and dug and prodded out and hacked away until they were tired, returning home after their exciting work only to be laughed at. There was a pottery in operation at Richmond. The clay used there was brought from a distance in the country, and by some means

or other it got wind that the raw material was auriferous. One evening an old woman accidentally smashed a flower-pot recently bought at the manufactory, and on trying to glue it together she fancied she saw some signs of gold glittering in the cracks. Of course she could not retain such an important secret, and whispered it to her neighbours. On opening shop next morning the pottery-man was surprised to see a crowd outside the door. All the satisfaction his curiosity could obtain was that everyone there was disposed to invest in pottery, but particularly in flower-pottery. Such an inexplicable demand induced him to raise his price, notwithstanding which his shop was rushed like a run on a bank, and his stock-in trade cleared out in no time. After all was over he was told the reason, and laughed heartily at the pack of fools, whilst he jingled the unusual takings so unexpectedly transferred to his pockets.

The Sturt-*cum*-White expedition returned after being at the Plenty, where they made a thorough exploration, penetrating gullies, wading through creeks, and climbing ranges, even to the summit of Mount Disappointment. They had dug, picked, grubbed, and sifted amongst stones, earth and roots, washing the sand, and hammering away at every breakable solid they encountered, for two whole days, without so much as finding a speck of gold or anything else that could be taken for auriferous; they seemed disposed to think that there was not a trace of gold there at all, and never had been. The country was even destitute of the auriferous indications said to be prevalent at Bathurst and California. They had traced the wheels of Mr. F. Stephen's vehicle, and they met with some hundred persons gold-seeking, not one of whom had found anything except plenty of mica. In consequence of the doubt thus cast by the official report upon the veracity of Stephen's previous statement, Mr. John Yewers, a confectioner, published a statutory declaration in effect that he had picked up by the side of a rivulet in the Plenty Ranges, opposite Kirk and Harlin's, a piece of gold and some quartz.

An interesting meeting of the Gold Committee was held on the 9th June, at the Town Clerk's office, with the Mayor as Chairman. Mr. Dent, from the Plenty, produced a specimen for examination, and after being handed round and scrutinized, some of the Committee doubted whether it was gold. It was decided to have it analysed. The Mayor, Messrs. John Hodgson and A. H. Hart, were appointed a deputation to interview the Superintendent, and ascertain from him what encouragement the Government would be prepared to give in promoting the common object in view. It was also resolved to offer a reward of 200 guineas, independent of what the Government may do, for the finding of a workable gold mine or deposit within 200 miles of Melbourne, capable of being wrought to advantage. The Committee was strengthened by the addition to its number of Dr. Webb-Richmond and Messrs. H. J. Hart. The last-named was appointed Secretary, Mr. J. Hood, Treasurer.

Dr. Ronald and Mr. Henry Frencham arrived from the Plenty on the 13th June, with several specimens of "native gold," which Frencham asserted had been found by him and Mr. Walsh (a jeweller) in the ranges near Bear station, some five-and-twenty miles from town. The specimens, in weight about 3 lbs., were streaked with quartz, and contained a few ounces of gold. Where they had been found there were large veins of the same (supposed) auriferous surface; and if Frencham could be believed, a valuable gold-field had been discovered. He formally demanded the 200 guineas reward, and delivered the specimens to the Town Clerk, by whom they were sealed up and kept for analysis.

At 7 p.m. of the 14th the Gold Committee assembled at the Town Clerk's office to inspect the specimens. There were present the Mayor, Dr. Greeves, Messrs. J. O'Shanassy, R. Heales, D. Young, A. H. and H. J. Hart, W. K. Bull, P. Davis, J. Hood, John Crate, and J. A. Gumbinner. The samples of quartz and sandstone belonging to Frencham were produced, and the claimant was in attendance. He described the circumstances under which the find was effected. He felt sure that gold abounded to a large extent at the place, which was easy of access, and he was prepared to point it out. An analysis had been previously made by Mr. Crate, who was a jeweller, and Mr. Hood, a practical chemist, but the experts were divided in opinion. Crate declared that he had gilded a copper coin by a quicksilver process from some of the gold,

and such he was convinced was an infallible token that the deposits contained gold. Hood stated that he had submitted several of the specimens to analysis without finding the smallest indication of gold in their composition. Others of them may contain gold, but those he had tested did not.

A particular specimen was handed round to be looked at, and an old Cornwall miner who had casually dropped in closely eyed it. He was a returned digger from California, and his opinion was waited for with breathless attention. It at length slowly oozed out and was not very re-assuring, for he simply thought that the specimen might contain 1 per cent. of gold. Certain shiny particles were observable in this and in others; and the upshot was the prevalence of much doubt and distrust of the whole lot. Mr. A. H. Hart suggested that all the specimens be pulverized, and then tested by all the means of analysis known. Dr. Greeves was convinced that a certain portion of gold was present in their formation, and should not feel satisfied to the contrary until they were subjected to an analysis with a solution of muriate of tin, this test being allowed to be the most delicate of any known, and would discover the smallest particles of gold if such were present. In this state of perplexity it was agreed to request Messrs. John Wood (chemist), L. A. Bearteaux (dentist), W. S. Gibbons (analyst), and John Crate (jeweller), to undertake an examination of the specimens *instanter*, and report with the least delay, so as to determine the vexed question that evening. This Board of analysis accordingly retired with the specimens to Mr. Hood's laboratory. Mr. Martin, said to be an experienced miner, next submitted gold samples alleged to have been found in the same place as Frencham's, and an individual, who did not give his name, placed on the table for inspection a specimen of gold ore from a Brazilian mine. In this the gold was plainly discernible, and apparently combined with sulphuret of iron. After an hour's absence the testing Sub-Committee returned, when Mr. Gibbons stated two of the specimens having different aspects had been subjected to nitro-muriatic acid, and also to the proto-chloride of tin, without the slightest particle of gold being perceptible. But to make assurance doubly sure, he proposed to submit the specimens to the analyzation of quicksilver. Mr. Hood declared that nothing could be more decisive than the process adopted, the specimens having been subjected to one of the most delicate of tests, and if only one grain of gold were contained or even dissolved in a hogshead of the fluid, it could be traced. It was finally resolved that Mr. Gibbons' proposal of submitting the substances to mercurial action, should be had recourse to, the result to be communicated through the Mayor to the several newspapers.

On the 19th June some sensation was caused by the receipt of a sample of gold from Mr. Rea Clarke, found at the King Parrot Creek, and the sender applied for the public reward. Mr. Frank Stephen returned on the same day from a second excursion to the Plenty, and brought an armful of specimens. The Mayor accordingly convened an emergency meeting of the Gold Committee for 7 p.m. in the Town Clerk's office, when there attended the Mayor, Messrs. A. H. and H. J. Hart, J. O'Shanassy, D. Young, R. Heales, T. M. Combie, J. Hood, Webb-Richmond, P. Davis, W. K. Bull, J. W. Bell, G. Nicholson, and J. A. Gumbinner. Mr. Stephen exhibited three specimens, one being solid gold, which he stated had been smelted from some of the ore found by him. The Clarke specimens were also on view, and a Mr. Morrow, as the agent of the finder, made formal application for the reward. It was agreed to ask Mr. Hood to analyse portions of each parcel of specimens. Mr. Hood accordingly withdrew to do so, and returned in a quarter of an hour with news that Clarke's specimens were pure gold. Mr. Stephen's had been submitted to the test of muriate of tin, and nothing found but iron. He believed it to be sulphuret of iron. A shout of laughter followed, and Mr. Stephen, who was present, looking around indignantly, exclaimed, "That he could not see anything to laugh at," an announcement which brought on an uproarious *encore*. Mr. Crate declared that the test applied was of the most delicate kind; what Mr. Stephen had found was not gold, but an indication of the lode. Mr. Stephen disputed the accuracy of the analysis, and proposed that his specimens be put in a crucible and tried there, whereupon Messrs. A. H. Hart, Hood, Crate, Gibbons, and Webb-Richmond were constituted a crucible inquisition, and they retired to take action. In three-fourths of an hour they re-entered the room, when Hood reported that the Stephen specimens had been smelted and nothing found in them but sulphuret of iron. Stephen could hold out no further, and frankly declared that he was satisfied that

the question had been thus set at rest. He could, however, assure the Committee that the piece of gold he held in his hand had been smelted from a lump of quartz found in the same place as the specimens just tested. Mr. Morrow (Clarke's representative) was asked to favour the Committee with a fuller explanation than previously given. He replied that he had received the gold from Clarke, with an intimation that it had been found at King Parrot Creek, twenty miles beyond Kilmore, where there was plenty more of it; that Clarke had been three days exploring, and might have obtained much more than he did had not the Creek been up. So soon as the Creek should go down he was to be on the hunt again. Clarke's searching had been stimulated by a letter from a brother in California, describing the localities in which gold was found there, between which and King Parrot Creek there was a resemblance. A resolution was passed to communicate with Mr. Clarke then resident at Kilmore, and ascertain if he would place himself in further communication with the Committee, and supply such fuller information as would entitle him to the reward. Several suggestions were offered as to the best mode of testing the reliability and extent of the King Parrot Creek deposits, and it was resolved to notify to the public the existence of such a probable goldfield, when such persons as may have a notion of leaving for Bathurst and others, would be likely in preference to try nearer home, and so personally test the workableness of King Parrot. Thanks were voted to Messrs. Stephen, Frencham, Walsh, and others, who had sought to find gold at the Plenty, and it was proposed to open a special subscription to reimburse any pecuniary outlay incurred in such endeavours. Messrs. Stephen and Frencham declined to accept any such repayment, whilst Stephen assured the Committee he had acted in thorough good faith. He was positive of the existence of gold at the Plenty, and when the floods went down, he should try his luck again there. Mr. Hood stated that a properly equipped party was preparing to set out in a few days to prospect the slope of the Pyrenees towards the Murray, and there was strong reason for believing in its success. It may be remarked that the Clarke specimens were of the purest description, quite solid, and not embedded in any other matter. They were picked up in the slate.

On the 27th June the following communication was received :—

"Pyrenees, 24th June, 1851.

"Dr. George W. Bruhn, geologist, has the honour to send for the inspection and analysis of the Committee of the Mining Company at Melbourne, two samples of quartz-rock, containing gold, and another grey ore which also seems to include some gold. The said quartz-rocks form large and extensive veins, the outside of which is richly covered by particles and small veins of the gold.

"As Dr. Bruhn makes his geological excursions quite alone on horseback, and, of course, is not able to carry with him the tools and implements for the digging, he could not yet examine the 'inside' of the said quartz-rock veins, but according to the geological features of the same, he rather thinks that they may turn out a good gold mine. Dr. Bruhn has the intention to return to Melbourne in the course of 10 or 14 days, and he will feel very happy to communicate to the Committee his meaning about the above-mentioned gold.

"He has the honour to be the Committee's obedient servant.

"To the Committee of the Mining Company of Melbourne."

The Committee held a meeting next evening, when Dr. Bruhn's enclosures were submitted. They consisted of two whitish quartz specimens in which gold was plainly visible. Mr. Hood tested one piece, and pronounced the unmistakable presence of gold therein. Dr. Webb-Richmond concurred, and added that if the specimen produced were a fair sample of the quartzose rock, and that it was easy of access, not being embedded in a harder rock, there could not be any doubt that the workings would be profitable; but that these points must be ascertained, as if the auriferous rock were embedded in a harder material, the gold would be so difficult to be got at as to be hardly worth working, except by a company possessed of the necessary machinery. Mr. A. H. Hart suggested that a deputation of the Committee should go to meet Dr. Bruhn. The Mayor was for letting those go that liked, and the rest stay at home. Mr. A. H. Hart was very anxious that some decisive steps should be taken in the matter, but, in accordance with the general opinion, it was determined to wait until Dr. Bruhn arrived in town, which, by the terms of his letter, would be in about ten days, and the Mayor promised to communicate with him on his arrival, to give notice to the Committee of the result, and, if need were, to call a meeting. Mr. Hood roughly estimated that a drachm of the richest specimen contained

about 2½ grains of gold. This would yield a very large per centage to a company furnished with every requisite, such as stamping-mills, crushing-rollers, quicksilver-machine, &c., but it is not an attractive kind of mining to the generality of gold-seekers, who work generally singly or in small parties.

The 5th July was a remarkable day in the quest for gold in Port Phillip, as it was the date of the appearance in Geelong of Mr. James Esmonds, who had some two months previously returned from California. In company with three others named Pugh, Kelly, and Burns, he went gold-hunting at the Pyrenees, and obtained gold in some quartz rocks near the station of Mr. Donald Cameron. He now exhibited them (quartz and dust) at Geelong to a Mr. Patterson and the *Geelong Advertiser*, and the discovery was published by that journal on the 7th in the following announcement :—

GOLD IN THE PYRENEES.

"The long sought treasure is at length found! Victoria is a gold country, and from Geelong goes forth the first glad tidings of the discovery. * * * We have been backward in publishing rumours of mineralogical discoveries, but we are satisfied now with the indubitable testimony before us. We announce that the existence of a goldfield in the Pyrenees is a great fact fraught with the greatest importance, and a preface to a glorious run of prosperity to Victoria."

The precise *locale* was not given until the 22nd, when it was made public with Esmonds' consent. It was afterwards known as the Clunes Diggings, and the precise spot where Esmonds made the discovery was on the banks of Creswick Creek, opposite where the Port Phillip Company's battery was working in 1884. On the same 5th the existence of gold in quartz rocks at the Yarra Range (Anderson's Creek) was announced by Mr. Louis J. Michel, on behalf of himself and a party consisting of W. Habberlin, James Furnival, James Melville, J. Headon, and B. Greenig. They made their discovery on the last day of June, and the place was shown on the day first named to Dr. Webb-Richmond, as the representative of the Gold Committee. On the same 5th Mr. William Campbell (the well-known ex-member of the Legislative Council) wrote from Strath Loddon to Mr. (now the hon.) James Graham, of Melbourne, authorizing an announcement that Mr. Campbell had discovered gold at the Pyrenees, but through a recent family bereavement, Mr. Graham overlooked the matter until the 8th July, when he communicated the fact to the Committee, which met on the 16th to deal with several applications for rewards. Mr. Graham's letter claimed priority over Dr. Bruhn, on behalf of Mr. Campbell, of the discovery of gold at a place known as the Deep Creek, laid down in Ham's map, as "between Mount Cole and Mount Alexander." A second letter was enclosed from Mr. Campbell on the subject, in which the writer remarked—

"Could I have separated the merit of the discovery of the gold from the reward, I would never have claimed it; and as I do so only with the view of dividing it equally with those who assisted in the discovery, my share I will appropriate to public charitable purposes. I have no pretensions to be a geologist, though I knew that gold was generally found in quartz; and observing a large dyke of quartz at the Cragoir 'Diggings,' I was induced to look for it there, after having expressed an opinion that it would be found there to many persons before I went to look for it. Although I consider it unnecessary to send my samples, the reward being offered for the discovery of a mine that can be profitably worked, I send a few small samples enclosed, both of the gold and grey ore. There are a few men at work at Cragoir—the name I have given to the Pyrenees Diggings; they are washing the soil, procuring gold-dust in small quantities, and a very short time will test whether it will become profitable to work. The most satisfactory way would be for the Mining Committee to send a practical person to report progress."

A communication, accompanying specimens, was also read from the Michel party; also some others of little or no importance. Dr. Bruhn was in attendance, and opening a small package handed in several pieces of quartz and marl, some of which were declared to contain gold, and others not. One or two appeared to be very rich, and Mr. Hood estimated that a ton weight of such would realize £1000.

Dr. Bruhn advised that some of the samples, especially the grey ones, be tested, for he was sure they contained other metals besides gold. Where he had obtained them was ground of moderate elevation—a few hundred yards from Cameron's, on the Deep Creek. The spot bi-forked into distinct deposits, and the openings embedded in a kind of basaltic production, were evidently the result of some subterranean fire action. He was of opinion that the rocks went down to a considerable depth. All his specimens were superficial, for none were obtained at any depth. Of the grey metal he had formed sanguine expectations; there was an immense quantity of it, and he believed it to be argentiferous as well as auriferous. Dr. Webb-Richmond, with Messrs. Hood, Walsh, and F. Baird, were deputed an Examining Committee, and retired to get through their work. In half an hour it was reported that in the grey specimens iron only could be detected; but the milk white ones contained gold in abundance. After some discussion it was decided, as the best mode of adjudging to whom the reward should be paid, to intimate to the public where gold was to be found, by whom the question would be soon practically determined. It would never do to act upon the opinion or report of two or three individuals. On the motion of Mr. Hood, seconded by Mr. Walsh, it was agreed "that the Committee give notice to the public that gold had been found at the Deep Creek on the Yarra, and the Deep Creek at the Pyrenees." The following special announcement appeared accordingly in next morning's newspapers:—

GOLD.

The Committee appointed to promote the discovery of a Gold-field in the Colony of Victoria, have the satisfaction of announcing that unquestionable evidence has been adduced, showing the existence of gold in considerable quantity both at the Deep Creek, on the Yarra (near Major Newman's run), and also at the Deep Creek on the Pyrenees, near Mr. Donald Cameron's house.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON,
Mayor, Chairman of the Committee.

Melbourne, 16th July, 1851.

After the lapse of a few days, a Mr. Pearson arrived in town, with the information of the existence of gold northward to Cameron's, on Deep Creek, and about 15 miles from Burnbank. It was to be found along the creek for more than half-a-mile, and consisted of fine dust, and particles not larger than the fourth of a pin's head. Some 300 or 400 persons had visited the place, but could not remain through want of provisions. The soil was very black, and the adjacent rocks were white flint. He saw pieces picked up, weight ½ and ¾ of an oz. The few stores in the neighbourhood were wretchedly supplied. As the month progressed the gold news increased—in fact, the whole air was surcharged with accounts of some kind or other averaging five hundred fictions to one reality. On the 22nd the Melbourne *Morning Herald* printed the annexed extract from a letter to Messrs. Charles Williams and Co., Melbourne, from Mr. Thomas Clapperton, dated Burnbank, 19th July, 1851.

The "Diggings" are going ahead again; the diggers are in great spirits, our old cook has gathered an ounce. When they are provided with proper implements they expect ten times the present produce per man. In spite of the extreme severity of the weather, there are daily arrivals. There are forty to-day on the ground. Warren, a shoemaker, is so sanguine that he expects to realize two thousand pounds at Christmas; and "will not put an awl in leather again," such are his expressions. Eaton is to commence cradling to-day under the directions of Esmonds, who arrived to-day.

P.S.—Ten o'clock Sunday morning,—David Anderson has returned from the "Diggings," and says the cook has washed 2½ oz. in a week.

The next day was issued the following bulletin with reference to some of the exhibits of the recently-held Committee meeting:—

Swanston Street, Melbourne,
22nd July, 1851.

Dear Sir,

I have carefully assayed the samples of gold you gave me, and find it virgin (that is 24 carat fine). It is the finest I ever saw, and worth in London 83s. 6d. per oz.

I am, Sir, Yours truly,
H. WALSH,

Mr. H. J. Hart,
Hon. Sec., Gold Committee, etc.

On the 25th July it was reported that gold-washing had commenced at Strath Loddon (as it was termed), 60 persons were hard at work there, and a Mr. Davis, from Avoca, arrived *viâ* Geelong in Melbourne, bringing some samples of gold-dust found on Donald Cameron's station, now known as "The Clunes Diggings." About 16s. worth of gold was got in a dish out of a gallon of earth, hand-washed in the roughest manner by pouring in water, stirring with the fingers, and then pouring out. As much gold was lost as got. For four miles the country had been turned up at intervals, and every spadeful of earth showed indications and particles. Esmonds and his partner (Pugh) had got their cradles at work on the 24th. The place was within eight miles of the spot where the shepherd lad (Chapman) found the gold which created the sensation of 1849. During the last week of July Mr. Henry Frencham and Dr. Fleming had their attention called to a certain variety of rock in the eastern part of Bourke Street, near Spring Street. They went to the spot, and found some specimens, which Messrs. Crate and Lewis analysed. The veins in one were formed of oxide and sulphuret of iron; and from another a minute particle of gold was seen to project. Many deemed this a clumsy ruse, got up to secure notoriety; it caused the place to be thronged for a day, and was never more thought of.

On 26th July Michael and Habberlin revisited the scene of their previous success; and on the 4th August further discoveries were communicated to the Secretary of the Reward Committee. They were said to have, with only spade and tin dish, found amongst the alluvial deposits gold in minute particles, but tolerably abundant. The place was an agglomeration of quartz rock, and every spadeful of soil washed over the quartz by the rains and floods contained from 7 to 10 grains of gold. They did not go more than 24 inches below the service. Some of their samples had been tested by Dr. Greeves, whose certificate was forwarded. The place was 16 miles from town on the Yarra, near Major Newman's station.

Consequent upon the information, official and otherwise, received by the Government, Mr. Latrobe, then a Lieutenant-Governor, with an Executive Council of his own, took measures to authenticate matters as they were really going on out of town; and by his directions Captain Dana was again despatched as an observation emissary. He proceeded accordingly to the Pyrenees, and on 3rd August a despatch was received from him stating amongst other facts "that there were about 60 men employed at the diggings, who on an average were making an ounce of gold per day." The implements used in washing were the ordinary tin pot and dish: and he thought gold abundant as at Bathurst would be obtained there when the primitive operating appurtenances were replaced by quicksilver and cradle apparatus.

Early on the morning of the 6th, Mr. N. A. Fenwick, Crown Land Commissioner, with Messrs. H. J. Hart, J. Hodgson, D. Young, J. Hood, — Reid, and H. Walsh, started from town for the Yarra, or Anderson's Creek diggings. After a 16-mile ride they arrived and began operations; but as they were not provided with proper implements, they could operate only with tin dishes. Every dishful of earth showed some particles of gold, in size about a pin's head. One dish yielded 19, another 6, some 4, and others less, of such encouraging atoms. The whole take was handed to Fenwick for the inspection of the Lieutenant-Governor.

On the 4th Mr. G. H. Wathen wrote from Mr. Callum's station, 5 miles west of the mines, to a Geelong paper, informing the public in effect that the Clunes diggings were on the Deep Creek, a tributary of the River Loddon, 500 yards from Cameron's—not at the Pyrenees, but 15 miles distant. The existence of gold there had been known for 18 months, Cameron declared that he had conducted Dr. Bruhn to the spot, and pointed out to him the gold imbedded in the quartz vein. There was no tract of auriferous alluvium; the gold was obtained from the quartz vein itself, and consequently it was more mining than digging.

Drays and tents and covered carts commenced to arrive at Clunes, until the valley took the appearance of an encampment. Fires blazed around a wooded spur on the opposite side of the valley, advancing towards the creek, which twisted like a silver ribbon through a grassy flat, where the horses were for the time provided with pasturage. By the 1st August a regular "diggings" was formed there, and a scene of busy animation set in. Cradles and tin dishes were plied by some, others used the pick and crowbar, whilst more, not the least useful, were providently seeing to the

erection of huts, fixing tents, and doing anything that was possible in the commissariat line. As new comers arrived they marked a claim or area whereon to "dig," and their first essay was to open the back of the vein rearward of the actual operation, and further from the banks of the creek, to which all the supposed auriferous soil had to be taken for washing. Four cradles were working away, and orders for a dozen more had been sent to Burnbank, little else than a nominal township, ten miles off. The average gain of the dishmen was 5s. per day. Esmonds' party was the first to commence work, and its leader estimated that a cradle in full operation with 4 men might obtain 2 ozs. in a day; but some thought this was too high. For the first two or three days the number of diggers was variously put down at from 50 to 60 at work, and two women were there. One of these ladies devised a profitable species of reefing for herself by setting up a laundry in a small enclosure of gum-trees, where she, arms deep in work, reaped a rich, though not literally a golden, harvest. The diggers mainly consisted of town artizans and station hands, who had abandoned their several handicrafts and the tending of sheep and cattle. Every hour new faces were showing themselves—some well-provided for the change of circumstances into which they had been plunged, and others diametrically the reverse. Captain Dana and a contingent of his black troopers were up there, scattered through the immediate neighbourhood.

In the course of some days Dana returned to Melbourne, and on his way back he passed numbers of people tramping on to the Clunes. Through him it was ascertained that the average earnings reckoned about 10s. per head; but provisions had grown very scarce, and many persons were badly off. The "gold-field" then being worked did not extend beyond seven or eight acres in area. He had found gold in three or four places in the neighbourhood. Two robberies had been already perpetrated, but the people were, as a rule, peaceably and honestly disposed. He had left fourteen troopers there to maintain order.

A cloud of golden rumours showered into Melbourne from all other quarters of the colony, and if a tithe of the floating talk could be credited, one only had to walk a dozen miles out of town in any direction to find more gold than he could carry, and the only exertion the stooping to pick it up. Several specimens came to hand, the most unique being one in formation like a large button; but where it was found no person could positively make out. The digging excitement was increasing in intensity, and Melbourne seemed as if contemplating a general move out of town. Nothing was talked of save specimens, picks, cradles, dishes, and every other known mode of up-turning the surface or delving into the bowels of the earth. Several small groups started in company, and one party of four, provided with what they designated a quicksilver machine, was an object of enviable admiration as they trudged along the Flemington Road, accompanied by a considerable retinue, who saw them to the town boundary. The Michel party returned from Anderson's Creek with flaming reports about the fortunes to be secured there with no more trouble than the catching. About 80 persons were located there, where the auriferous area covered several miles. Mr. Bell, a jeweller, who made a flying visit, took up a fistful of earth by chance, and found a gold pin head in it. What was termed Murcutt's party was very successful, one dish of earth yielding 50, and another 40, particles of virgin gold.

Mr. Thomas Hiscock, who resided at Buninyong, induced by passing events, went gold-searching in his neighbourhood, and without either much scientific or practical knowledge of the subject found a valuable auriferous deposit in a gully of the Buninyong Ranges, which thenceforth assumed his name. This happened on the 8th August, and some fine specimens in quartz matrix were forwarded to Patterson, the Geelong jeweller. This finding occurred on a Saturday, and the next Sabbath was broken by wild exclamations of surprise surcharged with expectation of what was to come next. Prayers, except for each individual's good luck, were sadly disregarded on that solemn Sunday. The people in the neighbourhood ran about as if they had lost their senses, and the public equilibrium was by no means restored by a man appearing in the evening with 3 ozs. of gold, which he had obtained by walking into the bush after dinner and amateuring a little with an old fryingpan for a washing dish. The relative distances between places were then rather loosely defined, and topography was in a state of much inexactness, so that there was little else than rough guessing as to how far such a place was from another place. The new field was

declared to be about thirty miles from Clunes, where the gold found was honeycombed or spongy, whilst the Buninyong metal was solid, bright, and in some cases burnished.

The First Gold Buyer

Who advertised himself as such was Mr. John Hood, and on the 13th August he announced his readiness to purchase gold, or "would make cash advances on the same consigned to Messrs. Langton Bros. and Scott, London." He had not the field long to himself, for the newspapers soon teemed with similar business notices.

One day a child named Williams picked up a small gold specimen in Lonsdale street, opposite the present Wesley Church, and on this becoming known there was a rush to the Lonsdale diggings, which terminated as unprofitably as have many rushes since. No second "find" occurred, and it came to be believed that the little nugget had been accidentally dropped or lost where found by some returned diggers, probably some one of those who were beginning to drop into the new colony from California.

From what has been already stated it may be inferred that mineralogy as a science, theoretically and practically, was not widely diffused amongst the public, who stood in much need to be educated on the subject. To remedy this want in some degree a series of lectures was delivered at the Mechanics' Institute by Dr. Bruhn and Dr. Webb-Richmond; whilst to aid in providing proper appliances for gold extraction Mr. J. A. Manton, a Civil Engineer, designed an improved pattern of cradle for deposit washing—guaranteed to produce three-fold the result of the ordinary cradle work, and a model was submitted for the inspection of the Lieutenant-Governor.

On the 15th August gold was found on the property of Mr. Joseph Hawdon, of Heidelberg. Hawdon had returned from Twofold Bay, where some gold indications were discovered; and whilst strolling along the bank of the Yarra, observing geological formations similar to those of Twofold Bay, he dished some of the earth, and obtained 3 grains, but a fourth never turned up. Bruhn paid a visit to Anderson's Creek, and on the same day as the Hawdon find left 150 persons working there. He entertained a strong opinion as to the auriferous quality of the Dandenong Ranges. Meanwhile encouraging accounts continued to arrive from the Clunes, to which place the Burnbank storekeepers had moved, and sold spades for 15s. each—cradles were now manufactured on the spot.

The First Gold Proclamation.

In consequence of the information from Buninyong, the Executive broke silence in the following warning voice:—

Proclamation.

By His Excellency Sir Charles Joseph Latrobe, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Victoria and its Dependencies, etc., etc., etc.

Whereas, by law, all mines of gold and all gold in its natural place of deposit within the colony of Victoria, whether on the lands of the Queen or of any of Her Majesty's subjects, belong to the Crown. And whereas information has been received by the Government that gold exists upon and in the soil of the colony, and that certain persons have commenced, or are about to commence, searching and digging for the same for their own use without leave or other authority from Her Majesty. Now I, Charles Joseph Latrobe, Esquire, the Lieutenant-Governor aforesaid, on behalf of Her Majesty, do hereby publicly notify and declare that all persons who shall take from any lands within the said colony any gold, metal, or ore containing gold, or who within any of the waste lands which have not yet been alienated by the Crown shall dig for and disturb the soil in search for such gold, metal, or ore without having been duly authorized in that behalf by Her Majesty's Colonial Government, will be prosecuted both criminally and civilly as the law allows. And I further notify and declare that such regulations as upon further information may be found expedient, will be speedily prepared and published, setting forth the terms on which licenses will be issued for this purpose on the payment of a reasonable fee.

Given under my hand and seal at the Government Office, Melbourne, this fifteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, and in the fifteenth year of Her Majesty's reign.

(L.S.) C. J. Latrobe.

By His Excellency's command,

God Save the Queen! W. Lonsdale.

The First License Regulations

Were issued without delay in a document, which, as a relic of the primitive goldfields' administration, is worthy of extraction, viz.:—

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Melbourne, 18th August, 1851.

LICENSES TO DIG AND SEARCH FOR GOLD.

With reference to the Proclamation issued on the 16th inst., declaring the rights of the Crown in respect to gold found in its natural places of deposit within the colony of Victoria, His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, has been pleased to establish the following Provisional Regulations under which licenses may be obtained to dig, search for, and remove the same:—

1. From and after the first day of September next no person will be permitted to dig, search for, or remove gold on or from any land, whether public or private, without first taking out and paying for a license in the form annexed.

2. For the present, and pending further proof of the extent of the gold deposits, the license fee has been fixed at one pound ten shillings per month, to be paid in advance; but it is to be understood that the rate is subject to future adjustment as circumstances may render expedient.

3. The licenses can be obtained on the spot from the Commissioner who has been appointed by His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to carry these Regulations into effect, and who is authorized to receive the fee payable thereon.

4. No person will be eligible to obtain a license, or the renewal of a license, unless he shall produce a certificate of discharge from his last service, or prove to the satisfaction of the Commissioner that he is not a person improperly absent from hired service.

5. Rules adjusting the extent and position of land to be covered by each licence for the prevention of confusion and the interference of one license with another, will be regulated by the Commissioner of Crown Lands who may be appointed to each locality.

6. With reference to lands alienated by the Crown in fee-simple, the Commissioner will not be authorized for the present to issue licenses under these Regulations, to any person but the proprietor or persons authorized by them in writing to apply for the same.

By His Excellency's command,
W. LONSDALE.

On the 20th August it was reported that there were between one hundred and fifty and two hundred persons at Anderson's Creek, digging, smashing and washing. The ground was about three miles in extent, and in almost every instance something was found; one Tom Fletcher cleared £8 in a week. A quicksilver cradle was turned into two common cradles, and so answered better than before. Good order prevailed, and the diggers were so God-fearing that they religiously struck work on the Sunday. Persons going there were strongly advised to carry with them iron wedges and hammers, the more effectually to cut into the quartz. The public peace there was looked after by four policemen.

The First Gold Exhibits.

Gold now began to make its appearance as an object of admiration in the shop windows, and the first regular display of this kind was on view on the 20th August, at the drapery establishment of Mr. Charles Williamson, Collins Street, afterwards the well known "Block" mart of Alston and Brown. It was an assortment weighing 21 ounces, received from Clunes. It was of a darkish colour, and had been transmitted to Melbourne for analysis and valuation.

The charging of a license fee occasioned much dissatisfaction, for it was believed to be both premature and excessive in amount; and furthermore, the wet weather had set in, and the gold-searching could not be prosecuted by reason of the floods. Public indignation was so unmistakably expressed through the Press, and an open demonstration being threatened, that the Government stayed its hand so far as to sanction some modification of the published Regulations. After about a week's consideration the Colonial Secretary wrote, under date 26th August, to Mr. F. C. Doveton, who had been appointed a Goldfields Commissioner, intimating that although gold is still being found, and though the number of people is still increasing in the several localities where gold is being obtained, it is doubtful whether the quantity procured is sufficient to remunerate the persons so employed. He is to act with great circumspection, in carrying out the Regulations

previously issued; and though no person must be permitted to search for gold without permission the enforcement of the Regulations to their full extent, as regards the license fee, was to be guided by the circumstances of each particular case, and at the Commissioner's discretion. For his guidance, however, principal rules were laid down to the following effect:—Mere searchers for metal were to receive a card signed by the Commissioner, dated, inscribed with the names of the persons to whom issued, and the words "Permitted to Search." The permit was not to run for any specified period, and the recipients were to be made clearly to understand that unless they had paid for a license they were not entitled to anything of value they may find, nor have any claim to work any other particular spot of ground; and should any person take out a license for the locality occupied by those using permits, the former would be put in possession.

As to the issue of the license, the utmost discretion was enjoined, so as to guard against the payment of a fee by those whose gold finding may not afford it, through the inadequacy of their results, and be so deterred from further search; and on the other hand to protect the revenue in the case of those able to pay, but not doing so. Considerable difficulty was apprehended in acting as instructed, from the desire of people to conceal the real extent of their "takes;" but every possible means were to be used to ascertain the truth, and full report was to be made upon every particular, accompanied by the expression of an opinion respecting the license fee.

The most desirable mode of obtaining payment for licenses was cash, but if this could not be done, gold was to be accepted, and the quantity to be given for a license was to be calculated according to the rate at which discoveries dispose of it on the spot, or in the neighbourhood. All gold so received was to be transmitted to the Colonial Treasury.

This did not allay the ferment, for on the 30th a public meeting was held at the Mechanics' Institute, to consider the situation. The Mayor presided, and resolutions to the following purport were unanimously adopted:—(*a.*) Affirming the inexpediency of imposing any charge for a monthly license, as no goldfield had as yet been profitably worked, or gold found to render profit probable. (*b.*) That the development of gold and other minerals existing in the colony was of vital importance, and that steps be taken to discover such. (*c.*) That the Government ought to appoint two officers (same as in Sydney), whose special duties should be to develop the mineral resources of Victoria. (*d.*) An expression of sympathy with the Buninyong miners. (*e.*) The presentation to the Lieutenant-Governor of a Memorial embodying the resolutions. The Mayor, Messrs. A. Thorpe, A. H. Hart, J. S. Johnston, Connor, J. Coate, J. A. Gumbinner, and James Montgomery were appointed a Committee to give effect to the wishes of the meeting.

The imposition of a fee and the inclemency of the weather caused a dispersion at Buninyong, and the gold-hunters struck out in search of "fresh fields" in the neighbouring ranges, which had the natural effect of leading to further discoveries. Rich finds were stumbled on at Yuille's station, near the Buninyong Gully. This watercourse took a serpentine direction to a place known as Greenhill, through dense stringy-bark ranges, alternating in flats, and gathering several tributaries to swell its current, until it assumed the form of a river at the new goldfield. Passing on through Yuille's and Winter's stations, it commingled with, or more correctly, became the Leigh; and here, at the bases of several undulating hills, were the evidences of the new diggings found. Fragments of quartz were scattered along the hills, which in some places looked like mounds of snow. The surface was black earth, the sub-surface yellow gravel mixed with clay and quartz, and occasionally huge conglomerates of both. Several parties fell in with immense good fortune here, and one of them was reported to have dug 2½ lbs. of gold out of a claim just after marking it one Saturday evening. Another party netted 23 ounces in a short time, and the valuable deposits were supposed to run along the Leigh. Gold was purchased for from £3 1s. to £3 4s. per ounce.

The Ballarat Goldfields.

Warrenheip was next reached, and by the middle of September Ballarat was found, and the Clunes diggers were on the move there. Various finds were reported, such as four persons obtaining

68 ounces in eight days, one 8 ounces in a week, and two persons 6 ounces 46 grains in five days. By the 17th one thousand persons were declared to be at Buninyong and its neighbourhood. Mr. G. H. Wathen returned from a two months' tour northward of Buninyong, between Avoca and Mount Alexander, and everywhere he went he heard rumours of gold discoveries. A party of men had settled in a spot—a small secluded valley in the vicinity of Mount Alexander, only one mile west of the Melbourne and Swan Hill Road, where they found gold in quartz veins traversing primary clay and mica slate. These strata were nearly vertical, and running north and south. The quartz was more rotten, and therefore more easily worked than at Clunes, and was, if anything, richer. The range where this was found was a prolongation of that of which Buninyong formed part. The Buninyong field was set down as one of the heads of the Leigh, which rises in Warrenheip, and forms a junction with Buninyong Gully, about six miles from the township.

Towards the close of the month Ballarat burst forth in all its golden glories, and its diggings completely outshone all the others. The finds were abundant and general, and the diggers were so satisfied, and in such good humour with themselves and all the world, that they were willing to pay the obnoxious license fee, but they besought the Government to give them some police protection. By the 24th September one hundred and sixty licenses were taken out, and annexed is a copy of the first issued there :—

VICTORIA GOLD LICENSE, 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1851.

No.——

The bearer, ————, having paid to me the sum of fifteen shillings on account of the Territorial Revenue, I hereby license him to dig, search for, and remove gold on and from the district of Buninyong and Loddon, as I shall assign to him for that purpose, during the month of September, 1851. The quantity of ground allowed is eight feet square. The license to be produced when demanded by me, or any other person acting under the authority of Government.

F. C. DOVETON, Commissioner.

On 23rd September, Lieutenant Lydiard and twelve black troopers were despatched to the diggings.

FURTHER REGULATIONS.

Supplementary instructions were issued by the Executive on Michaelmas Day (29th September). This step was declared to be taken "consequent upon the recent undoubted discovery of gold in the vicinity of Buninyong to a considerable extent." It was ordered that the "Permission cards" were to be totally discontinued, and licenses must be issued to all persons employed in digging for gold, at the rate specified in the notice of the 18th August. Anything like the transfer of a license from one person to another was forbidden, and to be prevented as far as possible, for which purpose a personal description of the licensee, sufficient to enable detection, was to be inserted on the counterpart of the books from which the license forms were obtained. The licensee was to be instructed to have the license constantly with him, which he was to be frequently called on to produce, and reference made to the counterpart to ascertain if the appearance of the holder agreed with the recorded description. Certain licenses were to be issued at each person's workings instead of attendance at a stated place, and the fee, when not paid in money, was to consist of pure washed gold, at the rate of £3 per ounce, to be weighed in the scales furnished. A constant inspection of the workings was to be kept up to ascertain "that there are no new comers without licenses, and that order and regularity are preserved," in which duties the Commissioner's assistants were also to be employed. A conveyance for the gold, under escort to Melbourne and Geelong, was about to be established, and the Commissioner was to give security in the joint bond of himself, and two sureties for £2,000 each. Several other matters were to claim constant attention, viz., a description of persons who may not be permitted to work, particularly servants who have left their masters without a discharge, the extent of space to be allowed to each licensee upon an equitable principle according to the apparent richness of the soil, the suppression of any attempted gambling, drinking, or any other vices and irregularities, and maintaining good order and good feeling among the workers, upon which no especial directions could be given, as they were matters

for "discretion and judgment, combining promptitude with firmness, and conciliatory manner, and persuading to a right course before stronger measures are resorted to." For this purpose reliance was to be placed upon the co-operation of the workers, among whom regulations were to be established, and some of the most respectable and willing were appointed special constables. The desirableness was also impressed "of causing Sundays to be properly observed; to put down all attempts, should there be any, to labour on these days, and to encourage and promote by all possible means the attendance of the people at religious observances, if the clergy in the vicinity should find themselves in a position to afford means for public worship."

Favourable accounts poured in every hour to Melbourne, and one gentleman on his way down counted 400 persons and 70 drays on the route from town. On the 27th, two brothers, named Cavanagh, appeared in Geelong with 60 pounds' weight of gold (valued at £2,300) the produce of four weeks' work.

The First Government Escort.

The Government at length determined upon organizing a weekly armed escort for the safe conveyance of gold from Buninyong to Geelong, and thence per steamer to Melbourne. It was to leave Buninyong every Tuesday at 6 a.m., arriving in Geelong at 4 p.m., and the following morning start for Melbourne, where it was due at 3.30 p.m. All gold to be so sent was to be forwarded to Buninyong by 4 p.m. on the Monday, where an authorized officer would take charge of it. Previous to receiving it, he was to have it accurately weighed in the presence of the bringer, and then tie it up in a leather bag which was to be sealed and labelled with the weight, the name of sender, and consignee, and whether resident at Melbourne or Geelong. The depositor was to receive a receipt containing all the labelled particulars. There were to be two boxes in which the gold would be secured, viz., one for Geelong, and one for Melbourne. On reaching Geelong, both boxes were to be placed in charge of the Police Magistrate, who was next morning to deliver the Melbourne box to the officer in charge of the escort, who was to duly hand it over to the Colonial Treasurer. The consignees would receive their gold at Geelong and Melbourne upon producing their authority, signing a receipt, and paying an escort charge of one per cent., on washed gold, to be estimated at the rate of £3 per oz.; and on gold mixed with a larger portion of stone at the rate of £2 10s. per cent. Every precaution was to be taken for the safety of the escorted gold, but in the event of loss, the Government was not to be responsible for it.

On the 9th October special instructions were issued for the conduct of the escort. Instead of the sender fetching his gold to Buninyong, it was found more convenient that the Commissioner should collect and deliver it to the Police Magistrate, who was for such purpose to go guarded every Monday to the Commissioner's station, take over the gold, and bring it to Buninyong. The mounted men of the general police doing duty at Ballarat were to be withdrawn, and the Buninyong Police Magistrate was to have under his control 1 sergeant, 1 farrier, 29 troopers, with 1 non-commissioned officer, and 5 troopers of the native police, whose cost was to be paid from the Territorial Revenue. Two troopers were to be detached to Melbourne, to form the escort from the river Exe to Melbourne, whilst two more were to go to Geelong as an escort from Ritchie's to the Exe, 1 trooper to be stationed at each of those places to take charge of forage, and render assistance if required. The escort from Buninyong would be furnished from that place, proceeding as far as Ritchie's on Tuesday, and returning next day. The escort was to consist of two mounted men to be relieved at the different stations, and an armed trooper in the mail-cart who accompanied it the whole way, and returned with the cart, the entire party to be under the command of Mr. Lydiard. Mr. Commissioner Doveton was to have a trooper-orderly, and 1 sergeant with 10 troopers for protection, and to maintain the public peace.

On the 18th it was announced that arrangements were made for the substitution of Ballarat for Buninyong as the starting-point of the escort. The mail contractor would be permitted to bring one or two passengers with the gold, "provided they were gentlemen well known to the Police

Magistrate, or that he could be certain of their respectability." The passengers were not to bring any golden luggage, unless they paid the 1 per cent. on it.

From time to time fresh orders were issued, amending the original Regulations. The principal modifications enjoined are for the convenience of the reader here grouped, irrespective of date. Persons wishing to deposit their gold in a temporary place of safety might deliver it to the custody of the Colonial Treasurer, in which case duplicate statements of the contents of the deposited bag and name and description of owner, should be prepared, one of them for retention at the Treasury, and the other by the owner, to be presented by him when the gold was claimed. The officer in charge of the escort was never to lose sight of the treasure during transit, and his men were not under any pretext, to be allowed to leave the immediate vicinity of the horses bearing it, and at night it was to be deposited "in the room where the officer himself is," and a sufficient guard was to be kept constantly over it. During the night the whole of the escort should rest in the mmediate vicinity of where the gold was, and on reaching Melbourne it was to be handed over to the Treasurer, for which purpose the escort should arrive in town not later than 2 p.m.

On the 25th November very precise injunctions were promulgated with reference to the Mount Alexander escort then established. The escort was to consist of four armed men, besides an armed man in the cart under the charge of Mr. A. Templeton. It was to leave the Mount every Tuesday morning, at six o'clock, and proceed that day, with a change of cart-horse at Carlsruhe, to the Mount Macedon Police Station. The boxes containing the gold were then to be placed in the watch-house, being still under the charge of the escort, who were invariably to remain there at night, having one man constantly on sentry. Next morning the journey to Melbourne was to be resumed, and, with another horse change at the Deep Creek, the destination was to be reached by 1.30 p.m. Resting for a day in Melbourne, the escort left for its return trip at an early hour on Friday. As it was evident, from the quantity of gold likely to be forwarded, that the arrangement existent of carrying it in saddle-bags would not answer, it was determined to procure a convenient cart with iron boxes fitted to it, which was to be sent up as soon as possible, and until this vehicle was available the saddle-bag system was to remain. The cart-driver was to be a trooper, and under any circumstance to be armed; whilst another armed trooper was to sit by him. Two of the escort were to ride at a convenient distance in the rear, whilst two others should be a short distance in advance of the cart as a precaution against sudden attack. The men were to be kept together day and night, and the leader was to be always on his guard to prevent the ill effects of a sudden attack. A full relay of horses was to be kept in a paddock at Mount Macedon, under charge of a constable; and no further relay was deemed necessary, except of a cart-horse at Carlsruhe; the change of the cart-horse between Mount Macedon and Melbourne being made by a horse to be sent from Melbourne to the Deep Creek early on Wednesday morning for the purpose. The men composing the escort need not be relieved on the road, and they were to return to Mount Alexander in precisely the same manner as directed for their route to Melbourne.

The first gold escort from Buninyong, or, as it was more generally termed, from Ballarat, arrived at Geelong on the 28th September, in charge of an officer of mounted police, two white and two black troopers, and accompanied by a Commissioner. It left the diggings on the morning of the 27th, and, though intimation of its departure was publicly given, but few of the miners availed themselves of it. The officer in charge brought a few parcels, most of it the property of the Government, and valued at £2000. At the time of leaving, great harmony prevailed on the gold-fields. The diggers, with few exceptions, were well disposed towards paying the license fee, and licenses were applied for almost as fast as they could be issued. Some extraordinary "finds" were reported, such as 16 lbs. by one party, and £90 worth of a morning, in a dishful of washing stuff. The Commissioner roughly estimated the takings at from ¼ oz. to 2 ozs. per man per diem, whilst the population was reckoned at between 1500 and 2000, not counting the prospecting or outlying parties, numbering some 500. The escort passed between 700 and 800 persons on the road, whilst three or four times as many were supposed to be moving from Melbourne. The population was streaming to the diggings from all quarters, and it was calculated that before a week the digging

country would be in receipt of a thousand new faces every day. The road from Melbourne was so bad that drays could hardly get over portions of it.

The First Melbourne Coach

Was started by Mr. James Watt, the landlord of the *Border Inn*, at Bacchus Marsh. It was to ply twice a week between Melbourne and Ballarat, leaving the corner of Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets every Monday and Thursday at 2 p.m., arriving at Ballarat at 3 p.m. on Tuesday and Friday; returning at 8 a.m. on Wednesday and Saturday, and arriving in Melbourne at 10 a.m. on Thursday and Monday. Fare, each way, 25s., with moderate charges for parcels, and all booked, if not exceeding 5 lbs., would be carefully conveyed. The coach commenced running on the 6th of October, and its boggings and breakdowns would fill a volume, though no deaths, and hardly any broken bones, were to be laid to its charge. No doubt the slowness of pace and the softness of the road had a great deal to do in averting dangerous accidents.

Ballarat in its Glory.

The accounts from Ballarat were so astounding as to unsettle the equanimity of the most unimpressionable Stoic; not mere rumour, but great golden facts of undoubted reliability. Mr. J. D. Hill, a gentleman of unquestioned veracity, thus wrote (30th September) to Messrs. Russell and Thomas, architects and surveyors, in Melbourne:—"Every man here (at Ballarat) is doing well, and our party in four days took 80 lbs. weight of gold out of one hole, and Goodness knows how much more there may be left there." The Ballarat correspondent of the *Geelong Advertiser* forwarded the most glowing description of the place, and declared the general average yield to each man to be upwards of an ounce and a-quarter per day. His letters were not only gilded, but saturated with gold, and from one dated 29th September I extract a "specimen," viz.:—

"If *Fortunatus* had thrown the contents of his cap over the lands of Ballarat, the yield of riches would not have been increased. Here strata are delved into for riches, which repay a thousand-fold the labour expended upon them. The yield is immense, and seemingly inexhaustible. The gold lays in 'pockets' in the blue slatey clay, and may be picked out with a knife-point. So rich indeed is it that many have abandoned cradle workings for tin dishes, which have yielded from two to three ounces in the washing. Many will make fortunes, hundreds a competency, and the vast majority will do well. . . . . I little thought when I first started to Buninyong that it would fall to my lot to chronicle facts which, if embodied in romance, or made the elements of a fairy tale, would have excited a smile of incredulity. The month of September, 1851,-is the most eventful epoch in the history of Victoria. It will stand in golden letters in our Kalend, and will be a *datum* line to start on our new career of prosperity."

On the Ballarat diggings there was a picturesque hill, which soon became a grand focus of attraction. From its riches it was known as "Golden Point"; but it was quickly burrowed into, spoiled of its beauty, and reft of its treasures.

One man, in a delirium of rejoicing, wrote to a friend in Melbourne:—"I would not change my eight-feet square (the space allotted to a digger by his license) for a squatter's station on the Murray."

Geelong, ever prone to super-exultation, was almost beside itself, and anticipated wonders from the Ballarat developments. It regarded the Buninyong and Ballarat territory as a Geelongese dependency, all because these places happened to be a few miles nearer to it than to Melbourne. Indeed the *Advertiser* complacently designated them "Our Geelong Diggings," and endeavoured to screw much capital out of the circumstance that, though they were fifty miles from Geelong, they were eighty from Melbourne; and because the road from Melbourne was so gullied that the mail to Buninyong had for a time to travel circuitously *viâ* Geelong.

THE STAMPEDE FROM MELBOURNE.

The Gold Fever was now regularly scattering the seeds of the epidemic far and wide. Every station was denuded of its helping handle, and sheep and bullocks were left to mind themselves. The few country townships were deserted, and Kyneton, the most important, was left without as much as a drink of water, for the few water-carriers there had sold their carts and horses and ran away. To make matters worse the baker's loaf became a nonentity, and the townspeople were glad to fall back upon devouring the primitive "damper." On the 8th October Lieut.-Governor Latrobe set forth for the diggings, leaving Melbourne in a state of chaos behind him. The fever raged in highway and by-way; intense excitement ruled everywhere, and nothing was talked about but gold, and the universal question asked by everybody of every other body was, "When are you off to the diggings?" Almost every one was either gone, going, or preparing to go—rich and poor, high and low, gentle and simple. Labourers struck work, clerks deserted their desks, and "counter-jumpers" jumped away, all dreaming of nothing but the road to fortune, and the fortune that only awaited the picking up at the end of the journey. In two or three days hundreds had left, and those who remained were busily engaged in getting ready for the tramp. Every possible device was resorted to in the way of providing for the step about to be taken. Those who were not in funds and had anything vendible got rid of it, and every species of saleable commodity was converted into cash, for the purchase of supplies. Cradles, picks, shovels, and hammers were bought; drays, drags, and carts put in readiness, and it was seriously apprehended that if this state of things was, in any degree, intensified, both Melbourne and Geelong would be drained of all their male population, and garrisoned only by women and girls. Even the police had gone into the scare, and so many of them flung away their batons as to create a general uneasiness through a fear of the difficulty of procuring substitutes for the protection of life and property. Intimation was given to the Licensed Victuallers, that such of them as left the town, would be accounted as absentees, and their licenses forfeited for public-house desertion. There was even a run on the banks by persons desirous of withdrawing deposits, and one forenoon the Union Bank was blockaded in such a manner as to render it necessary to call in the police to preserve order amongst the angry infatuated crowd. The clearing out of Government clerks and every other class of salary or wage earners was growing general. Mechanics, servants, labourers, etc., left with or without notice; and any who applied for leave and did not get it, very unceremoniously took "French leave." There was hardly a carter to be found in town, and horses and drays were, by some mysteriously rapid process, melted into "tin," to supply the travelling expenses. Sailors deserted their ships, striplings ten or eleven years old, with tin pannikins and bits of hoop iron, some of them barefooted and many in rags, darted off like so many wild animals, not knowing what they were doing unless they were on the road to the diggings; and in order to keep a few police and prison warders at their posts, their pay had to be raised to 6s. and 7s. per day respectively. But to one class (and the least deserving) of the community, an acceptable holiday had come; and they were "in clover," viz.:—the prisoners sentenced to hard labour, for they had nothing to do, as stone-breaking had to be abandoned, for the supply of stone had run out, and there were neither quarrymen nor draymen available. In the midst of all this turmoil, Mr. E. P. Sturt, the energetic Superintendent of Police, took it into his head, inopportunely, to get married, and during the honey-mooning, Mr. N. A. Fenwick was appointed his *locum tenens*, a change certainly not for the better. Then came a dearth and dearness of food in town, where provisions went up 25 and water 100 per cent., for nearly all the men were away, and the women took their turn at the pumps and became water suppliers. Richmond was so thoroughly deserted that a newspaper declares, that on one day only one old fellow was to be seen hobbling about, and with a phiz so shrouded in anxiety as to induce a belief that he had been left behind as the sole care-taker-general of all the women and children. As to Melbourne, its streets were as deserted as Collins Street on a Saturday afternoon is now, but at every second shop door heaps of cradles were to be seen for sale, so much so, that a humourist of the period pronounced the town to resemble a huge lying-in settlement, *minus* the babies.

As a climax, the yellow fever burst upon the newspaper offices to such an extent as to explode some, and seriously threaten the existence of all. The *Victoria Colonist*, a Geelong daily, was extinguished; the *Banner of Victoria*, and the *Victoria Family Herald* (two small weeklies) collapsed, and *Ham's Illustrated Magazine* soon followed suit.

Serious apprehensions were entertained as to whether the three Melbourne journals could survive the shock, whilst the *Geelong Advertiser* declared its intention of starting a weekly paper, to be called the *Prospector*, at Ballarat. Up to the 6th October, all the gold brought down by the escorts (2) did not exceed the value of £3000, *i.e.*, £2000 the first, and £1000 the second, although enormous finds were daily reported; and on the 1st, a man entered the Bank of Australasia with £500 worth of gold sealed up in a box, which he stated he had procured by four days' washing, but where he would not tell.

On the 6th October, the Colonial Secretary received a letter from Mr. E. Bell, the Private Secretary, who had gone to Ballarat, to the effect that in his presence two men had washed out one day before breakfast 10 lbs. 4 ozs. of pure gold from two tin dishes, but once filled. He stood by in amazement during the operation.

A Busy Day

Was the same 6th in parts of Melbourne. The first coach left *Passmore's Hotel*, Elizabeth and Lonsdale Streets, for the diggings, laden with passengers. There was also a considerable pedestrian migration of men, several of whom were accompanied by women and children, some of the last scarcely able to walk. Three stalwart fellows contrived a rude form of velocipede out of a piece of wood mounted on three wheels, one before and two astern. On the beam they strapped saddles, got on them, and set to propel with their feet. With this locomotion they managed to get out of town, but there was soon a smash, and the ordinary "shanks' mare" had to be substituted. Another turn-out was a drag drawn by four large bull-dogs, attended by three men as ferocious-looking as the dogs, leading two others as reliefs for the road. The vehicle was well weighted with supplies and "swags." The following day the Lieutenant-Governor returned from his country trip, and the day after an escort arrived, thus invoiced:—The Government for Licenses, 500 ozs.; for Melbourne, 343 ozs.; and Geelong, 394 ozs.—1237 ozs. Large quantities were reported as brought privately. Already it began to be ascertained that it was not all good luck, as there were numerous disappointments; and though the people were going by thousands, they were commencing to return in hundreds. It was estimated that there were over 7000 persons on the ground. Outrage in Melbourne was rare, for all the evil-blooded characters had "sloped" away to the richer harvest-field; but robberies soon set in at Ballarat. On the 9th the first tragedy occurred there in the person of a man, who, whilst undermining his neighbour, was half buried alive by a fall of earth, and had legs and several ribs broken. He died soon after. Already the ministers of religion were to the front, for officiating among the Ballaratarians were the Rev. C. T. Perks (Episcopalian), A. Morison (Independent), and P. Dunne (Roman Catholic).

The Straits of Trade.

As could not well be otherwise in such a condition of utter unsettlement, every branch of business was damped for the time by a general depression, especially all retail traffic, not even excepting the publichouses, some of whose bars were empty from morning till night. This was owing to two causes, viz., the virtual vacation of the town by so many of its inhabitants, and the absence of those helps, without whom business, unless on the smallest scale, is not possible. Shop hands and journeymen were not to be found, and under this stress several places were virtually closed; whilst others, by a great effort and additional outlay, succeeded in keeping their establishments going until the human tide ebbed. The newspapers contain several curious advertisements bearing on the subject, and from them I transcribe three *ex. gra.*:—

Mr. Francis M'Donnell, tailor, Collins Street, "begs to inform his customers, that in consequnce of all his workmen leaving him to go to the gold 'diggings' he is obliged to shut up his shop and suspend business for a month from this date." (6th October).

Mr. William Hoffman, butcher, Elizabeth Street, "respectfully informs the public that he does not intend closing his establishment."

Mr. John Lush, tailor and draper, Collins Street, "has made arrangements with his men, and is thereby enabled to keep open his establishment, where business continues to be conducted, etc."

The Melbourne journals had difficulty enough to induce sufficient compositors to remain to enable issues, made as light as possible, to be brought out; but the proprietors were regularly driven into a corner to keep on a staff of three or four boys each, as runners; for papers then were delivered every morning direct from the offices to the subscribers, and no such convenient modern usages were known as paper-sellers in the streets, or agents. The regular boys had almost all decamped, and there were instances where principals turned their own sons into morning Mercuries, and borrowed juveniles from their friends for the same purpose. This difficulty continued for several weeks.

The Doctor's Procession to the Diggings.

Melbourne could at this time boast of possessing amongst its medicoes, Mr. D. J. Thomas, a surgeon of considerable eminence, and an individual occasionally prone to harmless eccentricities. He conceived a notion of organizing something like a State procession to the gold-fields, a mixed cavalcade, for it was to be both vehicular and equestrian, including both ladies and gentlemen. He carried out his project too, for on the morning of the 14th October, a large scrap of the human remnant remaining in town, paraded to see "the Doctor" and his *cortége* starting for their destination The procession was thus formed:—Surgeon Thomas, in a four-horse drag, acting as whip and conductor-in-chief, surrounded by a bevy of ten lady passengers, the reverse of unattractive; then succeeded a barouche and pair similarly freighted, followed in turn by three ladies on horseback, attended by two equerries in the persons of Captain R. H. Bunbury, the Harbour Master and Mr. W. A. C. A'Beckett, then a rather good-looking harmless-faced young man. Though they had a perilous journey before them, they got through it well, for a newspaper of the time records "That they started on a Tuesday and arrived safe on Saturday, having only broken two poles, and camped out a night." They got into Ballarat, where there was then no township, in dashing style, and were vociferously cheered on their arrival by the congregated diggers.

One day during the past week, whilst enjoying a meditative stroll near the Hobson's Bay Railway Station, by a chance I met one of the two surviving gentlemen of this singular expedition, and on mentioning it to him, he was immensely amused by the awakening of an event which had gone to sleep in his memory, and had passed out of his recollection for years. He good-humouredly promised to supply me with a few particulars about it, and two days after I received the following communication from him:—

"As to the precise day or month, or even year, I cannot tell you, but sure enough the excursion you spoke of came off. Dr. Thomas had been talking about arranging a holiday trip out of town, and his intention was originally to go to the top of Mount Macedon, a wild enough notion at the time, for it would be beset by much difficulty; so, on consideration, he decided on a change of route, and a trip to the diggings was substituted. A party was accordingly organized, consisting, as far as I can now recollect, of—Dr. Thomas, Captain Bunbury (the Harbour Master), Mr. Lloyd Jones (the well-known squatter), Mr. W. A. C. A'Beckett, and Dr. Thomas's Groom. The lady contingent comprised—Mrs. Thomas and her little daughter, Miss H—y—y, Mrs. E. B———r, Mrs. Alexander H———r (whose husband was at the diggings), Miss S———t (now Mrs. Dr. R———ll), Mrs. L———e, Miss Elizabeth B———e (now Mrs. M. G———e), and Miss M'M——n (daughter of Dr. M'M——n, Medical Officer). This is all I can remember of the party. It was fine weather, and our route was over the plains to Staughton's Werribee Station (Exford), thence by Ballan to what is now Gordons, and

on to Ballarat. The ladies were conveyed, some in a four-horse waggon like a brake, driven by Thomas, who, not only being a good doctor, was an excellent whip; whilst others were piloted by Mr. Lloyd Jones, in a two-horse carriage. Mrs. B———r, another lady, Bunbury, and A'Beckett, travelled on horseback, and the first mentioned was thrown, but not hurt. In the evening we got to Staughton's, where we were hospitably entertained. The next day we went *viâ* Griffith and Greene's Station to Labillieres, and on the way the pole of the principal vehicle broke several times, in consequence of the steep gullies to be got through, and the pole not yielding as Yankee poles do. The author of the well-known works on Australia, young Labilliere, was there, a precocious over-learned boy, with a strong Irish brogue. In the course of the next day's journey, rearward of the house we had to ascend a very steep hill to get to Ballan, and the ascent of this was the finest piece of driving I ever witnessed. All the ladies had to walk up the hill, and at the summit was a stiff pinch for about fifty yards, with a narrow track only wide enough for one vehicle, and on the other side was a steep precipice of some hundred feet. Dr. Thomas had to get his four horses up this, and then turn the leaders before the wheelers to avoid going down the precipice. He had taken the cross-country route, instead of the ordinary and present roadway, to escape the traffic and crowds which had cut up the thoroughfare; but at Ballan, I think, we must have joined the main track. On we went that night until dark, and had to put up with the bush, where we had the enjoyment of good fires. When morning broke, we had the mortification to learn that some of the horses were lost, but found after some trouble and delay, when we started, and soon succeeded in making old Inglis's Station at Lal Lal; after this we went right into Ballarat, where the diggings had only recently broken out. For miles the place was nothing but holes and quartz pebbles, tents, tin pans, and cradles for gold washing—no such object to be seen as a house. We were cheered as we passed along, being, no doubt, the first pleasure party that had ever visited a gold-field in Victoria. We met with several Melbourne identities, who had temporarily abandoned their businesses and professions to try their luck there, such as Frank Stephen and his party, Alex. Hunter, J. B. Bennett, Solicitor, and others. We slept at the camp, the ladies, if I mistake not, being accommodated on flour bags. There can be doubt that, at the time, the diggers knew but very little of the gold they found. I saw one of them offer a nugget as large as a walnut for £5; it must have been worth at least £20. The camp was on Golden Point (a contrast now and then). We left there for Buninyong, and had it very rough all the way to Geelong. We stopped for the night at a public-house kept by a Mrs. Jamieson, sleeping on chairs in the bar, and a large table in a room. The next night we were more comfortably housed at Meredith, and finished off at Geelong about the tenth day out. Next morning we returned to Melbourne per steamer; but I cannot say whether Dr. Thomas despatched the traps and horses by road to Melbourne or not. This is all I can remember of the affair."

The "Red Rover" coach was now running between Ballarat and Geelong, and both it and the conveyance from Melbourne had rough times of it, in consequence of the manner in which the two main roads were ploughed up. Travelling by coach was then queer and ricketty work, from the frequent sticking in the "glue pots," the getting in and out of passengers up and down hill, the breaking of poles, snapping of harness, plunging, kicking, and stopping of horses, and other trifles too numerous to particularize. The following description of life at the diggings on 13th October is from the pen of Mr. Henry Lineham, once a proprietor of the well-known *White Hart Hotel*, Bourke Street:—

"Picture to yourself a space of ground covered with tents! Thousands at work! Cradles, barrows, and pickaxes all going together! Shouting, laughing and singing! Such a confusion and a noise that you are bewildered! And then at night, all lighted up with about a thousand fires; and then old acquaintances, dressed in red shirts, and with long beards, tailors with moustachios, doctors, and tinkers, all working together. Picture to yourself Dr. Campbell carrying soil on his head in a tin dish, and Dal. Campbell rocking a cradle; next to him is Dykes working. But I have done. Do not come! Stay at home until I send for you; and when I do that, be sure that I have found a Golden Mountain."

A publican named Woodlock arrived in Melbourne on the 15th, from Ballarat, with a lump of gold weighing 8 lbs., the largest single nugget yet found. It was exhibited for a few days at the *Horse and Jockey Tavern* in Little Bourke Street East, and the landlord made a good thing

out of the sight-seeing, through the impetus it gave his nobbler-selling. Woodlock's good fortune did not thrive with him, for six years after (in 1857) he was executed for murder in the Mebourne Gaol.

Mr. T. T. A'Beckett published an extremly interesting pamphlet intituled *The Gold and the Government*, — a well-written, scholarly *brochure*, teeming with good advice, and indirectly advocating what was afterwards legalized—"An Export Duty on Gold." Mr. William Westgarth, who had visited Ballarat, gave it as his opinion that upwards of £10,000 worth of gold was the daily yield at and about "Golden Point," where some 7000 persons were at work, and would therefore average something like £1 8s. 6d. per diem. Sly-grog selling and drinking had not only commenced, but was in full swing there, and £800 worth of the contraband stuff had been seized by the police.

The average price of gold was now from £3 to £3 2s., and every day brought accounts of much success, but more failures. On the 22nd October a party of four men arrived in town from Ballarat with 93 lbs. of gold, procured, as they declared, in 14 days at "Golden Point." They offered their treasure for sale to Messrs. Symons and Perry, but could not agree upon terms. The men were there own escort, and came down heavily armed. Towards the close of the month a weekly mail was established between Melbourne and Ballarat.

Another false alarm was got up in Melbourne by some publicans in the suburbs procuring a quantity of gold leaf, old brass and copper filings and mica. A pseudo-auriferous amalgam was compounded from these ingredients, and with it the neighbourhood of certain hotels was "salted" and several gold cries started. One of the supposed new gold-fields was off West Lonsdale Street, near the Fagstaff Hill; another, above all places in the world, at Sandridge; a third at Collingwood; and a fourth at Richmond. There were "rushes" to each of the "diggings," the publicans profited by the shabby hoaxes, the gold-hunters vowed vengeance, but still incontinently tippled, and a party of police had to be called out to prevent the Lonsdale thoroughfares being broken up with excavations.

The Mount Alexander Goldfield.

Dr. William Barker was the occupier of what was known as the Mount Alexander Station, on part of which the Town of Castlemaine is built, and stretching northwards in the direction of Sandhurst. Employed here as a hut-keeper was a man named Christopher Thomas Peters. One day in July (1851) this person whilst pottering about a waterhole on Barker's Creek, which was subsequently known as "Specimen Gully," found some samples of gold. He communicated the discovery to three fellow-servants. They formed a party and worked the gully until the 1st September, when they desisted for fear of being prosecuted and punished for trespass, and one of them, named Warbey, communicated the discovery to a Melbourne newspaper.

Roving diggers from Ballarat, in quest of new revelations, were scouring the country in all directions, and as good news travels often as rapidly as bad, some of them were not long in hearing of Barker's Creek, where people quickly collected, and one of the first intimations received in town was that three men had got 73 ozs. there in a day. During the month of October occasional "finds" were reported, and ere the 1st November had arrived the Mount Alexander goldfield flamed forth in all its glory, Melbourne being dazzled by the intelligence received. A Mr. Leete made his appearance in town with 250 ozs. of gold as good in quality as that of Ballarat, obtained in a week by him and four others. It was found in the bed of a nearly dry creek at the foot of Mount Alexander, wending for miles towards Barker's Creek. They had been gold-hunting for a fortnight without success, and one day, opening a hole by chance, appearances were encouraging, and they persisted. One of the first spadefuls of earth showed golden indications, when they forthwith excavated an area of 12 feet by 8, and, washing the stuff, gold was obtained in abundance. By this time the diggers were in a considerable migration from Ballarat, and stirred by the news the Lieutenant-Governor had started for the new region. He returned on the 28th October, astounded by what he had seen of the success of the miners, and entertaining an opinion that the Mount Alexander gold district was more extensive than the Ballarat one.

In November intelligence was received in the colony that the Australian gold discoveries had created a widespread and profound sensation in England, and that thousands of persons were preparing to emigrate to the Antipodes.

The First Melbourne Gold Circular

Was issued by Messrs. Stubbs and Son, on 17th November, publishing the result of sales on the 11th and 15th, of Ballarat and Mount Alexander gold, at rates from £3 1s. 7d. to £3 2s. 1d. per oz. Specimens, *i.e.*—Gold nuggets brought (1) £3 10s., and (2) £3 17s. per oz.

It was now at length established beyond doubt that goldfields existed at Clunes, Buninyong, Ballarat, Mount Alexander, Mount Mercer on the Leigh, the Wandy Yallock Gullies, Anderson's Creek, and that there were unmistakable indications of the coveted metal at the sources of the Barwon, Moorabool, Werribee, and Devil's Rivers, an area of some 10,000 square miles.

On the 19th November, the Government escort from Mount Alexander brought 6,846 ozs. and £3545 in cash; whilst one from Ballarat conveyed 2117 ozs. to Melbourne, 619 ozs. to Geelong, making in one week in round numbers 10,000 ozs. gold, which at £3 per oz. represented £30,000. Of this quantity, 462 ozs. and £2,750 belonged to the Government as the proceeds of digging licenses. Three thousand persons had gone from Ballarat to Mount Alexander in a fortnight.

The shine was beginning to be taken out of Ballarat by the superior richness and larger extent of the Mount Alexander district, and on the 29th November the former place was cast into the shade by the arrival of the Mount escort, with 11,424 ozs., leaving behind (as was said) 6000 ozs. to prevent the overloading of the conveyance. As it was, it broke down twice on the road. The quantity brought by the Ballarat escort was 1745 ozs. or both 13,169 ozs. which at £3 would make £39,507. Such extraordinary yields induced a relapse of the yellow fever in Melbourne, and every one was again thinking of nothing else than a trip to the diggings, utterly regardless of previous disappointments. In fact the gold-bitten were so numerous that during the last five months of 1851, I may safely assert that not 50 males, between the ages of 15 and 60, remained in Melbourne and its neighbourhood without visiting either Ballarat or Mount Alexander. Happening to form one of the 50, the finger of scorn was often pointed after me in the streets, and I was put down as a poor, spiritless, unplucky sort of creature, without the courage or energy to do as almost everyone else did. I managed, however, to bear all the taunts with resignation, and lived to laugh at many a returned "digger" who also lived to regret not having done as I had done. The Government was at its wits' end how to keep the public *employés* at their posts, for there was a general inclination towards wholesale desertion; and after some shilly-shallying it was determined to raise the pay of several branches of the Public Service, to wit—the Customs Boatmen, from 3s. to 5s.; Constables, 3s. 3d. to 5s.; Messengers, 2s. 6d. to 4s.; Turnkeys or Prison Warders, 4s. to 5s.; Mounted Troopers, 3s. to 4s.; Letter-carriers, 4s. to 6s.; and Labourers, from 21s. per week to 4s. per diem. &c. The shipping of gold had commenced, and one of the first houses to do so was Dalgety and Co., who exported to England 6000 ozs. by the "Himalaya." O. Brown and Co. were the purchasers of £10,000 worth. As lucky diggers flocked into town, the publicans commenced their harvesting. The nugget men were seized as with a mania for extravagances of the most reckless and farcial character. One of them, who was spreeing at the *Imperial Hotel*, in Collins Street, ordered a pair of gold stirrups to be manufactured. A madman at Geelong had his horses treated to golden shoes; and instances were known where £5-note sandwiches were swallowed without disagreeing with the *gourmands* in whom such an abnormal and unpalatable appetite was engendered. I have heard it stated as a fact that once a bunch of merry-makers were having a night of it in a Bourke Street Tavern, when one of them, more fastidious in his longings than his mates, after mixing a jorum of strong rum punch, thrust in by way of a relish a £5-note, and after stirring it up with the sugar swallowed the pulp, protesting that nothing in the world agreed with him better than a costly drink. This was a clumsy, though no doubt an unconscious, travesty

of the oft-told Cleopatra diamond dissolving. Another fool, addicted to skittle-playing, took it into his sapient noddle to employ bottles of champagne for nine-pins, and when one of them would be knocked, the fizzing and waste gave him immense satisfaction. But time brought its revenges for such wantonness, as a remarkable instance of which I saw one man who actually lighted his pipe with a £5 note begging about the streets in less than three years after, and I am assured that the champagne skittler ended his days a pauper in the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum.

Blackwood was the next locality from which gold-findings were announced. The escort on the 3rd December brought 16,333 ozs., and three-fourths of a ton of gold was tendered to Mr. Commissioner Powlett, at Mount Alexander, but he declined receiving it until the next escort was ready.

Outrages were now growing rife on the two great goldfields, and the Government manifested much vacillation in grappling with the evil.

The following extract from a letter written by a solicitor's clerk at Mount Alexander, to his employer in Melbourne, was published in Melbourne on the 3rd December:—

"I saw yesterday a singular sight. Going along the bank of the creek I noticed a crowd of people apparently scrambling together, and when I got to them I found several hundreds tumbling about and over each other, tearing up the soil with their hands, picking up the nuggets, and placing them in their pockets for safety. Upon enquiry I learned that a man was pitching his tent and saw the gold shining in the earth, and he began picking up the pieces, and others seeing what he was about rushed him as above."

On the 11th December, the Mount Alexander escort arrived with 23,650 ozs., and £4,385, Government money. The previous day the Ballarat escort fetched 222 ozs.; as to the Mount, only one-third of the yield was reported to have been sent, and the value of gold raised daily there was estimated at from £15,000 to £18,000.

The gold discoveries necessitated the appointment of a staff of Commissioners, and the following gentlemen were at various times between the 27th August and 28th November gazetted as such, viz., Messrs. F. C. Doveton, William Mair, John Fletcher, Benjamin Baxter, C. J. P. Lydiard, David Armstrong, and R. H. Horne; and on the 3rd October, the various Commissioners of Crown Lands were authorized to issue licenses to dig and search for gold in their respective districts generally.

Further Regulations also were made, and instructions issued to meet unexpected emergencies as they might arise, of the most important of which a brief general *précis* is subjoined. On the 14th October the Collector of Customs notified that as gold had been ascertained to be a natural product of the colony, the local Customs laws required on exportation that it should be entered Outwards the same as other Exports. During the same month the several Commissioners were directed to use every exertion to prevent seamen and other persons leaving hired service without their employers' permission, from obtaining gold-searching licenses; and any persons known or recognized to have been at a late date in the Public Service should not be allowed to hold a license, unless satisfactory proof was given that their leaving the Service had not only been authorized, but was unattended with embarrassment to the Government. Licenses were also not to be issued in any of the gold districts for the occupation of any ground, or disturbance of the soil in gold-searching within half a mile of every side of a homestead. The Commissioners of Crown Lands were instructed—10th October—in the event of finding any person working for gold on Crown lands without license, and ascertaining the quantity of gold (if any) so raised and sought to be removed, the unlicensed party should be required at once to pay a Royalty of ten pounds *per centum* upon such quantity; and in event of default the illegal occupier was to be removed, and steps were to be taken for the legal recovery of what was sought to be illegally appropriated. All trafficking in gold on the part of officers of every grade in Government employ on the goldfields was strictly prohibited.

On the 13th October an application was made to Mr. Commissioner Doveton to grant a license for the erection of a printing press at Ballarat with a view to the publication of a newspaper there, and on its reference to head-quarters it was refused as "His Excellency does not feel himself justified at the present time in sanctioning any occupancy of Crown lands in the locality in question, which

has not a direct reference either to the supply of the indispensable wants of the people congregated there, or their protection in the maintenance of good order." Sly-grog selling having spread at Ballarat, several of the offenders were convicted and fined by the Police Magistrate, whereupon an instruction was forwarded not to re-license any persons found directly or indirectly engaged in the sale or distribution of liquor, or in whose tent any scene of riot had occurred.

The Finding of the Several Fields.

To this day there is occasional controversy as to the particular period when the first great goldfields of Victoria were made known to the public, and it will consequently be not uninteresting to transcribe the following officially authorized statement of such remarkable facts:—

Locality.	Date of Discovery.	Distance from Melbourne.	Date when first occupied under the sanction of the Government.
Clunes	July 8, 1851 ...	100 miles	September 20, 1851
Buninyong	August 9, 1851 ...	75 miles	September 20, 1851
Ballarat	September 8, 1851...	75 miles	September 20, 1851
Mount Alexander and its vicinity...	September 10, 1851	80 miles	October 8, 1851
Anderson's Creek	August 11, 1851 ...	16 miles	September 1, 1851
Broken River and its vicinity	September 29, 1851	94 miles	October 15, 1851*

Doubling the License Fee.

Hardly had the month of December put in its appearance, when an Executive bombshell fell amongst the digging communities with an explosion that scattered astonishment and indignation throughout the length and breadth of the auriferous regions. It assumed the form of an intimation that the month's license-fee for gold-digging would be doubled, *i.e.*, increased from £1 10s. to £3. The reasons which prompted the Government to take this rash step, will be gathered from the subjoined circular transmitted to the several Goldfields Commissioners:—

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Melbourne, 2nd December, 1851.

Sir,—I have the honour, by direction of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, to draw your attention to the notice which will appear in the Government *Gazette* of this date, raising the fees upon licenses to dig and search for gold to three pounds, and I am to instruct you that this Regulation is to be strictly carried out from the first of next month; and it will be proper that sufficient notice be given of this charge within your district, in order that persons may be prepared to pay it on renewing their licenses.

His Excellency has deemed it expedient to direct this increase mainly upon two considerations: First, from the conviction that the existing fee is by no means consonant with justice to the revenue, when the large amount of gold collected by those actually engaged in the pursuit is considered; and, secondly, that it is desirable for the welfare of the colony generally to prevent, as far as practicable, the congregation of people at the goldfields who are not fully employed there.

His Excellency would again impress upon you the necessity of ensuring the assistance of as many licensed persons of character in the district as possible, in the event of a breach of the peace at any time, by swearing in a considerable number of special constables. You will also, from time to time, report to me whether you consider it necessary to make any alteration in the Police Force placed under your orders.—I have, etc.,

W. Lonsdale.

In the *Gazette* referred to, the "New Regulations" (of date the 1st) were promulgated in the following terms:—

1. The licence-fee for one month, or the greater portion of a month, will be three pounds.

* It will be noticed, when the reader peruses the closing of this chapter, that there is some variance between the foregoing figures and the conclusions upon the same points arrived at by the Committee of the Legislative Council appointed in 1853 to investigate the subject.—Ed.

2. Any person who may arrive on the ground and apply for a licence on or after the 15th of any month will be charged half the above fee.

3. All persons at the goldfields who are in any manner connected with the search for gold, as tent-keepers, cooks, &c., will be required to take out a licence on the same terms as those who are engaged in digging for it.

They were to take effect on and after the 1st January, 1852, and continue in force until cancelled.

As was only to be expected, the most intense excitement was engendered, whose offspring was the disaffection which broke out in open rebellion at Ballarat in 1854. Indignation meetings were held, at one of which 14,000 persons were said to have attended, and after threats of not only defiance, but resistance, were uttered, without any reservation, they declared, on behalf of 30,000 diggers, that they would not pay the increased fee, no matter what might be the consequences.

The fierce agitation bursting forth in all directions seems to have so stunned the Government, that it was as if panic-stricken. It wavered and floundered and hesitated, until the 13th December, when it was decided to withdraw the obnoxious fee augmentation; yet this determination does not appear to have been officially published until the *Gazette* issue of the 24th, when it was at length formulated in the usual style, and in these terms:—

> Measures being now under the consideration of Government, which have for their object the substitution, as soon as circumstances permit, of other Regulations in lieu of those now in force, based upon the principle of a royalty leviable upon the amount actually raised, under which gold may be lawfully removed from its natural place of deposit: His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, hereby causes it be notified that no alteration will for the present be made in the amount of the License Fee as levied under the Government notice of the 16th August, 1851, and that the Government notice of the 1st inst. is hereby rescinded.

Even this concession did not calm the storm, which continued to rage with much fury.

A deputation of miners arrived in town from Mount Alexander, to ask the co-operation of the sympathizers in town; and on the 29th December a mass meeting was held on the Flagstaff Hill, to receive and deal with a report of grievances from the miners of the Mount. Dr. Webb-Richmond was vociferously voted to the chair, which he promptly assumed by mounting a pile of wood close by, and from this he denounced with bitter indignation the uncalled-for tyranny of the Government. The principal other spokesmen were Messrs. J. A. Marsden, Henry Lineham, and Captain Harrison, who did not mince their words, but inveighed forcibly against the "monstrous" injustice about to be inflicted upon an enterprising and industrious body of colonists. Others with weaker lungs and of less note followed suit, and resolutions were passed:—(1) To pay no licence-fee or impost on gold until the licence question was finally adjusted; (2) Denouncing the arbitrary action of Commissioner Fletcher for seizing some gold belonging to diggers; and (3) The adoption of a Petition to the Legislative Council against a projected Vagrant Act, the voting of pay for additional soldiers, and the importation of Van Diemen's Land pensioners to do duty as constables.

It is essential to the intelligibility of this gathering that I should offer some explanation of certain facts not previously referred to. Every soldier, and everyone that could be obtained available as a trooper or a constable was drafted off to the goldfields for the preservation of peace and property. The diggers, as a whole, were well affected and well behaved, but by this time there was necessarily a large admixture of the rascaldom of the period, worked up with the general population at the goldfields. Those scoundrels loafed and swindled and robbed whenever they found a chance—they were so many human beasts of prey, prowling and hungering about, flitting from place to place, and it required the exercise of much vigilance and activity to guard against their depredations. The diggers had often to look after themselves, and they frequently did so with salutary effect, and the application of a dose of lynch law. But the Commissioners and their myrmidons had other work to do, and this they often did with a harshness that could not be palliated. In hunting up unlicensed diggers, and in their official intercourse with those who were licensed, ebullitions of temper were often indulged in, and even illegalities committed which could in no fairness be excused; and when satisfaction was sought from the higher powers, the appeal was in

most instances treated with a contemptuous indifference. Sufficient allowance will never be made for the extraordinary and totally unexpected difficulties by which the Executive was confronted, in endeavouring, in a state of extreme unpreparedness, to cope with such a sudden economic revolution as was caused by the gold discoveries; but after according the utmost latitude in such circumstances, it cannot be denied that the early administration of the goldfields was characterized by an alternating tergiversation and impulsiveness which showed a marked absence of that coolness and steadied sagacity of which the colony stood so much in need in this daily augmenting crisis. After proclaiming the increased license-fee, the ruling powers hovered and halted, as if fearing to advance, and failing in the moral courage to decently retreat, such indecision only intensified the blaze of discontent raging in every quarter. In a moment of ill-advised precipitancy a Bill was introduced to the Legislative Council (which commenced its maiden session in November) vagabondizing as "idle and disorderly persons," (and as such punishing) all diggers found working without a license. This so capped the climax of the almost universal exasperation, that the Government, in a paroxysm of pusillanimous imbecility, withdrew the obnoxious measure. As to the proposition to increase the military forces, and subsidize Van Diemen's Land pensioners as temporary policemen, no person cognizant of the abnormal condition in which the community was placed, and fairly looking the difficulties in the face, could justly censure the adoption of such a course.

Doing the Doctor.

As the "cure of diggers' souls" was provided for by the accession of clergymen to the goldfields, it was only reasonable to suppose that the cure of their bodies would not be neglected, and accordingly the corporeal, like the spiritual physicians, did not remain behind. The lancet, tourniquet, and stomach pump were accordingly efficiently represented, and amongst the *Æsculapians* who established themselves at Mount Alexander, were two popular surgeons trading, or rather practising, under the style and title of "Thomas and Barker," the latter being the well-known Dr. Edward Barker, still resident in Melbourne. Their surgery was a comfortable canvas tent, with its doorway surmounted by an orthodox sign-board, and hither flocked both patients and nuggets, as to amply reward the skill of the proprietors. Dr. Barker was one day summoned by a sick call to some neighbouring gully, and as it was an urgent case, away he went, locking up the tent in the care of itself. On his round he looked in, in a friendly way, upon the Commissioner ("Jack Fletcher"), and whilst so engaged, some unauthorized individuals were fraternizing in a very different manner in another place; for on the doctor returning to his homestead, he found it in a state of topsy-turvy, the place gutted of everything convertible, and not only £200 worth of gold abstracted, but his instruments, drugs, and wearing apparel gone too. In fact the concern had been regularly phlebotomized, and to add insult to injury, the sign-board was reversed, and chalked with the ominous legend "Barker's Occupation is Gone." The doctor did not swallow his drastic dose kindly, for he cut up wrathfully, and by instruction to his Melbourne solicitor (Mr. Clarke) offered £100 reward for information concerning the marauders, but no effectual response was ever vouchsafed.

The State of Melbourne.

The outlook in town was not of the pleasantest kind, though Christmas-tide was coming. Out of fifty men composing the police force only eleven remained staunch, though Police Superintendent Sturt had returned from his "orange-blossom" excursion, and was busily engaged in endeavouring to secure new hands for ordinary town duty, and the constitution of a special mounted patrol for street and suburban service. Almost all the Government *employés* had given "notice to quit," and salaries, where not exceeding £250 per annum, were increased fifty per cent. The state of affairs induced much alarm, for there were no adequate means for the conservation of life and property. On the 15th December a private meeting of the City Council was held to consider the situation, when it was decided that the several Aldermen should convene Ward-motes, with a view of ascertaining how far the male adult citizens were disposed to co-operate

by doing duty *pro aris et focis* as a volunteer protective force. Some of the gatherings came off, whereat prevailed a concensus of opinion that it was the bounden duty of the Government to provide sufficient protection for the community.

The diggers, glutted with gold, came rolling into town, their number considerably swelled by a dearth of water on the goldfields. Nuggets were in abundance, and cash was consequently not scarce, so far as the public-house traffic was concerned. Little Bourke Street was in a perfect state of jubilation, and the dens of immorality there and in other parts reaped a golden harvest. Drunken diggers staggering about in all directions both in daylight and dark, were picked up by the harpy harlotry of the period, not knocked down or garroted, but coaxed off to haunts of infamy, plundered during the night, and sent forth penniless in the morning. Singular, too, so far as open nocturnal street outrages were concerned, there were never fewer at any Christmas times for years, and this was accounted for by the fact that the most practised thieves were away on circuit, doing such good business at the several goldfields, or on the main roads leading thereto, as to be unwilling to abandon their lucrative pilferings for what they considered might be a more precarious chance in town. But here they miscalculated, and the grave error was not repeated at any Christmas ever after.

The last escort for the year arrived from Mount Alexander on 31st December with 10,598 ozs., and only 36 ozs. were received in town from Ballarat, the escort from which place was to be discontinued.

It is difficult, from the desultory and round-about manner in which the various discoveries of the early goldfields were communicated to the Melbourne newspapers, to trace with absolute certainty, from their perusal, the precise dates of such remarkable events. However, on the 12th October, 1853, the Legislative Council of Victoria appointed a Select Committee consisting of the following members, viz.:—Dr. Greeves (Chairman), Messrs. William and Mark Nicholson, J. F. Strachan, John Hodgson, H. E. Childers, and James Graham "to consider the propriety of requesting His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor to take such steps as may enable the Council to mark in a substantial manner their high appreciation of the services rendered by Mr. E. H. Hargreaves to this colony by the discovery of goldfields in the continent of Australia; and also what other persons are entitled to reward for the discovery of the Victorian goldfields." Several witnesses were examined, and much light was shed upon the subject. The report of the Committee was ordered to be printed—10th March, 1854, and from it are compressed these facts:—In March, 1850, Mr. William Campbell, of Strath Loddon, discovered, on the station of Mr. Donald Cameron, of Clunes, in company with that gentleman and two other friends, several minute pieces of native gold in quartz. The circumstance was avowedly concealed at the time, from an apprehension that its announcement would prove injurious to Cameron's run. Observing, however, the migration of the population to New South Wales, and the panic created throughout the whole colony, and especially in Melbourne, on the 10th June, 1851, Mr. Campbell addressed a letter to Mr. James Graham, of Melbourne, stating "that within a radius of fifteen miles of Burnbank, on another party's station, he had procured specimens of gold." Mr. L. J. Michel, with Messrs. Wm. Habberlin, James Furnival, James Melville, James Headon and B. Greenig, discovered the existence of gold in the quartz rocks of the Yarra Ranges, at Anderson's Creek, in the latter part of June, and showed it on the spot to Dr. Webb-Richmond, on behalf of the Gold Discovery Committee, on the 5th July, 1851. Full particulars of the locality were communicated to the Lieutenant-Governor on the 8th, and on the 16th a sample of gold, procured by washing the alluvial soil in the same neighbourhood, was exhibited to the Gold Discovery Committee.

About the same time Mr. James Esmonds, with Messrs. Pugh, Burn and Kelly, obtained gold in the quartz rocks of the Pyrenees, near Mr. Cameron's station. This was exhibited by Esmonds at Geelong on the 5th July, and the precise locality indicated on the 22nd.

In June, 1882, an interesting discussion was maintained in the correspondence columns of the *Argus*, upon the early gold discoveries in Port Phillip, and to some of the contributors I am indebted for several of the facts now detailed. Mr. J. T. Osmond, of St. Kilda, who, many years ago, kept a grocery establishment in Little Flinders Street, at the rear of the present Union Bank, stated that he knew "Gum, the Gold-finder," who, in 1847, called at his shop and purchased £20 worth of goods there, paid for, as was believed, from the proceeds of gold-finding. Mr. Osmond also averred that

the same year two settlers named M'Nab and O'Niel, from Burnbank, customers of his, called and settled an overdue account, when M'Nab said that one of his men had picked up a gold nugget in a gully. The man so referred to, looked in some time after, and informed Osmond that M'Nab had left for England, and carried away a quantity of gold. Mr. George Wharton, an old Melbourne architect of unimpeachable testimony, declared that he was well acquainted with Mr. T. J. Thomas, who in days of yore, kept a jeweller's shop where the Commercial Bank now stands in Collins Street, and that bushmen occasionally called there with exhibits of mica, and samples of gold, in which but little interest was taken beyond regarding them as curiosities. An individual known as "Old Yorky," used to say that he was positive there was gold to be got at the Plenty, but no account was taken of his sayings. From a lengthy and interesting communication supplied by Mr. J. Wood Beilby, an old and enterprising colonist, I extract the following with reference to an alleged early gold discovery:—

"The discoverer's name was William Rickfould, a shepherd or hut-keeper in the employ of the late W. J. T. Clarke, at Heifer Station Creek, north of the Pyrenees. I found him on the site of his discovery there early in 1845, but some years elapsed before circumstances induced him, while subsequently in my employment, to confide his discovery to me. He then reminded me of our first meeting, described the locality of his discovery minutely, and referred me to Mr. Stephen Henty and Messrs. Purbrick and Tulloh, all of Portland, as having sold gold for him in Tasmania. Mr. Henty, on my inquiry afterwards, fully bore out Rickfould's statement, but he understood the gold to be the produce of Africa, and brought here by a sailor. Had he known the gold to be Victorian I do not believe he would have bought or sold it. Even to date of 22nd May, 1851, persons digging in search of gold or removing it were declared 'liable to be prosecuted civilly and criminally' by special proclamation of His Excellency Sir Charles Fitzroy. The discoverer (William Rickfould) bound me to secrecy until his death, which he then shortly expected, and which I understood took place before I divulged the fact. I arrived in the colony in 1841, continuously resided in Melbourne, joined the Press in February, 1845, and never heard anything of the facts as stated, though for obvious reasons there was no doubt a strong motive for the concealment of any *bonâ-fide* gold-finding. The first intimation on the subject that I can discover in the old newspapers is a false alarm, when in August, 1845, Mr. David Howie, a resident on King's Island, picked up amongst the rocks there a few metallic lumps the size of a pigeon's egg. Thinking they were gold he hastened with his treasure to Melbourne, where the 'eggs' were ascertained to be iron ore, and the finder was laughed at, and returned home sadly disappointed."

Dr. George H. Bruhn, a German physician, previously mentioned, in January, 1851 (before Hargreaves' discovery at Summer Hill), started from Melbourne to explore the mineral resources of this colony; and in April he found indications of gold in quartz near Mr. Parker's station, and, on arriving at Cameron's station, was shown specimens of gold found at what were subsequently known as the "Clunes" diggings. This information he promulgated through the country, and mentioned to Esmonds, at the time engaged in erecting a building at Mr. James Hodgkinson's station. Dr. Bruhn forwarded specimens, which were received by the Gold Discovery Committee on the 30th June, 1851. The localities of Campbell and Michel's discoveries were divulged on the 5th, and of Esmonds' not until the 22nd July. Michel and party were adjudged to have "clearly established their claim as the first publishers of the discovery of a goldfield in Victoria." Licenses to dig for gold there were issued on the 1st September, previous to their issue upon any other goldfield, and about 300 persons were at work when Ballarat was discovered.

Mr. Thomas Hiscock found gold at Buninyong on the 8th August, a fact publicly notified on the 10th. This discovery of Hiscock, by attracting large numbers of diggers to the neighbourhood, was the cause of the discovery of Ballarat diggings, which are upon the same range as Buninyong, at six or seven miles distance.

The discovery of the "Golden Point" at Ballarat was claimed by two parties, both of whom went first to Hiscock's diggings, and then extended their searches, one on one side, the other on the other side of that grand focus of attraction. Where so many rich deposits were discovered, almost simultaneously, within a radius of little more than half-a-mile, it was difficult to decide to whom was

due the actual commencement of the Ballarat diggings. It was, however, clear that Brown and his party were working, during the first days of September, on one side, and Messrs. Regan and Dunlop on the other side of the range forming "Golden Point." But it must be observed that these and the numerous other parties, who by this time were searching the whole country for gold, had been attracted there by the discoveries of Esmonds and Hiscock. In fact, in the language of one of the witnesses (Mr. Alfred Clarke, of Geelong), "the discovery of Ballarat was but a natural consequence of the discovery of Buninyong." The honour of first finding gold at Mount Alexander is assigned to Christopher Thomas Peters, then a hut-keeper at Barker's Creek, in the service of Mr. William Barker, on the 20th July, at Specimen Gully. He had associated with him John Worley, George Robinson, and Robert Keen, fellow-servants, and they worked in secret until the 14th September, when, becoming alarmed at their unauthorized doings, Worley, "to prevent them getting into trouble," published in one of the Melbourne journals, *The Argus*, an announcement of the precise situation of their workings. With this obscure notice, rendered still more so by the locality being described as at "Western Port," were ushered to the world the inexhaustible treasures of Mount Alexander.

The Committee recommended that the sum of £5000 should be presented to Mr. Hargreaves; and £1000 awarded to the Rev. W. Clarke, of Sydney; and proceeded thus:—"It will be seen that on the 10th June, Mr. Campbell communicated the general fact of his having discovered gold in the Pyrenees district to Mr. Graham, but, that it was not till the 5th July, that this fact, together with the exact locality, was made known by the former, in a letter of that date addressed to the latter. On the same day (5th July) Mr. Michel actually showed the locality of his discovery to Dr. Webb-Richmond, as a member of the Gold Discovery Committee. The Clunes discovery was also made known at Geelong, by Mr. Esmonds on the same day; and the information of it was generally diffused by Dr. Bruhn in his *tour* through the interior. Mr. Hiscock's discovery, though later in date, was of so superior a value, since it at once led to revealing the treasures of Ballarat, and the turning the tide of popular migration to our own borders, that your Committee consider him entitled to be placed in the foremost rank of our gold discoverers."

The Committee agreed to recommend, "That to Mr. Michel and his party as having, at considerable expense, succeeded in discovering and publishing an available goldfield, the sum of £1000 should be given; to Mr. Hiscock, as the substantial discoverer of the Ballarat deposits, a like sum of £1000; to Mr. Campbell, as without doubt the original discoverer of the Clunes, a like sum of £1000; to Mr. Esmonds, as the first actual producer of alluvial gold for the market, a like sum of £1000; and to Dr. Bruhn, as an acknowledgment of his services in exploring the country, and diffusing the information of the discovery of gold, the sum of £500."

The Report concludes by recording an opinion which has been amply verified by the progress of events from 1854 to 1885, viz.:—"The discovery of the Victorian Goldfields has converted a remote dependency into a country of world-wide fame; it has attracted a population, extraordinary in number, with unprecedented rapidity; it has enhanced the value of property to an enormous extent; it has made this the richest country in the world; and, in less than three years, it has done for this colony the work of an age, and made its impulses felt in the most distant regions of the earth."

At the end of 1851 the population had increased to 97,489 souls, a number swelled during 1852 to 168,321, and in 1853, to 222,436.

In 1851 the quantity of gold raised was 145,137 ozs.; in 1852, 2,738,484 ozs.; and in 1853, 3,150,021 ozs. On the 31st December, 1884, the population of Victoria numbered 959,836 persons, and the total gold extracted from Victorian soil from 1851 to same date realized, so far as can be ascertained, the enormous yield of fifty-two millions, nine hundred and eight-eight thousand, four hundred and eighty (52,988,480) ounces, which, at £4 per ounce, represents the almost incredible sum of two hundred and eleven millions, nine hundred and fifty-three thousand, nine hundred and twenty (£211,953,920) pounds sterling!

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE NATIVITY AND NON-AGE OF MELBOURNE JOURNALISM.

SYNOPSIS:—The First Manuscript Newspapers.—Fawkner's "Advertiser."—The First Printed Newspaper.—Demise of the "Advertiser."—"The Port Phillip Gazette."—Arden and Strode.—"The Port Phillip Patriot."—Fawkner Redivivus.—"The Port Phillip Herald."—Cavenagh and Kerr.—"The Weekly Free Press.—"The Times."—"The Standard."—"The Courier."—"The Albion."—"The Observer."—"The Port Phillip Christian Herald.—"The Church of England Messenger."—"The Melbourne Family Herald."—Mr. Finlayson and "The Temperance Advocate."—"The Victoria Temperance Pioneer."—"The Telegraph."—"The Melbourne Weekly Despatch."—"The Times" Gives Up the Ghost.—"The Herald" Changes its Name.—Its First Publication as a Daily.—"The Melbourne Argus."—Mr. William Kerr again at the Helm.—Sheriff's Sale of "The Melbourne Argus."—Demise of "The Melbourne Argus."—The First Appearance of "The Argus."—Wilson and Johnston, Proprietors.—Wilson Committed for Libel.—First Appearance of "The Argus" as a Daily.—Demise of "The Gazette."

NO branch of this work reveals more amusing reminiscences than the early journalism of the city, its humble origin, and the obstacles that beset the birth and growth of our first newspapers; the petty feuds and rivalries that distracted the little commonwealth of our "Fourth Estate;" the *personnel*, peculiarities and bickerings of the proprietors and editors; their abuse and "slang-whanging" of each other; and the narrow and distorted views they took of the responsible positions they filled. The proprietorial and editorial squabbles were, however, matters of little or no moment to the reporters, or "Recording Angels" of the period, who usually fraternized in the most agreeable way with each other; and so long as they got through their week's work, and drew their week's money, troubled themselves not a straw about the contentions of the higher powers. They were a light-hearted, easy-conscienced, free-handed lot, who cared not a jot about the *atra cura*, and all the troubles in its train. Regardless of to-morrow, they took each to-day as it came, and so made their pilgrimage through this world with an average share of its enjoyments. Many a queer and racy incident might be recounted of them, a few samples of which will crop up in a subsequent part of this notice.

The first Melbourne newspaper (as it must in courtesy be styled) was a miserable "rag," a sheet of what was known as uncut foolscap, ruled and bi-columned, and presenting eight columns of very inferior reading manuscript matter. It was brought out by the irrepressible J. P. Fawkner, who would be always first in everything, and the first number was published under the following style and title:—

THE
MELBOURNE ADVERTISER
PORT PHILLIP AUSTRALIA
No. 1, written for and published
By
JOHN P. FAWKNER.
January 1st Monday 1838 Melbourne
VOL. 1st.

The caligraphy is the most creditable part of the affair, except that as it is evidently transcribed from Fawkner's "copy," it treats all the laws of punctuation, and some of the orthography, with supreme indifference. Fawkner, though a man of much reading, or rather miscellaneous "cramming," had no culture, and his weakness for capital letters and no stops or pauses of any kind in his very profuse contributions to the colonial Press stuck to him during his life. The *Advertiser* is a small Fawknerian Epitome, for with the exception of a long mercantile advertisement from Mr. W. F. A. Rucker, and two or three smaller ones, it is Fawkner all over. The leader is thoroughly Fawknerian, so is the only

The Melbourne Advertiser Port Phillip. Australia.

No 1 Written for, and Published by, John P Fawkner
January the 1st Monday. 1838. Melbourne.
John Pascoe Fawkner v. Gift. Vol 1st

We opine that Melbourne cannot reasonably remain longer marked on the Chart of advancing civilization Without its Advertiser... Such being our imperial Fiat we do intend therefore by means of this our Advertiser to throw the resplendent Light of Publicity upon all the affairs of this new Colony, Whether of commerce, of Agriculture or of the arts and mysteries of the Saviour, All these potent roads to wealth are thrown open to the adventurous Port Phillipians, All these Sources of riches are about to (or already are) become accessible to each adventurous Colonist of Ours The future fortunes of the rising Melbournians will be much accelerated by the dissemination of intelligence consequent upon the Press being thrown open here, But until the arrival of the printing materials, we will by means of the humble pen disperse such intelligence as may be found expedient, or as may arise..... The energies of the present population of this rapidly rising district have never been exceeded in any of the Colonies of Britain..... Its grand like Straits have filled with astonishment the minds of all the neighbouring States, the Sons of Britain languish when debarred the use of that mighty Engine the Press, A very small degree of support timely afforded will establish a Newspaper here, But until some further arrangements are made, it will be merely an Advertising Sheet and will be given away To Householders.

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Lost.

On the 17 Decr last between Melbourne and the Ford of the Salt water River, A Lady's handsome gold Ear Drop whoever will bring the lost Earring to the office of this Paper shall be handsomely rewarded. Dec 27th 1837.

Wanted,

A good Serviceable Cartman for reference Apply at this Office Decr 27 1837

For Sale.

Fit for Breeding or for the Butcher. 20 Choice Pigs. Apply At Fawkners Hotel.

For Sale,

250 Head of Prime Cattle these are adopted for Breeding being choice Stock, a part are fit for the Supply daily required by the Butchers. For reference enquire of J P Fawkner

Also

From 1 to 30 good useful Horses, the greater part of these useful animals are quiet Saddle Horses, and will carry a Lady, enquire at the Office of this paper.

Notice

From 100 to 2000 ft of good Sawn at 6 per ft 20,000 at 20/ per 1000 Shingles

Window Cills of Sydney Stone and large Size Hewn Logs for Hewn.

2000 – 5 ft paling for Sale at 12/ per Hundred, they are of V D. Land manufacture and are ready for delivery, orders on V D Land will be taken in payment of the above Timber and Stone by,

J. P. Fawkner.

Port Phillip Packet

This fine fast Sailing Cutter will be kept as a Regular Trader between this Port and Launceston, Carries from 30 to 40 Bales of Wool and is confidently expected To arrive at this Port on the 10th inst. For particulars Enquire of, Capt Akers

January 1st 1838

Wanted by the Commercial World at Williams Town and Melbourne, About 40 Beacons good Sea Tree Stuff would answer, to mark the Channel from the outer Anchorage to this Town, whoever will perform this Service Shall be entitled to the Public Thanks

Of the Colony

A quantity of Sale Bears Superfine New Zealand Pine in Log, and Flooring Boards, Apply to Mr Horatio Cooper or Mr Hugh Mc Lean Williams Towns.

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For London direct

The fine fast Sailing Ship
Hardly Barthen and Sons
will be ready to receive Wool early
next month the greater Part
of her Cargo being engaged She
will meet with very quick dispatch.
This vessel possesses very superior
accommodations

For Freight or Passage
Apply to W. H. Thackeray
Queen Street Melbourne

For Launceston

The fast Sailing Cutter Jemima
will leave for the above Port on
the 20th January 1838

Apply to — W. H. MacKay

Geelong Trader

The well known Schoo
~~from Liverpool~~ will sail regularly
~~Between the~~ for above Ports and
Melbourne every tenth day

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item of local news about a "Cock and Bull" story of one Cummerford murdering two constables and a soldier—and Fawknerism glimmers through the rest of the advertisements.

The "leader" is a most unique specimen of bombast and bumptiousness overlying a thin stratum of truth and prophecy, and as the oldest "Literary (?) Curiosity" in the colony, it is well worth reproducing in these pages.

Though generously promised to be "given away to householders" a charge of sixpence per copy was made, but in consequence of the manual labour involved in working it off, the circulation was limited to about a dozen copies, and the public, instead of indulging in a free read, as at present outside the newspaper offices, were obliged to go inside *Fawkner's Hotel* to ascertain the "latest intelligence," where they had the *Advertiser* as a counter-lunch, washed down by a shilling's worth of tipple.

A few numbers only of this "weekly" were issued, and I believe there is only one set of it in existence. Though not easy of access, I was fortunate enough to secure a perusal, and a cursory review of a periodical so rare and exceptional cannot be devoid of interest.

No. 1 (at least the copy before me) is wholly in Fawkner's handwriting, a legible scroll enough, but with a character that to a close inspection evidences a certain nervousness on the part of the quill-driver. It is a sheet of paper bi-sected with red lines, and consists of one leaf (two pages) and half a leaf, or one column, on the third page, the fourth being blank.

Some Assistant-Editor appears to have attempted a revision of several of the Fawknerian expressions, but only to render them mostly undecipherable.

No. 2 (8th January) shows some improvements in get-up, appearance, and penmanship. The foolscap is of better quality. The whole is in Fawkner's writing, and very legible, evincing no sign of the sub-editing disfigurement of the first number. There is an increase in advertisements, including a lengthy catalogue of commodities on sale at Batman's store. Some of those in No. 1 reappear, and of course had to be re-written, as there could be no "lifting of type." A Mr. Weatherly intimates that "he sells the best wheaten bread at the lowest possible price, and, to those who wish it, he allows one month's credit," an agreeable bit of intelligence, no doubt. A blacksmith and farrier (name not given) had his forge in full blast adjoining *Fawkner's Hotel*, south side of Collins Street, between Queen and Market Streets, and his advertisement tersely announces, "All work of the above branches performed quickly and neatly." The veterinary surgical fees are not stated, probably through professional delicacy; but some of the anvil prices are unmistakably specified, as "Horses shod, cash, 7s. 6d.; credit, 9s. 6d.; all other work in proportion." The Fawkner Library, previously noticed, appears to have assumed a circulating character, for the proprietor thus appeals to his constituents to roll up and wipe out the arrears scored against them:—"Those of the Subscribers who took Credit when they favoured the establishment [the library] with their Support, are most Respectfully informed that it is usual to Pay up all arrears at the beginning of a new year." Amongst the shipping items, the "Tamar" is reported as having, on the 7th January, arrived with sheep from Launceston, and by her came a Hobart Town paper. There is no "leader," to make up for which is a "Poet's Corner," embellished with an original effusion of two verses commencing

> "Oh! what a pure and sacred thing
> Is beauty curtained from the sight.—"

and they are simply eight lines plagiarized *verbatim* from "The Fire-Worshippers," in Moore's *Lalla Rookh!*

The only local news consists of an unintelligible narrative of a murder committed by a convict named Cummerford, who is thus described:—"A light well-made youth about nineteen he has rather a prepossessing look and a very Mild Vice, small fine Neck and remarkably large Upper Head the lower part is very small and the chin recedes towards the Neck so as to make a very strange appearance when looked closely into." This "small fine Neck" was afterwards stretched by the hangman, for Cummerford was arrested by two bush-hands in the employment of Mr. Wedge—one of the earliest settlers—shipped off to Sydney, and tried and executed these.

No. 3 (15th January) is of same size and appearance as its predecessors, but written by an amanuensis. Some of the advertisements are repeated, others are new, and there is a "Poet's Corner,"

consisting of some commonplace unacknowledged stanzas in a moralizing and abstract style. The news items consist of a notice of the first overland mail to Sydney, a meteorological memo., and some shipping records. The following "Maxims" are given for general information:—"The triumph of woman lies, not in the admiration of her lover, but in the respect of her husband; and that can only be gained by a constant cultivation of those qualities which *she* knows *he* must value." "Few faculties more deserve or better repay cultivation than that of the Imagination—it is the soil whence flowers and fruits equally spring." To provide some light reading, and to exercise the ingenuity of the readers, an agreeable diversion is effected by the insertion of "riddles," viz.:—

1. What letter of the alphabet goes all round Great Britain?
2. What manufacture has an old hat had?
3. When is a boat not a boat?
4. When is a man's face like a Jewish priest?

It is intimated that "any answers pertinent to the above will be gratefully received up to the 21st;" but it does not appear that any had ever been sent in. The following *excerpta* are copied *verbatim et literatim*:—

No. 4, 22nd January.—The specimen before me is inscribed "Office Copy," and there is on it the clerk's marking of the advertisements for re-insertion or withdrawal. This evidently belonged to the filed set. After the first number, the leading matter seems to have dropped. This is a very poor affair, the most striking feature in it being a Fawknerian notice in this strain:—"To let A substantial Weatherboarded house, 27ft by 14, divided into Two rooms below and one upper Room the whole length it is well *floured* Bricknogged and plastered enquire of the proprietor." It also contains a sporting notice of an intended race-meeting to come off on the 27th at *Fawkner's Hotel*, and a couple of small shipping matters.

No. 5 is mis-dated January 1st instead of 29th, and shows no improvement. It has its "Maxims" and "Poet's Corner," and announces the arrival of the Sydney mail on the 28th, with newspapers to the 12th. There is also published portion of a notice from the Sydney *Government Gazette* (22nd November, 1837), relative to Immigration and the discontinuance of the Assignment of Convicts. It mentions that the Melbourne Races (the first) were to be run on the 7th and 8th March.

No. 6 (5th February) is more of a newspaper, for it records two or three occurrences, the most sensational being the perpetration of an outrage thus described:—"Sunday night or early this morning six prisoners of the Crown absconded from their respective Masters Taking with them a large Boat belonging to J. P. Fawkner and a Mariner's Compass." Amongst the advertisements is one of "£2 reward offered for black painted Boat with a red Streak Square Stern—Stolen from bank of river. Apply to Thomas Field." Doubtless both refer to the one transaction.

No. 7 (12th February) is bordered with a ruling of red ink, and the writing is Fawkner's own. The following, from the advertisements, deserve re-publication:—"Derwent Bank Agency.—The undersigned hereby gives notice that from Thursday next, the 8th inst., he will receive deposits, and discount bills and orders for account; and under the responsibility of the Derwent Bank Company at Hobart Town, V.D. Land. W. F. A. RUCKER, Melbourne, 6th February, 1838."

"Intercourse with Williamstown.—The undersigned begs to inform the public that he keeps a boat and two men in readiness for the purpose of crossing and re-crossing passengers between Williamstown and the opposite beach. Parties from Melbourne are requested to raise a smoke, and the boat will be at their service as soon as practicable. The least charge is 5s. and 2s. each when the number exceeds two. H. M'LEAN, Williamstown, 9th February, 1838."

No. 8, February 19th.—There is evidently a new hand, or rather a copyist, at the helm, as the writing is fluent, and as legible almost as print. The copy, however, is impressed with a melancholy remembrance of poor Fawkner, for written across the first page by his "vanished hand" are the two words "Parlour Copy," making it evidently the sheet kept for hotel use. The advertisements are on the increase, and include an official programme of the first Race Meeting to come off in the Province.

No. 9 (26th February) contains some *corrigenda* of the Racing Prospectus issued in its predecessor, and revised schedules of articles for sale at the stores of Batman and Rucker. The only item of intelligence is the following, which is an average sample of Fawkner's composition:—

"On Friday last the 6 Bushrangers who some time past stole a Boat from this Town entered the Hut of Mr O'Connor's Station near Western Port and took 3 Guns one Pistol a quantity of Gunpowder and Shot Pr of Boots Some Flour, Tea, Sugar, &c upon Mr O. C. urging the danger of being left without firearms they promised to return two of the Guns and Pistol, they behaved very quietly and avoided all that Brutal conduct which so frequently Attends such exploits."

The "Poet's Corner" is garnished with a lay of "The Lover to his Intended," the first verse of which is so amorous or rather erotic in its phraseology as to render its production here undesirable. The last verse thus reads literally:—

"Sing me to sleep Thy Cadences
Shal be the music of the breze
To fill my sail and waft me on
Until some halcyon Shore be Won
While Love and Hope and Plesure beam
The guiding Stars throughout my Dream."

No. 10, 5th March, has a fair show of advertisements and nothing more. The boat notice of the McLean who ferried passengers from Williamstown to the beach is written one and a-half times. On the third page appears the following extraordinary "postscript," evidently scribbled in hurry and rage, by Fawkner, for it is in his handwriting, and in appearance very much as if his hand shook considerably while he was inditing it:—

"This number was not fully Written out
when press and Type arrived, and
No. 10 was printed,
But unfortunately was lost or
stolen, and so lost to
JOHN P. FAWKNER,
May 4th, 1838."

The commas were put in by some other person. And so end the MSS. productions. All the foregoing numbers are inscribed under the title in Fawkner's writing as

"John Pascoe Fawkner's Gift."

THE FIRST PRINTED NEWSPAPER.

Whilst Fawkner was working away with his pen-and-ink *sketcher*, a rare stroke of good fortune placed him in possession of some used-up type and an old press, which had been superannuated in Launceston, and he was in ecstacies over the valuable "find." But though the "pica" was there, no regular "picanier" or compositor was to be found. After much hunting up a very "grassy" hand, in the person of a Van Diemonian youth, who, seven years before, had worked for a twelvemonth at "case" was ferretted out, and how he and Fawkner contrived to get the paper "set-up" is one of those mysteries which time has never unravelled. The *Advertiser* did, however, appear in all the battered glory of half-defaced type, and its first issue contains an agglomeration of news almost as seedy as the letter-press. The leader thus concludes:—"We earnestly beg the public to excuse this our first appearance, in the absence of the compositor, who was engaged. We were under the necessity of trusting our first number (in print) to a Van Diemonian youth of eighteen, and this lad only worked at his business about a year, from his tenth to his eleventh, 1830 to 1831. Next the *honest* printer, from whom the type was bought, has swept up all his old waste letter and called it type, and we at present labour under many wants; we even have not as much as Pearl Ash to clean the Dirty Type."

I have met with but two numbers of the *Advertiser* in its altered guise. One is dated 9th April, 1838, as No. 15, vol. 1, and is printed in very abominable letter on some material resembling old half-baked coarse tea-paper. It is a small single sheet, not much larger than its first parent, but altogether a marked improvement in style. Its "get-up" could not be compared with any newspaper now in existence, but large allowance must be made for the circumstances and exigencies of the times in which it lived. It is all very well for the denizens of the present day, the readers of our morning and evening journals to laugh scornfully at the Fawknerian efforts, but the probability is that they would have done no better, possibly not so well, were they contemporaries of the plucky and redoubted "Johnny." The motto of the rehabilitated journal was "We Aim to Lead, not Drive;" and a "leader" regularly appeared but it was in reality little more than a paragraph. In the present instance the subject was a castigation of the Government for wharfage neglect. Amongst the advertisements are three, which as the first of the kind in the country deserve special mention. Mr. A. J. Eyre, of Collins Street, intimates his being about to leave the colony, and all claims against the firm of Wilson and Eyre, and himself personally, are to be rendered for adjustment, and all accounts owing settled forthwith. Christopher Poining had "commenced as Town Herdsman, and is ready to take charge of milking cows or other cattle by the day or week. Terms 1s. per head." The first auction sale is thus launched upon public attention. "G. Lilly, Collins Street, offers for public competition some dairy cows, perfectly suitable for the use of private families—are perfectly quiet and gentle, having been broken-in at a large town dairy in Sydney;" also, "gentlemen's, ladies', and children's wearing apparel, after the cattle sale on 24th April." There is, likewise, a short summary of English news, and extracts from the Sydney journals. The paper now has a regular imprint of—"Printed and published by J. P. Fawkner, at the *Melbourne Advertiser* Office, Melbourne." The terms were 10s. per quarter if paid quarterly; if paid yearly 50s.; single paper 1s. Advertising: 4s. for every advertisement not exceeding eight lines, and 3d. per line after. It is announced that the "columns of the *Melbourne Advertiser* are much wider than any other colonial newspaper."

No. 17, 23rd April, is enlarged to a double-sheet or eight pages, and gives a rather lengthy *précis* of English intelligence. The "leader" advocates an increase to the Government Survey staff; and a "leaderette" sets forth the wants of Melbourne, from a resident Governor to clearing the streets of tree-stumps. Both seem to have been written by Fawkner, but are revised by some mending hand, and the first is tolerably well done. Various items of colonial and local news are given, and there is an *excerpt* describing the "outbreak of Civil War in Canada." The Protestant Bishop of Sydney was then on a visit here, and some of his movements are chronicled. A ship of war, the "Conway," arrived from Sydney. There is a good show of advertisements, including a notification, the first of its kind, viz., H. Kettle, Painter and Glazier, who "commenced business in Elizabeth Street, and hoped by strict attention to gain the support of the public." A reward of £2 is offered for the recovery of a lost gold ring engraved with a heart and cross; and H. Cooper had for sale claret and bottled sherry in three dozen cases, and Malaga sherry in casks. The imprint is transferred from the tail to the head of the paper, under the title; and the place of publishing is given as in Flinders Street. An elaborate scale of charges with conditions is put forward as a postscript in diamond type, viz.:—The paper was to be published every Monday; single copies, 1s.; quarterly (if paid when called for) 10s.; credit, 12s. 6d.—only two quarters' credit given. Advertisements: Subscribers, 4s. for first eight lines, every additional line, 3d.; non-subscribers, 5s. for first eight lines, every additional line, 4d. Advertisements received till Saturday evening at 6 p.m., but persons wishing to do so could, on paying an extra charge of 2s. 6d., have the privilege to "insert a short advertisement on a Monday morning before 8 o'clock p.m."

Mr. Bonwick, to whose interesting work I am indebted for some items of information about the Press up to 1840, supplies a few amusing details of the first three newspapers, the *Advertiser*, *Gazette*, and *Patriot*. The *Advertiser* no sooner appeared in an imprinted form than legal obstacles interposed, and led to its suppression. By the Colonial law, a printed newspaper required to be licensed, and the *Advertiser* was not licensed. The Press Laws of New South Wales were then

THE

Melbourne Advertiser.

PORT PHILLIP, AUSTRALIA.

VOLUME 1 MONDAY APRIL 9 1838. NUMBER 15

FOR FREIGHT OR PASSAGE

The Strong built cutter Rebecca, is now fitted out as a regular Trader between Melbourne and Launceston, and is one of the fastest sailing craft in this trade. Those shippers of goods or passengers to the most eligible conveyance between Melbourne and Launceston,

Apply to CAPTAIN BAIL.

Melbourne January 24th 1838.

THE ENTARPRIZE

Will continue to trade between the Ports of Melbourne and Launceston, at the REDUCED freight of Two Pounds per Ton, Wool sent over per Enterprize will be stored and shipped at Melbourne free of expence to the grower, and goods from Launceston will be carefully housed at a low rate, This Vessel has been Two years and a half constantly employed in this Trade, and has never damaged any part of her cargo.

Apply at Melbourne of J. P. FAWKNER, at Launceston, of J. C. UNDERWOOD

NOTICE

The undersigned being about to leave the Colony by the first opportunity, requests that all claims both, against himself in the duality, and also against the firm of WILLIS and EYRE, be forthwith rendered for adjustment, and all persons indebted to the said firm are requested to settle their accounts forthwith.

ALFRED J. EYRE.

Collins-street, Melbourne,
March, 13, 1838.

WINES.

Claret, in 3 dozen cases. Bottled Sherry in 3 dozen casks. Malaga sherry in casks.

Melbourne March the 23rd. 1838 Apply to H. Cooper

STOLEN OR STRAYED.

A bay Mare 14 hands high star or diamond on the forehead branded T S on the off hip, black points, had on a leather collar when missed, A reward of Five Pounds will be paid on conviction of the offender if stolen or £1 will be paid to whoever will bring her to Captain Scott if strayed.

CHAS. SCOTT.

Melbourne, March 30th 1838.

THE undersigned most respectfully begs leave to inform Gentlemen and Travelers, that he has opened a Store and house of accomodation, on the Rume River Port Phillip crossing place, where he has constantly on Sale an assortment of Wines and Spirits; also bottled Ale and Porter, of the best quality, and on reasonable terms.

ROBERT BROWNE.

Hume River.

THE Undersigned begs to inform the public that he keeps a boat and two Men in readiness for the purpose of crossing and recrossing passengers between William's Town and the opposite beach.

Also passengers and Luggage to Melbourne.

H. McLEAN

William's Town, March 23rd 1838.

N. B. No attention paid to a smoke on the beach,

ON SALE AT THE MELBOURNE STORE

Superior Black Cloth Dress Coats
do. do. Surtout do
do. Green and olive shooting do.
do. Buckskin Cloth and other fancy Trowsers
do. Black & Blue Cloth do.
Black cloth Waistcoats
Gambroon and Pea cloth Rolling and shooting coats
Superfine Blue Cloth Jackets
Coloured silk Waistcoats
Swansdown and Tailanet do.
Moleskin Corduroy and duck Trowsers
do. Shooting Coats
do. Jackets and Duck frocks
Fancy Regetta and white Shirts
Superfine Beaver Hats
Black and drab gossamer do,
Manilla Caps
Blankets and Rugs
Gentlemens boots and shoes
Stockmens do. do.
Ladies prunella shoes
Children's leather boots and shoes
do. printed frocks and trowsers
Black and other silk handkerchiefs
White cotton stockings
Braces, pins, needles, black, white, and drab, thread,
Clothes, hat, hair, tooth, shoe and furniture brushes,
Back, braid, and side combs
Pocket and dandriff do.
Rosewood tea caddies and work boxes
Gentlemen's portable dressing cases, and snuff boxes
Night light and Lucifer matches
Stock locks, butt hinges and sash pullies,
A general assortment of stationary, comprising,
Paper, pens & quills, red & black ink, playing cards, bills of lading, &c &c.
Elegant cut glass decanters, tumblers, sugar basons, cruets, &c &c.
Kip and Kangaroo leather, musket flints, tin and earthen ware milk dishes, curry combs and horse brushes, an assortment of nails, French pickles consisting of anchovies, olives and Capers, &c. &c. &c

Melbourne, March the 2nd. 1838.

CHRISTOPHER PONTING,

BEGS leave to inform the public of Melbourne, that he has commenced TOWN HERDSMAN, and that he is now ready to take charge of milking cows or other cattle, by the day or week.—Terms, 1s. per head,

Apply at Mr. MAGNAL'S, Collins-street.

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SHIP NEWS.

ARRIVALS,

From April 2. to 9th.

Industry, Trundle, Sheep, from George Town.
Henry. Whiting, Sheep, from do.
Yarra Yarra, Laney, Merchandize, from Hobart Town, and Passengers.
Adelaide, Merchandize from Launceston,
Tamar. Sheep, from George Town.

DEPARTURES.

Aquille Cutter, Launceston.
Industry, George Town, in ballast.
Henry, do. in ballast.
Entery ize, Launceston, wool, 62 bales.
Jemima, do.

MELBOURNE ADVERTISER.

WE AIM TO LEAD NOT DRIVE,

We have seen and had some conversation with a gentleman lately returned from South Australia. He reports that the Government there have cut a canal for boats to land goods and passengers from the vessels, at an expense of £800, and that the charge of wharfage is less there than at Melbourne, where as yet nothing has been done in the wharf accommodation way; except felling a few trees. —We respectfully call the attention of the Government to this fact, particularly at William's Town where all persons who land must wade ashore through water and mud, or else pay for being carried through it. All *heavy cases or packages* of goods, run a great *risk* of being *wet* with *salt water*, and consequently spoi'ed for the *want* of a *Wharf*—which want might be remedied in one short month. Twenty crown servants, properly attended to, could effect this very desirable end. These men could be spared from the work they are now engaged on, a work which is not, nor will be, required this year. We refer to the street at present cutting. While on this subject, we feel it our bounden duty also to censure the absence of the beacons placed originally by our proprietor and twice renewed at his expence since August, 1835. They are destroyed we fear by the boatmen, in hopes to get the carriage of the goods themselves from the anchorage at William's Town, and as the labor of replacing them is not very great, and can be done by the Crown prisoners without any other expence, we do think that the authorities *here*, ought in justice to the community, to remedy this defect. No vessel can get up without these marks, even if the master or captain is ever so well acquainted with the river, without losing time by sending a boat ahead to sound all the way up, and few vessels have men enough for this; and although all vessels pay heavy port charges the Government have no pilots; not one; nor has One Pound been as yet expended on marking the channel from William's Town to Melbourne, or in assisting in the landing of goods by a Wharf, or any kind of a substitute for one.

And this too, in a port, where the quarter's customs and dues fall but little short of £4,000—say £950 per quarter, or £3,800 per annum. This nearly equals the whole revenue of Cornwall, V. D. Land, in 1827—including the customs, &c., &c., of Launceston and George Town. The sum total was £4,641 6s. 3d, and we are fully of opinion that this port and township have paid nearly or quite as much. This speaks volumes in favour of the energy of the colonists, and the fertility which induces their immigration.

The town of Melbourne is rapidly increasing in population and in building. There at this present time not less than ten brick houses in hand, some of them roofed in, others, the walls partly built. Some of these houses are large, and six are of two stories, with under ground cellars The wood buildings are more numerous, but generally of less size. In fact persons who have been absent only a few days, on their return express pleased feelings of surprise at the very evident advancement of this flourishing, but newly-settled town.

About 180 allotments have been sold here, and the first hundred in June 1837—the eighty lots in November last—and already more than two hundred buildings are ready (or nearly so) for dwelling in.

These few Allotments cost the *People* above *Seven Thousand Pounds.*—what Colony of Britain can equal this for enterprise and industry.

ENGLISH NEWS.

THE SPANISH WAR.—The defeat of the British Legion at Andoain is calculated to dispirit the Christinos, who, notwithstanding their hatrred of the British troops, are quite aware of the services rendered by them. The Legion displayed great bravery. Alone it stood the brunt of a superior force, and allowed itself to be cut to pieces. Had the Spaniards shewn anything like such gallantry, they would not have have had now to deplore the presence of Don Carlos in the neighbourhood of their capital. Everything appears to be in confusion in Madrid, and none can foresee the upshot. The approach of Carlos is not the only thing dreaded, conspiracies are talked of, and several arrests have taken place of parties suspected. Zariateigui is to advance on Guadarama and the northern chain of mountains which runs within twenty miles of Madrid, while Cabrera takes possession of Toledo, and secures the route of Andalusia and Estramadura. Don Carlos and the Infante will take up a central position, so as to co-operate with either army, or move directly upon Madrid, when the occasion offers. The object of the Carlists is to prevent the Queen Regent and the baby Queen from retreating to Cadiz, as no doubt Lord Palmerston would still persevere in his blind policy, and continue to uphold a nominal authority. Don Carlos is not anxious to hasten matters out of their due course. His success appears certain, and he has only to guard against a surprise, or some untoward event to secure it. He will not attack Madrid, but he will invest it; and unless Lord Palmerston sends assistance to the Queen, he will enter it whenever he thinks fit.

PORTUGAL—Lisbon, Sept. 19—Birth of an heir to the throne.—The Queen has been safely delivered of a little prince, he is said as his father, and plump as his mother.

EGYPT.—The stagnation of commerce in England is operating powerfully in Egypt. All business in Alexandria is at a stand, and public confidence annihilated. Such is the scarcity of good paper, that large remittances in specie had been lately made in Leghorn and Marseilles. The Pacha will not sell his large stock of cotton, consisting of 90,000 bales, for less than 10 and one-eighth dollars, while nobody thinks of offering him more than eight dollars. There has not been a transaction for a month past, and every other branch of trade is equally dull.

SWITZERLAND.—The Swiss Association for the Promotion of Public Welfare held their meeting this year at Geneva. The society proposes to itself more particularly the investigation of three points of equal importance; popular education, national industry, and the best plan of relief for the poor. On the subject of education, the society came to an unanimous resolution that no education was of any value, if it did not purpose moral cultivation and improvement as the primary object of its endeavours. Zellweger, from St Gallen, had sent in a treatise to condemn any interference on the part of Government in matters connected with the corn laws; but, at the same time he admitted the peculiar position of Switzer and made it desirable to form magazines of flour as a provision against times of scarcity.

PERQUISITES TO JUDGES.—The Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench according to ancient usage, receives annually at Christmas four yards of broad cloth from Blackwell Hall, and thirty six loaves of sugar, presented to him by the officers on the plea side of the Court. Each Puisne Judge receives annually, according to ancient usage, a small silver plate and eighteen loaves of sugar, presented by the officers on the plea side of the Court.

GLOVE MONEY.—In the Queen's Bench every counsel who makes a motion on the last day of term, whether it be an original motion, or to make a role to shew cause absolute, pays 2s. for the first motion, and 1s. for each succeeding. The money is collected by Mr. Aldridge, as deputy for the master, and he hands it over to the clerk of the junior Judge. The money is distributed by the Judges in charity. In the Exchequer the money is collected by the ushers, and for the same purpose, but the charge is 1s. for each motion.

FRANCE.—The reported death of Abd-el Kader is contradicted by the last advices from Algiers. The camp of Ghelma had been attacked by 5,000 horsemen of Achmet's army, who were, however, repulsed with loss. The people of Titteri would not acknowledge the treaty, and still refused to allow the French to occupy Bliza. Abd-el-Kader would therefore be obliged to go and exact the threats to the population of that province, before the French could take possession of the place. The Pilote Russian and the Arab boat

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ships had a lively dispute, occasioned by the publication in the *Gazette des Tribunaux* of a Russian court-martial. The individual tried was named Anguel, a young Saxon of noble family, who entered the Russian service in 1828, and was an ensign at the time of the trial. He and his captain both happened to like the same lady, the daughter of a Greek curate. Captain Tschingueri, under pretext of his rival being insubordinate, ordered him to receive 100 blows of the knout. "Everything," says the official report, "passed as it ought, and Anguel received his punishment without complaining." But some time after Tschingueri quitting the service, Anguel challenged him. The captain refused to fight, and soon after Anguel was seized, making his way into the captain's residence, armed with a pistol. For this Anguel was tried, and, though all the facts appeared on the trial, he was condemned to pass three times under the rods of two squadrons. He was not expected to recover. According to the *Droit*, Anguel had fled to Greece, where he was said to have happily arrived.

SYDNEY EXTRACTS.

Mr. Abraham Moses, of Maneroo, has undertaken to run a mail once a week from Reid's Flat, Maneroo, to the Queenbean Post Office—the expenses being defrayed by a subscription raised among some of the settlers in that part of the Colony. The first mail was conveyed on Tuesday last.

A Surgeon from the Hunter was committed to Sydney goal on Wednesday last, by Mr. Justice Burton, for appearing in the witness box in a state of intoxication.

William Moore, whose commitment from Maitland to take his trial for the wilful murder of his master, the late Mr. John Hoskins, was recorded in one of our recent numbers, with the full particulars of his atrocious crime, was yesterday convicted before Mr. Justice Burton upon the clearest testimony, and sentence of death passed upon him in a most impressive manner, but which he listened to apparently with the most hardened indifference. Edward Tufts, also convicted of the murder of his master, the late Mr. John Jones, o Turee, during a fit of phrenzy, resulting from intoxication, also received sentence of death from the same learned Judge; His Honour remarked that the awful situation of the prisoner at the bar was mainly attributable to the indiscreet act of his master, in suffering the indiscriminate use of intoxicating liquors among his convict servants.

Australian Magazine.—The first number of the Magazine received the most flattering commendations from the *Colonist*; yet the second, though by all competent judges acknowledged to be far superior, has been in the same paper condemned in the most inveterate manner. A criticism by a correspondent (*the Rev. Mr. S——————*), a gentleman who, we are informed by the *Colonist*, is intimately acquainted with this kind of literature, has been published, and a few remarks thereon.

We find in the Sydney Colonist, the following remarks in a letter addressed, My dear Light, but no signature.

One Paragraph runs thus. "The city of Adelaide must become not only the capital of Australia, but the commercial metropolis of all the vast regions of N. S. Wales, which lie upon the Yass, the Dumat the Murrumbidge, and the streams discovered by Major Mitchel in the part of the Territory which he has denominated Australia Felix," The Editor of the Colonist justly remarks, "Our South Australia friends are somewhat too sanguine in supposing that the Murray is to be the outlet for the produce of the whole of the extensive country recently discovered by Major Mitchel. A large portion of it lies better in to port Phillip, which will, doubtless at no *distant* period, be the *capital* of a *flourishing colony*, Independant of N. S. Wales."

Extract of a private letter from Yass — "There is a large party of us coming together to P. Phillip amongst which is a Mr. Butler a surveyor coming in the room of Mr. D Arcy," "You can have no idea of the number of people that are coming and are about to come to P. Phillip It will in my opinion soon become a wealthy place."

Bank of Australia.—This Bank has announced its intention to give seven *per cent* interest on all *monies* lodged on deposit receipts, such receipts will be issued payable at ten days after notice, and no interest will be allowed after such notice; Colonist. This is very worthy of imitation.—Ed. of the M. A.

A treaty of commerce highly favourable to England has lately been entered into between the British Consul-General and the Peruvian Government; and has been forwarded to London, to receive the sanction of Ministers.

Letters from Constantinople mention, that the Sultan is exerting himself to form a close alliance with Austria. He has recently confered orders on the Austrian Ambassador and his two secretaries, and fowarded the insignia of the highest degree to Prince Metternich at Vienna. The Archduke John of Austria has reached the Turkish capital. Considerable activity is said to prevail at the British Embassy. Recent events in Persia have attracted much attention.

All the accounts from Italy speak of the decline of the cholera and anticipate its early disappearance.

The beautiful city of New Haven in Connecticut, seems doomed to be destroyed by incendiarism. Not a week passes without five or six large fires, purposely caused, but by whom, the inhabitants have as yet been unable to discover. Only one individual has been apprehended, and he is only charged with firing his own house. The regular incendiarism continues to be be as bad as ever. This crime, apparently without motive; unless it be revenge against an entire city and university, is without a precedent in the United states.

SALES BY AUCTION.

CHOICE DAIRY COWS.

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION,
BY G. LILLY,

On TUESDAY, the 24th April, at his Yard, at 12 o'clock precisely, unless previously disposed of by private contract, of which due notice will be given,

A small number of DAIRY COWS—several with young calves at their feet, others springing, and the remainder heavy in calf.

These cows are particularly suitable for the use of private families—are perfectly quiet and gentle, having been broken in at a large town dairy at Sydney. They have been accustomed to be milked twice a day (either with or without their calves) and to be fed on bran, brewers' grains, green fodder, garden stuff, &c, in the stall.

To be sold in lots to suit purchasers, also, a few prime Working bullocks, a dray, &c., and two excellent hacks, either for saddle or harness.

Terms:—

For purchases under £20, cash; £20 and upwards, approved endorsed bills, payable at Melbourne or at Sydney. For further particulars enquire of

G. Lilly, *Collins-street.*

TO BE SOLD BY PUBLIC AUCTION,

BY G. LILLY.

At his residence on Tuesday the 24th of April, immediately after the Sale of Cattle.

A Quantity of GENTLEMEN'S WEARING APPAREL, Children's ditto Ladies ditto, A variety of Stays, Ladies Bonnets and Caps, Lace, Ribbons, Worked Muslins, Painted ditto, Capes, and Collars of various patterns, Dresses, Silk ditto, Combs of all sorts, Thimbles, Smelling bottles, Artificial Flowers, Jewelry, Bench Candlesticks, Dressing Boxes, and a variety of other articles.

Terms, made known at the time of Sale.

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very stringent. There could be little difficulty in obtaining the license from Sydney, providing certain essentials were forthcoming, which were rather inconvenient. The Editor, Proprietor, and Printer had to enter into bonds for their good behaviour in the management of the concern, and two sureties of solvency and repute to the amount of £300 each should become collateral security; and should there be any change as to the *locale* of printing and publishing, a renewal of the bonds was also imperative. In addition to penalties no charge could be legally made for either newspaper or advertisements without the license; and Fawkner, much as he was attached to his bantling, bottle-fed with such difficulty, did not care to incur any further risk, and the "Eve" of our newspaper press was suffered to die out a victim to the mandate of the Commandant—the first Executive prohibition in the Colony. Melbourne was, however, destined not to remain long without a successor in every way superior to the deceased journal.

"The Port Phillip Gazette."

When the year was entering its fourth quarter, the first journal legalized in Port Phillip made its appearance.

Mr. George Arden had arrived in Sydney from England. He was young, well educated, possessed of considerable ability, and a fluent, though florid, writer. He and Mr. Thomas Strode, who had been connected with the *Sydney Herald,* determined upon trying their fortunes in the new Colony. They had not very much capital to start with, but managed to secure a used-up wooden press and a heap of old type, thrown aside by the *Sydney Herald* as utterly unserviceable; and with this valuable "plant" they arrived in the Bay on the 19th October, 1838. Strode repaired at once to Melbourne, but a sight of the stumpy, muddy, struggling, miserable township, so discouraged him, that he was on the point of returning the way he came, until two of the merchants, Messrs. John Hodgson and W. F. A. Rucker, made him such offers of encouragement as induced him to remain. And so he stayed and lived on amongst us during the lifetime of the *Gazette,* and for many a year after. It was so recently as May, 1880, that he died at a very advanced age at Richmond. The new firm of Arden and Strode had taken the precaution of obtaining the necessary newspaper license before leaving Sydney, but formidable and unlooked-for troubles awaited the inauguration of their new undertaking. Upon Strode's shoulders, as the printer, the most of them fell, and as an instance of the starting of a newspaper under difficulties, nothing can be more conclusive than the subjoined extract from Bonwick:—

"The glorious mountain of disordered type was deposited on the floor of a newly-finished house in Queen Street, between Bourke Street and the present Wesleyan Chapel (now the Bank of Australasia), Collins Street. No friendly compositor was near to help our adventurer; not even a 'printer's devil.' His worthy lady, like a good genius, came to the rescue. She could at least pick out a lot of 'bs' and 'ds.' But the type had to be cleaned, and where was the lye? After trying the ashes of various woods, the she-oak was found to be the best for the purpose, and pronounced a stronger alkali than soda, which was then 1s. 6d. a pound. The whole was sorted in the cases, the press was fixed, the stone was smoothed. Now for the rollers; the composition on these was so hard that the very axe failed to make an impression. With a bold heart Mr. Strode set about making new ones. But what was he to do for a cylinder, and not a tinsmith in the place?

"While at this harassing employment, his friend was preparing his articles, sorting type, procuring advertisements, and obtaining subscribers. With 80 names they had in Sydney, they soon showed a list of 300 copies secured. The eventful day came. Notice had been given that on Saturday, 27th October, 1838, at nine o'clock, the door would open, and the light pour forth upon the colonists. The little temple of the Muses was soon surrounded, and, in true English style, a battering attack began, because the *Gazette* was not quite ready. Doors and windows had to be securely barricaded. At noon the leaden images of thought had done their work, the crowd retired to read, and the poor unaided printer, exhausted with his wonderful fortnight's labour, retired to rest.

"Mr. Strode must have been an enterprising printer. Among other shifts and experiments he contrived to make a roller of india-rubber, but the small quantity in town prevented him making one large enough for use. Eight years after, a London gentleman took out a patent for this discovery. Mr. Strode was the first colonial illuminating printer. At a loss for large letters in the early days, he had to cut all above four-line letters; and, after many trials, he found seasoned New Zealand pine to stand the sun and water best for his cutting. Beset with difficulties in 1839, when contending against Mr. Fawkner's weekly *Patriot*, and the drunkenness and insubordination of his two workmen, he performed a very miracle of labour. For six weeks he contrived, single-handed, to bring out his bi-weekly issue, without dummies, and without delay. The first finger was so inflamed with incessant picking up of type, that he had to employ the next finger. He allowed himself but two hours' sleep each night."

The first number of the *Gazette* was, under existing circumstances, a creditable production, Its motto was, "To Assist the Enquiring, Animate the Struggling, and Sympathize with All." It was a small four-paged publication, each page of four columns; had a show of advertisements, a very limited supply of news, English and colonial summaries of the latest intelligence, and a commercial corner. The "leader" was well written, but in it Mr. Arden hoisted a neutral flag, which, after no very long time, he found it necessary to strike. In this maiden manifesto he thus announces the course he then meant to steer:—"Politics, elsewhere the great theme of contention, particularly wherever the Press has room to exert its influence, will, in this instance, be held in abeyance; the yet comparatively infant state of our settlement affords us fair reason to withhold our direct interference or comments upon a subject so rife with disquietude; with those of other and distant territories, what have we in our industrious, painstaking, and money-making town to do?"

The first advertisement was about the "Firefly," a little steamer laid on between Melbourne and Williamstown. Mr. Lamb, the first barber, intimated his readiness to hair cut, and a Mrs. Lilly was as obliging towards the public in the sale of baby clothes. The merits of two stallions, "Romeo" and "Young Clydesdale," were paraded by their respective owners, two "Johns," viz., M'Nall and Hodgson, and there were two Auctioneers, named Lilly and Hill, in the field. The principal store advertisers were W. F. A. Rucker, John Hodgson, J. M. Chisholm, and P. W. Welsh.

The *Gazette* appeared uni-weekly until April, 1839, when it was made a bi-weekly, and its charges were 10s. per quarter, or 1s. per number. Advertisements, six lines and under, 3s., and 3d. every additional line, each insertion. All "ads" were to be prepaid. Births, marriages, and deaths were inserted gratuitously for subscribers; otherwise to pay 2s. 6d. each. The first office was in Queen, and in December, 1839, it was transferred to Collins Street, next westward to the present Union Bank site, whence it shifted in a few years more westerly, and abode there until its demise. Occasionally it would issue a supplement, and on the 20th November, 1839, the following apology appeared in print:—"In consequence of some of our compositors being absent—DRUNK—the supplement will not be published until noon to-day."

"THE PORT PHILLIP PATRIOT."

The indefatigable Fawkner was not to be beat; a newspaper he could, should, and would have; but delays of one kind or other supervened, and it was not until the 16th February, 1839, that his anxious dream was re-realized. For six months previously he had a compositor engaged at £2 10s. per week, and was at length able to set the man to work. *Advertiser* was too tame a name, and the resuscitated journal appeared under the more attractive and inspiriting designation of the *Port Phillip Patriot and Melbourne Advertiser*, with the following motto surmounting the leader column:—

"This is true liberty, when free born men
Having to advise the public, may speak free,
Which he who can and will, deserves high praise;
Who neither can, nor will, may hold his peace;
What can be juster in a State than this?"

This epigram was soon cancelled, and the magic verbal triumvirate "*Vincit Amor Patriæ*" flaunted in its place. The subscription was 8s. per quarter if paid in advance, 10s. if paid on the day it fell due, and 12s. 6d. on further credit; 3s. for a six-line advertisement.

The *locus* of the Printing and Publishing Office of the *Patriot* having become a matter of some doubt, an amusing controversy on the subject was carried on in the Correspondence Columns of the *Argus* in November, 1884, and to this I am indebted for the following particulars:—

Mr. William Beaver, who was apprenticed to Mr. Fawkner in June, 1839 (and the first trade apprentice in Victoria), declares that the paper "was first printed in the top storey of *Fawkner's Hotel* (now the *Union Club Hotel*, corner of Collins and Market Streets). Mr. Fawkner having let the hotel to the Melbourne Club, the paper was shifted to a new two-storey brick building alongside (where the Colonial Mutual Insurance Society is now). A Mr. Rowe had a chemist's shop in the front room below. Some time afterwards the *Patriot* was shifted to an old range of wooden and wattle-and daub buildings at the rear, formerly used as stables, and the entrance to which was from what we used to call the Market Square, or what is now called the Market Buildings. The paper was published for many years in the before-mentioned building facing Collins Street.

"I was at work on the *Argus* when it was first published, and well remember the difficulties we experienced in turning out the paper. As an illustration of the difference between that period and now in printing papers, I may mention that when I first went to Mr. Fawkner's office we used to get out the *Patriot* with the assistance of Mr. Watkins, another compositor, facetiously called 'Tar-box,' and myself. Mr. Fawkner used to assist a little by setting up type. The press was a wooden two-pull one, and we used ink-balls for rollers. The old press can still be seen in the Museum attached to the Public Library, and I think it used to take us all day to print two or three hundred copies."

Mr. R. T. Clarke, who still plies the typo. business in Moor Street, Fitzroy, writes thus:—"Arrived in Melbourne on the 1st September, 1839, under an agreement with Mr. J. P. Fawkner. I remained with him seven years, and am therefore in a position to give some information upon the subject. When the back weather-board premises were built I and my wife resided there. At that time Mr. Fawkner had only a wooden pot press, with two pulls. Mr. Dowling, of Launceston, sent him a double-demy press, with a plant of new type. That was the reason the premises were built."

During the year the two journals had the field all to themselves. It was Arden's intention to conduct the *Gazette* in a gentlemanly, high-toned style, but Fawkner's "Billingsgate" now and then forced him off his stilts into the mud, for he was compelled to resort to the same armoury for offensive and defensive weapons as his antagonist. If a man pelts you with puddle-balls it is folly to retaliate with flowers, either rhetorical or botanical. However, as between the two journals no literary comparison could be instituted, for there were at times in the *Gazette* leading articles, or rather essays, that would do credit to any publication, but as a newspaper the *Patriot* presented more variety of facts. As records of the events of the then small community neither journal was equal to the occasion.

I have now before me a copy of each journal issued in November, 1839. Neither can be accounted broadsheets, for the *Gazette* measured 17 in. by 11 in. and the *Patriot* only 13 in. by 8 in., but the former is a four-columned sheet, and the latter a double three-columned one. On submitting them for the opinion of a specialist, a printer of many years' experience, he returned them with the following memo.:—"It appears to me that both papers, viz., the *Port Phillip Gazette* and the *Patriot* must have presented a very creditable appearance when published forty-six years ago, as times then went, considering the great difficulty there must then have been towards all due and proper appliances for the purpose of producing a paper; as also the difficulty in those early days of securing the skilled labour to produce anything properly readable. The *Patriot* appears to be printed in some parts of its pages with already very old and much-worn type, with mixed founts, and with a bad ink, which makes it look worse still; but in those days this was not so much accounted of as now. The *Gazette* is printed from a better and newer type, and generally has a more printer-like style, and slightly more modern appearance in its general get-up than the *Patriot*, though both papers are of the same month and same year, and both produced in Melbourne in November, 1839. I cannot but think that, for those times and under all the circumstances, they were excellent productions."

"The Port Phillip Herald,"

A third competitor for public favour, made its *début* on the 3rd January, 1840, and this caused quite a gust of dissatisfaction in the minds of the two others already in possession, who gnashed their typographical teeth, and vowed to make it hot for the intruder. The projector of the new journal was Mr. George Cavenagh, who had some managerial connection with the *Sydney Gazette*, and not only brought with him from Sydney all the mechanical means and appliances for newspaper "running," but a ready cut-and-dry Editor in the person of the Mr. William Kerr, already frequently alluded to in this work, and who soon took up a very prominent position in the early agitations of the settlement. In appearance the new journal was superior to the others, somewhat of same size—a single five-columned demy-folio sheet. It was well got up, well printed, and, like the others, hoisted a cognizance in the three English words, "Impartial, not Neutral," a motto above all others in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, perhaps the most difficult to work up to. Its first "leader" embodied a profession of the journalistic faith, of which it was to be the expounder and missionary; but in this, as in other similar cases before and since, preaching and practice have been found to be very different things. "Being altogether independent of parties and partisans [so it prefaced]—in fact ignorant of any cause for division, we purpose pursuing the even tenor of our way, the only ends wē aim at being 'Our Country's, our God's, and Truth's.'" Measures, not men, were to be dealt with, and should this rule be unavoidably departed from, there should be no descending to personal abuse. If reproof were necessary, the strictures to be administered were to be tempered with courtesy. There are two "sub-leaders," one of which indicated the probable early discovery of coal at Western Port. The *Herald* appeared for a short time as a weekly, but the trio soon were all bi-weekly, and their rates of subscription and other charges were much alike.

Melbourne had now its three newspapers, and for the first three months, their conductors observed the amenities of journalism though under evident restraint. This good behaviour was doomed to be shortlived, for the 1st of April had hardly set in when the three gauntlets were thrown down, and they pitched into each other with a will and in a way utterly disgraceful. It would be difficult to record who was the first transgressor, though I am disposed to debit it to the gentlemanly Arden; but it little matters, for they were all soon up to the ears in the muck; pounding and pelting and abusing each other mercilessly. The hostilities waged by the "Eat-and-swill" Editors so inimitably Pickwicked by Dickens showed decent warfare by the side of the Melbourne feud; and it would be a gross libel upon the memorable Daniel O'Connell and the Dublin fisherwoman episode to place it in the same category, for one of the talkers was grandiloquently verbose, and Biddy the "lady" was choice, though not super-polite in her *repartee*. An anthological garland might be woven from the language indulged in, but its perfume would savour more of the stews than the conservatory, for it reeked with the aroma of the Little Flinders and Bourke Streets iniquities, the Vinge's Lane of ancient, and the Bilking Square of modern times. They might be likened to an unwholesome group of street Arabs, quarrelling in the gutter, and scooping out filth from the channel-ways, with which they bedaubed each other. For the astonishment more than the entertainment of my readers, I present a few unculled samples. The *Gazette* stigmatizes the *Herald* as a "truly despicable journal;" and adds, "We thank our friend for having shown us the hole of the hypocrite, that we may thus drag out the unclean viper, and crush it with the armed heel of justice." The *Herald* declares that "deplorable spirit of personality and scurrility had displayed itself in the management of the Melbourne Press," whereupon Fawkner, over his name in the *Patriot*, denounces the *Herald* as "the most intolerant, bigoted, and lyingly censorious journal in the colonies—the greatest disgrace to the Melbourne Press." The *Gazette* compliments the *Patriot* as "an old woman whose low and impudent vulgarity would do no disgrace to the forensic abilities of a Billingsgate fish-hag," and designates the "Patriotic" effusions as "the senseless tirades of a blathering old b-——h." The *Herald* dubs the *Gazette* as "this contemptible rag," and the *Patriot* to be "as base an ingrate as ever lived," whereon the *Patriot* classifies the *Herald* as a "dung-hill cock." The *Gazette* is gibbetted by the *Herald* as a "consummate ass," and the *Herald* is written of by the *Patriot* as "a mean-souled

and malicious recreant," to which the *Herald* responds that the *Patriot* is a "regular whelp of the genuine cur breed." And so on *ad nauseam* for several years. The first of the three papers to get into legal trouble was the *Gazette*, the Editor of which was convicted of libel, before the Court of Quarter Sessions, on 15th May, 1839, and sentenced to 24 hours' imprisonment with a £50 fine. In this prosecution the complainant was the Mr. Rucker previously noted as one of the two individuals who were instrumental in deciding the wavering mind of Strode, the *Gazette* co-proprietor, when he pondered on the Melbourne Wharf whether he should remain here or return to Sydney. The *casus belli* was a rent dispute between Arden and Rucker, and a caustic plaister by the newspaper man, which acted as the reverse of a receipt in full. The *Gazette* was embroiled in another kindred difficulty in 1840, for accusing the Chief-Constable ("Tulip" Wright) with having had bricks made for his own use by convicts in Government service, and further insinuated that the "Tulip" had appropriated a quantity of the same material from a Government kiln. On the 4th April Mr. H. N. Carrington, Wright's Attorney, applied to the Police Court to issue a warrant against Arden and Strode, the *Gazette* proprietors, for the publication of a libel. This was granted, and on the police proceeding to execute it on Arden they were obstructed by a Mr. Jamieson, the result being that both Arden and his friend were transferred to the lock-up, but enlarged on bail. The matter was afterwards amicably arranged.

Early in 1840 Mr. Fawkner retired from the editorship of the *Patriot*, and was succeeded by Mr. J. P. Smith, an attorney. Fawkner remained as proprietor, and was a frequent contributor to its columns, sometimes signing his full name, but oftener as "J.P.F." His father, who lived in Melbourne for a few years, was credited with the authorship of some wild, incoherent, though often pithy effusions, to which used to be suffixed the *nom de plume* of "Bob Short." Kerr and Cavenagh did not long continue in amicable relations at the *Herald*, and Kerr passed over to the *Patriot* in the beginning of 1841, *vice* Smith, who betook himself to the more congenial *rôle* of Police Court practitioner. There had arrived in Melbourne a Rev. Thomas Hamilton Osborne, a Presbyterian minister from Belfast, the North of Ireland capital, who abandoned the pulpit and joined the "Fourth Estate" as Assistant Editor of the *Gazette*, from which he seceded after some time, and was succeeded by Mr. John Stephen, an early Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute, and in the future a Melbourne Alderman. Osborne's services were secured by Cavenagh for the *Herald*, which he joined towards the close of 1840, and so remained for a couple of years. In December, 1840, an effort was made to establish a comic publication, which was thus announced:—

FIGARO! FIGARO! FIGARO!

ON Saturday week will appear No. 1, to be continued weekly (with a wood-cut illustrating a certain character),

FIGARO IN MELBOURNE.

"Satire's my weapon."

Those who desire to laugh amidst the gloom of Melbourne will become readers of this publication, and those who desire to cry will shun the paper as they do the devil.

Subscription—Seven Shillings and Sixpence a Quarter; single number, Eightpence.

Office—Mr. Dick's, Jun., Collins Street; orders from William's Town to be left for the Editor at the *Albion Hotel*, opposite the Queen's Wharf.

Vivant Regius et La Trobe.

The first number of this embryotic *Punch* was to make its appearance positively on the 26th December, but the services of the literary *accoucheur* were never required. As it was never born, it could not have been said to have ever died.

In May, 1841, the *Gazette* announced its enlarged form thus:—"The proprietors confidently anticipate that its (the *Gazette's*) political principles, its material construction, and its elaborate management will place it above competition, and that as a literary, political, and domestic, commercial, scientific, nautical, pastoral, agricultural oracle it will be at once unrivalled and incomparable."

The next *casus belli* was the question of circulation, each contending that it had the largest, and sub leaders and paragraphs, letters from printing overseers, and even statutory declarations, were put forth in support of the numerical superiority of each newspaper. A few years after I had personally special facilities for obtaining reliable information upon this point; and so formed the impression

that in 1841, the three Melbourne newspapers were not far apart, as the *Herald* circulated about 700 copies, the *Gazette*, 650; and the *Patriot*, 600. This was then deemed quite a paying state of business, as the expense of bringing out a paper was small from the fewness of hands and moderate rate of pay. A considerable proportion of the incomings resulted from advertisements, especially the auctioneers, who were then masters of the situation, and were, on the whole, liberal and impartial enough to the three so-called organs of public opinion. I may state that until the era of the goldfields there was no such thing as a street-hawking of papers, nor bellowing boys running about like roaring demons through the streets, yelling out the latest edition of so-and-so; and even no town agents. Each office had attached to it a staff of urchins paid by the week, who attended every morning, and took out their rounds, delivering the papers only at subscribers' houses, and doing it with the taciturnity, but not the speed, of our modern letter-carriers. Papers were also hardly ever sold over the office counter, certainly never in any number worth mentioning.

In July, 1841, Arden and Strode dissolved partnership, the former becoming sole proprietor, and he contrived to keep aboard until 1842, in the September of which year he was wrecked amidst a squall of writs and executions, too potent to be withstood. There was first a composition with creditors, and next an absolute sequestration of estate. The creditors appointed Dr. Greeves as Editor, but the back of the paper was broken, and though it continued to live, it lost all its animated smartness, and was not of much account. Mr. Thomas M'Combie afterwards acquired some share in the shaky concern, and in October, 1844, he purchased the sole copyright for £80. It is to be regretted that there are no complete files of the three old Melbourne newspapers in existence. Three volumes of the *Gazette* (from 27th October, 1838, to December, 1841), were sold for £50 by Mr. Strode, in 1874, to the British Museum, whither they were transmitted. They were previously offered to Sir Redmond Barry for the Melbourne Public Library, but declined for the price, which was a mistake. So far as Victoria is concerned, there is no such thing as regards *Gazette*, *Patriot*, or *Herald*. In the Public and Parliamentary Libraries there are files of the *Herald*, commencing with the first number, but at every few numbers there is a *hiatus*, either the nip-out of a paragraph or an advertisement, or a half-column or column, and so going on to a whole issue, and sometimes more. Considering the present status of our colonial Press, it is to be regretted that the humble, but not unpretentious pioneers from which it has sprung, should in their entirety, have no resting place on the shelves of any of our literary institutions.

In addition to the papers before enumerated, there were others, small, uninfluential weaklings, mere ephemerals. The first of this fry was the *Weekly Free Press*, a professedly Roman Catholic organ, a puny hebdomadal, started 1st July, 1841, by a Mr. James Shanley. It was supposed to be edited by Dr. Greeves, and subsequently by a Mr. Adam Murray, but after a miserable existence of three months it died, and its remains, consisting of the smallest of plants and a nominal copyright, were bought by Mr. Thomas M'Combie for £90. In April, 1842, the *Times* was started by Mr. Ryland J. Howard, the ex-publisher of the *Herald*, and, published every Saturday, ran for two years, expiring in 1844. Its motto was "The Welfare of the People is the First Great Law." It was a well-conducted paper, in consequence no doubt of its management having for a time fallen into the hands of Mr. Osborne after he broke with the *Herald*.

The *Standard*, a bi-weekly journal, was started in 1844 by Mr. George D. Boursiquot and amalgamated with the *Patriot*, 1st October, 1845. It was clever, pungent, and sparkling during its brief existence.

On 6th January, 1845, Mr. Samuel Goode started the bi-weekly *Courier*, and in June, Mr. W. Kerr assumed the Editorship, and promised to achieve wonderful results. It was the most libellous publication ever issued in the colony and was never out of trouble. Kerr was twice publicly pummelled in the streets for the insertion of scurrilous personal paragraphs. It managed to survive little more than a year, when Kerr was driven into the Insolvent Court.

In December, 1847, Goode was again taken with a newspaper mania, which ended more disastrously than his *Courier* venture. He established the *Albion*, a filthy weekly rag. It was supposed to be written by Kerr and Curtis, the Editor and Reporter of the *Argus*, and in

March, 1848, Goode was prosecuted for an outrageous slander upon Mr. Sidney Stephen, a Barrister, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment. The *Albion*, as a consequence burst up.

In 1848, Mr. Colin Campbell started a weekly newspaper known as the *Observer*. It was an extreme "Squatting" organ, and its "leaders" were so lengthy, laboured and flatulent that the Editor acquired the equivocal distinction of being dubbed the "creature of large discourse." Considerable literary ability was shown in its composition, but the paper did not take as expected, and was discontinued after the issue of several numbers.

The religious journals made a commencement in 1846, when the Rev. James Forbes initiated the *Port Phillip Christian Herald*, to which several clerics contributed, and it was very ably conducted, contrasting favourably by its moderation with the infuriated bigotry of other Christian periodicals afterwards published. In January, 1850, through the exertions of Bishop Perry, and the Rev. D. Newham, the *Church of England Messenger*, was floated, and received considerable support from the denomination whose spiritual interests it represented. It was printed by Mr. Benjamin Lucas at his shop in Collins Street, near the *Argus Hotel*, and issued monthly.

During the first decade that elapsed in the newspaper life of Port Phillip, all things considered, it cannot be denied that much progress was made, for at the commencement of 1849, the following journals were in existence in the district, viz., Melbourne, the *Patriot* re-named the *Daily News*, and the *Herald* (dailies), the *Gazette* (tri-weekly), the *Argus* (bi-weekly), the *Church of England Messenger* (weekly), and the *Christian Herald* (fortnightly). In Geelong were the *Advertiser*, established, November, 1840, by Mr. J. P. Fawkner, first as a weekly, and now a tri-weekly; the *Corio Chronicle* (a bi-weekly), and the *Victoria Courier* (a weekly); and Portland, with its *Guardian*, as a bi-weekly, and *Gazette*, once a week. Subsequently the *Corio Chronicle*, originally established by Messrs. W. Beaver, and W. Clarke, was transformed into the *Victoria Colonist*, and published bi-weekly for Dr. Thomson, of Geelong, where also Mr. Thomas Coomb issued the *Omnibus*; whilst Portland substituted a *Herald* for a *Gazette*, and Belfast secured its *Gazette*, edited and published by Mr. T. H. Osborne. In June, 1850, the *Melbourne Family Herald*, a weekly journal, price 3d., was commenced by Mr. Henry Hayden, and continued for some time by Mr. Craig whilst about the same time Mr. Graham Finlayson * initiated a *Temperance Advocate*, a short-lived well-meaning print, which was succeeded in August by the *Victoria Temperance Pioneer*, of almost equally brief duration. The *Telegraph*, a spitefully-written weekly, teeming with scandalous innuendo, and filtered filth, made its appearance, but was as short-lived as it deserved. In April, 1851, Mr. Goode, undeterred by previous reverses, started the *Melbourne Weekly Despatch*, only to witness another failure.

After this unavoidable chronological digression, I shall return to the three primary journals, and briefly recapitulate what the future had in store for them.

THE "GAZETTE,"

After getting into the hands of the Philistines, through the indiscretions of Arden, was secured as a bargain from Arden's creditors by Mr. Thomas M'Combie, who long had a hankering to become a newspaper proprietor. He worked away at it assiduously and economically, and though it never commanded much political or other influence, a number of the colonists who had become acclimatized to its dullness continued their support; and as the advertising community was generous of its patronage, the *Gazette* contrived to eke out a precarious existence for several years. From a bi-weekly it advanced to a tri-weekly, and on the Fool's Day of 1851 it was expanded into a daily, with its name

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* The following communication has been addressed to me in reference to this matter:—

To "GARRYOWEN."

SIR,—In your "CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE," which I read with great interest, you mention that Mr. Graham Finlayson started in 1850 the *Temperance Advocate*. You unintentionally omit to mention that in 1851 he established the first evening paper, called the *Evening News*. I well remember having to go to the old Flagstaff daily for shipping intelligence.

I am proud that my revered father had the enterprise to run two of the first papers in Melbourne, although both ventures were unsuccessful through the apathy of the reading public at that period. I feel it due to his memory that those facts should be recorded in your CHRONICLES, which in future will be referred to as the correct authority on that question.

I am, &c.,

PETER FINLAYSON.

Islington Street, Collingwood, 5th June.

transmuted into that of the *Times*, having Mr. William Kerr as Editor-in-Chief, and M'Combie as Assistant. After officiating in his new capacity for two and a-half months Kerr abdicated the editorial chair for the Town Clerkship of Melbourne. M'Combie took his place, but on the 30th June the *Times*, *née* the *Gazette*, gave up the ghost, and its goodwill with subscription-list was purchased by the *Daily News*, *née* the *Patriot*.

THE "PATRIOT"

Continued for some years under the editorial fosterage of Mr. W. Kerr, who knocked out the Fawknerian epigraph "*Vincit Amor Patriæ*," and displayed as his literary legend the John Knoxian quotation which still lives in Melbourne as *The Argus* motto, "I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth, and, therefore, the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list." In 1845 Fawkner was driven, by stress of weather, into the Insolvency Court, when his father, known as "John Fawkner, senior," purchased the paper, and Kerr's services were dispensed with. Prior to this time it had become a tri-weekly, and it now fell back to a bi-weekly. "Johnny" Fawkner was the editor, and queer work he made of it. Of his "leaders," it must be admitted that if they neither instructed nor edified, they most intensely amused, and as even this was a consideration, the good-natured people read, laughed, and affected to be satisfied. Fawkner was also a sort of spoiled child with the old colonists, and even those who thoroughly disliked him, and often repelled his ill-bred arrogance, were ever ready to concede a large latitude to the man who by common repute shared with Batman the honours surrounding the foundation of the Settlement. Batman was dead, and "Johnny" was not only alive, but poking his nose into every public movement, from Anti-transportation to Separation. The *prestige* that would have to be divided between him and Batman had he lived, was not unnaturally claimed by Fawkner, and as he had a finger in every pie, and was jumping about like a squirrel wherever there was anything astir, either at a fire or a public meeting, an election or a street row, a public dinner or a charity sermon, he was accorded a certain toleration which clothed him in a privilege that fell to the lot of no other man. His illiterate vapourings and ungrammatical jargon, his disconnected rhodomontade and unpunctuated rubbish, was consequently swallowed, until a special editor was secured from Sydney, in the person of Mr. James M'Eachern, a New South Wales journalist, and a writer of considerable power.

Kerr, having received his *congé* from the *Patriot*, vowed vengeance, and started off to Sydney for the special purpose, as his friends gave out, of raising the wind for the establishment of a new daily paper. When he should come back and do so, the Melbourne journals might look out. Rumours to this effect so frightened the Fawkners *(père et fils)* that in order to forestall Kerr, they brought out their journal as the first morning newspaper in Melbourne on the 15th May, 1845. In June Kerr returned, but whether from a failure in levying sufficient supplies, or for some other reason known only to himself, his so much vaunted "daily" was to be curtailed to a tri-weekly, which he set about launching without much delay.

The *Patriot* continued under the Fawknerian *régime* until the 1st October, when Mr. G. D. Boursiquot became its proprietor, incorporated the *Standard* with it, and changed its designation to the *Daily News*. Under the new management it was worked at the least possible expense, and, as a vehicle of passing events, was insufficiently reported, and not unfrequently a rather inane sheet. Its assumed motto was the quotation, "To show the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure." Boursiquot, however, could write flashy, superficial, readable articles, at which he wrought hard, and so managed to keep the paper going, and wrung handsome profits out of it. In 1850 the newspaper proprietors and compositors in Melbourne had a large "bone" to pick together, the difficulty—no unusual one—being the question of wages: 8d. per thousand was then the rate of remuneration, and a competent "stab" hand received £1 15s. per week. A rise in both rates was demanded, and Boursiquot not only resisted, but retaliated by organizing a kind of cadet establishment, where "young gentlemen of education" would be instructed in the art of printing. This thing was managed rather privately until such time as the 'prentice boys were able to work, when the regulars would be summarily cashiered. A secluded cottage was rented in Fitzroy, where some type was mounted,

a private tutor named Ford was appointed, when some recruits put in an appearance, but the enterprise finally fell through. Incidentally it may be mentioned that Cavenagh, the proprietor of the *Herald*, struck with admiration of the Boursiquot economizing fit, was disposed to follow suit, and consulted his overseer, Mr. John Ferres (the recent Government printer) on the subject. Such an innovation seemed to Ferres as unworthy and dishonourable to the trade, and he point-blank refused to be an accomplice. He further warned Cavenagh that if he persisted, and the proposition became a reality, it would eventually bring disaster upon his establishment. Cavenagh, who had a peremptoriness of manner bordering on offensiveness towards his subordinates, gave his deputy a fortnight's notice to quit, a mandate which, on further consideration, he saw fit to withdraw before a week passed over. The *Daily News* was afterwards in the market at an upset price of £3,000, and overtures were made to Ferres to take it, but he did not. The stock of working material was increased, and what is known as a "Belper" machine was procured, which offered special facilities at the time for expeditious printing. Boursiquot continued to make the concern remunerative until towards the close of 1851, when the *Argus*, then a fixture in the newspaper world, purchased the *Daily News*, and all its surroundings for £4,200, and rolled both journals into one, so that just at the period when the astounding gold revolution was in its incipient eruptions, Melbourne was left under the protection of only two daily newspapers, the *Herald* and the *Argus*.

The *Herald's* first office of issue was a one-storey, one-room brick tenement in Elizabeth Street, now built on at the northern end of the Colonial Bank, whilst the printing was done in a weather-boarded structure situated at the Little Collins Street entrance to the Royal Arcade. The publishing branch was subsequently shifted to an adjoining cottage, and the whole concern was thence transferred further westward up the same street to a spot recently occupied by a rear division of the extensive emporium of Alston and Brown, where it continued until 1853, when it once more migrated, but this time to Bourke Street, part of the establishment of Robertson and Moffatt. In the vicinity its name is perpetuated as The *Herald* Passage—a thoroughfare which, though half-flagged, is certainly not the wholesomest in the *inter*-street communications of Melbourne. As a newspaper, it maintained a respectable position from the start, and as Cavenagh went on the aristocratic ticket, and was hand-in-glove with the Melbourne Club, it obtained a fair share of support. Furthermore, its proprietor, though in reality caring little for the Roman Catholics, ingratiated himself, to a certain extent, with them, and secured their patronage. He had for many years on his staff a Mr. Finn, who held high office in the St. Patrick Society, and this was another source of strength. Whilst Osborne continued as editor, the leading matter was good and readable, though the "leaders" were often inclined to drift into a lengthy verbose dullness which bored people. When Osborne left, Dr. Greeves was taken on as a job hand at so much an article, and though his writing was neat, smooth, and often telling, there was so much twisting and turning and trimming that much of its effect was spoiled. Mr. John Stephen would occasionally lend a hand; but he was idle, never properly thought out what he was writing of, and his contributions were often the standard measure of verbiage and nothing more. Instances occurred where Stephen would write half an article, strike work, and go away for the day. In such a fix Finn would have to do the finishing, and then Cavenagh's overhauling would so disfigure the work of the other two that the triple production when read in type would be simply incomprehensible. The *Herald*, however, compensated as far as it was possible for such defects by the extent and general scope of its news, for it picked up everything that was going, had occasionally important exclusive intelligence, and its summaries of English and colonial news were the best in Melbourne.

There were then no such conveniences as "Home" and "Colonial" correspondents to ship or telegraph cut and-dry abstracts of the events passing elsewhere. The mail arrivals were extremely irregular, considerable intervals at times happening in the receipt of English news, and a good summarist had to exercise the scissors and pen with both skill and judgment. The compilation of an English summary at midnight from a dozen numbers of the London *Times*, the journal mostly brought out by skippers of vessels (then the latest news-mongers) was, in reality, an unenviable recreation after all the ordinary day's work was done; and such an event was the reverse of unusual

in the olden times. The *Herald* was the worst edited, but the best sub-edited and reported newspaper up to 1851.

Cavenagh, fussy and in appearance energetic, had not much backbone, though on one or two occasions he put on a spirt by which he obtained a small reputation for pluck. He was the first to obtain intelligence of a race-meeting in Geelong on the night of the day on which it came off. This was effected on horseback by a shipping reporter named M'Grath, hereafter to be referred to. Cavenagh entered upon a more spirited though not very large undertaking in 1846. The bi-weekly overland mail from Sydney arrived at Kinlochewe, about twenty miles from Melbourne, late in the evening, staying there that night, and starting the following morning in time to have the mail delivered in Melbourne by nine o'clock. Cavenagh was so irritated that he very smartly organized a mounted express to leave Kinlochewe on the arrival of the Sydney mail, and by obtaining a loose bag from the Sydney Post Office, had his letters and papers between 3 and 4 a.m., and so far forestalled the others that he could print the news in his regular Tuesday's issue, and had his Friday's "Extraordinary" out before the other papers. The *Argus* was soon obliged to get an express of its own. The *Herald* contractor was a Mr. R. H. Budd, a Kinlochewe publican, whilst the *Argus* express was ridden by a Mr. E. M. L. Smith, an ex-shipping reporter. Budd and Smith had rough journeying of it, but the former was the better bushman, and never came to grief. One wet boisterous night the two equestrians had a miserable trip, and on the way Budd's companion was suddenly pulled out of his saddle, and on Budd looking round to ascertain the cause of the unexpected disappearance, found the other very uncomfortably "up a tree," and, bidding him good morning, left him to follow as best and when he could. The night was dark. Budd was more accustomed to the road or thoroughfare than Smith, who got entangled in an overhanging bough, and was so placed "horse *de combat*." When Budd arrived at the *Herald*, and recounted the occurrence, there was much rejoicing thereat, for the *Argus* would be for the nonce *minus* its "Express" news. This arrangement, unwelcome and inconvenient to all the newspaper *employés*, continued in force for several months, when some post-office alterations were effected by which, instead of the 9 a.m. arrival, the Sydney mail was due at the Melbourne Post Office at 4.30 p.m. on Mondays and Thursdays. The Kinlochewe "Expresses" were consequently discontinued.

At the beginning of 1849 the *Port Phillip Herald* changed its name so as to be the "*Melbourne Morning*" instead of the "*Port Phillip*," and was published as a daily. Towards the close of the following year it procured the first steam-printing press introduced to the Australian Colonies. This was a "Napier Improved," which was imported per the "Brilliant," from London, on the 5th October, 1850. It was adapted either for manual or steam propulsion, working off by hand, within an hour, eighteen hundred copies of a paper twelve columns larger than the size of the then Melbourne journals, and by steam it could do three thousand. Cavenagh remained sole proprietor until the colony had got well into the astounding and unexpected anomalies emanating from the goldfield discoveries. The position at length grew too much for him, and in a couple of years infusions of new blood and money were taken into the concern, and though there was ability in abundance, the tact, business management, and skill of economizing within reasonable bounds were wanted, and the paper lost the position it had for many years held. Fortune at length deserted it, and passed over to the *Argus*, which, in the end, had an easy victory in the championship. In its financial adversity, Cavenagh was compelled to abandon the old ship, and he died near Melbourne some fifteen years ago. Amongst all the early newspapers, the *Herald* had the advantage of being the most amply equipped office, and for ordinary journalists and jobbing purposes it was decidedly superior to any of the then existing Colonial establishments.

"The Melbourne Argus."

Mr. William Kerr, who was connected with the defunct *Courier*, was a man who had had some grand opportunities thrown in his way, but he abused them. The ball was more than once at his foot, and he kicked it so unskilfully, that he tumbled head-foremost over it. His

position in the City Council, the clannishness of the old Scotch party, and the Orange sympathies of the North of Irelanders, added to the political influence he undoubtedly commanded, might have made him a power in the land, if employed sagaciously and within reasonably prudential limitations. But this was not to be. For a Scotchman, Kerr's rashness was unaccountable. He was merciless to his foes, and as for quarter, there was no such word in his vocabulary. Still, he could cringe at times, when it suited his purposes, and once, whilst Town Clerk, accepted a free gift of £100 from Mr. J. T. Smith, the Mayor, whom he heartily detested, and libelled a hundred times in his newspapers. His friends now resolved to give him a fresh start, by sending round the hat to raise money to enable him to establish a new journal, and amongst the subscribers was Mr. Henry Moor, the old well-known Mayor—yet he was one of the first against whom Kerr turned, viper-like; but the eleemosynary paper was afterwards smashed up by verdicts obtained by Moor in libel actions. The new project was a bi-weekly newspaper known as the *Melbourne Argus*, and garnished with the "Conscience to Speak the Truth" motto, the copyright of which Kerr brought away with him when he left the *Patriot*. It made its first appearance on the 1st June, 1846. There never was a more personal paper in Melbourne, for Kerr could not exist as a journalist without offensive personalities, and during his two years' editorship of it, he was never out of trouble. Moor was vilely assailed, and the particulars of the two libel actions brought by him are given in a previous chapter. On the 8th May, 1848, there was a Sheriff's sale of the paper to satisfy the verdict and costs of action No. 1, and the property was bought in for £350, by Mr. John Duerdin, one of the old Attornies. Kerr was given another chance by his too-trusting friends; but, instead of his first rebuff bringing him to reason, it only made him worse. The Moor libel racket was recommenced with increased bitterness. Another action followed, and the satisfaction of another verdict led to another knocking down. On the 26th August, 1848, the press and types were again in the clutches of the Sheriff, who was to sell off again in a few days. It is stated in a Melbourne paper that, prior to the second levy, the property had been transferred to Mr. Edward Wilson. An interpleader was taken out, and the question argued in the Supreme Court, when judgment was given affirming that, in the then existing state of the law, the press and types by which a libel was sent out on the world were liable to be disposed of to cover the verdict. The Sheriff's sale was held on the 2nd November, Mr. David Lyons, late of Brighton Road, officiating as auctioneer, and the lot was knocked down to Mr. Wilson for £300. And so died the *Melbourne Argus* in Collins Street East, where it was born, and in the place occcupied by its successor to the present day.

"THE ARGUS"

The Argus made its first appearance under Wilsonian auspices on 15th September, 1848. From its figurehead the word "Melbourne" was effaced; it was simply *The Argus*, with the John Knoxian declaration about truth-speaking, beneath the fabled hundred eyes. It was at first a bi-weekly, and Kerr's name continued on the imprint for the first twelve numbers (six weeks). Edward Wilson's name was imprinted for the first time in No. 13 (27th October, 1848.)

Previously there was little known of Mr. Wilson, except that he was an estimable English gentleman, settled near Dandenong, on a small station, which he held with Mr. J. S. Johnston, a Melbourne innkeeper, who, by smartness of tongue, and a happiness of *repartee*, had made a position for himself in the City Council, and as an effective speaker at public meetings. Wilson's first essays in print were some lengthy, well-written letters to the *Melbourne Argus*, under the pseudonym of "Iota," which attracted considerable attention; and now that he had assumed the editorial mantle his friends predicted of him a future which was fully verified. His station partner joined him in the new speculation, and the newspaper firm was known as that of Wilson and Johnston. Mr. Kerr continued some literary connection with it, but Wilson was the animating spirit as well as principal writer. It was worked very much upon the same lines as the original *Argus*, but broader in its political views, more decently conducted, yet often as personal, though much less slanderous, for the new proprietary had taken over some of Kerr's sympathies and antipathies. But it was far

more cautious in the libel business, and steered clear of the breakers of the law until early in the following year, when on the 4th April Mr. Wilson was committed by the Police Court for trial, as the publisher of a libel on the Resident Judge (A'Beckett). The article complained of was not an ordinary newspaper attack, but a speech delivered by Alderman Johnston in the City Council on the 1st December, 1848, in which a judgment of the Supreme Court, in a Corporation *mandamus* case, was virulently assailed in a manner very uncomplimentary to the esteemed gentleman who then filled the invidious and highly responsible office of sole Judge. The defendant was admitted to bail in a personal bond of £200, with two sureties of £100 each. The prosecution was not persisted in, as no bill was ever filed, most probably in consequence of the peculiarly embarassing position in which Justice A'Beckett would be placed by presiding at a trial in which he should figure as judge and virtual prosecutor, *i.e.*, supposing it to be competent for him to legally do so, of which, however, the Crown lawyers of the time appeared to entertain no doubt.

The Argus was now fairly in the race, and as it had two dailies, the *Daily News* and *Herald*, to compete with, to have any chance of holding ground it should appear before the public on the same terms, and it was accordingly changed from a tri-weekly, which it had been for some time, into a daily paper on the Waterloo Day (18th June) of 1849. As a mouth-piece of public opinion it was by far the most outspoken and uncompromising of its contemporaries, and no one conversant with the conditions of those early times, and capable of forming an unbiassed opinion, can honestly refuse to Edward Wilson the meed due to one who served his country with a sincere zeal for its true welfare, and an enterprising energy rarely equalled. 1850 was an eventful year as the harbinger of the emancipation of Port Phillip from New South Wales, the birth of the new colony, and the discovery of the gold-fields.

On the 1st April, 1851, the *Gazette* became a daily, so that Melbourne then had its four morning journals; but a three months' trial was more than enough for Mr. M'Combie, who succumbed before the force of competition, and the last was seen of the second eldest Port Phillipian newspaper. Towards the termination of the year, and in the glare of the early splendours of Ballarat and Mount Alexander, *The Argus* bought up the *Daily News*, and in so doing improved upon the mythological monster who fed on his children by devouring generations of its journalistic ancestors. It had already swallowed the old *Argus* and *Courier*, and now rolled up in the *Daily News*, it had the *Patriot*, the *Gazette*, the *Standard*, and the *Weekly Register*, yet compared with *The Argus* of to-day, it was a slim, delicate-looking customer. 1852 opened with only the *Herald* and *Argus* as Melbourne daily newspapers, and there was never in the colony a period when an organ of public opinion stood more in need of talent and sagacity to enable it to do its duty to the Commonwealth. The *Herald* exercised considerable influence, but between the two principal motors, Cavenagh and Wilson, there was a world of difference. Cavenagh, though possessed of managerial aptitude of a secondary kind, was devoid of literary ability. He was also defective in the faculty of enterprise of the continuous sort, for spasmodic fits of energy would not now suffice. He had no financial resources to speak of at command, and the handicap of a large family to provide for, made him reluctant to incur liabilities, which might, or might not, recoup themselves. In fact, he had not the pluck to cope with the extraordinary changes which every advancing week brought about, and like a timid mariner in an uncertain and troubled sea, he carried as little canvas as he could, trembled at the helm, and often wished to be well rid of the ship. Wilson, on the other hand, had dash and enthusiasm, and launched out on the ocean with as much sail as his craft could possibly carry. He was unhampered by some of the obstacles surrounding the other, and though the difficulties through which he had to force his way were numerous and formidable, a brave heart and strong unswerving will ultimately wafted him to victory. 1852-3 was the maddest of the mad years in Melbourne, and it was no easy task to work a newspaper through the shoals and quicksands of the times. Though the incomings were considerable, the outlay was enormous. The wind, if it did not blow favourably, had to be "raised" in some way, or else the ship would be stranded. The Wilson-*cum*-Johnston station speculation was not a paying one, and Johnston, apprehensive that the same fate awaited *The Argus*, into which he was believed to be instrumental in involving Wilson,

withdrew from the partnership, to be succeeded by Mr. James Gill, who, in a short time, also backed out, when Mr. M'Lauchlin M'Kinnon, another ex-squatter, went in, and remained there. Wilson spared neither trouble nor expense in running the journal, which might be said to have grown into the dream of his life. For some time it was the reverse of remunerative, and it was generally understood to be heavily in with some of the banks, but, like a gallant bark, it weathered every storm, and is now (1888) reputedly the best newspaper property at the Antipodes. Edward Wilson had a creed peculiar to himself, the three cardinal points in which were—(1) His belief in himself; (2) His belief in *The Argus;* and (3) A belief in the Colony of Victoria, that it possessed all the inherent qualities, which, if properly applied, would constitute it one of the most flourishing of the Colonial dominions over which the flag of Britain floats. As a true disciple of this creed, he work with a constancy, an untiring fervour, and a determination given to few men of his generation, and he obtained his well-earned reward. When the political history of this country comes to be written *The Argus* and its founder will stand forth as prominent figures, for whatever may be the public shortcomings of the one, its influence on the destinies of Victoria cannot be overrated; while the other, in his own way served the land of his adoption with the fealty of a true knight, and when dying in the land of his nativity, a few years ago, still held her in remembrance by liberal bequests.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE NATIVITY AND NON-AGE OF MELBOURNE JOURNALISM *(CONTINUED.)*

SYNOPSIS:—George Arden.—William Kerr.—Thomas Hamilton Osborne.—Editorial Thrashings.—Byrne punches Greeves' Head.—Kelly cudgels Kerr.—Kerr's Arrest for carrying Arms.—Robinson assaults Cavenagh.—McNamara assaults Kerr.—Kentish assails Cavenagh.—Davis knocks down Cavenagh.—"The Recording Angels:" Mr. Joseph Byrne.—Mr. William Corp.—Mr. G. D. Boursiquot.—Mr. John Davies.—Mr. G——n F——n.—Mr. Edmund Finn.—Mr. John Curtis.—Fawkner and Finn.—Reporting Reminiscences.—The First Civic Dinner.—Curtis and the "Scotch Fiddle."—Curtis and the Missionary Doctor.—Finn and the Amateur Politician.

THE OLD EDITORS.

GEORGE ARDEN, the Co-Proprietor and Editor of the *Gazette*, was an accomplished and florid writer, not only as a journalist, but as a pamphleteer. The literary power of which he was capable was unballasted by experience, and there was no mental brake to keep him within bounds. He had for a time the sole newspaper at his command; but he was absorbed by an inordinate self-sufficiency, and lacked perseverance. When newspapers were small, and their success mainly depended on the active personal supervision of the editor, Arden, who understood little of, and cared less for, journalistic *minutiæ*, was satisfied when he supplied an elaborate "leader." He was also much given to libelling, and falling into trouble thereby. In 1839, he was convicted and fined; in 1841, he was committed for trial, but the prosecution was abandoned; in 1843, he was again convicted of libel in connection with the first Corporation selections, and his brilliant and splenetic tirades against the first Resident Judge (Willis), though powerful agents in the ultimate un-benching of the official, proved the ruin of the writer. The sentences of fine and imprisonment passed on Arden involved him in pecuniary embarrassments, from which he never rallied. His partner (Strode) took an early opportunity of "cutting the painter," leaving Arden on board the tottering *Gazette*, from the wreck of which he was forced by the pressure of creditors, and he never after recovered himself. He found means sufficient to enable him to return to England; but in 1844 re-emigrated and endeavoured to settle at Sydney. After two years of precarious struggle, and encumbered with a wife, he revisited Melbourne in 1846, but he found no eligible permanent opening, and was content to do hack work per column or article. He made a final effort to establish himself at Geelong, but failed, and poor Arden for the last two or three years of his life drank deeply from the cup of bitter disappointment.

WILLIAM KERR.—Much has been written of this gentleman in other chapters, for he appeared in a variety of characters on the stage of our early colonial life as Editor, Politician, Alderman, Councillor, etc. He was imported from Sydney by Mr. George Cavenagh to edit the *Herald*, but there was an incompatibility of temper as regarded the two men, which rendered it impossible that they could long agree. So Kerr took an early opportunity of shaking the dust of the *Herald* Office from his boots, bidding his early patron a curt good-bye, and passing over to the rival journal, the *Patriot*. Cavenagh regretted such a "bad bargain" as Kerr turned out for him, and his lamentations in the matter were both loud and frequent. Kerr was a softish, fattish-looking Scot, with a big head, and features to match. His left arm was affected by chronic gout or rheumatism, but he never went abroad without a formidable cudgel in his right hand, a weapon of defence he was glad to resort to, when, as more than once happened, he was assaulted in the public streets. Though a shrewd, long-headed individual in some respects, he had not much newspaper ability. His masterpiece was a half-column "leader"

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(self styled)
THE WORTHY !!!!!

of stinging personal abuse, every line bristling with nastiness, or a nipping paragraph, every word of which was intended to blister the victim of the writer's dislike. He never minced his words, for he was the most outspoken writer that ever dipped into an inkstand. There were no two ways about him, and he was consequently never out of trouble, for he made more public enemies than any man in Port Phillip. Yet he was not without friends, and good ones too; not the plausible profferers of mere lip-service, but men who unbuttoned their pockets, and helped him therefrom over and over again, until they found it was little use doing so. Financial tribulation of some kind or other rarely ever left him, and public subscriptions were made three or four times to give him fresh starts in the world of newspaper speculation.

There is now (1885) living at St. Kilda an esteemed Scottish gentleman who knew much of Kerr's pecuniary difficulties, and often gave him a helping hand. In the course of my hunting up materials for the CHRONICLES, I addressed a communication to the gentleman in question relative to some of Mr. Kerr's undertakings, and from the kind and courteous reply received I made the following extract:—"I regret my inability to supply you with the exact information you require relative to the early history of poor Kerr's papers, although I had something to do with the starting of most of them, as the hat was always carried round by someone on these occasions, so regularly indeed that his staunch friend, Peter Young, of 'The Sugar Loaf,' once said to him in my hearing, 'You're just like a d——d bad Geneva watch. You cost mair siller to keep you going than you's a' worth.' Unlike the general run of his countrymen, Kerr was thoughtless and thriftless far beyond his means, which were at times not to be despised. The moment a pound entered his purse (I doubt if he kept one), it did not rest long there, for it was either spent or given away, he being both generous and charitable, when he had money. In temperament also he was a remarkable contradiction, or rather an amalgamation of the lion and the sheep. In his newspaper, at the City Council, a public meeting, or other demonstration, when on his mettle, no rejoinder, contradiction, or interruption could silence him. 'I'll not be put down,' was his shibboleth; and the only times he was ever known to be 'put down' was when some enraged object of his libellings would meet him at a street corner and knock him down. Yet, as an employer, or in private life, or a select boon companion, he was harmless and inoffensive, obliging, pleasant, and good-natured. He was well posted in colonial politics, and the minor branches of colonial law; but beyond these, his general information could not be reckoned of much account."

THOMAS HAMILTON OSBORNE was a Presbyterian minister, who abandoned the cassock for the editor's desk. He was a tall, sallow-faced man, with jaws of what may be styled the lanthorn order, and with a North of Ireland drawl or brogue, diluted in the Scottish burr, far from unpleasant to listen to. He was as intensely Irish as if born on one of the hills of Tipperary, and I never heard a better hand at a convivial Irish speech. Yet, strange to relate, his pulpit utterances were rather given to boredom, and his leading articles were often so very heavy that when printed in "leaded" type, they were such tiresome reading as to obtain for him the nickname of "prosy Osborne." He was a remarkable figure when flitting through the streets—his slightly stooped person garbed in a white bell-topper, green or black swallow-tail coat, and drab trousers. He remained for some years in Melbourne in connection with the *Herald* and *Times*, married a Geelong lass, departed westward, and established the *Belfast Gazette*. In after years he represented the united constituency, Belfast and Warrnambool, for a short time in the first Legislative Council, and died soon after.

The feeling of the several editors towards each other was absurdly personal and acrimonious, and carried to a ridiculous extent into public and private life. Kerr and Stephen both held high positions in the Fraternity of Freemasons, and some of their bitterest battles were fought in the Lodge-room. They were for a while on terms of such intimacy that Stephen was a welcome visitor at Kerr's house, but outside or inside differences terminated their friendly intercourse, and they remained ever afterwards at war. Kerr in his paper openly denounced Stephen with the grossest immorality, and Stephen retorted in unmeasured abuse, either through another paper, or at some election meeting, or other public place; or he would carry his grievance into the mystic circle

of passwords and tylers, and then there would arise an altercation, but little consonant to the grand old principle of Truth, Charity, and Brotherly-Love upon which Masonry is traditionally supposed to have been founded. If a notice appeared in one paper reflecting upon any of the adherents of another, every effort was resorted to in revenge, and very bad blood often engendered thereby. The editors were also fond of calling each other names. Arden never knew his early competitor by any designation other than "the man Fawkner," and was in turn styled "the stuck-up brat." Kerr was christened "Noodle" (a misnomer) by Cavenagh, who was paid off as "the Big Drum," because his father was a Commissioned Officer in the British army, in which the son took much pride. Osborne used at times to imbibe rather too much, and on his way home traversed the streets in a serpentine fashion, through which he obtained the *alias* of "the Teetotum;" but the best hit made in the way of nick-naming was by Kerr, in respect to Boursiquot. At the period when the latter arrived in the province, Home ships were not victualled in the luxurious manner they are now, and somehow or other it got to be insinuated that Boursiquot, and some companions, made rather too free with a ham from the steward's larder. When Kerr heard this rumour he tinned the preserve for further use, and the first newspaper quarrel between him and Boursiquot, the object of his wrath was proclaimed a "Westphalian," a compliment considered so equivocal by its recipient that he cut up terribly over it, which only established its efficacy as a caustic, and caused others besides Kerr to apply it whenever they had an account to square. M'Combie was known as "the Donkey," against which he neither kicked nor brayed much, for there was little liveliness in him; but whenever Cavenagh was "big-drummed" it was like beating a tattoo on his tympanum, which drove him nearly wild. Boursiquot also named him "Buggins," which was a sticking-plaster he never could shake off. In fact, between the pounding of the "Big Drum" and the reiteration of "Buggins," Cavenagh was made miserable, and the epithets stuck to him like wax. A glance through the old files give innumerable instances of the spiteful pettishness with which they were conducted. If an editor happened to be "dunned" for an account inconvenient to pay, or was sued for the recovery of a debt, he was unmercifully pilloried as if a public enemy, or some diabolical conspirator against the safety of Church and State. This disreputable warfare was also enforced against the reporters, and the attacks on some of them, actually written by editors, were most cowardly and disreputable. Notwithstanding all this the Press, as a whole, was cherished by the public as one of its great safeguards; the new papers were for the time well supported, and where one of them collapsed, it was more through its own fault than anything else.

Editorial Thrashings.

Byrne and Greeves.—The first instance happened on the 13th February, 1843, and the victim on this occasion was about the man connected with our early journalism who least merited an embrocation of physical force, for Dr. Greeves was always suave and gentlemanly, as inoffensive in the newspaper under his control as in the political arena, where he played no undistinguished *rôle*. However, as the Fates would have it, he was provisionally captaining the *Gazette* at this period when an ex-reporter named Joseph Byrne obtained the appointment of Corporation Rate Collector. The choice did not meet with general approval, and a paragraph in the *Gazette* emphatically asserted as much, whereupon Byrne waxed indignant, and waylaying Greeves in Collins Street not only punched his head, but threatened to murder him. The Doctor trotted off to the Police Court, and sueing out a warrant had his assailant arrested. At the hearing the complainant magnanimously forbore pressing the charge, and the defendant tendered an ample apology. Nevertheless he was judged to enter into recognizances, himself in £80 and two sureties of £40, to keep the peace for twelve months.

Kelly and Kerr.—In 1843 there was in Melbourne a Mr. Daniel Kelly, of much respectability and intelligence, a lawyer's clerk by profession, and the holder of a confidential position in the office of Meek and Clark, conveyancers, who kept shop in an old two-storey brick rookery at the western side of an open area off Little Collins Street, now the crowded legal thoroughfare known as Bank Place. Kelly was rather of a pleasant and jovial turn of mind, and the companions with

whom he consorted called him "Darby." The Civic Ward Elections stirred up considerable interest, and Kelly took a prominent part, but always against the nominee of Mr. William Kerr. Kerr accordingly lost no time in paragraphing Kelly, and one morning Kelly was paraded as "Dirty Darby" before the readers of the *Patriot*. Kelly read and grinned (an ugly grinner he was) and bore; but he assured those in his confidence that the next time the unsavoury alliteration was repeated he would make it a warning for Kerr. The *Patriot* happened to have amongst its retainers a clever caustic poetaster named Hammond, also an Attorney's Scrivener, between whom and Kelly there was no love lost. It was the time of a contested election, when small local partizanship was at a white heat, and again the offending *Patriot* made its appearance with a Hammond effusion of a low, nasty and vulgar type, thus commencing—

"My name is Dirty Darby, and I came from sweet Erin,
The land of potatoes, buttermilk and brogue;
And I grew from my cradle so purty a bairn
That the neighbours all called me an ugly young rogue."

When Kelly read this he gasped with rage. His first impulse was to seek Hammond, but a little reflection suggested to his legal mind that, after all, there was no evidence beyond suspicion that his fellow-clerk was actually the offender. Though Hammond was, therefore, spared from prudential motives, Kerr, the editor, was not; and Kelly forthwith prepared for the punishment of that "burly miscreant," as Darby once eloquently designated him. The intending flagellator lost no time in hunting up a formidable cudgel, with which he posted himself, like a sentry, at the north-west corner of Queen and Collins Streets, an intersection traversed by Kerr *en route* to his office every forenoon from a cottage in Lonsdale Street, where he resided. Kelly soon beheld his man cumbrously waddling down Queen Street, and moved under the Collins Street cover of a high paling—the enclosure of the Wesleyan Chapel, then occupying what was a Church Reserve. Here he waited with the club in both hands drawn back over his shoulders, ready for a smash, and just as Kerr, who wore big spectacles, was on the turn, Kelly let fly, but instead of the blow, as intended, scattering Kerr's brains about the footpath the aim missed so far as to strike Kerr on the left arm—already lamed by gout. The limb was much contused, and Kerr, who was game to the last, after a loud grunt of mingled pain and indignation, closed with his assailant, and after a short tussle both wrestlers came to the ground, when they were dragged apart by the crowd which hastily collected. Kerr was borne off to the next druggist's shop, kept by a Mr. Wilson, where his wound was dressed and a restorative imbibed, whilst Kelly, with an unscratched skin, was surrounded by a body-guard of admirers, who regarded him as a conquering hero, and each rapturously drank his health at an adjacent tavern. Kerr, when brought to and able to move, hobbled away to the Police Office, surrounded by a howling rabble, who assailed him with execrations and questions of "How he liked what he got?" and promises "That it shouldn't be the last drubbing in store for him." At the hearing of the charge, a fine of only 20s. was inflicted, with costs. Kerr, in a loud, blustering tone, protested that as he could not obtain adequate protection from the Court he should take measures for his own safety, even to the shedding of blood. The amount of the judgment was immediately subscribed in Court. Kerr was tumultously hooted to the door of the *Patriot* office, whilst Kelly was cheeringly serenaded.

ROBINSON AND CAVENAGH.—In the same year there was a Mr. Thomas A. Robinson, a well-known resident, who married the widow of a wealthy brewer, and had a good deal of time on his hands, with a liberal allowance of pocket-money to get through. Being much about town, he got embroiled in occasional squabbles, and took it into his head to "hammer" a man with whom he had an altercation. For this amusement he was not only fined, but shown up by the *Herald* in a stinging paragraph, for the paper and Robinson did not stand on the best of terms towards each other. Robinson forthwith determined to "hide" Mr. George Cavenagh, the *Herald* editor; and disdaining the employment of any other than a natural weapon, in the forenoon of the 23rd September, fist in hand, confronted his enemy in Little Collins Street, and committed an assault by suddenly turning round, taking Cavenagh from

behind, and hitting him twice on the head. Cavenagh was a tall, strong man, and never travelled unaccompanied by a riding-whip, stout cane or stick, so grasping his assailant with the left hand he leathered him unmercifully with the right. Closing with each other a fierce struggle ensued, in which Robinson made a furious dash at Cavenagh's face, where he left the indents of his claws, Cavenagh taking him over the eye with his cane and drawing blood. Robinson, who had Cavenagh gripped by the throat, was obliged to relax his hold, but in so doing brought away as a trophy the whole breast or front of a snowy shirt, for Cavenagh was rather fastidious as to the quality and laundry of his linen. Some by-standers parted the belligerents, when the assailed hastened for redress to the Police Office, and the other to a chemist's shop to get patched up there. Before this plastering process was effected Robinson was in the clutches of the police, but bailed to appear at Court next day; and when he did so three-fourths of his head and face were strapped over with sticking-plaster. After the Magistrates patiently heard the *pro* and the *con* of the "set-to," they let off Robinson with a 25s. fine, the smallness of the penalty being measured by the profusion of blood which Robinson declared he had been depleted.

McNAMARA AND KERR.—In 1845 Mr. William Kerr was piloting his *Courier* through very troubled waters, and a wayward bad-tempered skiff it was. As a newspaper it was the quintessence of acridity, a crust filled with a vitriolic-vinegar compound. There lived in Queen Street a peppery-tempered tailor named Michael M'Namara, who took a special pleasure in thwarting Mr. Kerr, whenever they met in personal dispute, threatening, in a slang peculiar to him, to "knock Kerr into the middle of next week"; "spread him like bags upon an ass;" or some other equally dreadful alternative. An election was on the eve of coming off, and "Johnny" Fawkner, who had some notion of offering as a candidate, formed a coalition with M'Namara, though they detested each other as heartily as a certain unnameable black gentleman is said to loathe holy water. Kerr and Fawkner, who were fast friends until the former was ejected by Fawkner, senior, from the *Patriot*, were now implacable foes, and Kerr did everything in his power to check-mate the other. Getting an inkling of Fawkner's movements, the *Courier* one morning spoke out in this fashion:—"Mr. John Pascoe Fawkner is manœuvring to get himself placed in nomination, and is to have Misthur Michael M'Namara, and a whole host of other half-hanged customers in attendance, to hold up their dirty paws in his favour." When "Mac" read this he foamed with wrath and prayed that "he may be hanged, quartered, and disembowled," (a favourite Irish historical imprecation of his), if he failed killing Kerr the first time he came within arm's length of him. This occurred on the 19th September, and there was an election nomination the same day, which Kerr would unfailingly attend. M'Namara being something of a pugilist, relying on the strength of his "bunch of fives," dogged Kerr from the hustings at the Court-house to Lonsdale Street, and as they neared Queen Street, he was on him like a flash of lightning. Rushing before him and shaking a fist in his face, he yelled out, "Kerr, you villain, why did you blackguard me in your filthy rag of a newspaper?" Kerr, who was, as already mentioned, virtually a one-handed man, always carried a whopping stick in his right hand. This weapon he raised; and aimed a tremendous blow at "Mac," which was skilfully dodged by the other, who dealt Kerr a smasher on the bridge of the nose which splintered his spectacles and sent him reeling against a shop window. Kerr, recovering, essayed again to raise his stick, but his antagonist rushing in, seized him around the body, and hugged him so violently as to compel him to drop the stick in order to keep upon his feet. Kerr then made several attempts to kick the squeezer about the shins and abdomen, when M'Namara, clutching him by his long hair with his left hand, planted a stunning blow on the right temple and felled him. Kerr was bleeding freely, and after a struggle managed to get upon his knees, when M'Namara stooping, asked him fiercely between his teeth: "Kerr, you out-and-outer of a scoundrel, will you ever put me in your blackguard paper again?" and the kneeling figure, besmeared with blood, slowly but emphatically gasped out, "I will, I will." "Mac," then drawing back, delivered a parting blow between the eyes and passed on. The most extraordinary feature in the *fracas* was that Kerr, when assaulted, was in the company of two supposed friends, named M'Donald and Hamilton, and they were

so far from interfering that the first-named coolly and cowardly stood by as if enjoying what passed before him, whilst the other philosophically marched off about his business. Mr. Kerr obtained a summons against M'Namara. The case was heard at the Police Court, when the defendant was represented by Mr. Sidney Stephen, the Barrister. Kerr was dictatorial and something like impertinent to the Magistrates (Messrs. W. Hull, H. Condell, J. Smith, and E. Westby); he lost his temper into the bargain. He declined to admit his editorship of the *Courier*, but in a loud insolent tone admitted, "that if to write of M'Namara was provocation, he had given it, for he knew him to be a most notorious blackguard." This uncalled-for remark so shocked the Bench that one of its members (Hull) declared it was too much for him, and withdrew from his place, whilst the remaining Justices dismissed the complaint. Kerr left in high dudgeon, muttering threats of vengeance against the Court, whilst "Mac" was hailed with loud acclamations, and there was a notion of "chairing" him, but such a vehicle was not convenient. Some days after Kerr applied for a new trial, on the plea that the case had not been decided upon its merits. Rather inconsistently, a fresh summons was granted, a re-hearing took place, and the defendant was fined 30s., with 3s. 6d. costs. The amount was subscribed on the spot. Kerr subsequently blustered much of an intention to bring an action in the Supreme Court for assault and battery; but fresh troubles were in store for him, for early next year he was insolvent, and the *Courier* a thing of the past.

KENTISH AND CAVENAGH.—Mr. Nathaniel L. Kentish, devoted much of his time and intelligence to efforts to provide the Melbournians with salt (or rather brackish) water-baths on the south bank of the Yarra—in fact he was as watery in the brain region as the modern and late Mr. Hugh M'Coll, of canaling celebrity, though riding his hobby in a different style. The *Herald* never took kindly to the Kentish speculations, and for this and other reasons the propounder of the bathing scheme and the conductor of the newspaper never got on well. On the 24th August, 1849, there appeared in the *Herald* a notice reflecting on Kentish, and annoying him so much that armed with a whip, and meeting Cavenagh in Elizabeth Street, he laid on to him. A warrant was issued against Kentish, to which he surrendered and was bailed. The case was set down for hearing on the 27th, and as Cavenagh was standing near the Police Court door, waiting his turn to be called, Kentish came up and repeated the assault. This time, however, Cavenagh showed good fight by knocking down the other, who was picked up by some constables, and detained in custody until the trial. The Mayor (Mr. W. M. Bell), and Mr. E. Westby constituted the Bench, and the defendant was heavily mulcted, viz., for the first assault, to pay £4 fine, with £1 costs, or two months' imprisonment; and for the second, a fine of £5, or another two months'; and further, to enter into recognizances to keep the peace for 6 months, himself in £50 and two sureties of £25 each.

DAVIS AND CAVENAGH.—Mr. Peter Davis, a prosperous Knight of the Hammer, did a good knocking-down business in Melbourne, and realized a full purse thereby. Davis and Cavenagh of the *Herald*, never "cottoned" to each other, possibly because the auctioneer did not advertise as liberally in the newspaper as its master wished. However, they were always in a mutually hostile mood, for Davis could well nurse a dislike, and Cavenagh was as good a hater as Dr. Johnson. The ruling desire of Davis was to be elected a member of the City Council, and the unalterable determination of Cavenagh that it should not be if he could prevent it. I have not the correct date, but it would be probably in 1854, when there was a Civic contest in Latrobe Ward, and Davis had early taken the field. Cavenagh was at once on the side of the Opposition candidate, and the struggle grew exciting. There was then on the *Herald* a literary *factotum*, a sort of right-hand man of Cavenagh, who could do everything from a "leader" to a shipping notice, and they generally worked well together, for they found themselves, as time and circumstances were, necessary to each other. The *employé* was the Mr. Finn referred to in other places, as well known as the Post Office, and as active an electioneer as his chief. One day during the election excitement the *arcâdes ambo* had a row (a rare occurence) in the *Herald* office, and Finn felt that Cavenagh had dealt him an injustice (not at all unlikely); and after Cavenagh had

jauntily left the scene of altercation, Finn was quizzed by some of the office hands, one of whom scoffingly asked, "Well, I suppose you will be thinking of cutting George now?" "Certainly not," replied the other, "it does not suit my cards to 'cut' Master George just now, at all events; but ere a week is over I will get another to 'cut' him in a style of which neither you nor he has the slightest notion." There was a general laugh, and the conversation ended. Next day Cavenagh and Finn met, and were seemingly on the best of terms with each other. They spoke about the coming election, and Cavenagh rubbed his hands in high glee, for the other told him, from what he could gather amongst Ward voters, Peter Davis did not stand even the ghost of a chance. "I have just left him," continued Finn, "surrounded by a pack of his supporters, by the Mechanics' Institute. He was abusing you fearfully, calling you a 'long wretch,' a 'gobemouch,' and 'Buggins,' and declaring before he was quite done with you, he'd beat the big drum on your head." The quoted epithets were well-known nicknames from time to time tacked on to Cavenagh, and the application of any of them always riled him. Cavanagh turned white with rage, bit his lip, and vowed he would make it warm for Davis. "Look here," he said to his satellite, "You go at once and write something that will touch the scoundrel on the raw; and give it to him in style about the Sydney affair. You understand." Mr. Finn lost no time in executing his commission. The "Sydney affair" was a passage in the past life of Peter Davis, of which no colonist need be ashamed, though he felt a morbid sensitiveness about any allusion to it. On Cavenagh returning to his editorial *sanctum* in the afternoon, the Davis epistle was ready for his perusal; he read and re-read it, gloated over and pronounced it to be the very thing wanted, and passed it on to the printing office. Next morning at breakfast Peter Davis had the *Herald* before him, and it was breakfast enough for him. Though he could not stomach it, he had no appetite for anything else. There appeared before him over a *nom de plume* in itself sufficient to unsettle a greater Stoic, in very readable type, accentuated by many italicised expressions, a communication of a very pungent and personal description, holding him forth in terms of rancorous reprobation as a character from whom the citizens should run rather than elect, and well seasoned with innuendoes which stung like a scorpion. Swallowing a cup of strong coffee as a "pick-me-up," and snatching the newspaper, he sallied forth, procured a horsewhip, and sought the earliest opportunity of giving Cavenagh a taste of it. The latter resided in Little Flinders Street East, and as he was proceeding to his office about eleven o'clock, Davis met him, and with one well-dealt blow knocked him down, looked at the writhing prostrate figure, and passed on. Cavenagh, though wounded, was not killed, and was assisted to a neighbouring chemist's. He then, by the aid of a stick, marched on to the office, and when he entered, there was Finn before him, busily engaged in the pretension of doing something. On beholding Cavenagh with a very long face and disfigured headgear, the blood trickling through the lint stuck on over one of his ears, Finn jumped up, affected much surprise, and exclaimed, "Good heavens! Mr. Cavenagh, what has happened?" "You may well inquire," loudly growled the other, "It is all your doing, you confounded little scoundrel; see what you have got me through that blackguard letter you wrote about Davis. There, the fellow has gone and half killed me I believe." "Mr. Cavenagh," responded the other, "you have only yourself to blame, certainly not me. You asked me to write the letter, and you approved and published it." So saying Finn took up his hat and papers and departed, telling Cavenagh as he passed, that he had to run up to the Insolvent Court, at which was jerked out an exclamation more curt than polite, "That he might go to the devil." And this is the novel manner in which the promise "to cut Long George" was accomplished. Davis was subsequently proceeded against at the Police Court, and fined £5 for the assault. The same Mr. Peter Davis, despite of the *Herald* influence, attained the so much coveted seat at the City Council table, and was Mayor of Melbourne in 1856-7. He died a few years ago.

THE "RECORDING ANGELS."

JOSEPH BYRNE, joined the *Herald*, and very soon came into open collision with the judicial despots known to ancient history as Judge Willis and Major St. John. Byrne had two or three rare

tiffs with St. John in the Police Court. A more brow-beating bully never sat on the Bench, and if he only heard a reporter speaking above his breath, he would coarsely order him to "shut up" or he would have him turned out. Once he was on the point of relegating Byrne to the lock-up for a high crime of this kind, but at the last moment changed his mind, and did not. Byrne in consequence was resolved to have it out with him even in his own Court, if ever he had the chance, and a chance came sooner and easier than expected. One day the Major's temper was sorely tried through a dissatisfied suitor questioning the justice of a decision, whereat St. John, with an oath, swore if he uttered another tittle he would have him rammed into the watch-house. Byrne, who was by, waited until the Police Magistrate had retired, and then obtained from another Justice a summons against St. John for swearing in Court. The Major was fined 5s., and never forgave his prosecutor. It was surmised that through his influence Byrne lost his billet soon after. Possessed, however, of certain friendly influences, he soon managed to procure the appointment of Corporation Rate-collector, much to the disgust of the *Herald*, in which it was denounced as a gross job. Byrne, finally bolted, leaving two townspeople, who were so good-naturedly foolish as to become security for him, to square up the deficiency with the Corporation. He was subsequently heard of in distant parts, and in one of the "fifties" returned for a short time *incog.* to the colony, when he finally disappeared and was never afterwards heard of. There are now in Victoria several families of position matrimonially connected with this long-forgotten runaway.

WILLIAM CORP was employed on the *Patriot* at a very early date. He was well-disposed to do a good day's work, but did not much fancy knocking about. Plant him in the Supreme Court and he could grind like a writing-mill for twelve or fifteen hours, turning out the most legible MS. by the quire, and then he would jog home to his hotel (he always lodged at one), pack away a "meat tea" that would serve another for days, absorb a more than liberal allowance of "half-an-half" —then tuck himself in the blankets, and be "as happy as a king" until morning. He was connected off and on with various papers for several years, but as the years accumulated so his thirst increased. His sprees were more frequent, and at length no dependence could be placed on him. After the gold discoveries he was obliged to quit Melbourne, and he lived, or rather existed, by odd jobs on some provincial journal, shepherding, or hut-keeping, but mostly on that most precarious of walks in colonial life conventionally termed "the wallaby track." Twice every year he made his way to town, and called upon an old Press friend, who, on such occasions, usually presented him with half-a-sovereign, which poor Corp looked forward to with the certainty of an annuitant drawing a dividend of Government Stock. When the days of adversity fell upon Corp, Finn many a time helped the hand that befriended him many a long day before at the old forgotten Criminal Sessions, and the first time Corp arrived from the country he was told that every half-year trip he made there should be a half-sovereign ready for him, to eat it or drink it, or do what he liked with it. The annuitant so lived for some twenty years, and the benefactor, who is still alive, has often told the queer story.

G. D. BOURSIQUOT, referred to in the editorial group, made his first appearance as a journalist in the capacity of reporter for the *Herald*. He was a spruce, stylish-looking fellow, who paid more attention to fashion of his shirt collar, the tie of his cravat, and the sit of his vest, than his fellows. He was never without a bell-topper, and a ring or two on his fingers, and prided himself on his reputation as a lady-killer. His *forte* on a newspaper was light, airy sketching, and smartly got up police paragraphs, though when he passed to the higher grade he carried heavier metal. He was an amateur actor, and performed occasionally on the boards of the "Pavilion," the first theatre in Melbourne. A propensity for what is in play-going parlance known as "gagging," which he usually overdid, sometimes got him into a scrape, and once when this kind of interpolation drifted into the region of indelicacy, he and Cavenagh had a row over it, and the *Herald* knew him no more. Boursiquot was very partial to any attractive young lady connected with the early theatricals, and his attention to some of them was of a decidedly pronounced character. After leaving the *Herald*

he passed over to the *Gazette*, and thence his motto was "Excelsior" until he left the colony the reputed possessor of a handsome competence.

JOHN DAVIES, one of "The Children of Israel," prior to coming to Melbourne filled the office of Chief-Constable in New South Wales. A chubby, red-cheeked, dark-haired, unmistakably Jewish-visaged personage, he had a whole foundry of "brass" in his face, and was not only self-assertive, but cheeky. Though comparatively illiterate, he owned other gifts to make up the deficiency, could scrape together readable paragraphs, and as a collector of news scraps was invaluable. It would be hard to find a better general intelligence forager, and at a time when the few officials in Melbourne were insolent and overbearing, no man knew better how to overawe them with his bluster. He was employed on the *Patriot* and *Gazette*, and having a turn for the stage, was much mixed up with the first and second theatres, established in Bourke and Queen Streets. There was one queer sensation piece—a great favourite with the *habitués* of the "Pavilion"—in which the most grotesquely horrible impersonation was a resurrectionist, or "body-snatcher," and in this Davies was unapproachable; so lively, or rather deadly, did he go through the disgusting ordeal of grave-opening, coffin-breaking, and tugging up the corpse effigy by the head. The "house" used to be brought down; and as there would be loud calls for an *encore*, Davies would turn round, "grin horribly a ghastly smile" at the gaping and clapping audience, and roar out "Don't you wish you may get it." He was a deft hand at securing theatrical benefits for himself, and so well able to beat up for such an occasion, that he never failed to have a bumper. There was an unexpected greatness stored up in the future for Davies, for after a lengthened sojourn in Melbourne he transferred himself to Tasmania, and soon grew into a man of mark in Hobart Town, where he entered the political arena, was elected to the Colonial Parliament, and established the newspaper known as the *Mercury*. Though not a genius in himself, Mr. Davies had the knack of knowing well how to select the most suitable implements, human or mechanical, to work with; and to the judgment manifested by him in this way, may be attributed the success with which his new venture was attended. Davies died several years ago, leaving behind a journal, now one of the leading organs of public opinion in the City of Hobart.

G——N F———N was a slow-going Scot, and during several years reported for the *Herald*, Plodding, prosy, and painstaking, he contracted an unbreakable habit of indulging in lengthy, involved, and inexplicably confused sentences—a chaos of clauses without head or tail. It was only the exigency of the times, and the difficulty of obtaining any person capable of doing anything in the newspaper line, that rendered it possible for such a person to retain the position in which he was. Kerr, wishing to pay off a grudge, would cowardly publish a paragraph about F———n's periodical weakness for strong drinks, and he nick-named him "Little Sobriety;" so whenever he felt disposed to start his enemy on the loose, all he had to do was to side-head a paragraph with the *sobriquet*. The pitcher, however, was carried to the well once too often. He contrived to get established in a retail business, abjured alcoholism, and did fairly well. In a few years he started two small periodicals, which did not live long, and he was at one time a Corporation Inspector. He has long since gone the way of all flesh, but members of his family survive. To those who knew him, he seemed an upright, conscientious, and well-intentioned man. On the Press, at the time written of, he was out of his element, but as a private citizen, was all that could reasonably be desired.

EDMUND FINN had the longest connection of any of his contemporaries with the early Press, and continued during his journalistic career, on one newspaper, the *Herald*, to which he was attached more than thirteen years, and left only to fill an appointment on the clerical staff of the Legislative Council Department. Arriving in the colony in his teens, and fresh from school, crammed brimful of Greek and Latin classics, but little else, he amused himself by dashing into the excitement of the Civic and Legislative elections, wrote some squibs in prose and verse for the *Herald*, was spotted by Cavenagh, and appointed the successor of F———n. The *Herald*, therefore, though deprived of one "Fin," secured the other "Finn," the new comer taking to the newspaper as a fish does to water, and was soon quite at home in a congenial element. A contemporary

some years ago thus wrote of him:—"Mr. Finn I verily believe knew every inhabitant of Melbourne of any importance, and knew nearly everything that was going on. He was especially distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with civic and social matters, and as a gatherer of news was expert and indefatigable. He was as well known as 'Johnny Fawkner.' He was short, and very short-sighted, and had a remarkably big head with plenty in it." He was the most diminutive of all his compeers; and, though eccentric and impulsive like many of his countrymen, for he was Hibernian "to the backbone and spinal marrow," he was not devoid of forethought and caution, serving his employer well, and soon ingratiating himself as a favourite with everyone, except the section of the community opposed to the politics and *personnel* of the *Herald*, or rather its proprietor—Cavenagh. He was, however, excessively disliked by some of the editors of the other papers; but he snapped his fingers, and said he did not care a fig for them, for, as he never intended to leave the *Herald*, he should never beg a billet from any of them. Sarcastic *aliases* were bestowed on him in abundance, but he paid back in the same coin. Kerr dubbed him "Brian Boru," and "The *Herald* Monkey," and as return compliments he called Kerr the "Ourang-outang," the "Ogre," and the "Cyclops." Boursiquot designated him "Classical Neddy," and once, when he roasted, in a speech at St. Patrick's Hall, the first proprietor of *The Argus*, for a wholesale slandering of some Irish orphan girls shipped to the colony, Mr. Edward Wilson had it formally registered in *The Argus* archives that Finn should never, on any account, nor under any circumstances, be employed on that journal. There was never any need to enforce this magnanimous record. The wars and the truces waged and ratified between Finn and Fawkner were so many and amusing as to deserve treatment in a separate notice. Cavenagh and he always pulled well together—a circumstance the more surprising that they were both unblessed with the best of tempers, and at times could be hasty and petulant enough; but the reason for this was once briefly and satisfactorily thus explained. A mutual friend (a colonist who once bore a titled name) one day said to Cavenagh, "How in the world does it happen that you and Finn agree so well?" "It is easily accounted for," was the response. "We are both hot-tempered fellows, but we are essential to each other. He wishes to retain his berth, and I wish to retain him. We, therefore, both make it a point to so keep ourselves in restraint, that we rarely have a flare-up; and thus it is that we get along capitally." Finn soon mastered all the details of the office, and was able to do, and did, everything but "set up." Instances occurred where, with the exception of the shipping, commercial, and advertising branches, he wrote the entire paper from title to imprint. He came to be regarded as one of the chattels of the establishment, something like an old metal writing-stand, which was never parted with, and was always placed on the editor's table; and when, as in after years occurred, the concern more than once changed hands, the two chattels were taken over in the inventory, for no new proprietor would think of parting with either of them, the one for his usefulness, and the other for luck's sake. Once, however, a new editor kicked aside the old pen-and-ink apparatus, which Finn picked up, and to this day retains it as a *souvenir* of long ago, a battered, shabby-looking old friend, whom he has often declared he would not barter for one of gold. This happened some years after the gold discoveries, and with the old castaway vanished the early *prestige* and influence by which the journal was surrounded. As an universal newsmonger Finn was unrivalled, for his continuance upon one paper without a day's intermission brought to him a general knowledge of the men and things of the then small Melbourne. He remained on the *Herald* from 1845 to 1858, when the long *venue* was changed by Mr. (subsequently Sir J.) O'Shanassy offering him the appointment he held in the Legislative Council until the year 1886. Though, as already stated, an excellent classical scholar, he was heard to say that of English grammar he never learned anything, and could not parse three words of the language. Still his success as a journalist was far from inconsiderable.

JOHN CURTIS.—But unquestionably the most extraordinary man ever on the Melbourne Press was Mr. John Curtis, a near connexion of a once well-known London banker of that name. He took to such a sowing of "wild oats" at Home that his friends expatriated him, and on the voyage to New South Wales

he managed to get entangled in a *crim. con.* case, which quickly brought him to grief in Sydney. An arrangement was made with the injured husband which conditioned that Curtis should "make tracks" to Van Diemen's Land, and he lost no time in doing so. After a brief sojourn there, he arrived in Melbourne, and had no difficulty in finding suitable employment in the counting-house of Messrs. Turnbull, Orr and Co., an old mercantile firm in Collins Street. In 1843 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the Town Treasurership. He finally took to the Press, and during his career was on every newspaper in Melbourne. If Curtis had been steady, and settled down contentedly to his work, he would have been an invaluable ally to any journal, for, though like all the other early reporters, he was practically unskilled in any system of phonography, he attended an important evening meeting, and wrote out, single-handed, between five and six ordinary columns of brevier for the next morning's publication. Curtis was much given to spirituous and fermented enjoyment, yet his imagination was never more active, or his pen more lively, than when he was "three sheets in the wind." Though the converse of an Israelite, there was so much of the Caucasian in his appearance that the first time Sir C. G. Duffy beheld him he was startled at what he believed, for a moment, to be the ghost of the great English statesman afterwards ennobled as Lord Beaconsfield. It was often said of Curtis by one who knew him well "That he would sell you for sixpence, and spend a shilling on you." And so it was. Poor Jack was the gayest and jolliest fellow that could be found. Wherever he went he carried an atmosphere of fun and dare-devilry about with him, and as a boon companion he had no rival near the throne, for he was the boy to "keep the table in a roar." He was always in difficulties of some kind—in fact, was never out of a scrape. Ultimately his increasing dissipation drove him off the Melbourne journals, and he had to take refuge on some of the weak suburban saplings then beginning to sprout at Collingwood, Richmond, and other localities. At length there was an end to his tether, and he died very suddenly over twenty years ago.

FAWKNER AND FINN.—No two of the old newspaper identities were oftener in enmity or amity than "Johnny" and "Neddy," as they were universally termed; indeed, they were hardly ever spoken of but as "Johnny Fawkner" and "Neddy Finn." Though Fawkner had retired from the *Patriot*, and was never pecuniarily interested in any other journal, you might as well expect an uncaged bird to keep away from a greenwood tree, as "Johnny" to abstain from scribbling. If ever a man was incurably afflicted with the *cacoethes scribendi et loquendi* it was he; and whenever the spouting season was slack, and there was no stump to mount, there he was rasping away in the correspondence branch of one of the journals, always ungrammatical, often illogical, but invariably personal and offensive. If he sustained a defeat at one of the many Ward or other meetings, which were common, the next morning beheld an abusive rhodomontade from his pen, and he was usually a verbose writer. The badness of quality was only equalled by the quantity, thereby doubling or trebling the infliction. Fawkner was as irregular in his moods and tenses as the most complicated Greek verb; as changeable as a chameleon, and as perverse as the most spoiled child.

"Everything by turns, and nothing long,"

He turned his coat as many times as there are weeks in the year. Originally one of the Scoto-*cum*-Kerr clique in the Town Council, he shifted to the other side, and on one occasion owed his re-election to a coaxing of the Irish vote. For a time he was a true-blue Orangeman, but transferred his hero-worship from William the Third to St. Patrick, whose green banner he soon deserted through some fresh whim. For a time he would select the *Herald*, as his speaking-trumpet, then fly to the *Gazette*, make the round of the *Daily News*, and so on. About a dozen times in every twelve months he subscribed to, and resigned, each of the various journals; and so he went on, a human whirligig—so eccentric in its motions that no person could possibly guess its next gyration. From politics "Johnny" would make a running leap into polemics, and the Papacy and all its imputed fallacies would be overhauled. He would fawn upon and flatter the Irish one month, and the next his clumsily executed blarney would be transfused into gall. In many of such controversies

Finn would be into him hot and strong, when Fawkner would retort and the other rejoin, generally having the last word, a conquest no other person could gain over Fawkner. He would stigmatize Finn as the "Papist pigmy," the "Milesian mite," and the "little brat," though in height "Johnny" could boast of only about an inch or so over the other.

Like *Achilles*, though not in the heel, there was one point in which Fawkner was vulnerable—one blot in the Fawknerian system—a grinning skeleton in the Fawknerian family closet, which though only to be approached by dexterous innuendo, never failed to hit the mark. Nevertheless, they would be "in" and "out" with each other, for Fawkner was a forgiving soul, and the other was forgetful of injury, and good-natured. Fawkner was always the first to make a peace-offering. The treaty, however, would be of short duration, for perhaps in a week after Fawkner would write or say something disgustingly offensive about the Pope, Convents, the Irish, or the *Herald;* and when in his tantrums, would usually, when he passed, snarlingly greet the other with, "Well, my little Papist Neddy, how do you shape to-day?" To which the other would sneeringly reply, "Quite well Johnny Capricorn, I hope I see you frisky." And thus getting a gentle touch of the harpoon, the other would whisk away with a passionate exclamation of "Ho! ho!" not venturing a rejoinder. When "out" they always addressed each other as "Neddy" and "Capricorn," and when "in" as "Edmondus" and "John Pascoe." Fawkner's mother's name was Anne Pascoe, and there was a charm in the sound which no doubt stirred up the old filial tenderness, for he was a fond and dutiful son; and though his mother and sister returned to England a few years after the expatriation of the father, "Johnny" clung affectionately to the old man, and all praise be to his memory for having done so. To Pascoe Vale, a suburban land section, purchased by him, some seven miles from Melbourne, on what was then known as the Moonee Ponds Road, he gave a maternal designation. Here he was comfortably nested for a considerable time, and grew some of the first and best grapes in the province, baskets of which, and bunches of flowers he often left at Finn's house during the frequent intervals when amicable relations subsisted between them. In most of the early party squabbles engendered by the Corporation and Legislative elections, Fawkner and Finn took different sides. Fawkner and O'Shanassy used to have stiff onslaughts, but "Johnny" was no match for "Jack," and generally ran away like a whipped hound, for some of such scenes would occur in the open streets. O'Shanassy was the acknowledged General of the Irish Battalions, and Finn was a sort of *aide-de-camp* in his *suite.* They were very intimate friends, and very often together, so that wherever the one was visible the other was not far off. "Johnny" Fawkner would sometimes call Finn "Big Jack's Jackal." O'Shanassy was, when he liked, a long-stepped walker, and, compared with the other, was as if indued in the seven-league boots of the giant of nursery fable; and when in such pedestrian humour, the little fellow trotted *haud passibus æquis* by his side, often to cause much amusement, for the one was tall as the other was short. Finn, through his familiarity with O'Shanassy, and position on the *Herald*, a quasi-Irish organ, acquired a popularity with his countrymen second only to that of the *Generalissimo*, and to engage with him during a heated election was sometimes a rather risky undertaking, as he was well backed by devoted myrmidons. Fawkner and he met one day in Elizabeth Street. They were both in company with canvassing staffs of rival candidates, and rather excited with the work. Fawkner let off a wholesale volley of abuse of everything. Popish, from Rome to Father Geoghegan, and everything Irish from "Big Jack" to "Papist Neddy." The Irish detachment was more numerous than the other; Finn was in command, and his Sergeant-major was a wild Celtic cordwainer named Pat Kennedy, who at once called upon his adherents to "give the miserable crawler Fawkner a rousing volley of groans."

When the bi-cameral system of government was instituted in 1856, Fawkner was elected by the Central Province as one of its representatives in the Legislative Council, where he continued until his death. Finn, he fanatically believed to have been brought into official relation with the upper branch of the Parliament for ulterior designs—to serve as a sort of spy, or plain-clothes policeman—a *mouchard* who would be ever working in the dark, taking notes and making observations, all for the special information and enlightenment of the prime Popish emissary, O'Shanassy. He talked of it

amongst members, prated about it to messengers, and whenever he met his *bête noir* in a lobby or a committee-room he rated him, and threatened all sorts of exposure. He even went so far as to express an intention of tabling a motion in the Council on the subject. The annoyance at length became so persistent and petulant, that Finn determined upon seeing it out with Fawkner at the first favourable opportunity. This occurred, for when they met one day at the intersection of Victoria Parade and Nicholson Street, Finn, before the other had time to say something nasty, thus accosted him: "Look here, my ancient friend, 'Old Capricornus,' I was anxious to meet you away from all Parliamentary precincts for fear of committing a breach of privilege upon the individual now known as the 'Honourable Johnny.' I have simply to say to you that the next time I hear any more of your goings on about me, I shall get an upholsterer to manufacture an effigy of you. This I shall get done with a pair of horns sprouting from the head, and the name branded on the breast, in true Port Arthur style; and I'll have it hung from that tree (pointing to one of which the trunk still remains (1888), and all the fast Irishmen in Melbourne dancing about it. I never made you a promise before that I did not keep; and so sure as you are Johnny Fawkner, the son of his father (you know what I mean by that), I'll keep this. So *au revoir.*" Fawkner passed on without a word, and the shadow of the dreaded *simulacrum* kept him tongue-tied for more than four years —a marvellous taciturnity for him. At length there came a fierce explosion about 1863, when Fawkner took it into his head that Finn had something to do with the *Victorian*, a Roman Catholic journal then in existence; and there was another newspaper campaign, short and sharp, but doomed to be the last. The same year an extraordinary and un-Parliamentary burst-up was near occurring in the Council Chamber. Finn was temporarily promoted to the Assistant Clerkship, and consequently had to take his place wigged and gowned at the table of the House; whilst Fawkner, through his delicacy of health, habitually wore a small velvet cap, which he never doffed during the proceedings. On the first occasion of Finn's robed appearance in the chamber, before the President (Sir J. Palmer) took the Chair, Fawkner ambled over to the new comer, and commenced to monodise jeeringly in something sounding like, "Don't we look well in our wig! Don't we look well in our wig."! Finn turning on him quietly said, "Johnny Capricorn, let me change my wig for your nightcap, and we'll be the two champion beauties of the world; but before I do so the nightcap must be fumigated." With that Fawkner danced like a mad dervish about the table, and protested that the moment the Chair was taken he would report the insult to the President. The Honourables Captain Cole and W. Hull interposed their good offices to still the storm so inauspicously brewing, and after much persuasion they prevailed upon Fawkner to be quiet.

Fawkner and Finn never after quarrelled, owing most likely to the former's advancing years, and his increase of bodily ailments. The political turn assumed by public events had also something to do with it, for Fawkner was now an ultra-Conservative, and the other, though since he took office he did not show it, was the reverse of a red-hot Democrat. Fawkner at last ventured one day to Finn's room, and by the presentation of No. 2 of his old foolscap newspaper, a book, a photograph, and a paper of buns coaxed the other to forgive and forget, and so they mutually agreed to wipe out all the old scores chalked up as outstanding arrears, to mentally sign a joint acquittance, and ever more, be friends. This compact so singular, all circumstances considered, was faithfully kept, and the depreciatory terms of "Johnny Capricorn" and "Papist Neddy" were sunk in the waters of oblivion, from the bottom of which they never emerged; and "Edmondus" and "John Pascoe" grew into recognized "standing orders," never to be suspended.

On one point, however, Fawkner took his stand, viz., he would have nothing in return for what he bestowed. He liked to be placing Finn under small obligations, and he was humoured accordingly. The only way in which any reciprocation of favours ever occurred was in the case of Fawkner accepting from his *beneficiaire* photographs of himself and Father Geoghegan, the first Roman Catholic Priest in Port Phillip, between whom and Fawkner there never was anything approaching an *entente cordiale.* Destiny or chance had also provided for the transfer of O'Shanassy from the Assembly to the Council, and "Johnny" dropped down to the condition of a Parliamentary

henchman to his *quondam*, "Big Jack"; but, though they fought side by side in some Legislative struggles, Fawkner never took so kindly to him as he did to his "Edmondus." Respecting the Convent question, Finn succeeded in converting Fawkner so far to his views, that they had arranged to pay a visit together to the Convent of Mercy, in Nicholson Street, an intention which would have certainly been carried out but for Fawkner's demise.

In August, 1869, Fawkner was conversing with some of his fellow-lawmakers. The group were soon joined by Mr. O'Shanassy with whom Fawkner shook hands. The members then proceeded to the House, and in the corridor Fawkner and Finn met and "Johnny" held forth his hand, which the other jocularly refused to take, "Ho, ho, man" was the exclamation, "What has gone wrong with you, my fine fellow." "Simply this," replied the other, "I saw you just now shake hands with the Irish giant outside there, and I don't mean to shake yours, you ought to be ashamed of yourself." "Why," asked Fawkner, "have you had a shindy with 'Big Jack?' I thought you and he were thick friends." "All right," laughingly replied the other, "*Johanna Pascoevenni absolvo te.* "Come," shouted "Johnny," "don't you go bothering me with your dog-Latin. Though you are Irish, I have often known to my cost that you can speak English well. So out with what you have to say in our mother-tongue." "All right," was the response. The translation is, "John Pascoe, I give you absolution, which, in the Roman Catholic faith, means, that when a sinner repents, and promises to sin no more, he is forgiven; but the penance on you is this, that you must not repeat the trangression." "Oh, I understand all now," replied "Johnny"; "But there's old Palmer commencing his Lord's Prayer, I must be off. Good-bye." They shook hands, Fawkner went his way, and this was the last time they ever spoke to each other. The next morning Fawkner was stricken down by a fatal affliction; he was never seen in public again, and he died on the 4th September, 1869.

Reporting Reminiscences.

The modern newspaper pen-drivers are much better remunerated than their predecessors were in the age of which I am writing, when the highest "screw" was £3 per week, and occasionally not so much. Neither were the payments so punctually made as they are now; for when one of the ancient journals got into what is slangily known as "Queer Street," the *employés*, literary and mechanical, had often to go for weeks without any "tin," and were never squared up with until the end of the quarter, when the accounts owing would come in. In some instances quarter-day failed even to bring this comfort. The *Herald* was an exception to this inconvenient, though occasionally imperative practice, for one thing Cavenagh always punctually did, *i.e.*, pay off every farthing of salaries and wages on the Saturday. However he contrived it, the rhino was there, and so far employment on the *Herald* possessed the material advantage that the labourer was not only deemed worthy of, but regularly received his hire. Nor had the olden reporters the modern chance of squeezing some perquisites out of what are termed weekly expenses, for no such item was known amongst them. The circuit of their operations was restricted, for practically before the gold discoveries there were no suburbs except Collingwood. There were no evening papers to be rushed out, no Eastern or Western Districts to be "done," no interviewing of Ministers, nor touting about Departments. The Supreme Court, with its one-man machine of a Judge, Commissioner Barry's Court of Requests, "Little-Go," the Town Council, the Police Court, the Coroner, and occasional meetings only had to be looked after. Railways and omnibusses were entombed in futurity, and cabs were few and dear. The reporters, therefore, performed their duties as an infantry corps, except on rare and special occasions, when they might have to travel to Brighton, Williamstown, or some other place out of town, and then they were horsed. The only regular cavalry amongst them were the shipping reporters, who, when incoming vessels were signalled of an evening from the Flagstaff, were permitted to ride to the beach (whence they boarded the vessel by boat), and back again. After a few years, the newspaper proprietors started boats at Williamstown, and in emergencies, the shipping reporters used to ride up from Sandridge, though rarely they had to travel by the

overland route from Williamstown, and some narrow escapes from drowning happened, when the punt did not work, and the horses had to be swam over the Saltwater River.

But the old reporters had, in their way, certains rights and immunities, which, I dare say, some members of their posterity would be only too glad to inherit, and of these I shall specify three, viz.—No reckoning was ever taken from them at public-houses, where they could personally order what they liked, and drink it free, gratis; they were never supposed to "stand treat" for anyone, but on the contrary, swallow as many nobblers or pints as were offered, to which, indeed, there was seldom any stint; and thirdly, no constable was supposed to lock up one of them, be he as drunk as Bacchus, and as uproarious as a lunatic in a refractory ward. These usages, originating in a remote antiquity, were legalized by prescription, and consolidated by time into a species of Common Law more observed than most of the statutes.

The old reporters were on more convivially fraternal terms with the public than their successors, and the promiscuous treating of them was more general. There were never more than three at a time on the Press, and, as they were to be seen everywhere, the people got to know them well, became familiarized with them, and on the whole liked them much better than the editors, who were always mixed up with small bitter cabals or cliques. Such an occurrence as the knocking down of a reporter was unknown; a fellow for a scurrilous paragraph of which he was morally known to be the writer, through previous threats or some other equally probable reason, might get a shaking or a black eye, casualties nearly always cured without Police Court intervention, by a bout of drinking, an apology, or something more substantial. But events of this kind were of very rare occurrence.

Stenography was unknown for many years, though by practice the Pressmen acquired a mode of abbreviating long hand, which, with quick writing, retentive memories and a knowledge of the few subjects that would be debated, enabled them to turn out reports several columns in length, where speeches read much better than they were delivered, and the speakers were not only often satisfied but thankful. Besides, some of the more prominent public men supplied their own addresses to the Press—Drs. Lang, Palmer and Greeves, Messrs. E. Curr, A. Cunninghame, W. Westgarth and others always did so; Judges Willis, Therry and A'Beckett were equally accommodating, but Judge Jeffcott never would do so.

In 1845, one day Corp, Davies and Finn were reporting in the Supreme Court; Mr. Justice Therry delivered a judgment, and the MS. was handed by the Associate (Mr. R. W. Shadforth) to Corp who sat nearest to the Bench, upon, of course, the well-known implied understanding that the Press representatives would make the usual arrangement. Davies whispered to Finn, "The *Patriot* comes out in the morning, and it would be a good lark to do it out of the judgment." "All right," responded the other; "you'll be a smart fellow if you succeed, but do so if you can." "You'll see; my word, if I don't," was Davies' rejoinder, and the subject for the time dropped. Towards the afternoon Davies told Corp he wished to make a brief abstract of the paper as the *Gazette* would not print it in full, and for this purpose Davies obtained the judgment, saying he would get what he required from it in the Insolvent Court, and would be sure to speedily return it. "Here it is then," replied Corp handing it over, "and be sure you lose no time in giving it back, as I wish to send it with other copy to the office." "All right," answered Davies, "I'll let you have it in a brace of shakes." Off he dashed ostensibly for the Insolvent Court, then held in a room of the Court building; but in reality he hastened to the *Gazette* office, and showed no more at Court that day. Corp, as the evening advanced without any Davies, got into a towering passion, and swore vehemently that "he would give the other what he would not relish when he met him." On the adjournment of the Court he set forth in search of the absentee, and not finding him at the *Gazette*, hunted him up at home in Collingwood, where he regularly thrashed him, and recovered the judgment MS. Davies, though rather fond of troubling the Police Court on less feeling provocation, did not do so this time. Next day he laughed the matter off, and declared that instead of Corp having given him a hiding, "the boot was on the other leg;" but no one, knowing the two men, believed a word of it.

On the occasion of the departure of Mr. Justice Jeffcott in 1845, he was honoured with a farewell prandial celebration at the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street. There was a large fashionable

gathering for the time, the Mayor (Mr. Henry Moor) presided, and Superintendent Latrobe was present. There was a great shindy over returning thanks for the Press. The Stewards had selected Cavenagh, of the *Herald*, as respondent; but when he was called on Kerr, of the *Patriot*, and M'Combie, of the *Gazette*, both jumped up and would not allow it, each claiming precedence. Immense uproar followed, and the Chairman's calls of "Order! Order!" were drowned in a hiccuping babel of half-drunken clamourings. Kerr, with a carving-knife, appeared as if he meditated spearing the Chairman. M'Combie was more persistent, and not so noisy, and, as the representative of the senior newspaper, would insist on a hearing; but to no purpose. M'Combie, with his eyes doggedly fixed on the table, maundered and mumbled, and remained immovable until his reporter (Davies), who was sitting next, seized him by the skirt of a swallow-tailed coat, thundered in his ear, "Sit down you—— fool," and gave a tremendous pull, which not only brought the recalcitrant orator on his beam-ends, but tore off one of the coat-tails, which Davies retained as a trophy.

I was once at a dinner in Smith's old Queen Street Theatre, when a highly-respected salesman (long out of the world) was down for a leading toast. He had his printed speech rolled like a tape around his finger, intending to use it as a prompter. He was well on in the drinking way, and drawing off the oration, as if a loose glove finger, he placed it by him on the table whilst having another glass "to keep his pecker up" during the approaching word ordeal. "Jack" Davies picked up the invaluable roll, and secreted it, whilst the other was descanting; and when the literary bairn was missed, the distress of the parent was irresistibly comical, "Oh," he piteously whined, "where's my speech? I'd wager that some blackguard reporter, Curtis, Davies, or Finn, has got it;" and then, addressing the trio sitting and laughing near him, he yearningly besought them if they knew anything of it to return it, for a joke was a joke, and he would not "bear" such fun any longer. Bluster or bounce, wheedling or coaxing was equally powerless in obtaining a restoration, and so the speaker, after a very stammering exhibition, hastily gave the toast, and sat down in a condition of much confusion. Next morning a full report of the abducted oration was published.

The First Civic Dinner.

In 1854, Mr. John Hodgson, then Mayor of Melbourne, gave a grand civic entertainment at the *Criterion (nee* the *Royal Hotel)*, Collins Street, Sam Moss, proprietor, in honour of the recently arrived Governor, Sir Charles Hotham. The large room was filled by all the city notabilities, and a capital feed and plenty to drink produced general good humour, for it was one of the three wild years of the olden time; and as an entertainment of the sort, would cost from three to four guineas per head, many of those who went there were resolved to have the money's worth, no matter whether it was the Mayor's cash or not. The following is the *menu carte*:—

Soup.—
A la Reine; Julienne
Mock Turtle, à l'Anglaise Sherry.
Fish.—
Baked, à la Domestique; Stewed, à la Royale
Ditto, au Maréchal.
Entremets and Roti.—
Roast Turkey, au Prince of Wales
Ditto, ditto, à la Henry VIII.
Ditto, ditto, au Wellington
Roast Goose, au Naturel
Ditto, ditto, à la Native
Roast Fowl, au Monument
Ditto, ditto, à la Cannonade
Saddle of Mutton, au John Bull
Vol au Vent, à la Financière
Fillets of Beef, aux Truffles
Chartreuse of Wild Pigeon
Chevaliere des Poulets Bigarré
Epigramme d'Agneau aux Petits Pois
Still and Sparkling Hock, and Champagne
Roast Teal
Salad, à la Criterion; Ditto of Lettuce; Ditto of Celery.
Dessert.—
Pudding au Royale; Plum ditto à l'Anglaise
Blanc Mange, Home Recollections
Ditto, ditto, April Smiles
Jelly, Golden Age
Ditto, "Lead On," Hock, Sherry, and Madeira.
Fruits.—
Apples, Oranges, Almonds, Raisins, Figs, &c.
Port, Claret, and Sherry; Coffee.

About 9 o'clock more than half of the diners gave unmistakable evidence of their "dining out," and as they dawdled over the work, rather slow progress was made through a lengthy list of toasts. Three "gentlemen of the Press" were sitting together, Messrs. Charles Curr, and T. Warner, of *The Argus*, and Finn, of the *Herald*. Amongst the most prominent of the magnates grouped right and left of the Chairman, was Dr. Palmer, then Speaker of the Legislative Council, and when his turn arrived proposed a toast. Amongst others he had tabular returns compiled to demonstrate the present stability and future greatness of Victoria, when Mr. Curr, the reporter, jumped up from his seat somewhere in the centre of the feast, and facing the speaker, loudly called him to order. Some confusion followed this unseemly interruption, and during a temporary calm, the intruder vehemently protested against the introduction of statistics upon such an occasion. "Figures (exclaimed he) were excellent things when trotted out in proper time and place, but they were altogether out of season and utterly indigestible at such a celebration, from which all such extraneous nonsense should be excluded." As for Sir Charles Hotham, he looked as if he would like to have the offender on board a man-of-war, whilst Dr. Palmer was so disgusted that he cut short his oratorical swim and brought up much sooner than he intended.

One of the most laughable *mêlées* imaginable occurred at a house-warming once given at an hostelry known as the *Commercial Inn*, situated where Rocke and Co.'s large furnishing establishment now stands in East Collins Street. The host was a Mr. Phillip Anderson, a red-faced, bluff-looking, blunt, good-natured Caledonian. The place had recently undergone considerable improvements, the principal being the addition of a large room, and to duly inaugurate the auspicious event, "Phil" summoned a gathering of the clans to a *free dinner*, the liquors to be paid for. The invitation was freely responded to, so the place was crowded. Amongst the guests were the then three reporters, Messrs. Corp, Curtis, and Finn for the *Patriot*, *Gazette*, and *Herald*, not for the purpose of enlightening the world with any account of the festivities, but to enjoy themselves as private individuals. After the cloth was removed, the drinking was carried on in such style as almost to put to the blush the great Scotch carousing festival known as the Hogmanay. None of your modern mixtures, no griping "half-and-half," or "two ales," none of the sickening wines then known as "black strap," or "gooseberry," but whisky, brandy, and rum, either "neat," or sparingly attempered with Yarra water. By 10 o'clock the place was a roaring intoxicated Bedlam, talking and shouting, and disputing, and amongst those in the most advanced stage of elevation was Curtis. Curiosity as to what was to come enforced a temporary silence, when Curtis, with a most insinuating smile, and with the graceful and gentlemanly manner which he could, when he so wished, assume, informed the Chairman that he was so intensely charmed by the hospitality with which he had been treated by his Scottish fellow colonists on that very pleasant night, he would, if permitted, endeavour to contribute to their enjoyment by treating them to a highly fashionable dance which had caused quite a *furore* in London just before he had left, and had never, so far as he was aware, been danced in the colonies. But in order that all may have an opportunity of beholding the peculiar movements, it would be necessary for him to ascend a table for the purpose. The proclamation of a Curtis dance was such an unexpected novelty that the assemblage broke out into thunders of applause, and one of the tables was rapidly cleared of its glassware. Curtis, stripping off his boots, was up in a jiffey, when the applause was renewed with increased vigour, the *débutant*, if not blushing, indulging in the most profound obeisances and genuflexions. The dance in which he was going to exhibit was a Caledonian strathspey, and the instrument he would play on was a Scotch fiddle. He immediately commenced to cut the most grotesque capers, jumping and kicking, and posturing in a manner unknown to any phase of the Terpsichorean Art, all the time grinding on the "Scotch Fiddle," which was simply working the index finger of the right hand like a fiddle-bow. The excited Scotchmen stared with open mouths and blank amazement, not clearly comprehending the drift of what was going on, many of them dimly fancying that a madman was playing antics before them. At length Curtis' feet and violin both came suddenly to a full stop, when he burst into a wild fit of horse-laughter, and roared at the highest pitch of voice he could command, "You Scotch loons, you drunken sweeps, down on your marrow-bones, and pray, 'God bless the Duke of Argyle.'"

To persons not versed in slang it may be necessary, to enable them to estimate the unpardonable offence committed, to explain that the phrase, "Scotch Fiddle," had a supposed reference to a vulgar insinuation originating at a period when England and Scotland were engaged in internecine feuds, that an unchanged oatmeal diet so cutaneously affected those who dwelt north of the Tweed as to require the finger-friction of the "Scotch Fiddle" to alleviate some of the symptoms. The appeal on behalf of the Duke of Argyle is connected with the same tradition, as a member of that noble house once had erected a number of iron posts in Glasgow to indicate the boundaries of his property, which uprights were made a "double debt to pay," by the poorer classes of the townfolk using them as auxiliaries of the "Scotch Fiddle," *i.e.*, scratching against them. The Scotchmen were so astounded at the audacity that for a minute or so they did not well know how to act. The point of the grossly offensive joke was impervious to many of them, but it soon went the round of the circle, and there were loud shouts of "Kick Curtis out." The spectacle at length was so irresistibly ludicrous that a loud involuntary expression of laughter ensued, and half-a-dozen lubberly fellows were meditating a rush upon the offender, when the Chairman and a few others good-humouredly interposed, and the result was that Curtis was to be forgiven if he made an unqualified and humble apology. He consented to the terms of compromise, and as a tipsy orator I never knew but one (a certain modern Member of Parliament) to even approach him. He was a capital *extempore* speaker, the drunker (provided he could only keep on his feet) the better, and he now burst forth in a really eloquent and even pathetic strain. He lauded the land of the Thistle and everything belonging to it to the skies, declared that like Byron, he was a half-blooded Scotian himself, and there was no land under heaven whose sons, both at home and abroad, had ever so distinguished themselves in art and science, law and literature, peace and war, by their genius, acquirements, erudition, diplomacy, and bravery; and as pioneers of a new country like Port Phillip, their industry, honesty, and thrift sent them far ahead of all other colonists. The three greatest personages know to him in ancient or modern history, whose memory he carried round him in a halo of hero-worship, were Rob Roy, Robbie Burns, and John Barleycorn. As for the last-named individual, he invented a beverage, beside which the so much poetised Ambrosia of Olympus tasted but as ditch-water, and though the bequeather of such a legacy might be forgotten in the rush of years, so long as a shred of civilization remained, whisky would continue to be one of the chief solacers of the great family of mankind. As to the fantasia he had executed on the "Scotch fiddle," it was meant as a good-natured joke, for he had no dearer or more esteemed friends on earth than the proprietors of some of the jolly faces he saw around him. If they wished for an apology where no affront was intended, they might have it a thousandfold, and his best wishes thrown in as a tilly.

Cavenagh, the proprietor of the *Herald*, always detested Curtis, and would never have anything to do with him, so though he had been connected at some time, more or less, with every other journal, he never figured on the *Herald* until after the gold discoveries. Even then it was with much reluctance Cavenagh would engage him, and only did so after the persistent representations of Finn, who was only too glad to put in a good word for an old friend, by this time given up by the other papers, and driven to his wits' end to make both ends meet, especially as he had taken it into his head to get married, and had more than himself to look out for. At last it approached the crisis and Cavenagh saith: "But Curtis is such a consummate scamp and confounded liar that I cannot consent to employ him on the *Herald*. Besides, see how the fellow in past times used to blackguard me in the *Courier*, the *Albion*, and the *Daily News*. How can you expect a mortal man to forget all that?" Curtis was installed on the *Herald*, through Finn's intercession, and so remained for several years, until he grew so outrageously unmanageable that Mr. F. B. Franklyn, who succeeded Cavenagh, was compelled to discharge him.

Curtis and the Missionary Doctor.

The first City Missionary in Melbourne was a nondescript looking old worthy, who flourished in the early years of the gold mania. He had an inside breast pocket to his coat, in which

there was as much storage as a moderate-sized carpet bag, and here he had put away as travelling baggage a small copy of the New Testament, a well-thumbed Prayer Book, a number of tracts, and odds and ends, with an assortment of pills, which in his belief excelled the Egyptian miracles of Cagliostro. Between his fingers he usually paraded a card inscribed "The Reverend John L. Milton," but he soon got to be universally known as "the Doctor." I never could learn in what University or College he took his degree, or whether he was a D.D., M.D., L.L.D., or Mus. D.; but that he was "Doctor Milton" with the public, the publicans and sinners, the Magistrates, the Police, and the reporters was an accomplished fact. He was an almost constant visitor at the watchhouses, where he had the *entré* every hour of the twenty-four, waged open war upon the public-houses, and professed himself a reclaimer of fallen women. In the latter respect he went so far as to open a Refuge in a cottage in Spring Street, a few doors southward of the *White Hart Hotel*, where he soon got together half-a-dozen "rescued lambs," a small flock out of which he netted considerable capital, for he made the establishment pay also. Occasional scandalous whisperings flew abroad in connection with this "Asylum," but in this respect I believe they were utterly groundless. With Finn, of the *Herald*, he was on the most cordial terms; but Curtis, of the *Daily News*, and he were often at drawn daggers, and sometimes in the public streets there would be a stiff scolding encounter between them. The Doctor on cold water was never an equal for Curtis on rum and no water. Milton would shake his head, uplift his hands, and protest that the other was a child of Belial, a man of sin, a lost soul, a vessel of unrighteousness—while Curtis would retort on him as a villainous old impostor, a hoary fraud, a thundering hypocrite, whose grey beard would yet descend in sorrow to the grave. In 1856, the Doctor, at much trouble and some outlay, got up a temperance demonstration at the Mechanics' Institute. Placards and advertisements were not spared, and through brisk beating up there was an assemblage of some hundreds. The newspapers were rather sick of the great temperance missionary, and the reporters attending the meetings had each instructions to cut down the affair to short paragraphs. There were three of them there, including Curtis, in anything but a teetotal condition. Prior to the commencement of business, Milton, approaching the Press table, expressed a hope that as the meeting would undoubtedly be a marked success, a lengthy report would be published the next morning, and if favoured so far this time, he should never forget it. Curtis led Milton to believe that each newspaper would give a four-column report of the proceedings, and the reporters would consequently be engaged the greater part of the night in writing out their reports. If they were supplied with suitable refreshments the published reports would be considerably the better for it, and if the doctor would cash out for such a good purpose the great cause he had so much at heart would be immensely the gainer. The plausibility of the Curtis "gammoning" so worked upon Milton that he actually slipped Curtis three sovereigns—one each for the fellows who were to do such wonders. When the conference concluded Curtis rejoined his friends, and requested that whenever Milton looked towards them during the proceedings to pretend to be working zealously with their pencil-scratching, for a reason he would afterwards detail to them. Returning from the meeting, Curtis informed his colleagues of what has been related, who, hastening with their paragraphs to their respective offices, gave them in, and then repaired to a favourite tavern where they had a sumptuous supper and made a night of it, at the Doctor's expense, in more than one sense of the phrase. When Milton, next day, eagerly consulted the newspapers, he could not believe his eyes, for in lieu of four columns, there was something like a four-line notice in each. He had been completely bitten, but he saw that, under the circumstances, to bear in silence was his best course; and he afterwards spoke bitterly whenever the "do" was jokingly referred to. He protested over and over that it was the most fraudulent and disgraceful transaction his experience had ever known in a world of sin and crime.

Finn and the Amateur Politician.

Previous to each Annual Licensing Session some of the reporters would gather in some gleanings; for a person applying for a new license, or the keeper of a tavern marked by the police,

would retain the services of a newspaper man to prepare a memorial to the Bench. In 1855 an individual, whose cognomen commenced with a "P.," wealthy and well known, with more bank-notes than brains, conceived an ardent longing to secure a seat in the first Legislature of the colony. He meditated a raid upon a Western constituency, and believed that if he could get up a rousing speech, and deliver it well at meetings to be held throughout the district, he would carry the election. He conferred with Mr. Finn, of the *Herald*, and was frankly told not to make a fool of himself. The would-be senator indignantly replied that his mind was made up, and start he would, sink or swim, regardless of consequences; but I wish you to write me a speech, and show me how to speak it properly, and I will pay you well for it. "Very well, P——," was the practical rejoinder, "My figure, and I have no second price, will be fifteen guineas for a speech, and five guineas for lessons in elocution, which latter mean showing you how to deliver it. But you are distinctly to understand that beyond supplying the speech, and doing all I can to try and make you master it, I have no further responsibility; and our bargain gives no claim whatever for any kind of puffing or support in the *Herald*. As to the result of the election, of which I entertain no manner of doubt, you must blame nobody but yourself." The terms were accepted, and an appointment made for the second day after, when the oration was to be out of the workman's hands, and a hint was dropped that as the debt was more one of honour than a legal contract, and might not be as easily recoverable as tailors' wages, the only handsome and proper way of doing the thing would be for the embryo legislator to bring the cash with him; and this was likewise agreed to. Both parties were up to time. The speech was ready, and P—— was so delighted with the long-rounded periods, though understanding little of their meaning, as to protest that he was as sure of his election as that chalk is not cheese. The consideration was produced, and found its way into a strange pocket. But now an amusing hitch occurred. This P——'s education was so limited that he could barely manage to sign a cheque, and read only large print. As to deciphering even large copper-plate writing, he could no more accomplish it than fly to the moon. The difficulty then was what was to be done. How could the speech be committed to memory if the orator was unable to read writing? The perplexity was at length resolved by Finn suggesting that it be printed confidentially at the *Herald* office. The other demurred, through an apprehension that it might get wind, when he should be the laughing-stock of the town; but he was pacified by the assurance that the other would personally see that the typography would be done in the most secret manner, that three copies only should be struck off, and the type would be then distributed. The copies were accordingly printed in the largest long primer that could be got, and when submitted to the candidate, it was ascertained that he could master all except the polysyllables, with which it was copiously interlarded, and these he climbed over by spelling. The rehearsals, which came off at Finn's house, were the most comically absurd exhibitions conceivable. The recruit was placed at one end of a room opposite a large mirror, and the work commenced. "Now," saith the drill-sergeant, "stand up straight, throw back your head, advance your breast as much as possible, press the floor as hard as you can with your heels, and by that attitude you will acquire an air of independence, and nothing tells better than that. Take this paper in your left hand, and hold it as far off as you can read; and though you cannot be considered a far-sighted individual, you are blessed with good optics, and can see well. Whenever you meet with a big word, roar it out as loud as you can, put on a half grin, clench your right fist, and let fly just as if you were in a prize fight, hitting out from the shoulder. Whenever you come to a full stop, flourish your right hand over your head, stamp with your left foot, and bow. Now, as you have never addressed an election meeting, I must supply you with some presence of mind, a confidence in yourself, or otherwise the jeering, and laughing, and shouting, and hissing, will put you off your chump, and then the game is up, for the only way to battle against election rowdyism is to keep your temper. Whatever may be said to you, mind you are not to get vexed. No telling a fellow 'he's a liar,' sending him to———, or promising to punch his head. Therefore, I shall laugh at and make fun of you, whilst you are getting through your speech, and you must not

be vexed or offended, for I am only accustoming you to what is in store for you just as they break in troopers' horses to stand fire by discharging pistols at their ears." This absurd burlesque was continued for half-a-dozen times; and beyond tripping over the *sesquipedalia verba*, the political novice was tolerably well able to read aloud, and by continuous stewing, had portions of the oration by heart. One of the long primer slips he had sewed up as a reserve inside the lining of his coat. The triplicate I have before me as I write. At length he arrived at his destination, and the first meeting he addressed, though there was not a complete breakdown, he so distorted the language put into his mouth, and treated his hearers to such a version of their Mother-tongue, that he was almost unanimously adjudged to be *non compos mentis*. All the words over two syllables he murdered. Instead of "developing the resources" he promised to "envelop the discourses" of the colony. For "propelling the colony onward to her destined pinnacle of prosperity" he would "dispel her to a hastened clinicle of diversity." When treating of "the vast mineral treasures all nearly, as yet, reposing quietly in their undisturbed abodes," his rendering was "the fast general measures yearly disposing nightly in sequestrated lodes," and so on throughout. But the climax occurred when the rhetorician declared he would "discriminate" (assimilate) Victoria to the new world of Columbus." Some unmannerly listener asked him to spell "Columbus," whereat the candidate roared with rage, and promised when the meeting "germinated" (terminated) he would give the fellow such a "bussing" as would swell him to the size of an omnibus. However, the candidature was at an end, for Mr. P—— was laughed out of the field.

As the General Election of 1856 approached, the Legislational rabies bit him again, and he would be a candidate for a constituency a few miles from Melbourne, where he said his merits were well-known, and would be appreciated accordingly. Once more he appeared before his political "coach," with an intimation that as he this time intended to be his own trainer, all he should require was a slashing preliminary address to the electors, the best article that could be manufactured, and he was prepared to pay a good price. There were then two members of the Bar, who have been since Knighted, Sir W. F. Stawell and Sir A. Michie, upon whom he had what is colonially termed a mortal "down." Why he abhorred Mr. Stawell I could never elicit from him, unless, perhaps, it was because he was Attorney-General; but his grudge against Mr. Michie arose from the fact of that gentleman once appearing against him in some Supreme Court cause to which he was a party, when he had a taste of the learned gentleman's bitterly sarcastic tongue. At all events he was now absorbed by two desires, viz., that his address should be better than Stawell's; and that he might live to see the day when he would be able to meet Michie on the "floor of the Houses," and then and there have it out with him. These two yearnings satisfied, he would be almost willing to lie down and die contentedly. He was again told he was befooling himself, and there was no chance of his election; but the answer was he knew better; that was his business, and if he could not obtain the required commodity—for which he was prepared to pay a high figure—he should go elsewhere, and could no doubt be suited. He preferred, however, to deal with his old friend if he was ready to undertake the job. He liked his style of work, and made him the first offer. The result was that a bargain was clinched between them, and for £20 Mr. P—— was to obtain an election address of the A1 brand, but beyond supplying it and getting paid, the writer washed his hands of all further responsibility. By the end of the week the document appeared in the Melbourne newspapers, subscribed by the illiterate aspirant. It was read and laughed at, but no one was found to assert that it was not well done. It was a right thing perched over a wrong name, an anomaly which caused infinite diversion. But the best of the joke was that when Stawell's address to the electors of Melbourne appeared, the *Age*, in overhauling it, actually expressed regret that the Attorney-General had not sought the literary assistance of the scribe by whom the P—— manifesto had been prepared. This intensely delighted Mr. P——, and the address-maker was very much tickled by the *Age* unconsciously testifying to the fulfilment of the stipulation originally suggested by his customer.

CHAPTER LX.

POLITICAL AND PROFESSIONAL PENCILLINGS.

SYNOPSIS:—Edward Curr.—Charles Hotson Ebden.—Alexander Thomson.—J. F. Leslie Foster.—John Dunmore Lang.—John O'Shanassy.—William Westgarth.—William Hull and Others.—Barristers-at-Law: E. J Brewster.—James Croke.—Redmond Barry.—Robert Williams Pohlman.—Archibald Cunninghame.—James Erskine Murray.—Edward Eyre Williams.—William Foster Stawell.—Samuel Raymond.—Sidney Stephen.—John Barker. Attorneys: William Meek.—Thomas Clark.—H. N. Carrington.—Quarry and Ross.—Robert Deane.—Charles Sladen.—Thomas T. A'Beckett.—H. F. Gurner.—J. D. Pinnock.—J. Montgomery.—F. Hinton.—J. Duerdin.—J. Trenchard.—R. Scott.—J. W. Thurlow.—J. Plaistow.—J. M. Smith.—F. Stephen.—H. J. Chambers.—J. W. Belcher.—Crossing the Garden Wall.

The Early Politicians.

ANTECEDENT to the birth of the Colony of Victoria, the political agitation in Port Phillip was threefold, viz., Separation, Anti-transportation, and the Land Question, of which Emigration and the Equitable Appropriation of the Land Sales Fund constituted sub-branches. But the great question of questions was the Separation movement. For once let the Province only be redeemed from the thraldom of New South Wales (the Middle District it was called) and armed with the power of self-government it would very speedily extricate itself from the constantly threatened abomination of convictism, and its territorial revenue would be expended for the sole advantage of the country from which it was drawn. Port Phillip stood forth as one man in the assertion of its right to have the management of its own affairs, and from 1840 to its attainment there was not a single hand publicly lifted against the so ardently-wished-for separation. As regarded the establishment of a penal settlement south of the Murray nine-tenths of the public were vehement in their opposition, the residue being the squatters, who hungered for cheap labour, and with whom "pocket" and "patriotism" were esteemed convertible terms. As to the justice and vital necessity for financial fair play, and a copious stream of untainted colonization, there was no second opinion. These subjects are treated with some fulness in other chapters, and this subdivision of the present one is devoted to some personal reminiscences, and a few other incidents in connection with a generation of public men now almost extinct, who, in their time, rendered good and faithful service to the young and promising land wherein they had resolved to woo the smiles or bear the frowns of Fortune.

Like unto a traveller after a long journey standing on a high hill-top looking back over the expanse of country through which he has passed, I fancy myself taking a retrospective glance over the devious thoroughfare of Time, and scanning through the field-glass of memory, the far away starting-point now partly obscured by the continuously augmenting mists of years.

EDWARD CURR was the principal figure in the political firmament I am endeavouring to describe. In 1826 he arrived in Van Diemen's Land, and for years was Manager to the V.D.L. Company at Circular Head. In August, 1839, he first visited Melbourne, bringing with him for sale some thoroughbred English cattle. Shortly after he settled in Port Phillip, turned his attention to squatting pursuits, and took up his residence on the Yarra in a nook of the area now occupied as the Abbotsford Convent, but called by him "St. Helliers," a name that should never have been abandoned. Mr. Curr, a man of cultured intellect, and considerable ability, was soon immersed in the public affairs of the Province. As the movement to attain Separation was initiated before his permanent residence in Port Phillip, the designation of "Father of Separation" subsequently conferred on him, cannot be regarded a correct one; yet the ardour with which he threw himself

into the struggle, and the unflagging manner in which he maintained his place in the front of the long and tedious battle, fairly ranked him as a leader second to none, though whatever laurels were his due for the vast services rendered in a cause which so materially affected the interests of the whole community, might be fairly shared by the Rev. Dr. Lang, in whom Curr had a coadjutor as able and willing, and as persevering as himself. Yet, strangely enough, these two men, though they helped so bravely a common cause, never worked in the same team, and if yolked together, would have kicked, or bitten, or torn each other to death. Curr was an English Roman Catholic of extreme views, though tolerant enough in a certain fashion, whilst Lang was a most intolerant Presbyterian minister, who so abhorred Papistry, that if he only had the power, he had the will to clear out of the colony every man, woman, and child of that abhorred sect. A feud was generated between Curr and Lang at the Legislative Council Election in 1843, and though Curr was certainly the first aggressor, he would never be a party to healing the quarrel, and when Lang afterwards obtained something akin to a general absolution for past transgressions in consequence of his eminent public services in the Colonial Legislature, Curr alone amongst the most prominent men of the time stood aloof, and refused to extend the hand of reconciliation.

As a speaker Edward Curr was calm, methodical, and unimpassioned, unless when "riled" by some interruption, when he would warm up, and hit out. He never ascended to eloquence, but his deliverances were to the point, undiscursive, logical, and exhaustive. No man was better posted up in provincial affairs, and more than one memorial prepared by him on the Separation Question, was so complete as to be irrefutable. In addition to the platform, he contributed elaborate essays to the newspapers, and was ever indefatigable in advocating with tongue and pen what he believed to be conducive to the common weal. But there was one point in which he did not accord with the public sentiment. He came from a penal colony, and as a squatter was keenly appreciative of the pecuniary advantages arising from the employment of convict labour. Consequently he was not deemed "sound" in the matter of Anti-transportation. During this agitation he wriggled and trimmed, and more than once sought to cajole the people into a compromise, where they would have none, and the consequence was that an otherwise well deserved popularity was to some extent tarnished. Taken as a whole, Edward Curr was a public benefactor who merits a kindly niche in old Victorian history, and when he died on the 11th November, 1850, the very day that brought the intelligence of the Independence of Port Phillip, the event was deplored with an universal regret, which was deepened by the singularly melancholy coincidence of the announcement of the victory, and the loss of the commander of the campaigns.

The following was furnished me by a correspondent:—

"The Van Diemen's Land Company which was instituted for the purpose of introducing prime sheep, cattle, and horses into Tasmania, was, at that time it should be remembered, the largest industrial undertaking of any sort south of the Line. It had received a grant from the British Parliament of over 350,000 acres, and had a capital commonly said to amount to one million sterling. Mr. Curr was the sole Agent for this Company, and was instrumental in inducing the Directors in London to spend £30,000 in the introduction of first-class merino sheep from Germany, which the Company were able to obtain through the high standing and influence of its principal Shareholders, many of whom were members of the House of Lords, and also of the House of Commons. The result of this was that the Van Diemen's Land Company were the real introducers of the highest caste of merino sheep into Port Phillip, and their numerous flocks having spread throughout the colonies, many of the principal merino breed trace their origin to this fact. Wherever Mr. Curr went 'society' gave him a name. In Tasmania he was generally known as the 'Potentate of the North.' The Governor of that country used to speak of him as 'Baron Grim of Cape Grim,' such being the name of a point on the Company's principal sheep-station. After he had lived some time in Victoria, he was called the 'Father of Separation.' Mr. Curr arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1826, and left the Company in 1841. He was the author of one of the earliest works on that colony, entitled *An Account of the Colony of Van Diemen's Land*, published in London in 1824; and was member of the Legislative Council thereof."

CHARLES HOTSON EBDEN was the second son of J. B. Ebden, senior, non-official member of the Cape of Good Hope Legislature. At an early age he directed his attention to Australia, and made several trips between the Cape and the New Continent, settling in 1832, to commercial pursuits in Sydney. In 1835 he abandoned the counting-house desk for the stock-breeders' vocation, and transferred whatever capital he possessed to pastoral operations. The occupation of Port Phillip, and the interest excited by its supposed boundless pasturages, acted like a magnet in attracting the attention of the neighbouring colonies, and amongst some of the earliest overlanders from Sydney was Ebden, who in September, 1836, took up a station on the Murray, and was the first to strike a crossing-place over the river at Albury. Coming further South in the beginning of 1837, in company with Mr. Charles Bonney, they discovered the splendid country so well-known as Carlsruhe, which Ebden named as a *memento* of his Germanic associations, and occupied it for several years. It was stocked with 9000 sheep, the first quadrupeds of the kind driven overland from Sydney. Ebden was a solemn-faced portly man, and judging from his cast of countenance one would not take him to be addicted to certain frivolities freely attributed to him. Becoming a land speculator in 1839, when a mania for that sort of investment set in, he realized large prices for allotments purchased at a low figure a couple of years before, and subsequently sub-divided and re-sold. He was a shining light of the Melbourne Club, and from an early period mingled freely in every political movement, and election struggle, sympathizing with the squatting element, but usually standing well and popular with the people. He represented Port Phillip more than once in the Legislature of New South Wales, and if it be admitted that he was a respectable mediocrity in the capacity nothing more can be fairly claimed for him. As a Separationist and Anti-transportationist he did his duty, and he was a liberal supporter of every charitable project initiated. When Port Phillip obtained its Independence in 1851, Ebden was appointed to the office of Auditor-General, and as such his friends asserted on his behalf the possession of special qualifications. No doubt he had picked up a general smattering of figures in the mercantile calling in which he had originally embarked in Sydney, but that he was anything of a thorough master of finance is fairly questionable. However, he played no unimportant part in the after political history of the colony, having held office in several Ministries, and sat for years in the Legislative Assembly, and at his death was very generally regretted. When Sir Thomas Mitchell made his memorable journey to Port Phillip in 1836, and was so enamoured of what he saw that in a fit of ecstacy he designated the country Australia Felix, he bestowed upon the since well-known northern range the name which it still takes for the somewhat inconsequential reason that (Port) Phillip should have its "Macedon." Some time after Ebden and two or three friends were riding through the country of which Mount Macedon was the southern terminus, and beholding another range towering in the distance, Ebden exclaimed that, as on one side they had a Macedon, it was only befitting that there should be an Alexander on the other, and so Mount Alexander as such was adopted in the topographical vernacular, destined in some fifteen years to become world-known as the natural depositary of the auriferous treasures, by which the Ballarat nuggets were eclipsed, and the fame of golden Victoria established.

ALEXANDER THOMSON was one of our earliest imported politicians, for he was an *attaché* of the Batman party, and arrived with his family from Van Diemen's Land in Melbourne during March, 1836. According to an ancient biographical notice of him, he was a born Scotchman, educated under Dr. Todd of Tichfield, thence passed to the University of Aberdeen, and finished under Sir Everard Home. He circumnavigated the globe five times, and in 1828 was instrumental in the introduction of the first English steamer to the Australian colonies. In 1828 he went to Van Diemen's Land, and was a good deal in the confidence of the members of the co-partnery for which Batman purchased Port Phillip from the eight Aboriginal chieftains. After all of life seen by Dr. Thomson it was dull enough for him to have to quamby with his wife in a wattle-and-daub hovel in the vicinage of the wharf, for this was where he was for a while domiciled. But he was a useful, good-natured, though near-sighted gentleman, and rendered many kind offices to the very limited community in which fate had cast him. He did not long remain in Melbourne, for he

conceived an affection for Geelong which never left him until his dying hour, and by 1837 had migrated there, purchased at some of its earliest land sales, and remained one, though very prominent, of the Geelongeese. As an evidence of the unexpected things to which an energetic settler in a new colony will have to put his hand, it may be mentioned that Dr. Thomson was the first to accomplish the perilous undertaking of driving a bullock team between Geelong and Melbourne. His regular whip fearing that he might be eaten by the blacks, who were reported as very carniverous on the Werribee, struck work after the journey had been commenced, and left the master to either return or go on if he liked without him. Dr. Thomson went on, and reached his journey's end without the slightest Aboriginal molestation. In politics Thomson was an ultra-Radical, or rather sided with an extreme Scotch party then existent, and who, though in pretty general accord with public opinion, occasionally urged a redress of grievances in language more uncompromising than prudent. He invariably fought under the banner of Dr. Lang; but no question was ever raised as to the sincerity and disinterestedness of his motives. He was the first Mayor of Geelong, and its representative in the Legislature, and should the chronicles of Corio be ever written, Alexander Thomson ought to hold an honoured place as one of its public benefactors.

J. F. LESLIE FOSTER was the son of an Irish Judge, and nephew of Mr. Speaker Foster, of the Irish House of Commons before the Union. He was an *alumnus* of Trinity College, Dublin. Arriving in Port Phillip about 1840, he soon appeared in the arena of public men, and took an active part in every political movement of the time. Of considerable ability and largely read, he might have acquired considerable influence, but there was a shiftiness and insincerity about his public conduct, which, added to the absence of personal liking, for he never much courted popularity, somehow or other he never escaped a certain amount of distrust. He was mixed up with every underhand move of the squatters for the procuring of cheap labour, and no public man not thoroughly sound on the Anti-transportation question could ever hope to be taken into general favour. Whilst he sat as a Provincial Representative in the New South Wales Legislature, he performed his duties with creditable assiduity and intelligence, if not with universal satisfaction; and at the Separation era he disappeared from the colonial stage by a visit to England, with a view, as was reported, of working a lucrative Victorian appointment from the Home Government. Whether rumour was correct or not Foster succeeded, for he turned up with the Colonial Secretaryship in his pocket in August, 1853, when he succeeded Captain Lonsdale, the first holder of that office. During the brief *interregnum* between the departure of ex-Governor Latrobe and the arrival of Governor Sir C. Hotham in 1854, Foster officiated as Administrator of the Government. The Hotham reign was short and troublous in consequence of the disturbed and almost revolutionary state of the goldfields. Both Governor and Secretary were objects of extreme unpopularity, and succumbing to the exceptional circumstances, and in some measure to allay the daily increasing discontent, Foster tendered his resignation, and was succeeded by Mr. W. C. Haines. There is little doubt but Foster was sacrificed. It was realizing the familiar phrase of throwing a tub to a whale, the greater vessel (the Governor) was in danger, and to save it the chief officer was pitched overboard. If Foster had continued in harness until 1856 he would have been entitled to a pension on being ousted by any change under responsible Government. But now that he had cast himself prematurely adrift, he forfeited this prospective retiring allowance, which in process of time passed into Haines' pocket. There can be no doubt that Foster felt assured of receiving adequate compensation, but his subsequent applications to Parliament were rejected. It is difficult for any unbiassed lover of fair play to favour any other conclusion than that Foster received shabby and ungenerous treatment. Under the new constitution he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly, and in March, 1857, accepted office as Treasurer in the first O'Shanassy administration, which lived only some six weeks. He subsequently quitted public life, and left the colony, and has not since reappeared on the political horizon.

JOHN DUNMORE LANG, though connected with New South Wales, made himself so essentially a Port Phillipian politician, and so pre-eminently distinguised himself in the advocacy of Separation, that he is well-entitled to a place in this notice. A Scotchman every inch, and born at

Greenock, 25th August, 1799, he graduated at the Glasgow University, and attained a D.D. in 1825. In 1822 he was ordained by the Irvine Presbytery a minister for the Scots' National Church in Sydney, where he arrived in 1823. His chequered career in New South Wales and the religious and political troubles in which he was embroiled there, do not come within the scope of this narrative. His openly avowed rancorous hostility to anything Papistical, more especially the Irish Roman Catholic, caused him to be regarded with much disfavour by no inconsiderable section of the population of this province when he visited Melbourne in 1843, seeking election to the New South Wales Legislature. He dashed into the contest with the pluck for which he was proverbial, and the opposition to him was of the fiercest and most embittered kind. It was his presence in Melbourne that gave impulse to a few embers of Orangeism recently imported from the North of Ireland, longing for some Lucifer to fire the feeble train, and this Dr. Lang brought with him.

Mr. Edward Curr, an English Roman Catholic of strong Conservative opinions, was candidate for Melbourne, aud he lost his head so far as to declare that if Lang were elected for the district he (Curr) if returned, would not sit for Melbourne. This ill-timed dictation was an overt act of aggression, opportunely presented to the Langites, which they were only too ready to use. And well they did so, for they evoked the worst passions of human nature, stirred up the dregs of Orangeism, and a wild cry of fanaticism, rang for a while throughout the length and breadth of the land. Still in a certain way Lang placed the province under deep indebtedness to him for the unceasing energy with which he fought the battle of its Independence both in and out of the New South Wales Legislature, as well as during one or two trips he took to England. His Victorian vicissitudes, if fully described, would form in themselves an amusing chapter, and afford a striking illustration of the mutability of public opinion, and the extraordinary reverses to which a well intentioned but perverse individual may be subjected without any great fault of his own. As for Dr. Lang, by even some of the Port Phillipians he was loathed as a demi-demon, whilst others hailed him as something not much short of a demi-god; and curiously enough he drifted from the verge of assassination to the confines of an apotheosis, he was the honoured guest at a grand Separation demonstration, and the occupant of a cell in the Melbourne Gaol. He made various visits to Port Phillip, and one of these occasions, in 1845, afforded his admirers an opportunity of according him a special ovation in the form of a public breakfast, for which extensive preparations were made. A section of the Melbourne ladies had taken quite a liking to him, and to impart *éclat* to the proceedings, the presentation of a gown from them was to constitute a special feature.

The Doctor arrived, after some disappointment, per steamer, from Sydney, and on the 4th of March the public welcome was offered. The Mayor (Mr. H. Moor) presided, and the orators were the Mayor, Messrs. J. A. Marsden, Alderman Kerr, Councillors Greeves and Fawkner and Dr. P. M'Arthur. Mr. H. W. Mortimer, in a few brief, stilted but suitable observations, officiated as the proxy of the ladies, and presented the guest with a minister's elaborately finished gown, as their friendship's offering. The Doctor seemed much pleased with the compliment, spoke pleasantly, as he could well do when he liked, and was profuse in his acknowledgments. The gown was put on, was a capital fit; it well became the man of peace and war, and the event terminated in general gratulation.

Dr. Lang had been in England in 1849, and to give him his due, was not idle there in urging the public claims of Port Phillip upon the Downing Street magnates; and as the colonists were in the main never ungrateful for services rendered, a public meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute on the 16th February, 1850, to testify the public regard for the valuable labours of Dr. Lang, whilst in the Home country. Mr. L. M'Kinnon officiated as Chairman, and addresses were delivered by him, Messrs. Wm. Westgarth, Wm. Hull, J. W. Bell, J. C. King, Wm. Kerr, and others. The outcome of the proceedings was two-fold, viz., the giving of a public dinner and a purse of sovereigns to the reverend gentleman. The entertainment came off on the 22nd February at the Protestant Hall. The Mayor of Melbourne (Dr. Greeves), presided, with the Mayor of Geelong as Vice, but the Press were not admitted.

But great trouble was brewing for the Doctor at the very time those festivities were *en train*, and a squall burst upon him soon after which sadly put out both himself and his friends. It came

about in this wise:—Whilst in England he organized a scheme of supplying Australia with a number of young missionaries, which ended in an abortion. Whilst arranging for his departure per the "Clifton," Mr. Robert Wilson, an intending fellow-passenger, placed £700 in the Doctor's hands, under an arrangement to receive £719 on arrival in Port Phillip. The "Clifton" anchored in Hobson's Bay on 12th February, 1850, but the promised reimbursement of the deposit or loan was not forthcoming, and legal proceedings were, after some procrastination, instituted for its recovery. On the 10th May, Dr. Lang, who was in Melbourne, was arrested under a *fi. fa.* whilst dining at the residence of Mr. William Kerr, in West Lonsdale Street. An unsuccessful application was made to the Supreme Court to quash the proceeding, and great was the consternation reigning amongst the Langites. On the 14th they mustered at the Mechanics' Institute to consider the best means to be taken for raising the amount for non-payment of which the Doctor was under *duresse*, and the chair was taken by Dr. P. M'Arthur, of Heidelberg. The attendance did not exceed a couple of dozen, and the principal speakers were the Rev. A. M. Ramsay and Mr. W. Kerr. It was stated that £300 had been subscribed, and the further management of the movement was confided to a Committee consisting of the Chairman, Rev. Mr. Ramsay, Messrs. Milne, W. Willoughby, J. C. King, Thorpe, Fleming, M. Farlane, Campbell, T. B. Darling, J. Ballingall, G. Finlayson, G. Annand and M'Gregor. The Doctor was not released until 21st May, a compromise having been effected, its terms being, according to a newspaper of the time, £200 cash, and acceptances for the balance. The Doctor's popularity was now on the wane, and little more was heard of him in Melbourne, but in 1872, the Parliament of Victoria, not ungrateful of past services, voted him £1,000. Dr. Lang was a voluminous writer, a somewhat ponderous, though at times, a racy speaker, never at rest, but always doing something, and possibly no man ever worked so unceasingly for the new country to which he had transferred his allegiance. No person capable of expressing an unbiassed opinion can fairly impugn the general accuracy of Dr. Lang's attributes as summarised in Blair's *Cyclopœdia of Australia*, viz., "a man of indomitable energy, of liberal views, of considerable ability, of great public spirit, and utterly careless about pecuniary advantage." Add to these a proneness to literary pugnacity, and an intolerance of a certain religious denomination, which only needed the power to burst into a persecution, and the portraiture is complete. Dr. Lang died in 1878, the owner of one of the most historic names in the early annals of Australia.

JOHN O'SHANASSY, though the last in this connection by no means the least, was a South Irish Tipperary man, for in that far-famed, but much-maligned county, he first appeared in the world, *anno* 1818. Arriving in Hobson's Bay in November, 1839, and the possessor of a sound commercial education, he owned little or none of those acquirements so essential to the coming statesman; but he was gifted with an inordinate appetite for reading, without the slightest tendency to literary dyspepsia, and so he "read, learned, and inwardly digested;" and by the aid of a memory so retentive that it did not permit a crumb to escape, he was soon well posted in every public question ventilated in newspaper or at meeting. Had he undergone the same process of mental training as his great countryman Daniel O'Connell, and, like him, called to the Bar, John would have proved a sort of counterpart of Dan, for there was a corporeal and intellectual resemblance in the two. Their style of oratory was not unlike in several respects—rough, impetuous, uncontrollable, as a mountain torrent. O'Connell the more disciplined, logical and humourous, and both of them, when much put out, subject to violent gusts of invective. O'Shanassy had the good sense not to jump into the political ring at once. He felt his way, bided his time, and when the hour came the man was ready to move to the front, take his place, and keep it amongst the foremost publicists of the colony. It was several years before he took an active part in public affairs, and though quietly remaining in the back-ground, an univeral impression prevailed that there was a good deal in him, and that he would show it. By degrees he began to make himself felt by the part he took in the Separation and Anti-transportation agitations. In 1851 he was elected one of the members for Melbourne in the First Legislative Council of Victoria, and he was the only one of the thirty composing that body who, on the prorogation in 1883, occupied a seat in our



SIR JOHN O'SHANASSY.

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Parliament. He died in the May of that year. On three several occasions he was Chief-Secretary and Premier, and in 1874 was Knighted in recognition of his many and distinguished public services. Whenever the history of Victoria shall be written, merit will not have its meed if the name of John O'Shanassy be not inscribed top-most on the roll-call of the now nearly extinct band of patriots who, in times of peril and difficulty, served their country with an ability, devotion and loyalty that may be equalled, but not excelled.

WILLIAM WESTGARTH.—There could be no more indefatigable yet unobtrusive man than William Westgarth, who, though an indifferent speaker, always thought out his subject, as to be perfect master of it. He was a voluminous contributor to the newspapers and the recognized statist of the old times. Though never pushing himself forward he was always in the van, and his services were such that on the 15th January 1847, on the eve of a visit to the old country, he was entertained at a numerously-attended public breakfast in the *Prince of Wales Hotel*, but at his urgent request the projectors unwillingly acquiesced in making it a private demonstration. In England he rendered valuable services to the colony, in return for which he was successively elected to the Legislatures of New South Wales and Victoria. For many years he has devoted himself to commercial pursuits in London, and is second to none as an authority on Colonial Finance.

WILLIAM H. HULL.—Refined and gentlemanly, chivalrous and uncompromising, Mr. Hull was a vast acquisition to any movement he joined. With an impulsiveness which when thwarted inclined to a slight eccentricity, he would sometimes give an amusing turn to a matter of sombre seriousness; but whether on the Police Bench or public platform, no one could reasonably question the sincerity of his motives or the straightforwardness with which he enunciated his views. He would not accept a seat in the City Council, though for several years he served the colony well and conscientiously in the Upper branch of the Victorian Parliament.

In addition to those already enumerated, there was a large and useful phalanx whose names figure in the early records as participants in the various efforts undertaken for the redress of grievances, or the promotion of the welfare of the community; but the space at my disposal precludes more than the noting of those who should at least be mentioned in a sketch of this kind, viz., Captain G. W. Cole, Drs. P. M'Arthur and F. M'Crae, Thomas Wills, J. B. and George Were, Lyon Campbell, Wm. Verner, A. F. and A. T. Mollison, A. M'Killop, Joseph and John Hawdon, G. S. Brodie, C. J. Griffiths, A. R. Cruikshank, A. H. Hart, John Bear, senior, J. A. Marsden, Michael Cashmore, and Colin Campbell.

BARRISTERS-AT-LAW.

Prior to the establishment of a branch of the Supreme Court in Melbourne there was no such Institution as a Port Phillip Bar; and according to *Kerr's Directory for 1841*, at the close of 1840 there were only three Barristers in the Province, who are thus specified—James Croke, Esq., Crown Prosecutor and Legal Adviser to His Honor the Superintendent; Edward Jones Brewster, Esq., A.B., Chairman of Quarter Sessions and Commissioner of the Court of Requests; and Redmond Barry, Esq, A.B. In April, 1841, Judge Willis had his judicial machinery in motion, and the following Barristerial admissions are recorded during the year, viz.:—12th April—Messrs. James Croke, Redmond Barry, R. W. Pohlman, E. J. Brewster and Archibald Cunninghame; 15th October—James E. Murray. On 15th March, 1842, William Houston was admitted; Edward Eyre Williams, 22nd March; and Charles J. Baker, 15th April. In 1843 there was a further accession in the persons of Messrs. William Stawell and Samuel Raymond, and in 1844 Mr. Sidney Stephen. There was no new blood for several years, and two of those, named Houston and Baker, did not go into practice. The number was further reduced by the subsequent retirement of Brewster, Murray, Raymond and Cunninghame; and in 1847 there were only Croke, Barry, Pohlman, Williams, Stawell and Stephen.

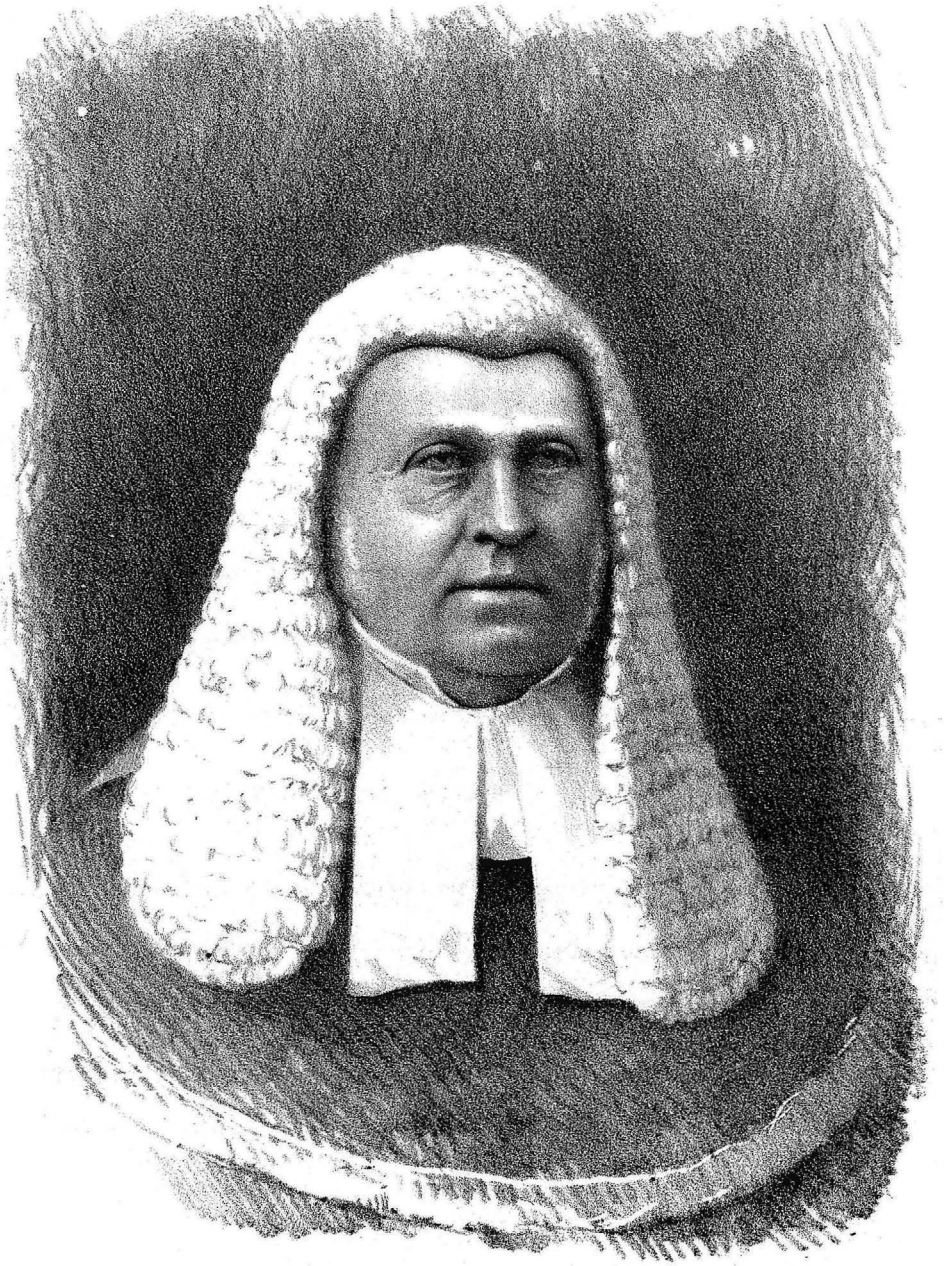
And so it continued up to 1851, when Mr. John Barker was admitted, but did not practice. Croke, the Law Adviser, and Pohlman, the Commissioner of Insolvency, rarely appeared in the *Nisi Prius* Court, which was therefore appropriated by Barry, Williams and Stawell, chiefly the last two named, who were almost invariably pitted against each other.

E. J. BREWSTER was the First Barrister to arrive in the colony. He came from Sydney in 1839 with the appointment of Chairman of Quarter Sessions, the first Court with a criminal jurisdiction to try uncapital felonies and misdemeanours, established in 1839, which continued until the opening of the Supreme Court in 1841. He was also the first Commissioner of the Court of Requests (a small debts tribunal) opened in 1840, which he resigned in 1841, to be succeded by Barry. Brewster was a member of the Irish Bar, of moderate ability, but remarkable for his severe Quarter Session sentences. He practised for some time before Judge Willis, who viewed him with an aversion he did not care to mask, and the result was that Brewster retired from business, took to land speculating and mortgage investments, at which he did better than he would have done at the Bar. He represented Port Phillip for some time in the New South Wales Legislature, where he displayed a sound, practical ability, which was duly appreciated, for he was held in good esteem until his departure from the colony, to which he never returned. In 1885 he was alive and prosperous in his native land.

JAMES CROKE, also of the Irish Bar, was the second to put in an appearance. He also arrived *viâ* Sydney in 1839, accredited as Clerk of the Crown, Official Prosecutor, and Law Adviser. He was a queerish-looking, cross-grained, red-gilled customer, reputedly stuffed with a musty lore known as "black-letter" law; and if he was possessed of anything like genuine ability, he was consummately skilful in concealing it. No functionary was better known to all ancient colonists than "Old Croke." No misnomer was given to him, for he was as veritable a "croaker" as could possibly be picked up. Eccentric in his brusqueness, and excessively ill-tempered when engaged in Court, his collisions with Bench, Bar, Attorneys, Suitors, Officials—and, in fact, everybody—were so frequent that he was a favourite with nobody. As an Advocate or a cross-examiner, it would be a perversion of fact to designate him other than the veriest muff; and it was an infliction to listen to his long, drawling, lugubrious, irritable addresses to Judge or Jury, particular passages of which he used to emphasize by a vicious push at his wig or a spiteful clutching of his gown collar, as if he wished to twist the whole garment over his shoulders. With Willis, the first Judge, he never could get on, and the "scenes" between them, when they would grin at and caterwaul each other like a pair of fighting tom-cats, were rich beyond description. Willis would snarl, and bounce, and scream; Croke would grimace, howl, and defy in return. Willis would seem as if disposed to jump from the Bench and scratch the eyes out of the other, whilst Croke to all appearances would be not unlike a person preparing to spring on the table, storm the Judgment-seat, and throttle his plaguer. But though they hissed, grinned, and showed their teeth at each other, it never came to blows, though two or three times it was not far off. With the other Judges Croke got on better, though he often sorely tested their patience and forbearance. Still "Old Croke" in his public capacity never lost the general confidence of the public. His legal advice to the Government was on the whole sound, and as Crown Prosecutor as a rule he performed his duties in a reasonably conscientious manner. The position he held as such was one of much responsibility, needing good judgment; for, like the Attorney-General of the present time, he was the Grand Jury of the province, but, unlike now, had no legal deputies to whom he could relegate any portion of his functions. In a limited community, and with an ever-carping Press, he would have been more than human had he pleased everyone; and though he was not free from mistakes, for he made two or three remarkable ones, no one ever attributed his shortcomings to any corrupt or unworthy motives, but assigned them to a misconception of what he thoroughly believed to be his strict and sworn duty. At the approach of Separation Croke entertained not only expectations, but had, as he conceived, strong claims to the Attorney-Generalship of the new colony of Victoria In 1851 Mr. Stawell, his professional junior, but *facile princeps*, his professional superior, cut him out, when "Old Jemmy" got into a terrible fit of sulks; but upon an appeal to the Home Government he was, after some procrastination, appointed Solicitor-General. After sitting as a

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SIR REDMOND BARRY.

sort of nominee cypher on the Benches of the first Legislative Council, he finally retired on a pension, left the colony, and died in Ireland some years after.

REDMOND BARRY, whose name was destined to be written on one of the brightest pages of Victorian history, inherited Norman and Cymbrian blood filtered through an Hibernian pedigree, for he was descended from William De Barry, who married Angharad, grand-daughter of Rhys Ap-Griffiths, Prince of Wales. His father was a Major-General Barry, who resided near Glanworth, in the County Cork, and here the baby Corkonian made his first acquaintance with the Emerald Isle, in 1818, the year of his birth. Young Barry was intended for his father's profession, and to qualify him for such, was despatched at an early age to a military school, near Bexley, in Kent. Some delay occurred in obtaining his commission, and such proved the turning-point of his life, for it shunted him on to a different line, and *arma cedant togæ* was his future watch-word. Returning to Ireland and entering Trinity College he obtained an A.B. degree in 1833, was called to the Irish Bar in 1838, and arrived in Sydney the following year. Coming to Melbourne towards the end of 1839, he determined upon remaining there. In 1840 there was little legal business to be done in Port Phillip beyond advising upon titles, and, the young Barrister had only the Quarter Sessions and Police Courts in which to air his eloquence. At the former place his appearance was rare, but his name is reported in connection with several important cases at the Police Office during 1840 and '41. On Brewster's resignation of the Commissionership of the Court of Requests in 1841, Barry was appointed to the post at an annual salary of £100, and was soon after nominated Standing Counsel for the Aborigines. On the opening of the Supreme Court, he was necessarily engaged in almost every case, and for a time got on so well with the judicial oddity (Willis) that on one occasion his Honor condescended to compliment him as "an eloquent young Advocate." But they soon swam out of the smooth water, and no Barrister of the period had so many nasty tiffs with the irascible Judge, who was however, invariably "bested" by Barry's dignified deportment and invincible politeness. As the Bar enlarged and business increased, Barry's practice did not do so in proportion, for he was never a favourite with the Attornies, and his solemn starchness and profuse punctiliousness overpowered them. Whilst Murray, Raymond, Williams, and Stawell could be got, Barry would hardly be thought of, and when he was under such circumstances retained, it was either at the special request of a client, or because of the valuable forensic services expected from him. A profound lawyer he was not; but in addressing a jury he was unexcelled by any of his contemporaries, and some of his Court speeches in the early libel cases are rare specimens of ornate and impassioned oratory. To the promotion of every early literary, social, or charitable movement, he contributed no ordinary assistance, and though he was too grandiose and stand-offish for the multitude, who half admired and half feared the primishness of his "get up," and the mannerism of his movements, he was, nevertheless, always held in high respect.

On the inauguration of Victoria as a colony in 1851, Mr. Barry was appointed its first Solicitor-General; and in 1853 when the Justiciary was enlarged, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, where he officiated more than once as Acting Chief Justice. In the founding of the Melbourne University he took so prominent a part that at its birth in 1855 the Chancellorship was conferred on him, and he retained it until his death, a quarter of a century after. Of the Public Library he might be designated one of its chief projectors. In 1875, during the simultaneous absence from the colony of the Governor and Chief Justice, he performed the duties of Administrator of the Government for a short time. A Knighthood of the Order of St. Michael and St. George was, in 1876, bestowed as a royal recognition of his distinguished public services. On the 23rd November, 1880, Sir Redmond Barry died somewhat unexpectedly, and his remains were consigned to their last earthly resting-place amidst a regret as genuine as it was universal.

ROBERT WILLIAMS POHLMAN, a Londoner, born in 1811, and in 1839 called to the English Bar, arrived in Melbourne *anno* 1840, and thenceforth cast in his lot with the fortunes of the infant settlement. He never made much, or indeed any noise, professionally or personally, for he floated along the current of life a respectable nonentity, esteemed by many and disliked by none. His legal practice was never of much account, and mostly confined to the Equity branch. He was too undemonstrative for the wordy turmoil of

legal wrangling, and when one listened to his unenergetic lisping before judge or jury, a feeling of some surprise arose, how it ever came to pass that he selected the Bar as a vocation. He was the second Commissioner of Insolvency in Port Phillip, and the first Master in Equity and County Court Judge in Victoria; and on two occasions he acted as the *locum tenens* Judge of the Supreme Court. In his judicial capacity he rendered much satisfaction, for, though his legal abilities belonged to the moderate order, he was gifted with a plodding, painstaking faculty of application, and an unflinching honesty of purpose, which enabled him to dispense justice of a quantity and quality which could not be outdone by a man of quicker perception, or more intellectual parts. For years he acted as Chairman of the Board of Denominational Education; he did much to promote purposes of charity, and was for years one of the most dutiful children of the Church Episcopalian.

ARCHIBALD CUNNINGHAME originally an Advocate in the Scottish Courts, performed the difficult feat, if not of unlearning the legal lore he had first acquired, at least of substituting for it, or overloading it with the studies required for the English Bar, to which he was called in 1834. Coming to Melbourne in 1841, he was soon enrolled amongst the legal acolytes of the Court of Judge Willis, and between them they contrived to improvise some stirring episodes; for Willis, who was always fiery, would be met by a tetchiness on the part of Cunninghame, which was far from agreeing with his Honor's brimstone temperament. They soon, however, drifted into a better understanding, and Cunninghame, without opposition from the Judge, managed to get appointed Official Assignee in some protracted insolvent estate cases, which brought acceptable grist to the mill. Cunninghame's line in law was Equity, his style as befitted such a branch was prolix, dry, and tedious, his *personnel* was peculiar, and his voice harsh. When addressing the Court he did so with a stoop, and the conformation of his face was such, and his nose so beakish, that a listener with any force of imagination, would fancy that he saw before him a huge crow cawing away at something like a jackdaw perched aloft before him. But, there were occasions when the monotonous Barrister could shake himself up and show there was an extra judicial vivacity in him; for when divested of the cumbersome trapping of wig and gown, and on his legs at public meeting or public dinner, he would hit out with a *verve*, and declaim with a pathetic eloquence, enough to cause a person to doubt whether the lithe, lively, and rhetorical orator before him, could possibly be the horse-haired, sabled talking automaton of the Supreme Court.

JAMES ERSKINE MURRAY, an English Barrister of standing, dated 1831, was son of the Scotch Lord Elibank, and so bore the prefix "Honourable," then rare, but since grown common in the Colony. He was a '41 arrival, and for a brief period mixed actively in the vitality of the district, enjoying alike the solemnity of the Supreme Court and the conviviality of a public dinner, the recklessness of the racecourse and the rowdyism of a Corporation election meeting. As a lawyer he was superficial, and his style of address showy, shallow and insinuating. He bid high for the applause of the many, in which he succeeded, by the combined influence of a *bonhomie* almost Hibernian, and ancestralic blue blood, considerations which invariably act with an almost resistless power in captivating the populace. But, Judge Willis could not bear him, and they were soon not only at drawn daggers with each other, but willing enough to wound if it only could be done with impunity. In his altercations with Murray, Willis particularly delighted in derisively accentuating the term "honourable," such as "Oh, the *honourable* Mr. Murray, I beg your pardon. Ah, honourable is it? I suppose it will not be polite, though it may be the correct thing to say dis—honourable; I beg your pardon, &c.;" whereat Mr. Murray would writhe in his wig and scowl at his tormentor, almost wishing himself an anthropophagus, and that he had Willis, cooked or raw, for a meal before him. There was once a row at an early race meeting, where Mr. Oliver Gourlay, a fast merchant, obstructed the police in the arrest of a peace disturber. The police turning on him, he was overpowered and handcuffed. Murray, who was an intimate friend of the second prisoner, did something towards inciting to a rescue, and narrowly escaped a locking up in the watchhouse; but his rank turned the scale, and he escaped the indignity. The land mania of the period was too much for the uncanny Scotchman, who plunged into transactions so risky and long-winded, that in instances he gave bills running for five years. At length he slipped so far out of his depth that, to save himself from being carried out to

sea by his financial complications, he actually put to sea in a schooner he owned, known as the "Warlock," accompanied by a merchant named Abraham, and never returned. This occurred in 1842, and no tidings came to hand of the voyagers until 1844, when a letter was received from Abraham, communicating intelligence that in November, 1843, Murray had been killed in a skirmish with some natives on the River Cote, in Borneo.

EDWARD EYRE WILLIAMS was born in 1813, and called to the Inner Temple in 1833. In 1841 he married Miss Jessie Gibbon, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Gibbon, of Lonmay, Aberdeenshire, and was the only member of the original Port Phillip Bar who came provided with a wife to the new settlement. Admitted here in April, 1842, he had a taste of Judge Willis; but there never occurred anything like a shindy between the two—a circumstance difficult to be accounted for, because Williams was about the last man to patiently submit to a brow-beating. Possibly chance interposed on his behalf, for, curiously enough, Williams never held a brief on behalf of any individual upon whom Willis had a "down," though in almost every case of importance that came before him, the Judge exercised more or less of a predilection, or the reverse. Williams was given to a spasmodic style of address—something of a melodious bark, largely tinctured with bounce, and so loud lunged that a poetaster once, in a local squib designated him as:—"The Boanerges of the Melbourne Bar." Williams was thorough master of every matter he took in hand, and the care and completeness with which he placed his case before the Court went far to make up for any forensic deficiencies beyond his control; so the Attornies took to him. But Williams, so far from isolating himself in his profession, was not indifferent to the world as it wagged outside the Supreme Court, for his portly figure was frequently to be seen, with a stout shoulder to the wheel, whenever any question vitally affecting the public welfare required a strong helping push. His proclivities were more *anti* than *pro* squatting, and no man of the time was more uncompromisingly denunciatory of the attempts periodically made to turn the district into a cesspool of convict iniquity. For years he was a member of the District Council of Bourke, a Corporate body armed with almost despotic power, wisely kept in abeyance until the abortion died out without an effort to do either good or harm. In July, 1851, he succeeded Barry as Commissioner of the Court of Requests, but was neither as painstaking nor popular as his predecessor. In January, 1852, he was appointed Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and in the succeeding April was again in Barry's track; for on the latter vacating the Solicitor-Generalship, Williams stepped into the abandoned official's shoes. This promotion brought with it a nominee seat in the first Legislative Council; but here he did not abide long, for fate was beckoning him upward, and in the lapse of some time he was nominated as the third Judge of Victoria. He continued on the Bench until the early part of 1874, when he retired on a well-earned pension, and returned to England. Four years afterwards the honour of Knighthood was conferred on him, a distinction he did not long enjoy, for he died a year or so after. The colony has been hitherto specially fortunate in its Supreme Court Judges, for with the exception of the first (Willis) the members of the Judiciary taken generally have not been excelled by any Bench out of England; but without disparagement to any of them, it may be truthfully written that as an all-round Judge, Williams was held in most esteem by the Legal Profession. It is a noteworthy coincidence that the three best Common Law-pleaders of the Victorian bar, Williams, Fellows, and Williams *secundus*, were all exalted to the Bench; and equally remarkable that the Judge Williams of 1888 occupies the seat so worthily filled by his father, who was succeeded by Mr. Justice Stephen,

WILLIAM STAWELL (the *prenomen* of "FOSTER" was not publicly adopted in the colony for several years) was born in June, 1815, at a place known as Old Court, in the very Irish County of Cork. In his 18th he year entered Trinity College, Dublin; he took classical honours during his undergraduate course, and obtained a B.A. in 1837. For a time a student of King's Inn, Dublin, he crossed the Channel, attached himself to Lincoln's Inn, London, and was called to the Bar in 1839. In 1842 the young lawyer, fancying he should find a wider scope for his abilities in a larger country, steered his course to Australia, arrived in Melbourne before Christmas, and remained there. His admittance to the Port Phillip Bar was nearly contemporaneous with the departure of the irritating and irritable

Judge Willis, so he escaped the unpleasantness of any disedifying Court scenes with the eccentric ex-functionary. Mr. Stawell was a smart, wiry, determined-looking young man, who lost no time in setting to work, leading, however, the reverse of the Anchorite's life. The Horatian motto of *dulce est desipere in loco* was not displeasing to him; and though a study of sheepskin converted into parchment was not neglected, the Templar was often more at home anchored in a pigskin, astride a sprited quadruped, the livelier and wickeder the better, for though sometimes the rider would come, if not to grief, to the ground, it took a consummate "buck-jumper" to execute a deed of separation between man and horse.

The first time I saw Stawell was not many months after his arrival, and he was residing in a small brick cottage in Little Lonsdale Street West. I went from a newspaper office to make some inquiry about a Supreme Court case in which he was retained. My knock was answered by a thoughtful-looking young man, loosely garbed in a blue serge short overshirt then much worn in the bush. Not personally knowing Mr. Stawell, I asked for him, and was rather taken aback by an answer informing me that the individual wanted stood before me. I fancied he noticed my surprise, for he smiled, made himself agreeable enough, and gave me what I came about. I was then a mere Irish stripling, but even at school had acquired some reputation as a face reader amongst my companions. On my way back to the office, pondering over what I had seen, my thoughts, if put in words, would run almost literally in this strain, "Well, if that be the new arrival about whom I have been hearing so much, he seems a careless, fair and easyish sort of fellow; but still there is something about the lines of his mouth, an earnestness in his eyes, and an unmistakableness perched on the top of his nose, from which I should be disposed to think that he will make his mark in Melbourne, and I shall hear a good deal about him before I die." The events of the forty years that have flown by Mr. Stawell's public career, as a lawyer and politician, and his present exalted position more than vindicate the accuracy of my *impromptu* soothsaying.

The Bar was so numerically limited that a man like Stawell had not much way to make in coming to the van, and this he did almost at a step. He was a painstaking Advocate, with an immense capacity for work, and a sound knowledge of law. Though not a brilliant speaker, the soundness of his arguments and his seriousness of purpose always caused him to be listened to with attention. Without the eloquence of Barry, or the technical knowledge of Williams, he was a better general man, and the Attornies soon learned the importance of making sure of his services. As a rule he and Williams were in every case *pro* and *con*, and in many of the actions of the time, juniors, from their non-existence, had to be dispensed with. Barry's practice was injured through his being the senior of Williams and Stawell. Raymond's stay in the province was short, and Stephen, after he joined, was not much in leading business. Stawell's energy and tact at cross-examination obtained him briefs in the most important criminal cases, and his mode of handling a jury was a combination of skill and a knowledge of human nature. In most of the sports and pastimes, and some of the more questionable amusements of the age, he was by no means loth to take a hand. Tradition accords him the distinction of being the first amateur whip to sport a four-in-hand drag at the Flemington racecourse, and his feats of equestrianism in bush ridings after hounds and cross-country formed portion of the common town-talk for many a day. In managing that cross-grained incarnation of treachery colonially known as a "buck jumper" he had few equals, and an amusing story is told of his occasional interviews with one of this tribe, for which the unfearing lawyer seemed to entertain a sort of attachment. On a station some fifty miles from Melbourne was a stock-horse named "Sholty," as viciously perverse a brute as ever was foaled. He was a caution not only to the station hands but acquired more than a local ill-repute for his kicking and bucking propensities. With a strong-handed, well-seated rider "Sholty" was an excellent worker; but the great difficulty was in mounting, for the horse was inaccessible by the ordinary modes of ascent, and no one could get aboard directly from the ground, at either side or head or tail. When "Sholty" was to be jockeyed, the process could only be effected by the stratagem of holding the animal under the projecting bough of an old tree near the homestead, and the adventurous rider had to swing himself from this, and, dropping into the saddle, hold on by hands and knees and feet like grim death, during the preliminary

pirouetting of the over-reached nag, whose displeasure would be vented in a four-hoofed breakdown, sure to dislodge any but a rider of well-tried coolness, pluck and experience. Stawell occasionally visited the "Sholty" head-quarters, went through the "up-a-tree" trick to perfection, performing the 'drop" scene with a methodical firmness and precision, and picking up the bridle and settling himself on the horse's back with a skill and rapidity from which the horse instinctively learned that resistance was useless, as the rider was master of the situation. But a time was to come when the Stawell mind would be purged of all such worldly impurities as tree-mounting, Flemington drag-driving, the hunting-field, Platonic saunterings along the ti-tree enclosed banks of the Yarra; and even the Sabbatarian matutinal equestrian constitutional was to be tabooed. In 1848 Dr. Perry, the first Anglican Bishop, made his appearance, and from shortly after his installation as such, the change in the Stawell idiosyncracy set in, and was soon complete. The "William Stawell" of the previous year could hardly be said to exist, so great was the transformation, so assured the alteration; and that such was really the case was soon publicly notified by the appearance of the erst blitheful barrister in the *rôle* of a lecturer on the Reformation. The event was received with mixed feelings by a community in which the lecturer was held in the highest esteem; but he was free to take his own course, and the public confidence in him underwent no variation. He was actively connected with all the early charitable institutions, and though at one time directly interested in pastoral pursuits, on the Anti-transportation Question he would listen to no compromises, for in the hard-fought struggle to avert the contaminations of a penal colony from Port Phillp, Stawell was always as true as steel. On the inauguration of the new colony in 1851, he was appointed to the office of first Attorney-General, and as senior member of the Executive was the Government leader in the Legislative Council, a position which he held with consummate ability and untiring energy for several years. In October, 1856, when the bicameral system of legislation was initiated, he was selected as one of the three members returned in February, 1857, he was elevated to the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court, vacated by the retirement of Sir William A'Beckett. He was soon after Knighted, and on three several occasions it has fallen to his lot to fill the office of Administrator of the Government.

SAMUEL RAYMOND, LL.D., an Irsh Barrister, and son of the Postmaster-General of New South Wales, arrived in Melbourne in 1841, with the appointment of Deputy-Sheriff, which he held until the close of 1842, when he was superseded to make way for an appointee sent out by the Colonial Office. He then went to the Bar, and obtained some practice until the close of 1884, when he was elected by the Magistrates of New South Wales to the office of Chairman of Quarter Sessions, on his acceptance of which he bade good-bye to Port Phillip. Mr. Raymond was a quiet, gentlemanly, well-liked individual, of pleasing and unassuming manner, of moderate ability, and wanting the "go" of Barry, Williams, and Stawell.

SIDNEY STEPHEN, a member of an English family remarkable for having supplied the legal profession with both Barristers and Attorneys in abundance, joined the Bar here in 1844, and settled down to practice. Possessed of much natural or acquired courtesy, and an almost unending copiousness of talk, which he could work off smoothly by the fathom, he was much personally liked and glided into considerable practice, much less in the Superior Court than his own contemporaries, but realizing a tolerable dividend from the Criminal Sessions and the Police Office. Though not renowned for any profundity in legal lore, he owned an attractive suavity of tongue which rendered him a fluent conversationalist and a tolerably effective Advocate. He professed himself a staunch religionist, officiated at the founding and opening of Wesleyan Chapels, and was quite at home when holding forth at an anniversary tea meeting and its oratorial hymn-chaunting wind up. One of his brothers was Chief Justice of New South Wales, and the family influence standing well at the Colonial Office, after some years, Mr. Stephen was appointed to a Supreme Court Judgeship in New Zealand, which he held until his death. His family remained in Victoria as permanent occupiers, two of his daughters marrying squatters and two sons becoming well-known colonists. One of them is Mr. Frank Stephen, Melbourne's only City Solicitor; and the other Mr. James Stephen, who died some years ago, when Clerk of the County Court, and respecting whom I never heard even one unkindly word uttered.

JOHN BARKER (one of three brothers well known amongst the old colonists), is a native of Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire. Articled to Mr. Thomas Tindal, Clerk of the Peace for Buckinghamshire, he subsequently entered himself at Lincoln's Inn. In 1840, arriving in Port Phillip, he took up a squatting station at Cape Schanck, of which he is still a co-proprietor. Returning to England he was called to the Bar in 1843, and marrying, he re-emigrated to the colony in 1844. In 1849 he was appointed one of the several Commissioners under what was known as the Disputed Boundaries Act, and had assigned to him a portion of the then large Western District. On the establishment of the new colony in 1851, Mr. Barker had conferred upon him the Clerkship of the first Legislative Council, and in November, 1856, when the two branches of Parliament were initiated he became Clerk of the new Legislative Assembly, a position which he retained until the beginning of 1882, when he was transferred to the Clerkships of the Legislative Council and of the Parliaments, a joint office vacated by the retirement of Mr. G. W. Rusden. On terminating his long connection with the Assembly, his valuable services were commemorated by a special resolution of thanks, and the presentation of an unique and costly silver service, subscribed for by the Members. Mr. Barker was not admitted to the Port Phillip Bar until November, 1851, and as his services were then retained for State purposes, he did not go into practice. In all branches of the law and usages of Parliament, Mr. Barker is, in the fullest sense, a specialist, and many a difficulty has been smoothed over by the aid of his rare experience.

Such is a cursory "brief" of the members of the Port Phillip Bar, known as such in the Province from 1841 to 1851, and of the number, so far as I am aware, there are now (1888) only three of them in the land of the living, viz., Brewster, Stawell, and Barker.

ATTORNEYS.

The first parchments executed here were prepared by Gellibrand, an Attorney-General of Van Diemen's Land, who was an unit of the memorable Batman Copartnery, and when Batman came over in 1835 to negotiate a purchase of the country from the Aborigines, he fore-armed himself with what he believed to be valid legal transfers, cut and dry in his pocket. In this he was disappointed, for the bargain was annulled with scant ceremony by the Home Government. It is strange that in the versions of those memorable conveyances which I have seen printed in books on the colony, I have met with no absolutely correct one. The originals are in the Melbourne Public Library, the Trustees of which Institution were induced by Sir W. Mitchell to purchase them some years ago, and in another chapter of these CHRONICLES appears a revised and genuine copy.

The conveyancing branch then, as now, was the most lucrative, for Melbourne was not six months old when the game of mortgaging commenced, and during 1838 there was lent on town lands alone no less than £17,260, covered by sixteen mortgages, an enormous encumbrance considering the first cost of town lots, the limited extent of the town, and the very circumscribed population. In 1839 country lands were first so operated upon to the tune of £32,595, and the total mortgages upon town and country swelled to 110, covering £77,463. As there was no local Supreme Court jurisdiction in Port Phillip until April, 1841, all the important legal business prior to that period was transacted in Sydney through Melbourne agencies. In 1843, the year of greatest financial depression felt in the colony, the mortgaging of town and country lands covered £113,262, which increased to £270,413 the year after. This year saw the commencement of borrowing by liens on wool, and mortgages on live stock, which in a few years assumed enormous proportions.

WILLIAM MEEK was the first Attorney to arrive in Melbourne in September, 1838. He was not long alone in his glory, for a Quarter Sessions was established in 1839, and the hawks commenced their flight hither from Sydney, and before the year's close they were even on the wing from the old country. He was the Adam of "the brigade," and so lively on his "pins" that his activity in exploring the un-macadamised streets of early Melbourne occasionally got him into difficulties in which he stuck hopelessly until extricated by some timely aid. In 1840, within a space of six months,

he three several times broke a leg, and whilst confined to barracks by the third casualty, he advertised in the newspapers "that during his illness he had retained Mr. Barry, the Barrister, to advise generally on titles of property and peruse drafts on matters connected with conveyancing." Some time afterwards, entering into partnership with Thomas Clark, they carried on business for several years. Clark was a full-faced comfortable-looking man, and was known as "lame Tom," through a deformity of one of his feet, which reduced his locomotion to a ponderous sort of half-hop, effected by the aid of a huge stick. Meek was married and Clark was not, but they were alike light-hearted, jovial individuals. Meek died in a few years, whilst the extraordinary fate was reserved for "Tom" of falling into a religious mania, resulting in his detention in a Queensland lunatic asylum, where he remained for many years, immersed in a living tomb, as utterly forgotten in Melbourne as if he never had existence there, and not taking his exit from the world until 1882.

H. N. CARRINGTON, a diminutive, sallowish-faced Manxman, came from Sydney in 1839, as Clerk of the Crown to the Court of Quarter Sessions, and for some months conducted the criminal prosecutions tried there in a manner that gave only mixed satisfaction. He was about the most bumptious and bounceable of talking animals, and used to "row" the Police Court Magistrates in a style worth listening to. When the Supreme Court got into working order he joined a business with F. L. Clay, a partner of much more conscience and moderation, but they did not get on long together. Carrington, had he minded himself, had the ball before him, and, with reasonable skill and caution, he might have kicked it to the goal of a large fortune. But he was reputed to be professionally most unscrupulous, and given to land and bill-discounting speculations. Complications more than professional were alleged to have arisen between him and some of his clients, from which extrication was not easy. He was never out of trouble with Judge Willis, who always thought that Carrington was preparing for some iniquity whenever his name appeared to any case in Court. Willis more than once denounced him as a filer of sham pleas, and not only attacked but struck him off the Court Roll of Practitioners. Still there was a deal of game in him, and he bravely fought the brow-beating Judge inch by inch until he conquered him on an appeal to the Full Court at Sydney.

In 1842, Carrington made an effort to get returned for Bourke Ward at the first Town Council Election; but pecuniary embarrassments were so besetting that he was compelled to withdraw from the contest, though nominated as a candidate. In February, 1843, he had no alternative than to throw up the sponge, for the Philistines were so close on him, that nothing could save him unless showing them his heels. He was in the Rules (a limited area of West Melbourne proclaimed as a Debtors' prison) at the time, and breaking through their boundaries, donned lady's apparel, and got away from town in the mail-cart which carried the mail overland to Sydney. When twenty miles from Melbourne, he resumed his proper manly attire, and effected a safe retreat. The actual detaining creditors had only recovered for a small amount, and this was said to have been paid by the bolter's sureties. In the course of 1844, long after his unrelenting foe (Willis) had left the colony, Carrington returned to Melbourne, ultimately going back to Sydney, and he died at Windsor, New South Wales, on the 16th May, 1845, at the early age of thirty-nine years.

QUARRY AND ROSS were for a time in partnership. Similar, so far as both being tall men, they presented many opposites, for Quarry was a lanky, pale-faced, black-haired Irishman; and Ross a red-visaged, stern-looking, dark-haired Scot. Quarry hailed from a town in the County of Cork, named Mallow, so proverbial for its "Rakes," who are immortalized in a well-known Irish song; and, so far, he did not belie his place of paternity, for there was a strong dash of rakishness in his disposition. He dressed in tip-top style, a shining bell-topper, swallow-tailed, gilt-buttoned blue cloth coat, long white vest, and black cloth or white-drilled trousers, strapped under high-heeled, well-polished Wellington boots. His tie and shirt fronts were only equalled by those sported by Barry, the Barrister. Partial to riding astride on an undersized nag with his toes nearly touching the ground, "Long Quarry" used to be one of the most remarkable ambling sights of Collins Street. He married a pretty girl, but on her part the alliance was no love match, and poor Quarry's connubial

existence was anything but blissful. Ross was a much better man of business than his partner, and after dissolving with Quarry he joined a Mr. John Clark, and they constituted a legal house which had for several years a lucrative run of business. Ross, for a short period, sat as a Government non-official nominee in the first Legislature of Victoria.

EDWARD SEWELL was a dashing member of the second branch of the law. He was an intimate friend of Mr. Redmond Barry, and mixed up with more than one of the early duelling farces in Melbourne.*

ROBERT DEANE, arrived from England in 1839, and immediately plunged into cold water, by taking an active part in the establishment of the first Temperance Society in Melbourne. His devotion to teetotalism was not of long continuance, for by 1842 he had sunk into such an intense worship of alcoholism that Judge Willis was more than once obliged to rebuke his unsteady appearance in Court. Deane commenced partnership with Mr. Richard Ocock, and the firm was for a while in a fair business, but Deane's irregularities precipitated a dissolution. It was said that he was driven to intemperance by an attachment contracted prior to emigrating, and that the lady of his love had promised to come to Melbourne as soon as her *fiancé* had settled down in his new home; but with her, absence did not made the heart grow fonder. Another wooer came, and Deane and Port Phillip were speedily forgotten. He was not the same man after the receipt of this intelligence. Some forty years ago he was rid of the cares of life, and at an age of twice that period, Ocock was alive at Ballan, the oldest surviving Attorney in Victoria until 1883, when he made his exit from the world.

CHARLES SLADEN, arrived in Port Phillip in 1841, was admitted in 1842, and selected (with others) Geelong as the field in which he would labour. Here he worked hard until 1854, when he retired from the profession, was no longer known as "an Attorney, Solicitor, and Proctor," but blossomed into the "Politician." He sat in the first Legislature, the Assembly, and the now Upper House; served his country as Treasurer and Chief-Secretary, was deservedly Knighted in consideration of what he had done, and in 1882 retired from the political arena, taking with him into private life a profusion of good wishes such as never before were borne away by public man in the colony. Sir Charles Sladen will occupy a high and honoured niche in the history of Victoria; for no man ever laboured with more sterling honesty and unremitting devotion for her welfare. He may fairly be accounted her political Bayard, for he served her like a true Knight, *sans peur et sans reproche.*

THOMAS T. A'BECKETT was not admitted until February, 1851, and is therefore the name with which I close my enumeration. He was brother of Mr. Gilbert A'Beckett, the famous London comic writer; of Sir W. A'Beckett, the well-known and highly-esteemed Victorian Judge; and of Dr. A'Beckett, a physician of eminence, who followed his profession for several years in Sydney. Like all the family, Mr. T. A'Beckett had a mind above professional drudgery, and was gifted with literary attainments of no mean order. He was lucky in getting into partnership with Moor, after Chambers had seceded therefrom, and that of Moor and A'Beckett was once known as one of the leading law firms in Melbourne. A'Beckett is a brilliant lecturer when he likes, and a clever pamphleteer; and though he won a respectable position as a politician, his displays in public speaking were inferior to his written discourses. For twenty years he represented the Central Province in the Legislative Council with marked ability, and once held office as Commissioner of Customs. He was, until recently (1888), Registrar of the Church of England, and to no two lay members of that denomination is the Anglican Church in Victoria more indebted than to him and Sir W. F. Stawell.

H. F. GURNER was the senior by priority of admission, for he was the first enrolled. He arrived from Sydney with Judge Willis in the temporary capacity of Deputy-Registrar, in which he was succeeded by Mr. J. D. Pinnock. Montgomery was the first Crown Solicitor, but not pulling over well with the Judge, he resigned, to be replaced by Mr. Gurner, who continued in the office until 1878. Montgomery joined M'Crae in partnership, enjoying for years considerable practice, and the former was the first

* An amusing episode in Mr. Sewell's professional career will be found in Chapter VII, pp. 70, 71.—ED.

Honorary Secretary of the Melbourne Hospital. Hinton was, for a short time, in partnership with Mr. John Duerdin who soon got quit of him, and, associated with a Mr. John Trenchard, commanded a long run of profitable business. The batch of Attorneys who attended the Police Court were a very mixed lot, and there were some queerish worthies amongst them, the most prominent being Robert Scott, J. W. Thurlow, and John Plaistow. Scott was a tall, strapping fellow, with unmistakable beery indications about the nose and eyes. In his sober mood he was fluent in address, and was reputedly the master of extensive legal knowledge. I have seen him, and one or two others, in such a state of inebriety as to be scarcely able to address the Bench. They would be sometimes peremptorily ordered to sit down, or leave the place; and more than once cases were postponed to give the practitioner time to partially recover himself. Of the more modern Attorneys of the olden time, Messrs. J. M. Smith, F. Stephen, and H. J. Chambers are the most mentionable, and they are all still alive (1888.) *In re* Joseph W. Belcher, I have been favoured by a surviving relative with this memo:—"He came from Dublin in the first voyage of the 'Eagle,' in 1842. He had erected a neat villa, which he named after the Irish 'Tinehinch' in the bend of the Yarra, at the end of Simpson's Road, on the left hand from Melbourne. Following his profession in Melbourne until July, 1846, he removed to Geelong, where he built a residence known as 'Sunville,' which was afterwards sold by his son to the once well-known Dean Hayes, and is now the Geelong Roman Catholic Convent. Returning to Ireland in 1853, he died at Rostrevor, in his 84th year, on the 14th December, 1865." Two sons remained after him in Victoria, both of them colonists held in high esteem, viz.—Mr. W. R. Belcher, the most efficient clerk the Melbourne Police Court ever had, who died a Police Magistrate, at Port Albert, 8th October, 1873; and the other the Hon. G. F. Belcher for many years connected with the Treasury at Melbourne and Geelong, and member of the Legislative Council. Mr. G. S. W. Horne, whose brother was a Supreme Court Judge in Tasmania, did a fairly well-paying business for some years. He even found his way into the Legislative Asembly, and once filled the office of Commissioner of Public Works.

Crossing the Garden Wall.

It was the fortune (or misfortune) of two or three of the wedded Attorneys to be blessed (or otherwise) with winsome wives, and these Graces were occasionally the conscious cause of bringing trouble to the domestic hearth. In one notable instance, which formed an item of the common gossip of the time, circumstances were evolved which nearly eventuated in a terrible tragedy, and did eventuate in the summary punishment of the wrong man. A fast young lawyer contracted an intimacy with the wife of an Attorney residing in a cottage villa, near the terminus of one of Melbourne's principal streets, then sparsely occupied, but now one of the busiest spots of metropolitan commerce. The attachment at length became so confirmed that little doubt existed of its progress beyond the line where the proprieties end and their opposites commence. Though, as often happens in such cases, the husband was one of the last persons to hear of what had long passed the bounds of flirtation. He woke, at length, to a consciousness of the existence of a state of things which should be discontinued; but his marital remonstrances were scornfully disregarded, and the errant lady showed no disposition of amendment. At length, the indiscretions were hastening to a crisis, and circumstances had come to the knowledge of the husband which induced him to take measures to stop the goings on. There was no such absolute evidence as would sustain an appeal for legal redress, and as to a duel, there were strong reasons, personal and otherwise, to prevent such an open appeal to arms. On the villa grounds was a cosy brick-walled garden, one side of which abutted on the street, and the surmounting of this enclosure was as nothing to the supple limbs and lithe form of the Don Juan, by no means "a youth of sixteen." Nestled against the trunk of a large fruit tree in the garden's centre was a small summer-house, and here, at appointed hours on certain nights, long after sunset, the darker the night the better, the Donna Julia and her admirer used to hold assignations, a fact of which the husband was made aware, whether through the treachery of an Abigail, or how else, was a secret, and so he resolved upon sure and deadly vengeance. Though adverse to the duello, he was a capital shot, and securing the

presence of a trusty friend, it was arranged that on the occasion of the next stolen interview they should endeavour to so disable the audacious fencer as to render his capture an easy conquest. The day and the hour came round, the two friends were to all appearance fully enjoying themselves, and whilst intently engaged over a rubber of whist, the lady contrived to noiselessly slip out and make her way to the garden. Both men as quickly followed, and posted themselves at the end of a back verandah, from which any attempt to scale the garden wall could be observed. They were armed each with a rifle well primed with slugs, and the husband, with his at full cock, watched with a cool head and steady hand, expecting every moment to see some object mounting the barricade. A quarter of an hour had not elapsed when some moving form was observed to climb the enclosure—first the head, then the body—and when it got astride, the report of a gunshot was heard, followed by an inward somersault by the intruder, and a howling and wailing from the garden, an emotional duet, unequalled for reality, by any operatic performance in Melbourne since. Donna Julia was certain that her Juan had been immolated, she heard the shot and the exclamations from under the garden fence—but instead of going into hysterics, she had the good sense to go in for a good cry, and as she left the garden, she was passed at its entrance by the watchers, eager to pounce upon and bag their game. Rushing towards the quarter from which the yelling still proceeded, and absolutely certain that the right man had come to grief, their astonishment and disappointment may be imagined, when they found, not a wounded lion of a lawyer at bay, but a scurvy hound of a night-hawk, who had adventured on a raid of apple-stealing, and got paid-off in a manner he little expected. Fortunately, no vital part was injured, though a slug embedded in the flesh in the region of the extremities, caused the poor wretch to writhe and roar in such a fashion that it was difficult to know on the instant whether to give him over to the police or not, for as to a public hospital, there was none such in existence.

A little reflection soon brought about a decided line of action. The affair had now assumed such a ludicrous aspect, the tragedy had dropped with such a screaming farce, and would be such a windfall as was never dreamed of for the newspapers and general scandal-mongers of Melbourne, that the desirability of keeping it from the public ear was so obvious, that steps were at once taken to do so. The services of a trusty servant were procured, and the wounded man, well gagged with a woollen comforter to keep his tongue in check, and wrapped up in a rug, was borne away by the three persons through a back gate, and taken to a boarding-house in the vicinity, where a liberal payment acted as a lock-jaw upon injudicious curiosity. Dr. O'Mullane, a leading physician of the time, was called in, and in the course of a few weeks, when the patient became thoroughly convalescent, a substantial *douceur* induced him to effect a clear out of Melbourne, and so, what at the commencement promised much more than mere unpleasantness, ended much better than could have been expected. The affair, of course, afterwards oozed out, but in too stale and desultory a manner to be available for the newspapers. Besides, it was a dangerous toy for journalists to play with, as it was only based on rumour, and the position and profession of the individuals mainly implicated, induced such a fear of a libel action as could not be lightly disregarded. I may say, as exaggerated and erroneous versions of this episode have been given to the public, that the one now printed, I had from the lips of the gentleman who acted as the husband's side man on the memorable night. He also informed me that if the apple-stealer had not opportunely appeared on the scene, the other would in all probability have been shot, for he arrived on the ground after the apple man had commenced the ascent, and was transfixed with rage and jealousy, naturally thinking there was "another Richmond in the field," but the report of the shot awoke him to a sense of his own perilous position, so he beat a hasty retreat, and like a wise man, kept his own counsel. Never did an unconscious scapegoat do more good, for if the real Simon Pure had been shot that night, whether killed or wounded, the matter could not possibly have been hushed up as it was, and a public exposure, and probably a public prosecution, would have produced consequences of a character the extent of which it would be difficult to estimate. The occurrence had the effect of a salutary warning to the two principal personages. Donna Julia was more strict in her allegiance to her husband, and Don Juan thenceforth was a good boy.

The Don and the Donna are still in the land of the living, the gentleman so far reclaimed from his early Godless ways as to be now a solemn-faced, hard-featured, God-fearing veteran. He may be even classified as being amongst the extreme *unco guid*, and so impressed in all he does with such an absorbing conscientiousness that he generally acts under the influence of a pocket Bible,

which he carries about with him, as a caution symbol, like a green lamp on a railway line. The lady, when last heard of, was residing in a European city, a faded and forgotten beauty, but a recognized authority in everything appertaining to cosmetics, and especially posted up in the latest improvements in the fabrication and setting of counterfeit teeth, and the concoction of dentrifices. I have since discovered that this lady was the only one in Melbourne the possessor of artificial masticators.

But the lawyers did not always restrict their poaching to legal preserves. They would occasionally go forth in quest of game amongst the general public, and one of them got well pummelled under the following circumstances:—He was a tall strapping fellow, and though not an *Adonis*, took into his head that he was an accomplished lady-killer. In his absurd self-sufficiency he considered he had only to look at her, and no lady could resist the fascination of his "sheep's-eye." Meeting a married couple who were one evening at a public ball in Melbourne, and the wife having politely acknowledged some conventional courtesies, the man of law took it for granted that he had made a conquest, and fatuously went further, for a few days after the lady received through post from the Attorney, a packet containing a set of costly diamond earrings, and a "lawyer's letter," couched in very unprofessional and incautious language, soliciting the favour of a moonlight meeting northwardly of the now Old Cemetery, where the Meat Market is now established. However, the lawyer was cleverly outwitted, for the lady quietly handed the *billet-doux* and the enclosure to her husband, and at his request, replied, accepting the present and agreeing to the tryst. The gay Lothario hastened to the appointed spot, and there met—not a faithless wife—but an enraged husband, and a brother-in-law, who, to his astonishment, produced the fatal note, and (without waiting for apologies) proceeded to "lamb him down" with a horse-whip—so effectually that he went home with aching bones. There never was such a nonsuit in the legal world, and the bill of costs, mercilessly exacted by two stout-handed "taxing-masters," taught him a rough wholesome lesson, which he never after forgot. The story of the summary jurisdiction so promptly set in motion was too good to remain long a secret, and so it soon leaked out, and the "shocking example" so made, exercised a beneficial effect in counselling the fast bachelor-hood of Melbourne to be on their good behaviour, so as to avoid a dose of the like unpleasant application.

For the seven years commencing with 1840, the condition of society presented anomalies which time gradually removed; the limited population, the disparity of the sexes, and the ratio of Bachelors as against Benedicts being active contributories towards connubial and other complications, which generally ended with consequences less serious than might be, under the circumstances, imagined. The lawyers (both branches), as a rule, plunged into the excitement of passing events, the convivialism, the speculations, the movement in furtherance of a charitable purpose or a public good, in fact, the good and the bad without much discrimination. Some of them descended to premature graves; others clandestinely cleared out of the district; some realized fortunes to spend them in either Victoria or England; and two sank into the worst pauperism of all—the seedy, unwashed, hungry-faced dipsomaniac—creeping about the streets, ready to beg, borrow or steal the price of a glass of rum, and willing to sell themselves, soul and body, for a pint of beer.



CHAPTER LXI.

THE DISCIPLES OF ÆSCULAPIUS.

SYNOPSIS:—The First Medical Board in New South Wales.—The First Roll of Practitioners in Port Phillip.—Death of Sir Astley Cooper.—The First Medical Board in Port Phillip.—"A Board of Honour."—Dr. Alexander Thomson.—Dr. Barry Cotter.—Dr. Patrick Cussen, the First Public Vaccinator.—Dr. David Patrick and Dr. David E. Wilkie.—Dr. Farquhar M'Crae.—Dr. Arthur O'Mullane.—Dr. E. C. Hobson.—Dr. W. B. Wilmot.—Dr. David John Thomas.—Dr. J. B. Clutterbuck.—Dr. William Henry Campbell.—Dr. F. T. Ford.—Dr. John Sproat.—Dr. Thomas Black.—Dr. C. J. Sanford.—Dr. John Patterson.—Dr. John Dickson.—Dr. J. F. Palmer.—Dr. A. F. A. Greeves.—Dr. W. J. Dease.—Dr. Edward Barker.—Dr. C. Watkin.—Dr. Alexander Hunter.—Early Surgical Operations.—The First Medical Association.—Architects, Surveyors, and Engineers.—Ecclesiastical: Rev. Robert Knopwood.

EUROPEAN professors of the "healing art" made their appearance in Port Phillip so early as 1803, in the persons of the medical staff attached to the abortive Collins Convict Expedition. They were Messrs. William Janson, Matthew Bowden, and William Hopley, ranking respectively as first, second, and third Assistant-Surgeons, and rated at annual salaries of £182 10s. for number one, and £91 5s. each to the deputies. After the Batman occupation of 1835, arrangements were made with Dr. Alexander Thomson to come from Van Diemen's Land in the dual capacity of Medical Officer and Religious Instructor or catechist of the settlement, which it was assumed would follow in the wake of the Batman Company, and he arrived accordingly. In 1836, this gentleman acted as a sort of Colonial Surgeon, and was recognized as such until the 12th April, 1837, when he was relieved by Dr. Patrick Cussen, officially detached from Sydney to assume the control of the first regular medical establishment formed in the province. The first regular public practitioner was Mr. Barry Cotter, a surgeon; and as there was but little doctoring in the small community, no other *medico* seems to have had sufficient courage to try his luck here until 1839, when a trio of M.Ds appeared—Doctors Wilkie, M'Crae, and Patrick. The first and the third named entered into partnership, but soon dissolved, whilst the second singly advertised his commencement of the practice of medicine and surgery in Bourke Street West. A Dr. Ewing next opened a medical dispensary in the Market Square, and subsequently embarked in business relations with Cotter (who was to be a sleeping partner) at the north-east corner of Queen and Collins Streets. But sleeping or waking they did not pull long together.

The first Medical Board established at Sydney under the Act 2 Vic., No. 22, consisted of Messrs. J. V. Thomson, Deputy-Inspector-General of Hospitals in New South Wales; Charles Nicholson and Frances Lascelles Wallace, M.Ds, and to this tribunal the qualifications of all persons proposing to follow the medical profession in any part of the colony should be submitted, and its approval was necessary to secure recognition in the various Courts of Law.

The first roll of legally qualified medical practitioners resident in Port Phillip is printed in *Kerr's Directory for 1842*, and is a curious relic of our colonial Medical History:—

"Physicians.—Jonathan Clarke, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Geelong; Patrick Cussen, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Melbourne; Farquhar M'Crae, J.P., La Rose, Moonee-Moonee Ponds, Melbourne; Henry Lewis O'Hara, Little Bourke Street, Melbourne; Arthur O'Mullane, Little Collins Street, Melbourne; Forster Shaw, Bayview Cottage, North Corio; William Byam Wilmot, Coroner for the District, Melbourne.

"Surgeons.—James Frederick Palmer, Flinders Street, Melbourne; John Patterson, R.N., Agent for Immigration, Melbourne; Charles John Sanford, Collins Street, Melbourne; David John Thomas, Bourke Street, Melbourne; Henry Watson, Collins Street, Melbourne."

In addition to the above there were eleven Doctors and ten Surgeons who had not thought proper to comply with the law, but they did so afterwards.

In 1841 intelligence was received in Melbourne of the death of Sir Astley Cooper, the eminent London surgeon, and the members of the profession in Melbourne signified their respect for his memory by going into mourning from the 25th June to the 8th July.

It is also a fact worth noting that in 1841 the profession in Melbourne numbered 9 Physicians and 9 Surgeons, and of these 18, there was not a single survivor in the year 1885.

In 1845 the Provincial Superintendent (Latrobe) procured the appointment of the first Medical Board in Port Phillip, and it consisted of four M.Ds, viz., P. Cussen (President), Godfrey Howitt, W. B. Wilmot, and E. C. Hobson. By this time the number of the profession had considerably increased, and in 1848 the community were blessed, or otherwise, with forty-seven "legally qualified" Physicians and Surgeons, prognosing, diagnosing, prescribing, and operating amongst them.

Towards the middle of 1846 it was announced that the Institution was formally started with Dr. Cussen as President, and its objects were declared to be the promotion of the general interest of the profession, the encouragement of friendly intercourse, and the founding of a "Board of Honour" to adjudicate upon any minor difference that may arise. The birth of the infant Society obtained the *imprimatur* of a public dinner at the *Prince of Wales Hotel*, on the 29th July, wherein a profusion of promises was volunteered and confident anticipations indulged in, not soon to be realized. Amongst the "castles in the air" was a Medical Library, for which it was said the nucleus of a fund had been already contributed. But the project, like others of those days, was premature, and speedily collapsed. Three years passed without further effort, and in 1849 a resuscitation, or rather new organization, sprang into life under the designation of the "Melbourne Medical Society," of which the following were the original members, viz. :—Drs. Wilkie, Barker, Howitt, Motherwell, Thomas, Turnbull, Sullivan, Playne, Wilmot T. Black, and Surgeon J. F. Palmer. Of these eleven only Dr. Black is alive in 1888, and the Association itself was the first to make its exit from the stage of mundane existence.

I propose to serve up in a general way a few reminiscences of the profession, mostly personal recollections, but in some particulars supplemented by information obtained from reliable sources. I do not propose to treat of every individual member, or to particularize the Universities or Colleges whence they obtained degrees or diplomas. From the heap lying before me I select any remarkable specimen that comes first to hand, and as every practitioner, whether belonging to the first or second branch, is by public acceptation dubbed a "Doctor," for convenience sake I claim the same privilege, whether the person referred to is professionally a Physician or a Surgeon.

DR. A. THOMSON was the "Batman Physico." He did not remain long in Melbourne, when he moved westward, and established himself in Geelong, becoming so identified with the fortunes of that town that for many years Thomson and Geelong were almost synonyms. In the early days he was even better known as a politician than as a prescriptionist, and always took an active part in provincial agitations.

DR. BARRY COTTER, Melbourne's first public practitioner, who, like Thomson, passed over Bass's Straits, quickly dropped into business. He occupied a small cobweb-like, brick-nogged, and wattle-and-daub surgery, at the north-east corner of Queen and Collins Streets, though in reality it was nothing more than a huckster's stall where pills and lotions, powders and embrocations, were mixed up with a miscellaneous stock of all sorts. In the *Port Phillip Gazette* of January, 1839, Barry Cotter, Surgeon and Druggist, promulgates an elaborate manifesto, its gist being, "that he is in active business, and offers for sale a variety of delicacies, from sago to turpentine, from arrowroot to spirits of tar, with candied lemon and bluestone, lemon syrup, corrosive sublimate, and manifold *etceteras* set forth at much length and minuteness. But though Barry Cotter had the place virtually to himself for a start, he did not do much out of the amalgamated businesses, and after a time, in a manner mixing up cause with effect, he took to tavern-keeping by proxy, when

the result was that, in striving to overdo, he ended in doing nothing, decamped to Adelaide, in the course of years returning to Melbourne, and dying obscurely in a remote corner of the colony.

DR. P. CUSSEN, the first appointed Government Medical Officer in Melbourne, was familiarly known as "Old Cussen," a painstaking, indefatigable official, though in reality there was much more fuss than real work in him. Like all his successors, he had a wearying, worrying time of it, yet he clung to his scantily-paid billet from 1837 to 1849, when he died, and was succeeded by Dr. Sullivan (since dead). In the course of 1882 a controversy was raised in the Melbourne Press as to who was the first Public Vaccinator in the colony. A certain medical gentleman claimed to be so, but on very erroneous grounds, for there can be no question that Dr. Cussen was such. The first official notice on the subject is a communication signed "E. Deas Thomson," the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, dated "Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, 29th July, 1839," and published in the *Government Gazette* of the period. It thus commences—"In order to avert the calamities which must necessarily follow if the small-pox be introduced into the colony, and to keep up a constant supply of vaccine lymph, His Excellency the Governor directs it to be notified that children will receive vaccination gratis if taken to any of the public hospitals, or colonial surgeons throughout the colony every Tuesday, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon," &c., &c. No other deduction can reasonably be drawn from this extract than that the performance of public vaccination was amongst the duties assigned to colonial surgeons. It was so performed without any question for many years by the class of officers referred to, until subsequent special legislation made provision for public vaccinators.

There were two medical "Davids," staunch pillars of the Presbyterian Church, in 1840. Dr. David Patrick was an elder, and Dr. David E. Wilkie one of the managers. Patrick combined the worldly offices of a grower of wool and a curer of men, accomplishing the former at a place called Cathkin, on the Goulburn River, and attending to the latter in a surgery in Russell Street; but his colonial career was not a long one, and his death was much regretted. Wilkie was one of the best-known practitioners, and had perhaps the largest run of lucrative business of any of them. In other respects he was a useful citizen, and went into political life some years later, representing the Eastern Province in the Legislative Council, of which he was once Chairman of Committees. But his status as a politician never approached that of the physician; and the one grand mistake of his life was his donning the robe of a Soothsayer, and predicting as positively as did Dr. Cumming the early approach of the Millennium, that the Yan Yean as a means of a water supply for Melbourne would be an utter failure. Both the doctors survived the futility of their confident predictions. Dr. Wilkie lived for many a long year amongst us, and no doubt, on a hot-wind day, enjoyed the filtered beverage of Yan Yean as much as any other thirsty person. He died in Paris, April, 1885, during a visit to Europe.

DR. F. M'CRAE was another squatting doctor, with a good professional prospect, but he dabbled a good deal in stations and politics, ultimately transferring himself to Sydney, where he died (20th April, 1850), at the comparatively early age of 43.

DR. ARTHUR O'MULLANE, after a short partnership with Barry Cotter, started for himself, and for some time had only a moderate practice; but he was a quiet, mildly-mannered man, who patiently bided his time, and the time came when no practice in Melbourne exceeded his. He was the first physician to the Jews, thereby securing an advantage of no small account; and on he went upward, until, professionally, there was not much further for him to go. He was a general favourite with his patients

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* Subsequent to the publication of the above, I received the following from a correspondent, Mr. F. M. D. Cotter, which, in satisfaction to him, I append here, though I do not necessarily endorse the correctness of his statement, or imply the incorrectness of my own:—Dr. Cotter, in the early part of 1840, in notifying his having entered into partnership with Dr. O'Mullane, states it is not his intention to take an active part in practising his profession. In the same year he volunteered, and his services were accepted, to take charge of the quarantined passengers of the fever ship (so-called) "Glen Huntly," his medical report appearing in the Press up to the time of the release from quarantine in 1841. Dr. Cotter was sufficiently successful in his affairs to allow of his returning to the old country, his intended departure being advertised in connection with the sale of his effects. He held a large interest in Wilson and Co., as also city property, and left power of attorney for the administration of his affairs in his absence from the colony. During his absence at home great depreciation in the value of property, and consequently large failures, took place; and on his return to the colony in 1843, to look after his interests, he found himself bereft of all his property and ruined, his attempts to recover something from the wreck being ineffectual, the affairs of the persons having turned insolvent being so mixed up in each other. Dr. Cotter subsequently removed to New South Wales, where he practiced his profession for many years.—[THE AUTHOR].

through his suavity and skill, and few men were so fortunate as to number more private friends than he. When he died, many years ago, he was widely regretted; and some of the old colonists of the present day, when his name is mentioned, have always a good word for his memory.

DR. F. C. HOBSON was a native of Parramatta, in New South Wales. He rapidly got into practice amongst the most respectable of the community, and when he died, in his thirty-fourth year, *Anno* 1848, a public subscription was raised to erect a handsome monument over his remains. He and Dr. Godfrey Howitt (many years dead) held foremost rank in their branch of the profession, and Hobson's death was regarded as little short of a public loss.

DR. W. B. WILMOT, the first Coroner of the County of Bourke, including the town of Melbourne, was a portly, middle-aged individual, of cultivated manner, and a smooth imperturbable placidity of temper which made it almost an impossibility to get up a row with him. In manner and style of march through the streets, he was a counter-part of Pohlman the Barrister, except that he was more sprucely got up, dressed better, and most decidedly wore a superior conditioned hat. Wilmot first lived in Little Flinders Street, afterwards moving to Brighton, and as there was not for years a metalled road between the sea-side location and town, inconvenience would be sometimes caused in wet weather, for the highway would be water-logged, and if a sudden death happened in or about town, the necessary inquisition would have to wait upon the convenience and dry travelling of the Coroner. Practical jokes would sometimes be played off on him by leaving false alarms of unexpected deaths at his office, and his being "sold" in this waggish way was always productive of merriment at his expense. But he took such trifling in good part, or if he winced at the trickery he did not show it. One fine morning a sailor was found dead drunk in some scrub near the Doctor's place at Brighton, and it was reported to Wilmot that there was a subject for an inquest. Without waiting for any police intervention the Doctor directed his servant to get a jury together as soon as possible; and, as to moving the body there was no necessity, for the inquest could be held at his house, and it was only twenty or thirty yards to go and "view the corpse." The flunkey mounted the Doctor's cob, beat up some neighbouring houses, and in a couple of hours had the required levy of jurymen in attendance. After the opening formalities and swearing in had been gone through, the Coroner blandly informed the gentlemen of the jury that he would accompany them to where the corpse was lying, and away they went on their melancholy duty. On arriving at the locality and forcing a passage through a dense clustering of scrub they found the object of their search sitting bolt upright before them, lively enough, too, at least in the tongue. Wilmot when reminded of this *faux pas*, said that the "detested topic" completely upset him.

Here is another amusing incident, the memory of which exists to this day amongst the skeleton traditions of the dead-house of the Melbourne Hospital. Before Wilmot parted with his Coronership, it was a rule in that Institution, that if within twelve months after sustaining an accident a patient died there, an inquest was to be held. A man did die once there and the Resident Surgeon, after making a *post mortem*, was satisfied that no inquiry was necessary, and the corpse was buried. This fact was not reported to the Coroner, who heard of the death, and away went Wilmot, puffing and blowing, having previously ordered his constable to forthwith summon a jury. This was done, the jurors were empannelled, and when they went in search of the body, nothing of the kind was to be found. The matter was explained to the Coroner, who worked himself into a gentle excitement, and for a time rejected all overtures of placation. At length, as if stricken by a sudden bright thought, he turned to the Resident Surgeon, and coolly said, "But, Mr. ———, it does not so much matter about the particular body; if there is any other body at present in the Hospital, it will serve just as well." But there was no "body" just then available, and the jury dispersed, enjoying the fun.

Years after Melbourne had attained to the position of a City, a separate Coroner was appointed for the district, and Wilmot retained possession of the Metropolis for a considerable time, and close to the period of his death. Professionally and privately, he was much esteemed, and the interest he

manifested in the foundation of early charitable and educational movements, established him as true and loyal to the colony in which he lived and laboured so long.

DR. DAVID JOHN THOMAS, a Welshman, in some measure addicted to stimulants, was the most skilful surgeon and queerest fellow of his time. In Chirurgery he reputedly outstripped his contemporaries, and it is undeniable that he could hold his own in competition with any of the Victorian surgeons of to-day. As a general medical adviser he secured much confidence, and, in cases of a critical nature, where a consultation was deemed advisable, he was usually named by other practitioners. There was a waywardness of disposition about him outside his practice, unaccountable upon any other theory than that his system was charged with frequently intermittent gushes of humorous impulse—gases, which if not vented in what would seem little short of absurd prankishness, would end in spontaneous explosion. Like others of his brethren, he was a frequenter of the Melbourne Club, then the focus of every nocturnal kill-time that could be conceived, yet not satisfied with the co-enjoyments provided, he organized amusements on his own account, not very original, but they pleased him all the same. He would, single-handed, operate on door-knockers and bell-pulls, whilst a by-play of his was, by the aid of the powers of darkness, to affix to the door or window of the residence of some other medico, a board or large placard, painted or daubed with the significant indication—"Mangling done here." Once he played a trick upon Mr. Edward Wilson, of *The Argus*, and though there was not much in it, it occasioned an immense quantity of cachinnation. Late one evening, Thomas had conveyed to an undertaker in Queen Street, an intimation that Wilson had unexpectedly departed this life in the course of the day, and for reasons needless to specify, he was to be buried at an early hour the next morning, when a coffin, hearse and mourning coaches were to be in waiting. The man of funerals should not have been easily gulled by so clumsy a *ruse*, yet he swallowed the order unsuspectingly, and was up to time with all his gloomy pharaphernalia. The vehicles paraded through Collins Street, and halting opposite *The Argus* office, one of the "gentlemen in black" entered, and politely intimated the purpose of his mission, but he had no sooner done so than he was astounded by the appearance on the scene of the living individual of whose *corpus* he was in quest. Wilson did not at all relish the notion of a premature interment, and cut up rather roughly in the beginning, but the joke quickly told on him, and readily entering into the spirit, he heartily joined in the general laugh, which was all the remuneration accorded to the undertaker for the expense and trouble incurred. It was said that Thomas was considerate enough to pay for the bespoke coffin, but whether he did or not, it was doubtless utilized to fit someone else.

Upon another occasion, after the doctor had dined, he indulged in a solitary pedestrian trip through the city. Cabs were then beginning to put in an appearance on the streets, and the wayfarer, either actually or seemingly inebriated, staggered up to a newly-installed cabby, when something like the following brief dialogue ensued:—

Doctor: "I say, my good fellow, do you know Dr. Thomas?"

Cabby: "No Sir."

Doctor: "Well then, do you know Dr. Wilkie?"

Cabby: "No sir."

Doctor: "What; do you really mean to say you do not know either of those two fellows? I fancied every stone and tree stump in Melbourne was acquainted with their personal appearance. By Jove, you must be a new chum, and no mistake."

Cabby: "Just so, your Honour; I only landed in Melbourne last week."

Doctor: "Well, then, look you here, I am Dr. Wilkie, and I have 'grogged' so much that, as you see, I am hardly able to stand. In this condition I am not game to face home to-night, so I shall sleep at Dr. Thomas's, and I want you to drive me to his house in Bourke Street. I will show you the place. At two o'clock to-morrow you will call at Dr. Wilkie's, in Swanston Street, when I will pay you double fare. Do you understand?"

Cabby: "Aye, aye, Sir. Right you are. Here, let me help you into the trap, and we'll be at Dr. Thomas's in quick sticks."

Thomas was forthwith assisted into the vehicle, and driven home accordingly. On the morrow, punctually at the appointed time, the cabman pulled up at Dr. Wilkie's door, and his knock was responded to by that gentleman personally. The double-fare was asked for and peremptorily refused. An explanation followed, when Wilkie's indignation was intense at the shamefully unprofessional manner in which he had been personated. Ultimately, the cabby was no loser, for Thomas, having had the full enjoyment of his joke, was too generous not to pay for it.

In connection with the subject of these remarks, I append an extract from one of the many communications for which I am indebted to Mr. Robert Russell, Melbourne's first Chief Survey Officer; by which it will be seen that Thomas had not long been in Port Phillip before he got himself into trouble, though this time it was "cold" instead of the proverbial "hot" water with him :—

"The late Dr. David J. Thomas, when he arrived in the 'Louisa Campbell,' met with strange mishaps, and used to describe his first adventures in a most ludicrous manner. His boat had been swamped at Sandridge after leaving the ship, and he tramped up to our cottage on the Yarra bank at dead of night. The watch-dog seized him, and on hearing his cries, we, in no good humour, called out to him to take the boat, which he did, and went flying down the Falls, in the dark, bringing up opposite Fawkner's Pub., where, no doubt, his troubles ended."

But it was not always "cakes and ale" with the light-hearted Doctor, whose vagaries at times brought him into trouble. As an illustration, it may be mentioned, that he had a particular weakness for riding on the portions of the streets by a legal fiction then termed footways, and no remonstrances could cure him of this foible. The police were at last constrained to change their tactics from words to action, and as a consequence, the offending equestrian was several times fined for breaches of the law by the Police Court. Once he had a narrow escape from death by a muscular garotte, for on the night of the 7th May, 1847, he was waylaid by two soldiers of the 58th Regiment. The outrage was committed in William Street, and after knocking down their man, the scoundrels not only half-choked, but rifled him of his watch and all the cash in his pockets. Two of the military (John Stokes and Shepherd Oldham) were subsequently arrested and tried for the offence, but the former got off through insufficient identification, whilst his comrade was convicted and sentenced to a long term of transportation. This "sticking-up" was the more remarkable, because in the times of which I am writing, medical men, ministers of religion, and newspaper reporters were free to roam through Melbourne at any hour of day or night, without the slightest danger of personal violence from thieves or rogues, who knew them all well, and regarded them as privileged individuals. This immunity I can only account for on the supposition that the doctors and ministers, being about so much at night, frequently visiting haunts of vice to render gratuitous help, or religious consolation, such services inspired a feeling of gratitude towards the givers. As to the journalists, the whole corps would not at any time number more than half-a-dozen, and as they were all general utility men, the scribe of the Police Court to-day, scribbling in the Supreme Court on the morrow, the rascals who invariably attended these places in full force, had a wholesome dread of possible recognition if they ventured upon any nocturnal liberties. Furthermore, the reporters, when pay-day had passed, were, as a rule, so impecuniously situated, that a needle might be as easily found in a bundle of hay as a shilling with one of the tribe. Of this important fact, the town thieves had an instinctive suspicion, and they knowingly considered that in such a case of attempted black-mailing, the game "wasn't worth the candle." Dr. Thomas, after many years' extensive practice, visited Europe, and from his return to his death never recovered the position he temporarily abandoned.*

*An intimation has been conveyed to me that the publication of some incidents in my sketch of Dr. Thomas has given annoyance to a surviving relative of that gentleman. I am very much pained that such is the case, and if I have so offended in this way, I had not the remotest intention of doing so. A perusal of the notice will convey to the mind of a dispassionate reader, that Dr. Thomas was a man of exceptional professional ability, esteemed both publicly and privately, but prone to the occasional indulgence in a certain practical jocularity of a harmless character, and without a particle of malice or ill-will to anyone. The few samples given constituted a portion of the popular gossip of Melbourne for more than a quarter of a century, and I have heard them detailed scores of times. A verbal portrait of Dr. Thomas, omitting all reference to the humorous peculiarities of his organization, would be an ideal, and not a real impersonation; in fact the reverse of a reproduction of the "old identity" as he lived, and worked, and laughed amongst us in the days of yore. Every one seemed to be then well acquainted with his innocuous merry making, which never depreciated him in the slightest degree as a skilled practitioner, worthy, kindhearted citizen, and a staunch sterling friend.—24th November, 1885.—[THE AUTHOR].

DR. J. B. CLUTTERBUCK was the nephew of a famous London practitioner, and his manner was as out of the way as his name. Not getting on as well as expected, he moved from Melbourne to Kilmore, and not a bad joke arose out of his departure from town to country. In advertising his meditated exit in the *Herald*, the township to which his allegiance was to be transferred was by some typographical fatality printed "Kill-more," a *lapsus* emphasized by a special paragraph, which was read with much amusement. That a Melbourne medico could by any possible wilfulness have the heart to kill anyone was too much for the common belief; but when the man himself, over his own sign manual, deliberately published his intention of going to "Kill-more," those who usually did not pay much attention to the capitalizing or punctuation of what they read, looked up from the newspaper, and could account for the mad announcement upon no other supposition than that the doctor was as "mad as a hatter." Clutterbuck was so mercilessly chaffed over the printer's accidental or designed mishap, that he rushed in rage to the *Herald* office, and had the editor been there before him, the doctor was in a fair way of correcting the erratum of Kill-more, by certainly either wholly or in part killing some one. The production of the MS., however, turned the tables in a manner not expected, for therein the name of the country town was spelt with a "double l," and in a handwriting too that left little doubt as to the authorship.

DR. W. H. CAMPBELL.—Towards the end of 1841 there was a flutter of excitement in the then few fashionable dove cotes of Melbourne, and the unwedded pigeons cooed with delight, for a young *Æsculapian* had arrived, and was soon known by the flattering *sobriquet* of "the handsome doctor." This unassuming personage was Mr. William Henry Campbell, a youthful surgeon, who left England with high credentials, and selected Melbourne as his adopted home. He was until recently amongst us (1888), traversing the streets with the same upright figure, and firm, but less elastic instep, as of yore; and a person looking at him might well fancy what a fine specimen of manhood he was seven and forty years ago. The circlet of whisker still surrounding his frank, honest face, now snow white, was then coal black, and there was superadded a luxuriant, well-pruned moustache, which in an age when hairy faces were deemed a relic of some remote barbarism, by its novelty added a piquancy to his appearance, which for a brief season rendered him the most observed and perhaps the most admired of the few presentable bachelors constituting the chief prizes in the great lottery of life presided over by *Cupid* and *Hymen*. Campbell pitched his tent in a cottage at the corner of Nicholson and Palmer Streets, Fitzroy, opposite the Convent; but the place was then a picturesque, bushy wilderness, on the outskirts of the suburbs of Newtown, where the most sanguine never dreamed a Sisterhood of Mercy would ever exist. Here he waited patiently for patients; but none came, a circumstance he could not well comprehend, until one day a medical friend communicated the astounding information that if he waited for business until doomsday he should be troubled with little or none until he put away the hirsute adornments with which he was physiognomically garnished. The Melbournians, he added, distrusted people, especially professionals, with other than closely-shaved faces. Whiskers of moderate dimensions might be tolerated, but as for any medical practitioner who sported a semi-circle of hair between his nose and upper lip to expect a call from any family of standing in "society," it was simply preposterous. A second though lesser obstacle was the fact of Campbell being a celibate, and the conclusion sought to be enforced was that he could never have a reasonable chance of making any perceptible way until he called in the services of a barber and a clergyman, and submitted himself to the tonsorial and connubial ordeals. This was "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the young surgeon, then standing on the threshold of his career, and he took it much to heart. As to the second alternative—to marry a wife—that difficulty was not insurmountable, and it was an infliction he could survive; but to cast from him his moustache and whiskers, which he adored as a Mahommedan doth his beard, perish the thought! He would sooner pitch his scalpel and lancet to the winds than turn infidel to the hair-worship in which he so implicitly believed. A few days' reflection, however, soon reduced the temperature of his enthusiasm. The patients still shunned his door-bell. Other friends remonstrated, and at length he half-capitulated to the prejudices of

the age, so far that with some twinges of conscience he made up his mind to sacrifice the moustache; but to the artistically-cultivated whisker he resolved to cling irrespective of consequences to the last day of his existence. The razor was accordingly set to work, and mercilessly did it do its duty. Campbell and his moustache went through a sorrowful parting; and when he next appeared in the streets it was like a sunbeam shorn of half its brilliancy, and from a high premium he sank to par in the estimation of the ladies. However, professionally, the compromise was good-humouredly accepted by the public; his practice increased, and moving into Swanston Street the moustache deficit was supplied by a matrimonial alliance with a rose from the garland of historical spinsters, who accompanied their father, the first Episcopalian clergyman, on his migration to the cure of souls in Melbourne. Dr. F. T. Ford was Campbell's partner, and Campbell and Ford constituted a well-known co-partnery, after the dissolution of which they separately enjoyed a fair business. On the death of Cussen, in 1849, Campbell had strong claims for, and a half promise of the Colonial Surgeoncy, but by some unexplained fluke he was jostled out of it. After the Colony of Victoria was established Campbell was appointed the first Coroner of the County of Bourke; but he was not a docile animal in Government harness, and once he so kicked over the traces that his voluntary or compulsory cashiering was inevitable. It was during the reign of Governor Sir Charles Hotham, in 1854, when everything official and non-official was in the state known as "sixes and sevens." A man took it into his head to die suddenly at the Rocky Water Holes (Donnybrook). Campbell held an inquest on the body, and an order for burial was given, for which job the undertaker (being under no contract to the contrary) coolly charged £20. The excessive demand came before Hotham, who worried himself to death in vain endeavours to check financial trickery, and it drove him into a towering passion, the Coroner, in his opinion, being the prime offender for not having entered into some prior agreement. Campbell accordingly received an uncommonly sharp missive, asking for an explanation, to which he replied with a pungency little expected from a subordinate. The correspondence was prolonged until at length Campbell, worked to a high degree of exasperation, brought it to a close by declaring that he could not reasonably be supposed to know whether the charge of an undertaker was unreasonable or the reverse, as he had not been brought up to the business. After this it is no wonder that he never held another inquest as District Coroner. Campbell was always held in high estimation, and had considerable ability, but he lacked the knack to push himself as others did. Though long in the colony, he was singularly deficient in the colonial characteristic known as "cheek," for otherwise he might have acquired much better filled pockets than he did. During late years he let everyone know he was alive by his annual appeals through the Press for funds to treat the paupers in our charitable institutions with a tobacco Christmas box. His begging letters in this respect are swathed with a philanthropic haziness which makes them somnolent reading, but as they are intended to end in smoke, this is perhaps an advantage. If Campbell had looked after his own interests with half the pertinacity with which he held out the hat for mendicities, there would be few wealthier men in the profession; but as one of his medical brethren once remarked to me, "Campbell was, in fact, too much of the gentleman for his business." Melbourne, through all its wondrous changes, has seen few better fellows than W. H. Campbell, surgeon, &c., and reckoning from the period of his commencement, he must be accounted Victoria's senior practitioner, the "Father" of the medical profession—numbering a rather numerous and mixed progeny, in age, condition, qualifications and reputations.

DR. FORD is still in Melbourne, where he arrived in 1847, and for many years has acted as medical attendant to the police, who find him a very different person from the gentleman who medicinally ministered to their predecessors—a Dr. James Martin, under whose *régime* every sort of malingering was possible. Ford asserts his right to be recognized as the first public vaccinator. He is the first statutably appointed one, but as has been already conclusively shown, Cussen as Colonial Surgeon was the first *ex-officio* operator in that respect.

DR. JOHN SPROAT, or as he was commonly called "The Old Sprat," was a tall gaunt grey-headed customer, who divided much of his affection between the chess-board and the tap-room. His constituents

were of the so-so rather than the select, and there was never much difficulty in working a sick certificate out of him though at times he was cautious and equivocal, when he put pen to paper in this way. One noticeable instance may be cited. A fashionable member of the *demi-monde* was once sued in the Court of Requests for a long outstanding oyster account, which it was inconvenient for her either to discharge, or to defend in person, as was then the rule. On the morning of the hearing she sent for "Sprat" to ask a medical certificate from him, through which she expected a postponement of the case. He found her in bed, helplessly intoxicated and unwilling to disoblige one of a lucrative connection, he good-naturedly, scribbled out a professional formula in which he certified that Miss ——— was in such a condition of prostration as to be physically unable to attend the Court. But the *ruse* did not take, for Commissioner Barry having some inkling of the reality, rejected the tendered document, and gave a verdict against the indisposed lady, to the immense enjoyment of an unwashed aggregation of "Little-Go" frequenters.

Dr. Thomas Black arrived from Sydney in 1843, with the appointment of Medical Officer to the Military, received from Sir Maurice O'Connell, then Commander of the Forces in New South Wales. Up to this time Cussen had charge of the soldiery, from which he was now released. Black was also in private practice and continued so for several years after the separation of Port Phillip, rendering the colony many valuable services outside his profession. He was one of a handful of gentlemen who founded an Ornithological Society, which subsequently grew into a Zoological Society, and may be fairly considered the basis upon which our present acclimatization system is constructed. He also distinguished himself by his efforts towards the introduction of ostrich farming and the Angora goat; and he was the originator of the Bank of Victoria.

Dr. C. J. Sanford was a young man somewhat of the Creole in aspect, and collaterally related to the once well-known Captain G. W. Cole. After a brief business connexion with Dr. Campbell he set up on his own hook, was well liked, and would, in all probability, have been a marked success, only for taking it into his head to flit from the colony after a few years' sojourn in it.

From the date of its inception the Melbourne Corporation seemed to find favour with the medical profession, for at the first election of Town Councillors in 1842, two Doctor "Johns"—Patterson and Dickson—were returned amongst the maiden members, and subsequently Drs. Palmer, Greeves, Campbell and Sanford, found seats at the Civic Board. But as Medical men they did not attain to the position of others mentioned. Indeed Palmer, who in London had given much promise as a surgeon, never seriously took to the profession here, for he started in colonial life as a concoctor of effervescing drinks suitable to a warm climate, and his *début* in this humble though useful line is thus unpuffingly announced in the following advertisement, printed in the Melbourne newspapers of July, 1841:—"Mr. Palmer has commenced the manufacture of sodawater, effervescing lemonade and ginger beer, in Little Flinders Street." The ginger-beering did not turn out the paying spec. expected, and "Doctor" Palmer embarked in the wholesale wine and spirit trade, in which he did better, and so continued for years. "Doctor" Greeves obtained a license for a publichouse known as the *Yarra Hotel*, at the wharf, and though, unlike Barry Cotter, he superintended the bar in person he shared much the same fate, for he and the concern soon parted company, and the ex-Boniface betook himself to newspaper writing and prescribing. His medical practice could not be said to be considerable, but his well-known public spirit, and activity in all questions of popular moment, so kept him in the public eye that until his death he was never without a moderate run of business.

Dr. William J. Dease, son of Oliver Dease, Army Surgeon, and descendant of the celebrated Surgeon Dease, of Dublin, was born at Malta in 1819. Mr. Dease adopted the medical profession, and became Licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons, Ireland. In 1847 he arrived in Melbourne, when he settled and rapidly acquired an extensive practice. Dr. Dease had, deservedly, the reputation of being a clever and skilful practitioner. His general disposition and many excellent qualities both of mind and heart could not, however, postpone the inevitable hour, and, deeply regretted by a wide circle of friends, he died in 1855.

DR. EDWARD BARKER arrived in Port Phillip in 1840. In 1864 he was appointed Lecturer on Surgery in the Melbourne University, and he retained the position for several years. As a remarkable instance of his physical powers of locomotion and endurance, it may be mentioned, that in May, 1841, accompanied by two friends, Messrs. Edward Hobson and Henry Broadribb, and four blackfellows, he walked from Melbourne to Port Albert, being the first overland expedition of the kind. Their regular start was from Lyall's station, now known as the Inlets, and for five days they had rather rough and hungry times of it, for their stock of provisions running out, they had nothing to eat, and (great fact for the teetotallers) for the five days actually lived on water! Dr. Barker died in June, 1885.

DR. C. WATKIN, M.R:C.S.E. and L.A.C.L., late of Shaldon, Devon, commenced business at 180 Bourke Street East, in May, 1851, and advertised himself as ready to work on the following annual scale:—A family, £10 10s.; one person, £5 5s. If in indifferent circumstances the charges would be reduced to one-half the amounts. Confinements were to be extras, and consultations from 9 to 11 a.m. daily.

DR. ALEXANDER HUNTER.—About the same time appeared a notification which will recall to the recollection of many still living, an individual long gathered to his fathers, but, who in his day, attracted some attention and made a wonderful deal of noise in our city:—

> NOTICE.—To the Poorer Classes of Melbourne and its Vicinity.—Dr. Hunter, Consulting and Operating Surgeon, has made arrangements to devote from 9 to 10 o'clock every morning, to giving advice free, to all those classes who are anxious to consult him, but who, from circumstances, are unable to pay for it.
> 162 Great Collins Street, Eastern Hill.

This Doctor Hunter was a tall, sallow-faced, black-haired, well-whiskered, and well-developed individual, admittedly a clever operating surgeon, but too fond of the steel, for his first impulse on seeing a patient was (like some of our present practitioners) to effect an operation of some kind if possible. He did not get on very fraternally with his contemporaries, as, though several of them were his professional superiors in every way, he regarded them with an amusing mixture of compassion and disdain, deeming them not abreast with the scientific requirements of the age. But it was as a stump orator, that Dr. Hunter appeared in the zenith of his fame, for he was the most bumptious talker and veriest political quack in creation. He once found his way into the Legislative Assembly as member for East Melbourne, where his parliamentary career was as fruitless as an immense soap-bubble.

EARLY SURGICAL OPERATIONS.

Surgery in Melbourne performed its first recorded feat on the night of 4th April, 1839. It was the occasion of the visit of Lady Franklin, wife of the Governor of Van Diemen's Land. She was staying at *Fawkner's Hotel*, and amongst the Melbournians who turned out in the evening to give her a vociferous welcome, was one Isaac Smith, a carpenter by trade, who discharged a shaky blunderbuss in her honour; but the piece burst, and blew off one of the unfortunate fellow's hands. The sufferer was removed into a tavern, and the Colonial Surgeon (Dr. Cussen) amputated the limb from the elbow. The patient was not long in recovering, and a few pounds generously left by her Ladyship as a *solatium*, compensated for the mishap.

The first experiment with ether was made in Melbourne in July, 1847. Mr. James Egan, a settler on the Goulburn, was amusing himself one day on a shooting excursion, when the barrel of his gun burst and shattered his right arm. He was conveyed for more than a hundred miles to Melbourne, and placed under the care of Dr. Thomas, who decided on amputating the limb under the influence of ether. The operation was performed on 2nd August in the presence of Drs. Campbell, Greeves, and Playne. The experiment was a success, and Egan was soon restored to health.

Ether was not long in the ascendant before it was partially superseded by chloroform, and the first Melbourne operation undertaken with its aid happened on the 27th May, 1848. A Mrs. Barr,

of Russell Street, laboured under an affection of the eyes, the result of a burn, which rendered necessary a critical surgical process. Chloroform was applied, and the operation successfully performed by Drs. Greeves, Campbell, and Wilkie. The patient was rid of her troubles, and both she and her eyes got on well together for many years after.

The First Medical Association.

A meeting of the medical profession, "for the purpose of organizing a Society for the promotion of medical knowledge and a more free professional intercourse," was held at the *Prince of Wales Hotel* on the 16th May, 1846, when there were present Drs. Cussen, Black, Campbell, Wilmot, O'Mullane, Greeves, Griffin, Flemming, Thomas, Wilkie, and Keatinge.

Resolutions were adopted, originating an institution to be designated "The Port Phillip Medical Association."

The first office-bearers were—Dr. P. Cussen, President; Dr. D. E. Wilkie, Vice-President; Dr. Thomas Black, Treasurer; Mr J. J. Keatinge, Secretary. Committee: Drs. W. H. Campbell, A. F. Greeves, and D. J. Thomas.

The first dinner came off on the 29th July, at the *Prince of Wales Hotel.*

On the 8th August, a meeting was held, and the library was placed under weigh by a £25 remittance to a Mr. Simmonds, of London, to invest it in books and periodicals.

Dr. Thomas Black, one of the most prominent members of this now defunct confraternity, has permitted me to inspect a minute-book recording the transactions of the short but useful life of the Society from 1846 to 1851. I am not now writing its biography, and shall therefore confine this sketch to a few notable incidents, which deserve to be rescued from oblivion.

The canons of physico-philosophy and etiquette were:—

1. That as the dignity and influence of this Association essentially depend upon the friendly co-operation and harmony of its members, this Association strongly reprobates all hostile collisions and personal animosities.

2. That as differences of opinion of necessity arise in the treatment of diseases, this Association enjoins upon its members the exercise of honourable feelings and mutual forbearance in their professional intercourse.

3. That no member of this Association shall give any countenance whatever to disparaging reflections, or false reports affecting the professional character of other members.

4. That in all cases where one member is called in to attend for another, and in all consultations of members, the member called in shall neither say, look, nor insinuate such things as he knows will operate to the injury of the member in previous attendance, nor otherwise endeavour to supplant him in the estimation of his patient.

5. That any member who shall in any manner attempt to undermine, or otherwise injure, the professional reputations of other members shall, on proof of such offence, incur the highest censure of the Association.

6. That in the event of a difference of opinion in consultation, an additional medical man shall be called in, to be mutually agreed upon by those in attendance, but not without the consent of the patient or friends, the opinion of the majority to be final in the treatment of the case.

7. That when any member is called to attend any case in consequence of the unavoidable absence of another member, who is the regular medical attendant, he shall be entitled to the usual fee for such attendance, but not to the case, unless by the express desire of the patient or his friends.

8. That any member who shall attend a midwifery case in town or country for another member, shall be entitled to the whole fee for such attendance, but not to the case.

9. That when any member is in regular attendance on any patient for any illness, no other member shall consider himself at liberty to take such patient under his care until the patient or his friends have intimated to the former member their intention of dispensing with his attendance.

10. That in a case of emergency when the patient has no regular medical attendant, the first member in attendance shall have the treatment of the case, unless otherwise determined by the patient or his friends.

11. That no member shall knowingly meet in consultation any practitioner in medicine who is not legally qualified.

12. That this Association will repudiate any attempt on the part of members, to practise on other principles than those recognized by the medical profession.

TOWN VISITS.

	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Single visits	0 10 6	0 5 0	0 3 0
When only one visit is required	1 1 0	0 10 0	0 6 0
Each visit from 9 p.m. to 7 a.m.	1 1 0	0 10 0	0 6 0

COUNTRY VISITS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Any distance not exceeding one mile	0 10 6	0 5 0	
Ditto, exceeding one mile for every additional mile	0 5 0	0 3 0	

The above charges will be doubled from 9 p.m. to 7 a.m.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Consultations at home	0 10 6	0 5 0	0 3 0
Detention—Every hour that the practitioner is detained after the first, either from urgency of the case, or desire of patient or friends	1 1 0	0 10 6	

In chronic cases a discretionary deviation from the above charges may be made.

MIDWIFERY.

	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d. to £ s. d.
Attendance in ordinary cases ...	5 5 0	3 3 0	1 1 0 to 2 2 0

CONSULTATIONS.

	1st Class.	2nd Class.	3rd Class.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
With Physician or Surgeon	1 1 0	0 10 6	
Ditto by letter	2 2 0	1 1 0	
Certificate of health	1 1 0	0 10 6	
Vaccination...	0 10 6	0 5 0	
Extracting teeth	0 10 6	0 5 0	
Fractures and dislocations	3 3 0	2 2 0	1 1 0

In these cases the charge is made for the operation only. The subsequent visits will be an additional charge.

This tariff was subsequently amended in some particulars, and adopted; and a resolution was passed, "That the members be held bound in honour to adhere as far as possible to the same, and any member failing to do so, shall incur the censure of the Association."

The Society transmitted a petition to the House of Commons, concurring in a Medical Registration Bill, introduced by Mr. Wakley, Member for Finsbury, praying "That the same privileges and protection as therein proposed to be conferred on the members of the medical profession in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, be extended to the members of the medical profession in the Australian Colonies, who form in this part of Her Majesty's dominions, a numerous and respectable body of Her Majesty's subjects."

Dr. Wilkie continued Secretary until 1850, when he was succeeded by Mr. Edward Barker.

The last minuted meeting of the Association was held 20th November, 1851, and was soon after dissolved, or rather died a natural death; the library was sold, the debts were paid, and all was over. The old minute-book was affectionately retained by Dr. Black, the Society's

Treasurer from first to last, and after it left my possession I was informed its destination would be the Melbourne Public Library, where it would be provided with a quiet resting-place for all time.

It would seem that such intention was on further consideration abandoned, for the book has passed into the guardianship of the present Medical Society of Victoria. A meeting of that body was held on the 7th October, 1885, and from a *précis* of its proceedings as printed in the *Australian Medical Journal*, I extract the following:—"The Hon. Secretary read the following letter from Dr. Thomas Black:—

"14th September, 1885.

"Mr. President and Gentlemen,—I am happy to say I am now in a position to offer for your acceptance the minutes of the first Medical Society formed in Melbourne, by the late Dr. Wilkie and myself; also a list of the legally qualified medical practitioners of the Colony of New South Wales, 1838—the first published list in any of the Australian colonies.

"I have good reason to believe that the only survivors of the late Port Phillip Medical Association and the New South Wales list are Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart., now residing in London; Dr. William Campbell, Russell Street, Melbourne; and myself.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Yours faithfully,

"THOMAS BLACK, M.D.

"The President proposed that a vote of thanks be accorded to Dr. Black for his valuable gifts, and further that he be created an Honorary Member of the Society.

"The motion was seconded by Dr. Allen and unanimously agreed to."

Architects, Surveyors, and Engineers.

The first survey operations conducted in Port Phillip were those of the expedition despatched from Sydney in November, 1802, in charge of Mr. Charles Grimes, the Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales. The party consisted (in addition to the gentlemen named), of Dr. M'Callum, a surgeon; James Meehan, a surveyor; and James Flemming. The curious story of this expedition is told in the journal kept by Flemming, and exhumed in 1877 by Mr. J. J. Shillinglaw, amongst piles of musty State Papers in the office of the Colonial Secretary at Sydney. When Batman effected his memorable officially repudiated bargain with the Aborigines, he had in his party Mr. Charles Wedge, in the capacity of Surveyor, and this gentleman may be fairly recognized as the "father" of the profession in the colony.

The first to announce himself as an architect in Port Phillip was Mr. Samuel Jackson, whose brother, William, came from Van Diemen's Land with Fawkner's party of occupation in 1835. The Jacksons afterwards took up some country on the Saltwater River, and Jackson's Creek near Sunbury was named after William. Samuel settled in Melbourne, and followed the practice of his profession for many years. Russell was more of an Architect than a Surveyor, for he first served articles in an eminent Architect's office, and it was through an after-thought that he became a Surveyor.

Melbourne was not many years a proclaimed township when the Surveyors and Architects began to pour in, and at the close of 1840, according to *Kerr's Port Phillip Directory for 1841* the following were located in Port Phillip:—Land Surveyors — Messrs. Henry Douglass, Henry B. Foot, S. P. Hawkins, Thomas H. Nutt, George Smyth, Thos. S. Townsend, C. J. Tyers, James Williamson. Architects and Surveyors—Messrs. James Purves, Robert Russell, and Alexander J. Skene. Mr. James Ballingall appears as a Surveyor of Shipping, Mr. John Manton a Civil Engineer, and Messrs. Joseph W. Hooson and Peter Hurlstone simply as Engineers. To these may be added Mr. James Rattenbury, the Clerk of Works, who claimed to be an an Architect, but whether so or not I cannot undertake to decide. It is singular that there is no mention made of Mr. Robert Hoddle, the head of the then Government Survey office, but he is given in the *Directory for 1842*, in which also appears the name of Mr. Charles Laing. Gradually other names crept into the newspapers such as Messrs. George Wharton, John Gill, Arthur Newson, James Blackburn, etc., etc. For some unaccountable reason Russell was never appreciated as his ability and integrity deserved.

From the incorporation of Melbourne (1842), until after the end of these sketches, there were only three Town or City Surveyors, viz., Howe, Laing, and Blackburn. The first and second resigned the office, and the third died in harness. On Laing's arrival, seeing what a small opening there was for architectural ability, he very prudently pocketed his profession for a while, and accepted the position of manager to a Butchering Company, which owned a small shop in Bourke Street, subsequently pulled down to make way for the Coffee Palace near the Theatre Royal. There were half-a-dozen professed Civil Engineers, and most of them had a pet hobby exercising their minds. Of the four most notable, J. A. Manton projected bridges never to be built; N. L. Kentish devised baths never to succeed; L. Rosson dreamed of a water-supply from the Yarra at Studley Park never to be utilized; and J. Blackburn's name will be for all time associated with the Yan Yean Reservoir.

Rattenbury had been superseded at the Public Works Department by Mr. Henry Ginn, who, after Separation, held the office of Chief Architect. A meeting was held on the 12th May, 1851, at which was inaugurated the "Association of Architects." A resolution was passed inviting the Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe) to accept the office of Patron, and Mr. Henry Ginn (the Colonial Architect), was elected the first President. But ere the year had been rung out the Architects had more important "fish to fry" midst the astounding changes wrought by the gold discoveries.

MR. A. J. SKENE, for many years the official head of our Survey Department, arrived in Port Phillip as far back as 1839, and if I have been correctly informed, he obtained his first Government employment from Mr. Robert Russell. In 1842 he was located at Geelong, and in 1868, he was appointed Surveyor-General *vice* Mr. C. W. Ligar, the successor of Mr. Robert Hoddle.

MR. GEORGE WHARTON arrived in Melbourne at the beginning of 1844, and he is still (1885) in business in Melbourne. Mr. Wharton soon found that there was little or no scope for the exercise of whatever abilities he possessed as an architect. The streets were unformed, the buildings mostly weatherboard cottages and shops. A three-storey building was looked upon as a giant. John Hodgson's house, also in Flinders Street, where the *Port Phillip Club Hotel* now stands, though only a two-storey building, was nicknamed "Hodgson's Folly." Under these circumstances he gave up the idea of following his profession. He purchased an interest in a sheep-station where the town of Daylesford now stands. In the meantime the Melbourne Corporation began to form the streets, and appointed Mr. Charles Laing (an Architect known to Wharton in Manchester) as Town Surveyor. Laing was allowed to practice privately, and requested Wharton to assist him, which he did, and so was accidentally brought back to his proper avocation. The first building he was engaged upon was St. Peter's Church, for which he made most of the drawings. About this time Mr. Wharton prepared a Plan of the City of Melbourne, showing all the houses then erected. This Plan should be in existence now in either Laing's or the Corporation papers, and would be an object of much interest. He also prepared another Plan of Melbourne for the Mayor (Dr. Palmer) indicating the division into four Wards to carry out a scheme of the Mayor's to let the Wards at a rental to milkmen to depasture their cows. He also completed Plans of a scheme to supply Melbourne with water, by connecting with pipes two bends of the river Yarra at Studley Park.

Wharton also assisted Laing in making designs for a new theatre and hotel built in 1845, in Queen Street (still in existence) for the late J. T. Smith. This was a great step in advance of the dingy, tumble-down old theatre close by the *Bull and Mouth*, in Bourke Street.

The late Samuel Ramsden came out in the same ship with Wharton as a stonemason, and his partners, Charles and Henry Brown, and the late James Webb.

One of the oldest of "Old Colonists" has favoured me with the following memo:—

"The first Land Surveyors to arrive in Port Phillip, doubtless were the Wedges. They were not Government Surveyors, but came on a special mission. Mr. John Helder Wedge prepared a plan, showing the land proposed to be purchased by the Van Diemen's Land Company, from the natives, a copy of which is still to be had. This was, however, no survey, but simply a field sketch, which was all that was wanted. Mr. William Wedge Darke, a near relation of the Wedges, came down with Mr. Robert Russell in the Government service from Sydney in 1836; also Mr. Fred Robert Darcy, at which period the first survey was made by Russell, a copy of which—now very scarce—I am

aware you have. Private surveyors subsequently appeared. A Mr. Le Roux was the first; he also held office as Clerk of Works under Mr. Lewis, the Colonial Architect, of Sydney, and Mr. Russell held his billet for a short time after his death. His name appears to a very early subdivision of a Melbourne allotment in Russell's possession." It is signed:—CHARLES F. LE ROUX, Architect and Surveyor, 17th July, 1839.

"The first Melbourne sub-division is dated 25th April, 1839, allot. C Block 2. It was surveyed by Russell for Mr. R. H. Browne (commonly called Heidelberg Browne), acting for Thos. Walker, of Sydney. Then came a tribe of private Surveyors. Williamson, M'Gregor, Thomson, Craig, Foote, Gibbins, De Grady, Russell, &c., and of still later date (I find his name in 1851), Penrose Nevins. There were others doubtless whose names I have omitted, but not many. Of private surveys in and near Melbourne after Russell left the Government service, the lion's share certainly fell to him. Russell was responsible for the first design of St. James's Church, which was built under his superintendence, though for the simple spire of his design, the Building Committee substituted a heaven-directing "pepper-pot," Dr. Palmer being, I fancy, the chief instigator. The first Custom House, Lyon Campbell's house on the Yarra, the first bank of Australasia, &c., were also Russell's work. Samuel Jackson designed the Hospital and Mr. Duerdin's house in Flinders Street, if I mistake not, and sundry other buildings. St. Patrick's Cathedral was begun under his jurisdiction, as was also St. Patrick's Hall. Mr. Blackburn designed the Anglican Bishop's Palace. Charles Laing made his appearance and assisted Dr. Palmer in the "pepper-pot" perpetration.

Ecclesiastical.

The first minister of religion who placed a foot on Victorian soil, was the Rev. Robert Knopwood, A.M., Chaplain to the Collins "Convict Expedition," at Sorrento in 1803. He was an Englishman, who entered the world in 1761, and left it in 1838. After holding the office of domestic Chaplain to Lord Spencer, he accepted the latter appointment, which transferred him to the Antipodes. To a diary kept by him, the public is indebted for a quaint narrative of incidents of his voyage to Australia, the attempted settlement at Port Phillip, and actual settlement at Hobart Town, where he retained his Convict Chaplaincy until 1822. The following notice of him is from the pen of West, the Van Diemonian historian:—"In addition to his clerical functions he (Knopwood) regularly sat as a Magistrate. He had not much time to care for the spiritual interests of his flock, and of his success in their reformation nothing is recorded. His convivial friends are the chief eulogists of his character. His little white pony was not less celebrated, Knopwood received a pension, and was subsequently appointed Chaplain to a country district. The gaiety of his disposition made him a pleasant companion and general favourite, and conciliated whatever esteem may be due to a non-professional reputation. He was, however, not unwilling to tolerate the assistance of a sect whose zeal wore a different aspect from his own. The Wesleyan ministers found a kindly welcome and an open field."

In the Shillinglaw papers, appended to the Knopwood Diary is a portrait of this primitive parson, "from a sketch by T. G. Gregson, Esq., of Risdon." His reverence is mounted on a white pony, and peeping from the hind pocket of his dark overcoat is the corked nose of a black bottle. A rough-skinned, sharp-looking little piece of dog-flesh trots along in front, to all appearance anxiously on the scent for some kind of a wind-fall. In connection with this matter Mr. A. C. Macdonald, F.R.G.S., Collins Street West, has favoured me with a curiously interesting relic, now, for the first time, communicated to the public through the medium of a newspaper. It is a copy of verses composed years ago by Mr. John Graves, a well-known Hobart Town Solicitor, for some time dead, with the following memo. thereon, in the penmanship of the writer, an ex-Chief Secretary of Tasmania:—

"Old Bobby Knopwood arrived in February, 1803,
"First and best Parson that ever preached in this colony.

"Wm. Gregson."

The old gentleman who was of a convivial turn of mind, thinking with Shakespeare that "good wine is a good familiar creature, if it be well-used," came to the conclusion that a glass of port could not be applied more advantageously than in helping to administer bed-side consolation to the bodily afflicted, and consequently whenever he was engaged in what is known as "sick call duty" the wine bottle was his invariable companion, and the sufferer's spiritual and bodily condition considerately looked after. When it is understood that Mr. Knopwood's religious offices would be

mostly required by unfortunates of the convict class, in assignment and expirees, his kind-heartedness in what he did cannot be too highly appreciated, though at the present day it will doubtless be sneered at by those who can have no conception of the horrors and privations attending the early convictism of the neighbouring colony. I subjoin the Graves' effusion, with the remark that any modicum of literary merit that may be displayed, is sadly marred by the sarcastically offensive bigotry indulged in towards other Christian denominations :—

"BOB PINCHER AND THE PONY."

THE DOG-GEREL BY PINCHER.

"Bob Pincher and the pony"—as Gregson used to say,
Where sickness was you found him there—to sympathize and pray;
The bottle's neck seen peeping out—you may readily divine
His mission's one of mercy—and he carries with him wine.
This fine old English Clergyman—one of the "good old sort,"
Who, when he visited the sick, he brought them all to *port;*
And, by the sick bed kneeling, would utter words divine,
Then cheerfully rising, say—"Now take a glass of wine;
It's better for your stomach's sake—than wafers and cold water;
For good old Port and solid food will surely make you fatter."
No whining, doubtful dogmas—no brimstone fire and hell—
He preached God's love and mercy—and kindly wished them well;
This fine old English Clergyman—one of the olden time,
Who, when he visited the sick—he always took them wine.
He wore no cross upon his back, but acted on the square—
A thing that's often talked about—but practised very rare;
He dressed not like a mountebank—nor yet like columbine,
Nor ritualistic vestments wore—this worthy old divine.
If gaudy dresses were to be true signs of what was meet,
Priests soon would make the surplice, the Church's winding sheet;
So thought this good old Clergyman—one of the olden time,
Who, when he visited the sick, he always took them wine.
If rampant ritualists will wear—silks, satins, and brocade,
They'd better change their uniform—and join the Pope's brigade;
For in the ranks of Protestants—they're called the "awkward squad,
And looked upon by Churchmen—as the cast-out of God.
Yet Popish priests and Protestants—their cant is "loving brother,"
And in Christ's name—Oh! what a shame—they'd crucify each other:
So 'tween the doctrines of the two—no mortal soul can tell,
Which is the road to Heaven—and that which leads to Hell.
But this fine old English Clergyman—drew doctrines from the Fount,
And prayed, as the Great Teacher did—in His sermon on the Mount;
This fine old English Clergyman—one of the olden time,
Who when he visited the sick—he always took them wine.
He had no crook to guard his flock—or keep them in the fold,
But tended them as shepherds did, in the by-gone days of old;
But 'bout the preaching now-a-days—there is a deal of gammon,
Still less of that there'd surely be—but for the God call'd Mammon.
Apostle Peter never asked for pence, State-aid, or pay,
If such were now the state of things—how many Priests would pray?
Now shepherds don't much mind the sheep—their eye is on the fleece,
And rather than no wool at all—they'd take it in the grease;
But better days are dawning fast—there's shout from pole to pole,
For liberty of conscience—and freedom of the soul.
Then let us chronicle the words—spoke by the old divine,
And to his memory let us drink—now 'Take a glass of wine;'
That fine old English Clergyman—one of the olden time,
Who when he visited the sick—he always took them wine."

CHAPTER LXII.

A MORTUARY GROUP.

IN the course of the retrospective excursion in which I have employed myself, innumerable incidents have cropped up to amuse and instruct; but, here and there, an occasional shadow intrudes which one cannot meet with without a feeling of regret. From time to time a colonist well-known in his day, drops out of existence, from natural or accidental causes, and in the crowding spectres of the past, such events are marked with a prominence that induces a consideration of the circumstances under which the void occurs. Several of such ghastly memorials are disentombed in raking up the dead past of a country or community, and in wading through the *débris* necessary to be examined in the compilation of these Chronicles, I have met with a few such reminders well meriting a passing notice.

JOHN BATMAN.—First, and not least in the obituary scroll, is John Batman, by some designated the founder, and by others (more correctly) the pioneer or prospector of Melbourne and its surroundings. From 1836 to 1839, the period of his residence here, Batman, before that a robust and vigorous man, fell into bad health, and was so much of a valetudinarian as to be wheeled in a bath-chair about Batman's Hill and the adjacent then unformed streets. The *Port Phillip Gazette* of 8th May, 1839, thus announces his death:—"At his residence, on Monday, 6th May, after a protracted illness, John Batman, Esq., aged 39 years. His remains will be interred this morning at 11 o'clock." In the same paper there is this reference to the occurrence.—"Mr. Batman, at all times distinguished for his activity as a bushman, on the occasion of his last adventure, it is understood, exposed himself to an injurious degree, violent cold working on mercury previously dormant in his physical system, hurried him to a premature death. He has left a numerous family, all very young, and chiefly girls. Unfortunately for them his affairs are not in a settled state." This is a frigid notice of the demise of certainly the person of most consequence in the then small settlement. Though, in Batman or Fawkner, there was little of the faculty that would entitle them to anything savouring of hero-worship, their names are so historically entwined with the fortunes of Victoria, that, early or late, their memory ought not to be referred to in other than a feeling of meet consideration.

Batman's funeral took place as indicated, and in the presence of nearly all the adult population. His mortal remains were consigned to the earth in a portion of the now Old Cemetery, where they remained in a nameless grave, and with an unwritten epitaph, for more than forty years, when, on the suggestion of Sir W. Mitchell, the late President of the Legislative Council, a public subscription was set on foot to mark by some lasting monument the spot where so remarkable a man was buried. The project was taken zealously in hand by Mr. John J. Shillinglaw, Hon. Secretary to the movement, and worked with such success, that there would be little difficulty in obtaining for the purpose much more money than was required. It was at length completed, and on the 3rd June, 1882, was unveiled by Mr. C. J. Ham, the Mayor of Melbourne, surrounded by a gathering of old Colonists, and prominent amongst them were Mr. William Weire (Town Clerk of Geelong), and his son (Batman's



Batman's Monument
Old Melbourne Cemetery

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son-in-law and grandson). The *In Memoriam* is an obelisk of dressed blue stone, erected at a cost of £120, and on the side looking towards the city, bears this inscription :—

JOHN BATMAN,
Born at Parramatta, N.S.W., 1800.
Died at Melbourne, 6th May, 1839.
He entered Port Phillip Heads
29th May, 1835,
As leader of an expedition which
He organised in Launceston, V.D.L.,
To form a settlement, and founded one
On the site of Melbourne, then unoccupied.
This monument was
Erected
By public subscription in Victoria,
1881.
Circumspice !

JOHN BATMAN, JUNIOR.—Batman, though blessed with a family of eight children, had only one son, and through a strange fatality, this boy was drowned in the Yarra some six years after his father's death. Unable to find any printed particulars of the manner in which he met his untimely end, I applied through the Hon. G. F. Belcher, of Geelong, to the Mr. William Weire before mentioned, to supply so important an omission, and through his courtesy, I append an account of the melancholy occurrence in Weire's own words: "The particulars of the boy's death, as often told to me by Mrs. Batman, her daughter (my late wife) Elizabeth Mary, and her youngest daughter Pelonomena (Philemena?)—born 11th July, 1834, and died in July, 1859, and, indeed, by every member of the family, are as follow :—The family, after Batman's death in May, 1839, resided in the large two-storey brick house then, at the corner of William and Collins Streets, on the site now occupied by the Australian Mutual Provident Society and other offices. On the day—11th February, 1845—when the boy was drowned, his sister Pelonomena took him down to the Yarra at the "Falls," as she had done many times previously. He had a little fishing rod with him, and got on the stones at the "Falls" for the purpose of fishing, when, owing to the stones being slippery, he fell off into the river, striking his head against a stone, and was drowned before assistance could be given. It was said that Pelonomena was a short distance away from the place where her brother went on to fish, and she was much blamed by the family for her apparent carelessness and neglect for not better looking after him. It was also said that the lad took off his shoes and stockings to go on the stones to fish. If such was the case it would cause him to slip off more readily than otherwise. This is a brief outline of the death of 'John Charles Batman'—John Batman's only son and heir! Had he lived, the fortunes of the small remnant of the family now left might, perhaps, be of a brighter character."

Since the foregoing was written, I regret to add that Mr. Weire has followed the Batmans to the world beyond the grave.

CAPTAIN CHESSER.—A funeral was witnessed in Melbourne on 14th February, 1840, when Captain Chesser, of the barque "Mary Ridgway," was buried, and all the ship-masters, officers, and most of the seamen in port were in attendance. The deceased died of consumption, and during a short stay in the province came to be much thought of.

MR. ALEXANDER JOLLY.—A sad accident occurred two months after at a station of Mr. Yuille, at Buninyong. There had recently arrived as surgeon of the barque "Caroline," from Leith, Mr. Alexander Jolly, who made a trip to the country, and one day whilst bathing was drowned. He was a young man of the highest professional promise, and, as he purposed remaining in Melbourne, his loss was regarded as a serious one as matters then stood.

MR. ALEXANDER SCOTT, an Edinburgh gentleman of considerable means, arrived with his wife and family, to invest largely in cattle breeding, and he secured a tract of depasturing country some fifty

miles from town. He was looked upon as a valuable acquisition, but in May he was carried off by death in his forty-third year.

MR. WILLIAM KERR, in 1841, took his family for a change during the hot weather after Christmas to the beach at Sandridge, and thought it would not be a bad plan to rig a tent as a summer residence half-way towards St. Kilda. On the evening of the 15th January, he was found dead on the sand. His death had been sudden, and its cause as disclosed by a *post mortem* enquiry, was tubercular disease of the brain, accompanied by serous effusion. Mr. Kerr was much regretted, and the Sunday after his death was "improved" at the Independent Church, where the Rev. Mr. Waterfield delivered a suitable discourse upon the lamentable event.

DAVID HENRY WILSONE, M.D.—The first death of a medical practitioner in Melbourne occurred in August, when David Henry Wilsone, M.D., was gathered to his fathers. During a brief sojourn in the district the deceased evidenced an active interest in public matters, and had he lived would have made his mark professionally and otherwise.

MR. HENRY F. GISBORNE was during his short stay, as light-hearted and well-liked as any individual in Port Phillip. The son of a member of the British Parliament, he ventured out to Sydney, and after officiating for some time as Private Secretary to Governor Sir Richard Bourke, he proceeded to the newly-found southern country as its actual first Crown Land Commissioner. Equally at home as a bushman and as a sportsman, he rendered valuable assistance in developing an early taste amongst the people for the great English sport of horse-racing, and was one of the half-dozen primitive Nimrods who selected the present Flemington course as the proper place for the amusement to which it has been since applied. Along with riding a race, he was just as smart a hand at writing about one, and his ability in this line was such as would admirably qualify him for the modern post of Sporting Editor. The first Petition transmitted from Port Philip praying for separation from New South Wales was from his pen. In 1841 he started on a visit to England, but in September, intelligence was received of his death at sea, between the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena.

MR. ARTHUR KEMMIS was a native of Queen's County (Ireland), and, in 1839, entered into mercantile pursuits under the style of Kemmis and Co., in a brick store in Flinders Street. Kemmis was a man of scholarly attainments and unspotted integrity; the founder and chief-manager of the Port Phillip Steam Navigation Company, and the doer of many kindnesses in a private and unobtrusive manner. On the 8th February, 1842, he died at the early age of 36, of water on the brain, after a ten days' illness, leaving a widow and five children to mourn over their bereavement. The regret for what was not unreasonably regarded as a public loss, was universal.

MRS. PARKER AND MRS. WALSHE. — October of the same year was saddened by two very sudden deaths, with only a day or two intervening, two estimable ladies having disappeared from a society so limited as to be badly able to spare them. The former was the wife of an Assistant Protector of Aborigines. A few months previously a brother of the latter—a very fine young man—was accidentally drowned by the upsetting of a boat on the Yarra, and such a blow was too much for the sister. The events spread a gloom over the small town, which was not dissipated by the use made of them in more than one pulpit on the ensuing Sunday, and they formed the ground-work of two or three impressive sermons.

MR. ARMYNE BOLDEN.—On Sunday, 9th July, 1843, died suddenly at the residence of Mr. S. Raymond, his brother-in-law, Mr. Armyne Bolden, who had been staying there for some days. Both gentlemen, after dining at the Melbourne Club, went home about 10 o'clock. When Bolden was retiring to rest he told the servants to call him at daylight, as he wished to proceed early to the Saltwater River. Some time after Raymond was alarmed by hearing moans issue from the direction of Bolden's room, and to his astonishment he found Bolden lying upon his back, with his mouth open, and gasping for breath, though the bed-covering did not appear in the least disturbed. Dr. O'Mullane was

at once sent for, but before he could arrive Bolden was dead. Deceased had drank not more than a half-pint of wine, and the death was traced to apoplexy.

MR. J. L. BESWICKE, a resident of the Western Port District, was killed 6th April, 1844. He was returning home in a chaise-cart from Melbourne, having under his charge a female servant and a bag of flour. When near Brighton a wheel of the vehicle catching in a tree-stump, the concern was turned over, and Beswicke came under with the flour over him. His death was instantaneous. The woman was severely injured, and her life was saved owing most probably to her extrication from danger by Mr. A. R. Cruickshank, a Melbourne accountant.

MR. J. D. L. CAMPBELL, a gentleman of some note, and much social influence, died somewhat unexpectedly on the 1st June. Though indisposed for a fortnight, the medical attendants did not anticipate any serious consequences. During the night of the 31st May, Mr. Campbell slept continuously, and towards morning he passed unnoticed into the sleep of death. He was the centre of a large circle of private friends, and amongst the staunchest adherents of the first Resident Judge (Willis), by whom he manfully stood amidst tribulation of no ordinary kind.

MR. GEORGE HYDE, who resided at Green Hills, beyond Keilor, died suddenly on the 1st June, *en route* to Melbourne. Taken ill in the conveyance by which he travelled, he was removed to the Keilor Inn, and received there every possible attention, but expired in little more than an hour. A *post mortem* examination was made by Dr. Hobson, and a coroner's inquest attributed death to the "visitation of God in a natural way, and not otherwise."

MR. J. H. GAULL, a well-known commission agent, accompanied by Mr. Matthew Harland, left town on the 25th January, 1845, for Gardiner's Creek. In a part of the Survey Paddock they found a flat-bottomed dingy, and in this they proposed to cross the Yarra. Before they had proceeded twenty yards the dingy went down, and strange to relate, Harland, who was but an indifferent swimmer, paddled with much difficulty to dry land, whilst Gaull, who was quite the reverse, sank head-foremost, without a cry or struggle and never re-appeared alive. On the third morning the body was fished up from below where the dingy had disappeared. Gaull was a fine specimen of mature manhood, and as he was exceedingly well-liked, his interment took place in the presence of an unusually large attendance.

MR. W. P. GREENE.—A very regrettable death occurred at Woodlands, beyond Broadmeadows, on 5th March. Mr. W. P. Greene, resided there, and he was a gentleman much appreciated by all who knew him. His demise was somewhat unexpected; and his last public appearance in Melbourne was attending a complimentary meeting convened to do honour to the second Resident Judge (Jeffcott) on his departure from the province. Mr. Greene was the seconder of a flattering valedictory address, which was adopted for presentation to the retired ex-functionary.

MR. JAMES R. STEWART, MR. ADAM PULLAR, AND MR. ROBERT DONALDSON.—July witnessed two blanks in the commercial circle not soon filled. On the 22nd Mr. James R. Stewart, a popular commission agent, left Melbourne to attend a sale at Mr. A. M'Callum's, at the Darebin Creek. The Merri Creek was flooded, and the rider was swept out of the saddle and drowned. Great exertions were made to recover the body, and, though his coat, minus a sleeve torn off, and his pocket-handkerchief were fished up in a few hours, the corpse was not found for two days. Mr. Adam Pullar, of the firm of Pullar, Porter, and Co., died after a severe illness on the 29th. He was a member of the Town Council, an influential Presbyterian, and his funeral was numerously attended. Later on in the year (November) Mr. Robert Donaldson, of the well-known Collins Street drapery firm (Donaldson and Budge), died suddenly from rupture of a blood vessel.

MR. COLE, JUNIOR.—Few events ever produced more regret in Melbourne than a singular case of drowning off Sandridge on the first day of 1846. Mr. Luke Ward Cole, accompanied by Messrs. Allison, Hussey,

and a sailor, shoved off from Liardet's pier in a small boat, which, bent on a fishing excursion in the Bay, filled and went down. Cole had sank before any help could be given, and was drowned, whilst the others were rescued from their perilous position. The body was removed to *Liardet's Hotel*, where an inquest was held, and a verdict of accidental death returned. It was next brought to Melbourne to the residence of the young man's father, Captain G. W. Cole, of William Street, and on the 3rd January the funeral took place, when the coffin was borne by six tars attached to the Wharfinger's establishment of the Captain. The sympathy for Captain Cole, one of the original merchant townsmen, was sincere and widespread.

ALLAN KENNY RENNIE.—On the 11th March, 1846, there died at the residence of Mr. H. N. Cassels, the Collector of Customs, Allan Kenny Rennie, accountant of the Union Bank, a young man of affability to the public, and gifted with considerable financial ability. Though his death was caused by consumption, no one thought the end so near.

MISS COGHILL, MRS. MEEK, AND MRS. HOLLINGSHEAD.—Towards the close of the year 1846, the deaths of three much-esteemed ladies occasioned profound regret. On the 26th October the daughter of Mr. William Coghill was cutting some bread, and, the knife slipping, she was gashed between a finger and thumb. Not much account was taken of the accident for five days, when unfavourable symptoms commenced; inflammation supervened, and on the eighth day death ensued from tetanus. Mrs. Meek, wife of Melbourne's first Solicitor, returned to England in 1846, and had an exceptionally rough passage, which she survived only until she arrived in London. A Mrs. Hollingshead, also re-going homeward, died at sea on the 11th April.

DR. GEORGE IMLAY, R.N.—Boxing (or, as it should be more properly called, St. Stephen's) Day was remarkable for the suicide of a settler well known and of extensive connexion. Dr. George Imlay, R.N., resided at a place known as Brago, in the Twofold Bay District, and early one morning he set forth, taking blankets and rations, but declining any attendance, even so much as a dog. In a few hours his horse returned riderless, and Mr. Peter Imlay, fearful of some mishap, started at once with a few of the station hands, taking the direction in which the Doctor had gone. After a four days' hunt they found the unfortunate gentleman dead, and in a frightfully battered condition. It was surmised that he fastened the trigger of his gun to his foot, and shot himself. Temporary insanity was assigned as a reason for the tragical act.

MR. C. L. HUSSEY.—The New Year (1847) was shocked by the accidental death of Mr. C. L. Hussey, the Teller of the Bank of Australasia. Mr. Hussey resided at Collingwood, and started on horseback about 6 p.m. of the 7th January for a suburban ride, and not returning at his usual time his servants became alarmed. Next morning Sergeant Rose, of the Mounted Police, noticed a horse saddled but unbridled straying near Pentridge, which, coupled with Hussey's unaccountable absence from the bank, led to the supposition that some mishap had occurred. A mounted search party hastily started from town, and Hussey was found dead in the bush, near Main's Bridge, at Flemington. It was inferred that the deceased had jumped his horse, and the animal falling threw the rider. After the usual inquest, there was a very large funeral, for the deceased was regretted as widely as he was known. It is remarkable that Hussey was one of those who providentially escaped drowning by the sinking of a boat on the occasion of the drowning of young Cole off Sandridge in January, 1846.

MR. FITZHERBERT MILLER MUNDY.—On the 1st March is recorded the death of Mr. Fitzherbert Miller Mundy, aged 36, of Shipley, County of Derby, and of the Red Bluff, Western Port. His brother was for many years Colonial Secretary of South Australia. They were relatives of Governor Sir Charles Fitzroy.

MR. WILLIAM JONES, Clerk of Petty Sessions to the Mount Macedon Bench, was drowned whilst attempting to cross the Campaspe on the 5th July. His dog remained barking on the river bank,

which attracted the attention of some passers-by. The horse was saved with much risk, but Jones' body was not recovered for hours. The deceased was interred in the garden of the *Carlsruhe Inn.*

DR. HOBSON, an early physician, died on the 4th March, 1848, at Bonavista, South Yarra, after five days' illness. As a physician he would have won much eminence had he lived twenty years longer, and even as it was, his premature death was viewed as something akin to a public loss. Measures were taken to raise funds for the erection of a monument over his grave, in the Old Cemetery, and on the 22nd March, a public meeting was held. A sum exceeding £100 was soon raised. On a pedestal of blue-stone, eight feet square, stood a free-stone obelisk, on which was lettered the following scroll :—

THIS MONUMENT,
In Memory of
EDMUND CHARLES HOBSON, M.D.,
Born at Parramatta, 10th August, 1814; Died at Melbourne, 4th March, 1848,
Has been erected by public subscription, in honour of a distinguished fellow-colonist,
who was pre-eminent in his profession, and whose skill and attention were
never solicited by the poor or distressed in vain. He united with
rare medical and other attainments, dispositions, and virtues,
which endeared him as a man and a Christian to his numerous friends.
He died universally regretted
in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

The artist of the Hobson monument was Mr. William Candy, of George Street, Fitzroy. He may, therefore, be justly esteemed the Founder of Monumental Masonry in Victoria.

CAIN AND PORTER.—On the 27th June, Captain James Cain, who had built for him the first large brick store in Flinders Street, died aged 45; and on 7th July Mr. George Porter, aged 48. The latter was an extensive land purchaser at the old Melbourne town lot sales. His son (Mr. J. A. Porter) was the so long well known Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, who died, as was said, "rolling in wealth," in 1882.

JOHN SIMSON.—On the 21st November, 1848, as Messrs. D. C. Simson and John Simson, settlers at Charlotte Plains, were endeavouring to save the life of John Barrett, a bullock-driver, who got into deep water while crossing a ford, the two Johns were drowned, and D. C. with difficulty escaped a like fate. John Simson being a capital swimmer, the mishap in his case was believed to have been occasioned by a fit. He left a wife and six children, and his death was very much regretted. The double burial was witnessed at Charlotte Plains on the 23rd by persons who travelled many miles, and the sad ceremony was, under the circumstances, one of deep emotion.

MR. JAMES BALLINGALL was one of the first appointed batch of Corporation Rate-collectors, and in January, 1849, he was the object of deep commiseration by the drowning of his son in the Yarra.

DR. PATRICK CUSSEN has already figured in these sketches, and the present will be the last appearance of his name. On 22nd May, 1849, when 57 years of age, he died after a protracted illness from disease of the heart. His career was neither uneventful nor useless, for he had been an efficient public officer since 1837. He was obituarily complimented by a large funeral on the 23rd.

MRS. L. M'KINNON.—In June was announced the death of the wife of Mr. Lachlin M'Kinnon, then a District Member of the New South Wales Legislature. Mr. and Mrs. M'Kinnon were in Sydney where the former was attending his Parliamentary duties, and the lady died. Her remains were conveyed for burial per the "Shamrock" steamer from Sydney to Melbourne.

MR. HENRIE BELL.—A substantial mercantile house in old times was one kept by two well known brothers, W. M. and Henrie Bell. The former acquired some public consequence from a connection with the Corporation, and he was one of Melbourne's early Mayors. They were both staunch and influential Presbyterians of the Free Church branch. Henrie Bell died on the 25th November, and his remains were taken to John Knox Church, whence, on the 27th, a large funeral procession set forth, and he was placed to rest in the not distant cemetery.

MR. F. WIGHT.—A singularly fatal accident occurred on 6th April, 1850, to Mr. F. Wight, brother of a member of a widely-known firm of Watson and Wight. One night previously deceased on awaking felt a soreness on his face. Mr. Wight was staying some miles from town. Medical aid was summoned, and Dr. Ford started without delay to render any assistance in his power; but on his arrival the sufferer had expired. The death was believed to have originated from the bite of a scorpion or centipede, terminating in what is medically known as phlegmonous erysipelas. The deceased was of amiable and Christian disposition and much regretted.

MR. J. J. PEERS, a notable colonist, and one of the earliest propagators of Wesleyanism, died at the age of 45 in Sydney on 21st August, 1850. The corpse was brought to Melbourne for interment.

MR. J. W. COWELL, the proprietor of the *Royal Hotel*, in Collins Street, an establishment of much note for years, was found dead in his bed in October, from disease of the heart. For some time he had a fixed premonition that his death would be sudden.

EDWARD CURR, "THE FATHER OF SEPARATION," breathed his last on Saturday, 16th November, 1850, the third day of the public rejoicings held in honour of the advent of the great boon for which he had so long and ardently laboured. It was sad to think that he should go out of the world at a time when the whole colony was celebrating the victory which Curr had done so much to gain. Though it was indisputably known before that the Independence of Port Phillip had been ratified by the Imperial Parliament, intelligence of the actual giving of the Royal assent to the Constitution Act was only received in Melbourne on the day and almost at the hour of Curr's death. He had been ill for five months, and was 52 years of age. The mortal remains were removed in the afternoon from St. Helier's (now Abbotsford), the residence of the deceased, to the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis, where they remained during the night. At 11 a.m. of the 17th, a *Requiem Mass* was celebrated by the Rev. G. A. Ward, assisted by the Revs. V. Bourgeois and J. Madden. In the afternoon the funeral took place, and the Rev. Mr. Ward pronounced a well-deserved eulogy at the grave. Frequent references have been made in other chapters to the distinguished public career of Mr. Edward Curr.

THE REV. JAMES FORBES.—This single-minded and highly estimable divine died at the Manse of John Knox Church on 12th August, 1851. He was first minister of the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria, and had only entered upon his 38th year. He was buried on the 15th, and his funeral was one of the largest up to that time in Melbourne, and was attended by the Lieutenant-Governor (Latrobe), all the chief officers of Government, nearly every clergyman in town of other denominations, and an immense concourse of all classes of the population. On the following Sabbath Bishop Perry made the event the theme of a sermon of much feeling and eloquence. The Rev. James Forbes was born in 1813, the son of a farmer at Kilbrae, Parish of Lochiel Cushnie, 24 miles from Aberdeen, and in course of time he became an M.A. of King College (Aberdeen). After joining the Presbyterian Ministry he proceeded to New South Wales in 1837 with the Rev. Dr. Lang and others. In 1843 there was a secession of Port Phillip Presbyterianism, and on the 25th October, 1846, Forbes, as an enthusiastic Free Churchman, threw in his lot with the Seceders. One of the most affecting incidents ever written of occurred at his death-bed on the 4th August, after his medical attendants declared they entertained but faint, if any hope, of his recovery. He had an infant son only three weeks old, and it was the father's desire that he should baptize the baby in the presence of the several members

of the family. When the child was brought, the dying minister was unable to speak louder than a whisper, and after the ceremony was with difficulty gone through with much effort, he wrote down the event in a family Register kept in his pulpit Bible. When this was done, he languidly lay back in the bed and calmly said, "I have performed the last act of my ministry."

THE REV. DANIEL NEWHAM.—This gentleman was a curate with Dr. Perry in England, and when the latter was appointed Bishop of the Anglican See of Melbourne, Mr. Newham accompanied him to the scene of his episcopal labours. On their arrival in Melbourne, A.D. 1848, Mr. Newham was nominated to the parochial charge of St. Peter's. He died at his Parsonage on the 27th August, 1851, then only 35 years of age, and on the 29th his funeral was attended by a large concourse, including the Lieutenant-Governor, and most of the leading residents of Melbourne. Two affecting panegyrics were preached on deceased that day, viz., by Bishop Perry, at St. Peter's, in the morning, and at St. James's, by the Rev. Mr. Strong, in the evening.

MR. GILBERT ROBERTSON.—An editorial casualty, the only instance of the kind, occurred near Geelong on the morning of the 5th September, when Mr. Gilbert Robertson, the editor of the *Victoria Colonist*, a Geelong newspaper, was proceeding on horseback to attend an electoral meeting at Colac, and on reaching about a mile beyond the South Geelong Bridge, the animal he rode shied, and threw him off. After lying helpless on the ground for some time, he was found by a wayfarer. He was speechless, and evidently much internally shaken, and on removal to a tavern some distance off he neither rallied nor spoke, and died the following day.

MR. STANLEY DOCKER.—Ten days after, Mr. Stanley Docker, son of the Rev. Joseph Docker, of Bontherambo, was with a stockman crossing the Ovens in a state of high flood, when the horses came in collision, the two men were dismounted, and Docker was drowned. He was only twenty years of age, transacted all his father's business, and had already established a high reputation for being straightforward and honourable in all his dealings.

MR. JOHN BEAR, SENIOR.—This Necrological catalogue ends with the death of the brusque, active, wideawake, widely-liked individual known as Mr. John Bear, senior. For several years the stock and station-selling firm of Bear and Son was as well-known as Bourke Street, where at the south-east corner of Queen Street their vending-mart was established. "Old Bear," though only two years more than the half century, took his last illness in 1851, and after being laid up for four months, died on the 30th November. At half-past four of 2nd December he was buried from St. Peter's Church, and escorted to the grave by a large town and country gathering.

CHAPTER LXIII.

SOME RANDOM RECOLLECTIONS.

SYNOPSIS:—Batman's Hill.—Melbourne a Seven-hilled City.—The Superintendent's Official Locus.—Batman's Residence.—The Wesleyan Church Land Speculation.—Dr. Barry Cotter, First Druggist.—First Billiard Room.—The "Nelson Gold Robbery.—The Post Office Corner.—The Theatre Royal Section.—Gorges and Stone Quarries in Swanston Street.—The Town Hall Tree Stump.—Germain Nicholson's Corner.—"The Punch Bowl" and "Como."—Bi-sections of Society.—"New Chums" versus "Old Lags."

NOTWITHSTANDING the assiduity with which I have raked up olden reminiscences, several waifs have escaped my observation until too late to include them in any classified form, so they must have a separate chapter. In this final shaking of the kaleidoscope, some variegated particles appear which remained concealed, and have only been dislodged by repeated motion. The odds and ends here enumerated will, it is hoped, render my panorama of Old Melbourne as complete as it is possible for human brain and pen to make it.

Historic Places.

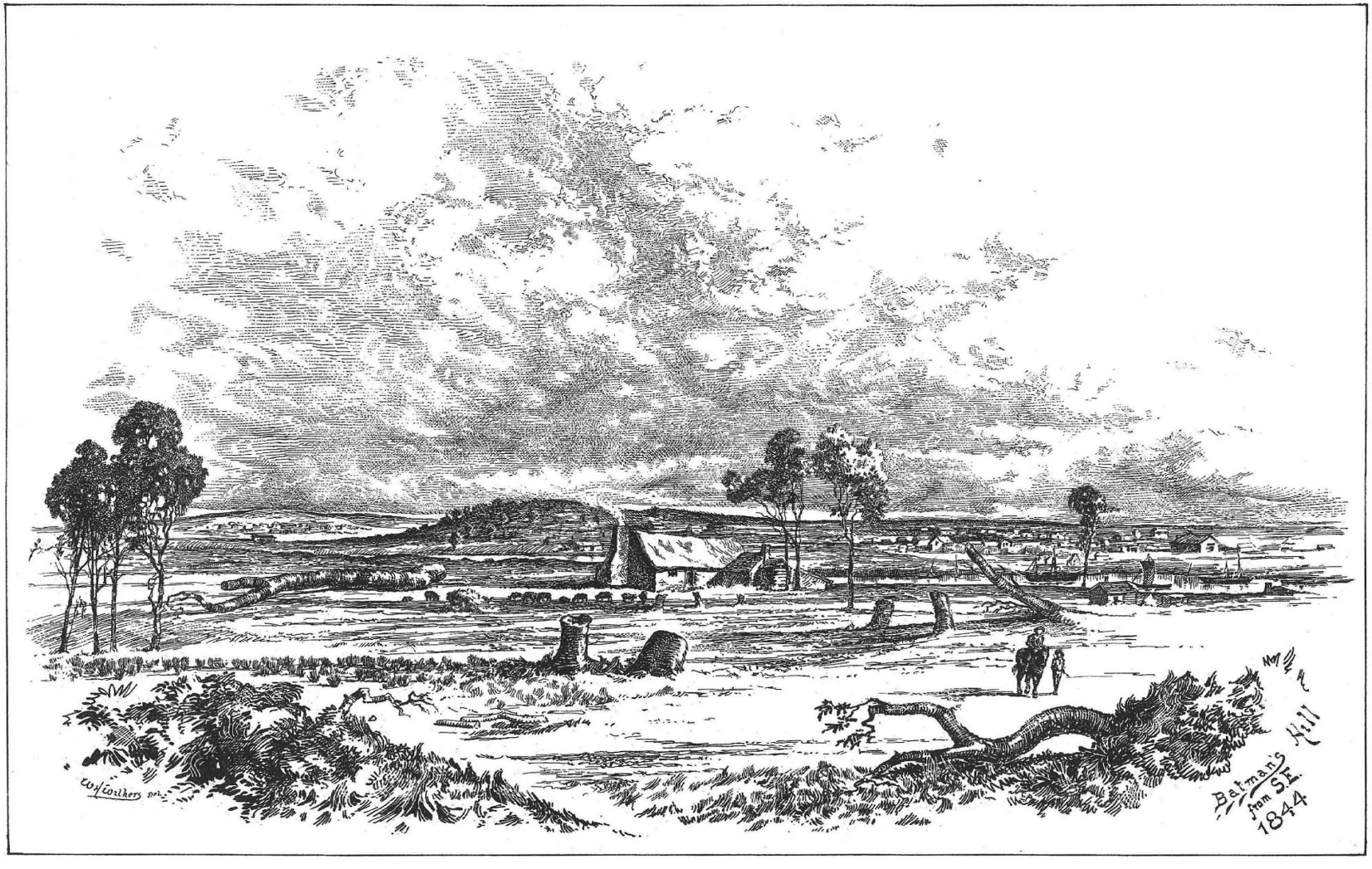
After the township was proclaimed in 1837, the portion of Little Flinders Street between Market and Queen Streets was considered to be the best locality for business, and preferred to any portion of Collins Street. What was known as the Western Hill was soon of most account, and the extension of Melbourne even to Elizabeth Street, was a process of some years. The original plan of the town embraced the Western and Eastern Hills. Batman's Hill was one of the earliest landmarks, and another first called Burial Hill from the formation of a small cemetery there, but subsequently known as "The Flagstaff," in consequence of its being appointed the signal station.

A super-sanguine scribe wrote of the Melbourne of the future as the City of the Seven Hills (semblant of Imperial Rome), the Eastern, Western, Batman's, The Flagstaff, Emerald, Richmond and North Melbourne (Hotham) Hills being the contributaries to the *Urbs Septicollis*. In 1870 Batman's, from which the primitive geographers determined Melbourne's latitude and longitude, was swept away for the Central Railway Terminus in Spencer Street.

We now stand on the intersection of Collins and William Streets and looking to the south-western corner behold perhaps one of the most historic spots in Old Melbourne. The half-acre allotment was purchased by John Batman for £60, and on the corner portion he had erected the first two-storey brick building putting forth any claims to capaciousness. This tenement is easily recognized in the sketch of Melbourne (*anno* 1839). There was a large ground-floor room here used as an auction mart by Charles Williams. Here it was where Mr. C. J. Latrobe, the first Superintendent of Port Phillip, made his official *début* in September 1839.

Batman's residence was on the hill named from him, and in the course of a few years the family removed to the Collins Street tenement. They lived there in 1485. The adjoining half-acre, running from Collins to Little Flinders Streets, was bought for £33 by Mr. James Smith, the founder of our now extensive Savings' Bank system.

The half-acre section corner of Queen and Collins Streets, the present site of the Bank of Australasia, was knocked down at auction for £40, in 1837, but the purchaser, sooner than take it up, forfeited the ten per cent. deposit. There was some notion of reserving it as a site for a


Belman's
from SE
1844

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Post-Office, a Court-House, or some other public purpose, but the Wesleyan Methodist denomination ultimately obtained it from the Government. When the value of the land had enormously increased, the Wesleyans deemed it advisable to sell out there, and invest the proceeds elsewhere. A "ring" of knowing ones was formed, and the premises were purchased for £40,000, in the hope of making a handsome thing of it; but the "swim" did not turn out so prosperously as expected.

The opposite or north-eastern corner half-acre was purchased for £61 by Mr. G. W. Umpleby, and here was opened the first druggist's shop by Dr. Barry Cotter. It was succeeded by an hotel somewhat misnamed the *Angel Inn*, attached to which was Melbourne's first billiard room. Crossing the street to the south-east corner, bought by Mr. A. Willis for £42, we come on a place wherein it would appear the money changers were destined to abide. It was here the first agency of the Derwent Bank was started under the management of Mr. W. F. A. Rucker in 1838. It was afterwards taken over by the Union Bank started at the north-west corner of Queen and Little Flinders Streets, where the first regular banking house was put up. When the Union required more central premises, it returned to the old place, where an edifice was erected which for years was deemed one of the architectural ornaments of Melbourne.

The "Nelson" Gold Robbery.

Reverting to the old Union Bank there is an incident connected with its career, which, until now, may be numbered amongst the "lost secrets of history." It was a plain two-storey brick structure, with little in its build to liken it to the fortresses in which bank deposits are now stored. Immediately after its vacation by the bill-discounters it was let for a public-house, and for years was known as the *Woolpack Inn*. In 1852 an audacious robbery was perpetrated on board the gold ship "Nelson" in Hobson's Bay, and it was in this tavern the outrage was concocted and elaborated. One night in April of that year a gang of seven or eight desperadoes took boat at Sandridge, and quietly boarded the "Nelson," ready to sail with a quantity of gold for England the next day. The very audacity of the raid ensured its success, for the possibility of such a robbery was unthought of. Half-a-dozen persons were afterwards convicted of the offence, and served long sentences of hard labour on board the hulks of Williamstown and Pentridge. A gentleman of the legal profession, than whom no one in the colony had better opportunity of knowing, assured me that in after years the ringleader had effected his escape from Victoria, and was never brought to book, and that two of the convicts were absolutely innocent of the offence. I had it also on reliable police authority that the gang who rifled the "Nelson" intended to have operated on the "Madagascar," which was anchored near the "Nelson," with 120,000 ozs. of gold, and was ready for sea; that the night was very dark and the robbers boarded the wrong ship, when finding out their mistake they resolved to make the best of it, and tackle what came next to hand, so their booty amounted only 14,000 ozs. This gold was stowed away in fourteen small strongly-made wooden boxes, of 1000 ozs. each. The robbers had some difficulty in secreting the spoil, and I myself recollect going to Sandridge the Sunday after the robbery, and seeing a crowd of persons in the bush between Emerald Hill and the beach. Approaching I found a party of police in possession of several of the empty boxes, which had been found under a large gum tree. Being known to the Chief-Constable (Bloomfield), I was presented with one of the boxes, and I kept it as a sort of relic for several years. The Attorney, who incurred great trouble and expense in the defence of the prisoners, was said to have received another box (but a full one) in reimbursement of all he had done or undergone; and, if so, he certainly came off best of anyone mixed up with the affair.*

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* The following communication was subsequently received from Mr. Albert Read, Solicitor:—"It is a pleasure to read 'Garryowen's' papers, generally correct and always amusing, but in his statements regarding the robbery of the ship 'Nelson" he has been misled. The ship "Madagascar" was not anchored near the "Nelson," with 120,000 ozs. of gold on board, and ready for sea on the night of the "Nelson" robbery. The "Madagascar" was afterwards in the Bay, and was the ship in which the escort robbers were arrested. After leaving the Bay this ship was never heard of. With regard to the number of the "Nelson" robbers, and the statement that the boat used came from Sandridge, he is incorrect. Having defended most of the men charged with the robbery, some of whom were found guilty, I presume I am the Attorney referred to by 'Garryowen', 'who incurred great trouble and expense in the defence of the prisoners, and was said to have received another box (but a full one) in re-imbursement of all he had done or undergone; and if so, he certainly came off best of anyone mixed up in the affair.' I beg to tell 'Garryowen' if he, as he stated, received a box, although an empty one, he had the best of it, for I never had one of the boxes, or had ever seen any of the gold."

The now great wood-blocked causeway at the intersection of Collins and Elizabeth Streets was during the early years a queer thoroughfare. The four half-acre corner allotments were purchased respectively for £32, £40, £42, and £50, no doubt the full value at the time.

The most remarkable corner in Elizabeth Street is its north-east junction with Little Collins Street. The half-acre was bought for £28, and the corner was devoted to mercantile purposes by Campbell and Woolley, importers. The store was about half up on the arrival of Father Geoghegan, the first Roman Catholic priest, in July, 1838, and he obtained permission to solemnize therein the first mass offered in the colony.

About the General Post Office corner, a "cock-and-bull" story occasionally crops up to the effect that the place belongs to a pauper cripple, who acquired it legally in the days of yore, but the intervention of some legal or illegal hitch ousted him from his rights. There is little doubt of such a supposition being groundless. At the period of the early land sales the place was such that no sane man would put a shilling in it, and as no one even thought of then purchasing it, the block appears on the old charts of Melbourne, shaded off as a red blank, the indication of the unbought portions of the township. It was a species of bog, and, according to tradition, during the winter of 1837, a bullock team, including a drunken driver, got swamped there one evening after sundown whilst *en route* for Flemington, and no traces of them were ever brought to the surface. This latter is, no doubt, a stretch of the imagination.

The half-acre whereon is now the Theatre Royal was knocked down for £95. It was used as a timber yard until the Fates decreed it to form the principal Metropolitan home of the drama.

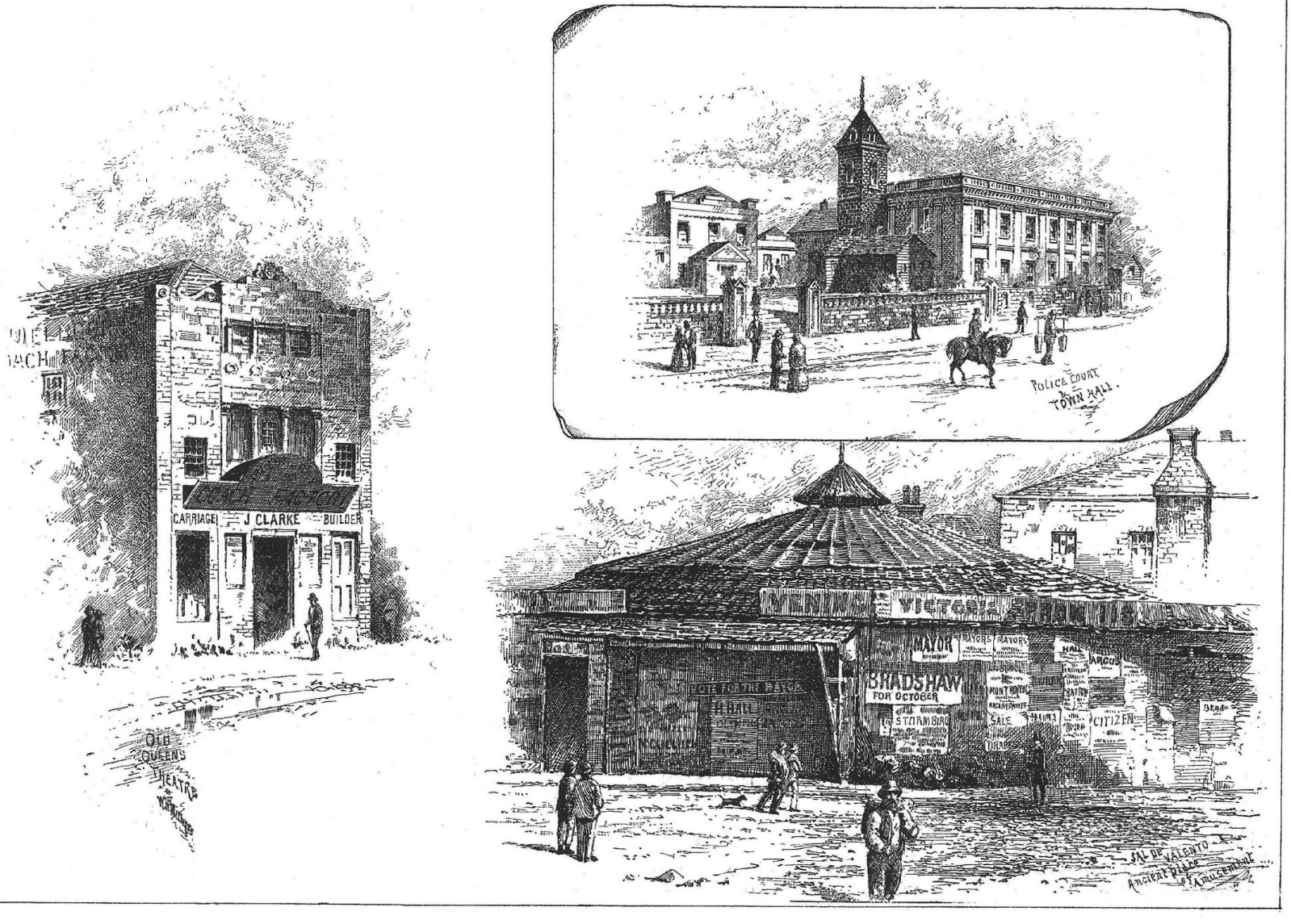
From Swanston Street northward was for a length of time reckoned at little value, for not only trading, but even habitable purposes. It was an extensive upland of forest country, rent by water-worn gorges, and deemed valuable only for its supposed stone-quarrying resources. One of the most pleasurable pedestrian excursions that could be indulged in, was an afternoon stroll away over the ground now occupied by the Court House and Gaol Reserve, and away by the Cemetery towards Brunswick, so called by Mr. W. F. A. Rucker.

The first building erected in East Collins Street was the Scots' School, in 1838, primarily used also as a Kirk. Lower down, on the south side, where *The Argus* now forges and launches its typographical thunderbolts, was the first Baptist place of worship, a capacious tent, wherein the first service was held. Of this half-acre freehold Mr. Thomas Napier became the owner, and his heirs are still the ground lessors. He lent the land temporarily to the Baptists, and subsequently had a building put up there, an apartment of which was dignified as Napier's Large Room, the scene of some early religious services and society meetings. When William Kerr started the Melbourne *Argus* in 1846, the place was converted into a newspaper office; and when this journal died and the present *Argus* sprung like a Phœnix from its ashes, the premises and the newspaper clove together, enlarging every year, and growing so attached to each other that it would be difficult to calculate upon the particular period (if ever) when they will dissolve partnership.

Crossing obliquely from *The Argus*, we come to a place which, before a stone of a Town Hall was laid there, figured as a locality of some note. The bole of a large gum tree remained there a few feet over the ground for years. This was the first stump utilized for orating purposes. From a platform attached to the stump, during the Anti-transportation campaign, the Tribunes of the period discharged their philippics against the threatened pestiferous invasion. Directly opposite was the half-acre known almost from time immemorial as Germain Nicholson's Corner, purchased for £45.

Old Melbourne could boast of (so-called) "Terraces," some particulars of which are worth rescuing from oblivion. The first erected in Stephen Street commenced at the corner of Little Bourke Street, and known as "Cleveland Terrace," but was afterwards known as "Porter's Cottages," after their owner, Mr. George Porter. If the memoirs of "Porter's Cottages" could be written, many a quaint and thrilling tale of Melbourne life would they unfold. The premises were in 1881 turned into a Hippodrome, under lease to a company of which an enterprising medico was the principal.

Latrobe Parade, a nomenclative compliment to the Provincial Superintendent, and still known as such, is a lane extending from Collins Street East to Little Flinders Street, between Stephen and


CARRIAGE
J CLARKE
BUILDER
OLD QUEEN'S THEATRE
POLICE COURT
TOWN HALL
MAYOR
BRADSHAW
FOR OCTOBER
STORM BIRD
SALE
CITIZEN
ARGUS
SAL DE VALENTO
ANCIENT RELICS
AMUSEMENT

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Russell Streets. This was always the most comfortable looking and select of the set, though occasionally some black sheep found a resting place there.

There is a little history connected with the origin of one of the earliest villas in South Yarra, for ever so long classically Italianized as "Como." The place was in the first instance designated the "Punch-bowl," and it was taken up as a sort of small Home station by the popular old colonists, John and Joseph Hawdon. Melbourne, was at the time (1837), in want of a convenient butchery. The beasts were fetched in batches of fours, and one at a time killed and cut up, when each of the then four Melbourne butchers would attend *propria persona*, and getting his "quarters" at 8d. per lb. would have them removed to town and retailed at 1s. It was in this same hut the final arrangements were made for starting the first overland mail from Melbourne to Yass.

Originally the population was bi-sected into branches known as the "Ex-Convict" and "Immigration" sections. The Expiree Contingent, was, as a rule, the older, and at one time it would be something rare to find a resident of over forty years of age, who had not previously expiated some breach of the criminal law in chains, gang or prison. At first, what for convenience sake were termed the "bond" and the "free" did not take kindly to each other. The "Expirees" regarded the others with a feeling of pitying contempt, a species of simpletons who should have stayed at home. They called them "Johnny Raws," and "New Chums." On the other side, the immigrants snapped their fingers at those whom they inelegantly denominated "the Old Lags." Time, which softens everything, soon mitigated those asperities. There was one line of demarcation between the two castes which took several years to remove, viz., in their style of apparel. The English, Irish, and Scotch appeared clad in heterogeneous garb, the men's upper and nether garments of every known cut, fashion, and material—cloth, frieze, and corduroy, and the head-gear either a felt hat or bell-topper, then stylishly known as the "Caroline." Their coats were mostly not over-long swallow-tailed, and the would-be swellish portion went in for glaring brass buttons. With the "Expirees" there was more uniformity of costume, for their dress was a cabbage-tree hat, a cloth jacket, "loud" necktie, and moleskin or drill trousers.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE STORY OF SEPARATION, AB OVO USQUE AD MALUM.

SYNOPSIS:—First Petition to the Imperial Parliament.—Death of Mr. H. F. Gisborne.—Appointment of Committees.—Further Petitions and Addresses.—Mr. A. Cunninghame, the First Home Delegate.—Proposed Scheme of Separation Rejoicings.—Passing of the Separation Bill.—Receipt of News in Melbourne.—Mr. Latrobe Appointed First Lieutenant-Governor.—The Public Announcement.—The General Illuminations.—A Day of Prayer and Play.—The Separation Procession.—Opening of Prince's Bridge.—The Printers' Excursion to Geelong.—The Separation Fancy Dress Ball.

OF all the *historiettes* of which these Chronicles are comprised, not the least interesting, though certainly the most important, is that in which will be described the persistent and anxiously-agitated struggle for the territorial severance of Port Phillip from New South Wales, and its provincial transformation into the independent colony of Victoria. To the end of 1839 the Port Phillipians bore, almost without a murmur, the supercilious contempt of the Sydney Executive, by which their province was nearly as much ignored as if it had no existence on the map of Australia; but, by the beginning of 1840, the population had been strengthened by a stream of emigration from Great Britain and other places, which included several colonists who afterwards made their mark in the history of their adopted country, and worked for her prosperity with unquestionable ability and patriotism.

The First Separation Meeting was held at the Scots' School, on the Eastern, or Church Hill as then called, on the 13th May, 1840, with Major Mercer presiding. The speakers were Messrs. H. F. Gisborne, A. M. M'Crae, C. H. Ebden, James Montgomery, Arthur Kemmis, Arthur Hogue, J. L. Campbell, P. W. Welsh, A. Bolden, Redmond Barry, J. C. Riddell, W. Verner, T. Arnold, W. Meek, W. Ryrie, R. H. Browne, Dr. M'Crae, and Dr. Greeves.

First Petition to the Imperial Parliament.

This document, prepared by Mr. H. F. Gisborne, states thus:—

"Your Petitioners beg to call the attention of your Honourable House to the present advanced and rapidly advancing state of the District and Capital of Australia Felix, and to point out what must be its future position among the Australian Colonies. It is entirely undeniable that Melbourne possesses natural advantages far superior to any other seaport in Van Diemen's Land or New South Wales. She has as fine a harbour and as healthy a situation, with a more genial climate, and a greater average of more productive soil in her immediate vicinity. For proofs of this last assertion we have only to refer your Honourable House to the Returns of the Sales of Waste Lands effected since the official occupation of Port Phillip on the 1st of June, 1837, amounting in all to £280,000, being a greater amount than was obtained from the sale of Waste Lands in the entire territory of New South Wales (exclusive of Australia Felix) during the five years 1832-3-4-5-6, immediately following Lord Ripon's Order-in-Council restricting thenceforth the disposal of such lands to sale by public auction. Thus it appears that the funds hitherto derived from this source if applied to emigration, would introduce into this colony 7000 adult couples, while it has been employed in supplying deficiencies in the revenues of the Sydney Government. But your Petitioners have further to remark that weighty as are now the claims of this district on the ground of wealth and population, still they probably will have increased at least two-fold before an answer can be received to the Prayer of this Petition. From the central situation of Melbourne, as well as from the richness of the lands of Australia Felix, the extraordinary influx of stock and population must soon render it one of, if not quite, the most populous of provinces in this Hemisphere. More particularly as it appears to be one of the few places in New South Wales where the soil will bear a concentrated population, while on the other hand a boundless extent of territory is ever opening its fresh fields of labour for the hand of man.

"Confident in the force of the foregoing reasoning, your Petitioners submit that the only remedies for the grievances complained of consist in an entire separation of this Province from the territory of New South Wales, and the grant of a free Representative Government of its own. Your Petitioners therefore humbly trust that your Honourable House will use your constitutional influence in obtaining for them—1st:—A responsible Government, entirely Separate from, and independent of, New South Wales. 2nd:—A free and extended Legislative Representation, corresponding with the extent and population of the district, and equal to the exigencies of a Free State."

The Petition was in due course forwarded to its destination, and its author left the colony; but, though it made a safe journey, he died at sea, cut off in full promise, at the early age of 26.

"SEPARATION ASSOCIATION.
(Established 1840).

"If we help ourselves, God will help us; but if we sit down and cross our arms sullenly and do nothing, it will be said that we are unworthy of receiving greater privileges. It will be said, 'Show yourselves worthy of having greater privileges; show yourselves faithful in small things, and greater will be given to you.'"—*(Speech of his Excellency Sir George Gipps, in Council, 4th June, 1840.)*

COMMITTEES APPOINTED.—(1). To obtain signatures to the Petition, and to solicit subscriptions in aid of the objects set forth, viz., Jonathan Binns Were, Andrew Muirson M'Rae, and Redmond Barry, Esqs. (2). London Committee to promote the views of the Petitioners with Her Majesty's Ministers, the Imperial Parliament, and the British public:—Messrs. J. S. Brownrigg, M.P., R. H. Browne, — Donaldson, Henry Fysche Gisborne, A. A. Gower, — Little, William and Thomas Walker, Robert Brooks, J. B. Montefiore, David Dunbar, W. H. Yaldwyn, Henry Buckle, Arthur Willis, John Hylder Wedge, Sir John Rae Reid, Major Mercer and Captain Bannister. (3). Permanent Colonial Committee to communicate with the Committee in England, and to keep the inhabitants of Australia Felix advised of its proceedings:—Rev. James Clow, Messrs. C. H. Ebden, A. F. Mollison, W. Verner, J. B. Were, A. M. M'Crae, and W. Kerr.

PARLIAMENTARY AGENT.—John Richardson, Esq., Fludyer Street, Westminster.

SECRETARY.—Mr. William Kerr.

Little, however, was effected for the next four years, except that the continued injustice suffered under the Goverment of New South Wales pressed as an incubus, of which everyone was tired and were longing to shake off. In 1844 the abortive system of District Councils had been established, and the enormous powers of taxation with which such bodies were by law invested, so alarmed the property owners in and about Melbourne that on the 22nd of March an important meeting was held at the *Royal Hotel*, "to take the necessary steps to avoid the excessive taxation likely to be imposed on the settlers of the County of Bourke by the District Council." Several smart and pointed addresses were delivered, but the speech of the day was that of Mr. A. Cunninghame, Barrister, who treated the major question with force and eloquence. He declared "that it was more than time that this fair province should have a Government and Governor of its own, with a Legislature empowered to frame laws suited to the circumstances of a free colony adapted to the exigencies of her own position, aiding in the development of her vast resources, and in spreading population over these fertile plains, which have given to this portion of Australia the envied appellation of 'Felix.' Till separation be obtained we can, at best, but float like a dismasted and deserted hulk on the surface of the water, without captain to direct, without sails to impel, without helmsman to guide us, floating, more or less easily, as the waters may be smooth or troubled, but, in either case, alike aimless and objectless. Separation will be to us at once, captain and helmsman, wind and sail." A memorial was adopted to the District Council, deprecating any taxation of the kind anticipated; and also a resolution affirming "That total Separation from the Middle District is an indispensable pre-requisite to the just or beneficial working of any scheme of taxation, which has for its object the improvement of this district." On the 16th April the occurrence of a District Legislative Nomination was fixed for the holding of an important meeting to advance the Separation Cause. The Chair was taken by the Mayor (Mr. Henry Condell), and a remarkably able and convincing Report was submitted—the production of Mr. Edward Curr, a

writer and speaker of much power. His manifesto was a lucid and vigorous *exposé* of the question, thoroughly embodying the platform of the Separationists. Several effective speeches were delivered, but pre-eminently the best were those of E. Curr and J. F. Palmer. A resolution was also affirmed, inaugurating a Society for attaining the Financial, Political, and Territorial Separation of Port Phillip from the Middle and Northern Districts of New South Wales. A code of rules was agreed to, and a Committee of Management appointed. This "Separation Committee," as it was termed, worked indefatigably, though the working man was in reality Mr. Curr. At this crisis, too, Geelong and Portland—the only two towns of importance outside Melbourne—bestirred themselves, and public meetings were held there.

The question of Separation was taken into the Legislative Council of New South Wales and warmly advocated by the Port Phillip Representatives, especially by the Rev. Dr. Lang, who moved—"That a humble Address be presented to Her Majesty the Queen, praying that Her Majesty will graciously be pleased to direct that the requisite steps be taken for the speedy and entire Separation of the District of Port Phillip from the Territory of New South Wales, and its erection into a separate colony." On a division the proposal was negatived by 19 votes against 6, the Port Phillip members solely constituting the "ayes." Lang, however, was not a man easily to be put down, and the next move was that in January, 1845, on his suggestion, the half-dozen minority subscribed a special Petition from themselves, which the Governor forwarded through the customary official channel.

The First Home Delegate.

The most successful public meeting yet mooted was convened on requisition to the Mayor (Dr. Palmer), and held at the *Royal Hotel* on the 28th November, 1844:—"To petition Parliament against pledging the Crown Lands of the district jointly with those of the Sydney district in security for a loan for immigration purposes; and to consider the propriety of appointing an agent to proceed to England to oppose the project and to advance generally the Cause of Separation." The speakers were the Chairman (the Mayor), Messrs. Edward Curr, J. L. Foster, William Stawell, E. J. Brewster, Thomas Wills, J. A. Marsden, W. M. Bell, William Kerr, J. P. Fawkner, Neil Black, and Dr. P. M'Arthur. The principal resolution was one nominating Archibald Cunninghame, Esq., a Delegate to represent the interests of the people of the province in London. Messrs. Edward Curr, Thomas Wills, and William Westgarth were charged with the duty of instructing the Delegate, and to be the authorized instrument of inter-communication with him in London. It was estimated that £1000 would be a sufficient sum to raise by subscription. The Delegate was to be paid £400 per annum for two years, the remaining £200 to be applied to contingent expenses.

Prior to the departure of the Delegate (5th January, 1846), he was entertained at a public breakfast in the *Royal Hotel*, with Mr. E. Curr in the Chair. On the termination of the *matinée*, Mr. Cunninghame was escorted to the wharf, thence to the steamer "Vesta," by which he travelled to Geelong, whence he sailed for England.

Mr. Cunninghame was not an unqualified success. Though presenting himself as a Colonial emissary in England, he was veritably an agent of the "squattocracy," of which he was one. On the Transportation question he lent himself to promote the interests of the few against the many. He concurred with the Home Government in the attempt to foist a semi-diluted felony upon the district, in the form of conditionally pardoned convicts from the penal depôts in England. In every sense he was a "squatters' advocate" in very thin disguise, and tried to use his position whenever he got a chance to advance the special views of a party, rather than the wishes of the country. His mode for constructing an Electoral Chamber was to divide Port Phillip into four electoral districts, returning 24 members, to which were to be added 12 Crown Nominees, or a Legislature of 36. He proposed to grant the franchise to every Crown tenant paying £10 a year as rent or license fee, but a tenant on purchased land, was not to have a vote unless for a seven years' holding, and the annual rental not under £40. The Delegate was openly denounced as a traitor, "sacrificing

the whole agricultural, commercial and trading interests of the colony to those of the squatters." He was brought to book at a public meeting on the 21st September, when his official misbehaviour was condemned by Messrs. John Duerdin, David Ogilvie, Thomas M'Combie, John O'Shannassy, and Joseph Hall. He was championed by Messrs. Edward Curr and Colin Campbell. Resolutions were passed, amounting in effect to a vote of censure. disapproving the action of the delegate as unauthorized, and tending to injure the best interests of the province. Mr. Cunninghame never returned to the colony, and soon faded out of the public mind as if he had never been in it.

In the course of the year, 1846, Dr. Palmer as Mayor, prepared a remarkably able Paper, but he seems to have written too plainly; for the Governor (Sir G. Gipps) fancied some of its expressions to reflect personally on himself, and returned it through the Superintendent with this curt cutting memo: "His Excellency has yet to learn that because a gentleman had by fortuitous circumstances been made Mayor of Melbourne for one year, he was to insult the person of the Queen's Representative." But even if the Mayor transgressed the limit of strict official courtesy, the provocation to speak out was so strong that the sympathies of the public went most unquestionably with the writer, whose "rejected address" was transmitted to the Secretary of State.

In 1848, it was ascertained that the separation of Port Phillip was seriously contemplated by the Home Government, but the precise form in which the constitutional changes was to be effected was not acceptable. Delay was interposed, and even in 1849, after the Separation Bill had been introduced in the House of Commons, it was withdrawn, whereupon an indignation meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute on the 26th November, the Mayor (Dr. Greeves) in the Chair. Resolutions of an uncompromising character were passed, unmincing in language, declaring that though intensely loyal, it was not possible to brook further delay, and adopting Petitions to the Queen and the Imperial Parliament. The speakers were Messrs. J. L. Foster, Henry Moor, William Hull, Thos. M'Combie, J. P. Fawkner C. H. Ebden, George Annand, William Kerr, John Stephen, David Young and Captain Cole.

At a meeting held on the 18th September, 1850, the following scheme of rejoicings was adopted:—Immediately on the receipt of the intelligence of the passing of the Separation Act (the Mayor deciding as to the authenticity of the information), the Union Jack to be hoisted at the Signal Station in Melbourne, and a Royal Salute fired, the same to be responded to by the shipping in the harbour. On the evening of the same day beacon fires to be kindled on hill-tops around Melbourne and throughout the interior. The first fire to be lighted on the Flagstaff Hill, at sunset, in the presence of His Worship the Mayor, and to be followed by the discharge of six rockets, with an interval of five minutes, which will be a signal for the lighting of all the other beacons, so as if possible to spread the joyful intelligence simultaneously over the entire district. The fourth day after the arrival of the news, exclusive of either Saturday or Sunday, to be proclaimed as a general holiday and occasion of public rejoicing, the ceremonies to commence by the inhabitants assembling at their respective places of worship for the purpose of thanksgiving, at nine o'clock in the morning. At eleven o'clock a procession to be formed on the vacant ground in front of the Government offices, of the constituted authorities, Associated Bodies, Public Schools, etc., for the purpose of opening the Prince's Bridge. At twelve o'clock, gymnastic games and sports to commence at the Cricket Ground, between the Yarra and the Beach, refreshments being at the same time furnished to the children on the hill above the Botanic Garden. In the evening a general illumination to take place with display of fireworks. On the same day of the week next succeeding the general holiday, a public dinner to be held, the terms of admission being such as will ensure the attendance of the bulk of the inhabitants. The rejoicings to terminate with a fancy-dress ball.

In this promising state of affairs an injudicious diversion was got up by several individual outsiders, who never before troubled themselves with the business of the public, but now affected dissatisfaction with the action of those who had fought and hitherto borne the brunt of the battle. Under the pretence of supplementing the rejoicings programme, a gathering of some hundreds was held on the 26th at the Temperance Hall. It was a kind of water-spout, an ebullition of frothy irrelevance. A band was in attendance, and the Chair was captained by Mr. John Tankard, who

unbottled himself of a deliverance the reverse of cold water, of which he was a professed disciple. The evening was spent in loud ranting about the Politics of the Masses, Vote by Ballot, Universal Suffrage, and a resolve to erect a People's Hall, which a Mr. Robert R. Rogers, a noisy architect, who came armed with plans and specifications, demonstrated to a mathematical certainty could be built for—the hall, £1500, and inside fittings £800. This "buncomb" ended where it began.

The *Argus* was the first to suggest a suspension of newspaper publication to enable the Press *employés* to enjoy the general carnival, and proposed that there should be no newspaper issue for one day. The *Herald* concurred, but thought it preferrable that the three Melbourne dailies should each publish twice only during the week, as one day's holiday would not be sufficient.

With opinion thus divided, the printers themselves, the persons most interested, took the thing in hand, and soon settled it. They held a meeting at *Clark's Waterman's Arms*, in Little Collins Street, and resolved that they should have not only three days but three nights as well, and if the dailies could come out without the "typos," well and good.

Advent of the News.

It is a singular fact that I, who, after the flight of so many years, am amusing myself in writing these sketches, was virtually the first person to promulgate to the people of Victoria an authentic announcement of the long-fought-for and ardently desired emancipation of their province from the political thraldom of New South Wales, and it happened thus simply enough. I was then an *attaché* of the *Melbourne Morning Herald*, and early on an afternoon the shipping reporter arrived from the Bay, and handed me some South Australian newspapers, which he had obtained on board the "Lysander," ship, Captain Lulham, just arrived from Adelaide. Looking through them, I found a summary of English news to the 4th August, brought to Adelaide by the "Delta" from London, and amongst which was an intimation that the Separation Bill had passed both Houses of Parliament, and only required the Royal Assent to become law. Having a good deal of my own way in the establishment, I said nothing to anybody, and as the editor (Mr. George Cavenagh) was not immediately accessible, I assumed the responsibility of issuing an "Extraordinary," prepared the matter, and placed it in the hands of the printers. I next hunted up Cavenagh, and gave him a memo. of the intelligence, armed with which he set forth in quest of the Mayor, whom he soon found. Cavenagh generally used a buggy, and this machine was well plied for the remainder of the day, driving up and down the streets, pulling up before the residence or business place of any notability, and so circulating the tidings in the following form :—

"The *Melbourne Morning Herald* 'Extraordinary.' Monday evening, Nov. 11, 1850. Glorious News! Separation at Last!! We lose not a single moment in communicating to the public the soul-stirring intelligence that Separation has come at last!!! The Australian Colonies' Bill, with the amendments made in the Lords on the 5th July, was agreed to in the Commons on the 1st August, and only awaits the Queen's signature to become the law of the land. The long-oppressed, long-buffetted Port Phillip is at length an Independent Colony, gifted with the Royal name of Victoria, and endowed with a flourishing revenue and almost inexhaustible resources; let all classes of colonists then not lose a moment in their hour of triumph in celebrating the important epoch in a suitable manner, and observing one General Jubilee. The 'Public Rejoicings' Committee lately nominated by the citizens of Melbourne will assemble without delay; let one and all co-operate with them heart and hand in giving due effect to the enthusiastic ovations of our New-born Colony! It is an era in the existence of our adopted land which can never again occur; and the glorious opportunity once past will be irrevocable. Colonists, 'Now is the day and now is the hour!' For this act of justice to Port Phillip, and every other good gift, may God bless the Queen."

The intelligence was by this time placed beyond doubt through the receipt by the Superintendent of a letter by the mail, confirming the newspaper announcement, and intimating that Mr. Latrobe was to be the first Lieutenant-Governor. The Royal Assent to the Separation Bill was deemed a matter of form, and it was afterwards ascertained that this final ceremony was performed on the 5th September.

A brief conference ensued between the Superintendent and the Mayor, and the former promised to forthwith authorize any arrangements necessary on behalf of the Government to give effect to the proposed public rejoicings.

The Public Announcement.

At noon of the 12th November, between 200 and 300 persons assembled on the Flagstaff Hill. The Flagstaff itself was dressed in its gayest array, and every scrap of colour that could be got in the signalling establishment found a hanging-place somewhere. A Royal Salute was fired, some shipping in the Bay and two pieces of ordnance at Brighton replying. After the twenty-first round from the Hill battery, three ringing cheers were given for the Queen, as an expression of gratitude for the granting of the so long-expected boon. Balloons were next brought on the ground, and the special object in despatching them was that as they proceeded on their aërial trip they would drop throughout the interior a number of small scrolls or slips attached to them. The slips were of thin paper, with this imprint:—

"Separation.

"Intelligence of the passing of the Australian Colonies Bill arrived in Melbourne last night, 11th November, 1850, by the ship 'Lysander.' G. A. Lulham, Esq., commmander, from Adelaide.

"Any person finding this paper is requested to diffuse the information as extensively as possible; and to communicate with the Mayor of Melbourne, stating the time and place where it was found.

(Signed), W. Nicholson, Mayor. Melbourne, 12th November, 1850."

Æronautics as a science must have been imperfectly understood, though in ballooning, as a rule, some hitch almost always occurs, and this occasion formed no exception, for whilst preparing No. 1, it received a rent in its side; but the wound was sewed up, the machine ascended slowly, sailed away towards the Sydney Road, and alighted half-a-dozen miles from town, where it was picked up some days after. No. 2 burst whilst being inflated, and there was no more of it.

The following is the amended and final programme of Separation festivities:—

A general illumination, commencing at 8 o'clock on Wednesday evening.

Friday and Saturday to be observed as public general holidays.

On Thursday, at noon, the inhabitants to assemble in their respective places of worship for the purpose of thanksgiving.

On Friday, at noon, the procession to be formed in front of the Government offices in Lonsdale Street, for the purpose of opening the Prince's Bridge.

On Saturday, at 11 o'clock, the Gymnastic sports and games to take place at the Emerald Hill, near the Cricket Ground, South Melbourne.

The printers made special arrangements for themselves, viz., the newspapers were to suspend publication from Thursday until Tuesday, *i.e.*, no issue on Friday, the 15th, Saturday 16th, and Monday, 18th.

The General Illuminations

Came off on the evening of Wednesday, 13th November, and at about 8 o'clock the principal streets were ablaze. The illumination was general, a solitary unlighted house here and there only serving to point the contrast between light and darkness. How it was contrived to produce from oil and tallow (there was then no gas) the brilliant effects that followed was difficult to understand, and spoke in praise of the skill and dexterity so suddenly called into action. Some of the shop-window transparencies were very picturesque and striking. I append a brief notice of the most prominent.

Collins Street.—Mr. John Hood, chemist—a comic representation of the "Present, Past, and Future." Mr. W. C. Wentworth—"Sydney relieving Young Victoria of £300,000;" "Victoria in manhood, pocketing £60,000," nearly lost; and "Victoria in the prime of life, listening to the petition

of her former oppressor, Sydney." Mr. Wm. Clarke, stationer—"Queen Victoria, giving liberty to Victoria," with inscriptions "Libertas," "Victoria is free." Mr. Germain Nicholson, grocer—"Welcome Separation." and "Advance Australia" in coloured letters." Mr. Jacobs, "V.R.," with Royal Arms in centre—"Port Phillip separated from Sydney," and "Advance Victoria," with "Peace and Plenty" underneath. Mr. William Nicholson, grocer and Mayor—"Britons rejoice," in coloured letters. At what was known as Cashmore's corner, north-east junction of Collins and Elizabeth Streets, a balloon was set in the shop window, and seated in the car were the distinguished Sydney politicians, Wentworth and Windeyer. The latter held a large knife in his hand, and with a despairing glance at his compatriot, exclaimed, "No use, Bill, can't hold on any longer, I shall have to cut her adrift." A second exhibit was formed by "V.R." in monster capitals, with a crown in centre.

The Melbourne Club—Three transparencies: "the Crown" and "Victoria and Separation" in central window, and in side windows the "Rose, Shamrock, and Thistle;" "God save our Queen," "V.R.," and sundry devices. At Bell's auction rooms—A full-length figure of the Queen, and in another window "The Victorian and Tasmanian Society, formed 12th July, 1850." The *Prince Albert Inn* —"Hail! Victoria Free" in colours. The Mechanics' Institute—On window to right, "Spartacus, the Thracian, breaking from his chains." In the centre "An angel regarding a medallion of the Queen," with a scroll, "Loyal, Separate, and Free" inscribed, and to the left a youthful Hercules strangling a serpent, on which is written "Transportation." Mr. Gregory, ironmonger—A large outside transparency symbolising "Commerce" between figures of "Britannia and Victoria," surmounted by the scroll, "Britannia, Commerce, and Victoria." Mr. J. Ham, engraver.—In centre the arms of the colony, with figure of "Britannia."

Mr. Richardson, ironmonger—"V.R.," with a crown in the centre, and other devices.

Mr. E. I. Hart, "V.R.," tastefully framed of sprigs of artificial flowers, and handsomely illuminated.

Messrs. S. and R. Gregory, ironmongers—A transparency—"Britannia, Commerce, and Liberty."

Messrs. Donaldson and Budge, drapers—Two very beautifully executed transparencies.

Mr. J. Wilkie, Music Saloon—An emblematic transparency, "Rejoice with music for Separation."

Mr. Charles Williamson, draper—A profile of Her Majesty the Queen, a representation of "Commerce and Agriculture;" the Arms of "St. Andrew."

Mr. Webster, tobacconist—The late Alderman Kerr, with a copy of the *Argus* newspaper in his hand, saying, "We won't be put down."

Elizabeth Street.—Halfpenny's *William Tell Inn*—"V.R.," with a crown in centre.

Mr. John O'Shanassy, draper—"Wreaths and bouquets of flowers," brilliantly illuminated.

Mr. John Ewers, confectioner—Transparencies "St. George and the Dragon;" the "Queen displaying the Separation Bill," signed "Victoria."

The *Bush Inn*—Three handsome transparencies, illustrative of the "Separation from Sydney."

Mr. Dickinson, book-binder—Two balloons in ascent, the Victorian distancing the Sydney one, and inscribed, "The Effects of Separation." Mr. B. Davis, Britannia, and a ship bearing the news of Separation—"Welcome, Victoria."

Mr. Spence, draper—two transparencies (1) "V.R.," with crown in centre, a distant sea view with ship bringing the news of Separation; (2) a "kangaroo," with the words "Separation" and "Advance Victoria." This display was much admired.

Swanston Street—Messrs. M'Kinnon and Cree, a large coloured illumination of scroll "It is good to be free."

The *Rainbow Hotel*—A large "crown with V.R." Mr. Grasshoff (Daguerreotype Depôt)—some small though superiorly executed transparencies were exhibited in the windows.

Overton's confectionery mart—"V.R.," with crown in centre, in gas lights, throwing out a brilliant flame and having a beautiful effect.

Baker's Church of England Book Depôt—"The Bible, crown and mitre," inscribed, "Righteousness Exalteth a Nation."

Bourke Street—The *Bull and Mouth Hotel*—A tastefully executed crown in the centre window, surrounded by wreaths and bouquets of flowers, handsomely lit.

The *Britannia Inn*—Transparency, a vessel bringing the "welcome news."

Mr. Montgomery—Transparency, "Loyal and Free."

Mr. Ferguson, draper—A large and handsome comic transparency, representing the riches of the province which have been squandered by Sydney, and which will be saved by Separation.

The *Old White Hart Inn*, corner of Bourke and Spring Streets, a handsome full-length figure of "Her Majesty on the Throne, signing the Separation Bill."

Messrs. Heales and Carter (coach factory), Lonsdale Street, had every window in their establishment lit up, and each showing the Arms of the colony, and such mottoes as these:—"Be Just and Fear Not," "Advance Victoria," "Prosperity to the City and Trade of Melbourne," "Sons of Freedom, Rejoice," "Our Bonds are Broken," "Justice has Prevailed."

A window in the residence of Mr. Basford, Queen Street, exhibited a well-done caricature of Victoria and New South Wales. Sydney is enquiring after the health of the child Victoria, and is answered rather sarcastically, "Very well thank you; ain't he growing?"

Alderman Dr. Greeves, of Little Collins Street, displayed two splendid representations, the "Royal Arms" and a device illustrating the Separation of the colony.

A wreath of evergreens, with garlands of flowers, was thrown from the chimney of the *Hand-in-Hand Inn*, across Little Collins Street, and had a very pretty effect.

Mr. John Bear's house at Collingwood (now Victoria Parade near Nicholson Street) was a complete blaze of light.

Never before or since has there been a night of such revel in Melbourne, considering population and circumstances. From an early hour the streets began to fill, and it would seem as if the whole Province had poured in its residents to the town. About ten o'clock it appeared as if Elizabeth and Collins Streets (Bourke Street was not of much account) were rushed by a roaring, turbulent madding multitude, who tore along up and down, yelling, cheering and shouting, but doing no other harm. One half was intoxicated from drinking, and the other half quite as drunk from excitement, and they surged about an excited but not angry sea of human faces. Many carried fireworks along with them, letting them off *en route*, whilst others footballed blazing tar barrels, taking good care though not to handle the fiery ball. The police were all out on duty, but they were put to no trouble, for there was no rowing, or garotting, or robbing such as now disgraces modern assemblages. As for colonial larrikinism it was still unhatched. The only apprehension was lest Melbourne would be accidentally burned down, but how it escaped was an enigma. However, though there was no public prayer for rain, about twelve o'clock some smart showers fell, a regular God-send in clearing the streets and preventing any calamity, though a large number did not go home till morning.

A Day of Prayer and Play.

The next day, Thursday, was specially set apart for religious worship: and the forenoon passed off in a very solemn manner. Throughout the day almost every house in town was closed, and as for business it was totally suspended, except of course, the "Refreshment" manufactories. It is hardly an exaggeration to write that an universal *Te Deum* was offered by the people. Divine services were held at the several churches, which were well attended by all grades of society, high and low, rich and poor, and a feeling of profound gratitude to Providence appeared generally prevalent. Amongst the sermons preached the most effective were those of Dr. Perry, the Episcopalian Bishop, at St. James' Cathedral, and the Rev. Rabbi Rintel, at the Synagogue.

The afternoon was, however, through an incongruous transition "from grave to gay," devoted to different purposes, when religion was obliged to give way to worldly amusements of a very miscellaneous character. In the first place there was improvised horse-racing at the beach near Sandridge; and at 4 p.m. a series of sports came off on the present Parliament Reserve. They were promoted by Mr. Henry Lineham, the landlord of the *White Hart Hotel*.

At night several tar barrels were lit in different parts of the city, salutes were fired, and the fireworks again flew amongst the many wayfarers. The theatre was opened, and brilliantly illuminated,

the audience joined in the chorus to a Separation Anthem, written for the occasion, and sung with great effect by Mr. C. Young at the rising of the curtain.

Several of the principal inns had some kind of musical contrivances, which they called bands, playing until a late hour. The police paraded the streets, but did not interfere with the frolic and fun of the people; and owing to the excellent arrangements, the day passed without accident.

The Grand Separation Procession.

Friday, 15th November was the grand day; in fact, the day of days—the "whitest" of the immortal three. Business was, as on the preceding day, at a standstill; and Nature herself, as if to aid in the celebration, ushered in the eventful day with as fine a morning as ever Aurora smiled upon.

At ten o'clock the several Societies began to collect, some in regalia, and others bearing a banner or some emblem to contribute towards the coming display. The Oddfellows were amongst the first on the ground, and were soon followed by the St. Patrick Society, which mustered in very strong numbers, in consequence of the members not having walked in public procession since the memorable occasion of laying the first stone of Prince's Bridge, on the 25th March, 1846. The Grand Marshall (Mr. W. J. Sugden, of the *Royal Mail Hotel*) had no sinecure.

PROGRAMME
Of the
PROCESSION
For the
OPENING OF PRINCE'S BRIDGE,
In commemoration of the advent of
SEPARATION,
FRIDAY, 15TH NOVEMBER, 1850.

Mr. W. J. Sugden (Grand Marshal), on Horseback, Chief-Constable on Horseback,
Pensioners, Band, Native Mounted Police,
Various Schools (Marshalled as they arrive on the Ground), Father Matthew Total Abstinence Society,
Tent of Jonadab Rechabites, Rechabite Tent of St. John,
Melbourne Philanthropic and Total Abstinence Society, Salford Unity of Independent Rechabites,
Journeymen Butchers (blue frocks, white trousers, straw hats, carrying the emblems of their trade),
The German Union of Melbourne, The Union Jack and German Union Flags United,
The St. Patrick Society, Pupils of St. Patrick's Seminary, under superintendence of teachers,
Junior Members of Society, under direction of a senior member, Band, Union Jack, supported by Wardens with Wands,
Members (two abreast), with green silk scarves and rosettes, Banner of Harp of Erin, supported by two members with Wands,
Police. Members (two abreast), Banner of St. Patrick on the Hill of Tara, supported by members, Police.
Members (two abreast), Victoria Separation Banner, supported by members with Wands,
Members of Committee (two abreast), green silk scarves, rosettes, gilt harps, and crowns,
The Auditors in same costume, The Secretary with Scroll,
The Treasurer with Bag, the Vice-President, the President.

PRINTERS OF MELBOURNE,
Press, on a mounted platform drawn by four horses, Banner—Full length portrait of Gottenberg,
The Inventor of Movable Types, and other Trades in rotation.

ANCIENT INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS.

GRAND UNITED ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS.
Melbourne District,
PRINCE OF WALES LODGE BANNER, BRITANNIA LODGE, NO. 984:—
Conductor, Junior Members (two and two),
Ordinary Members (two and two), Warden, Permanent and Elective Secretaries,
Supporter, Vice-Grand, Supporter. Guard, Dispensation, Guard. Supporter, Noble Grand, Supporter.
Union Jack. Supporter, Noble Father, Supporter.

PRINCE OF WALES LODGE, NO. 926:—
Conductor, Junior Members (two and two), Ordinary Members (two and two),

Warden, Permanent and Elective Secretaries,
Supporter, Vice-Grand, Supporter. Guard, Dispensation, Guard. Supporter, Noble Grand, Supporter.
Supporter, Noble Father, Supporter.

FELIX LODGE BANNER, VICTORIA LODGE, No. 982 :—
Conductor, Junior Members (two and two), Ordinary Members (two and two), Warden, Permanent and Elective Secretaries,
Police. Supporter, Vice-Grand, Supporter. Guard, Dispensation Guard. Police.
Supporter, Noble Grand, Supporter. Union Jack.
Supporter, Noble Father, Supporter.

FELIX LODGE, No. 923 :—
Conductor, Junior Members (two and two), Ordinary Members (two and two), Warden,

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THE MANCHESTER UNITY OF THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF ODDFELLOWS :—
White gloves, with sashes and aprons.
Outside Guardians with swords, Brothers, white and blue (two and two), Wardens (two and two),
Brothers, scarlet and gold (two and two), Assistant Secretary, Past Secretaries, Secretary with Scroll,
Police. Past Vice-Grands (two and two), a Vice-Grand with Bible and Time-glass. Police.
Supporters Vice-Grand, No. 6, Vice-Grand, No. 4, Supporters
with Wands. Vice-Grand, No. 2, Vice-Grand, No. 1. with Wands.
Permanent and Elective Secretaries. Supporter, Vice-Grand, Supporter. Guard, Dispensation, Guard.
Supporter, Noble Grand, Supporter. Supporter, Noble Father, Supporter.

DISTRICT OFFICERS.
Delegates (two and two), Treasurer and Secretary. Guard. Cushion and Bible. Guard. Lecturer and
Deputy-Lecturer, District Master and Deputy-District Master, Past District Masters (two and two),
Past Grand Masters (two and two).

FELIX LODGE BANNER. (Crimson).
Representing on one side figures emblematical of Oddfellows exclusively, viz. :—
Truth and Justice, A Clouded Providence, Charity,
Hour Glass, Cross Keys, Ark,
Dove and Olive Branch, Lion and the Lamb (representing Peace), the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock
(representing Unity.) On the reverse side the Leeds "Coat of Arms."

PRINCE OF WALES LODGE BANNER. (Blue.)
Representing on one side the same figures as the Felix Lodge Banner, viz. :—Truth and Justice, etc., etc.
On the reverse side the representation of the young "Prince of Wales," in his nautical costume, etc.
Supporters with Wands. Grand Masters. Supporters with Wands.
Supporters Past Grand, Noble Grand, No. 6, Noble Grand, No. 4, Supporters
with Wands. Noble Grand, No. 2, Noble Grand, No. 1, with Wands.
Past Corresponding Secretary, Corresponding Secretary with Scroll, Past Provincial Deputy-Grand Masters,
Provincial Deputy-Grand Masters, Past Provincial Grand Masters, Provincial Grand Masters,
Two Inside Guardians with Swords.

B A N D,
ANCIENT AND HONOURABLE FRATERNITY OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS :—
Four Tylers, Banner of Faith, Master of Ceremonies, Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, Entered Apprentices,
Fellow Crafts, Deacons with Wands, Secretary with Roll, Treasurer with Bag,
Six Masters, Corinthian Light, Junior Wardens, Six Masters, Doric Light, Senior Wardens,
Banner of Hope, The Choir, Stewards, Architect and Builder, Bible, Square, and Compasses, Banner of Charity,
Chaplain, Installed Masters, Ionic Light, Book of Constitution, Royal Arch Masons,
Military Past Masters, Masters, Inner Guardians, Inhabitants (two abreast), Military
or Police at Separation Rejoicing Committee (two abreast), Clergy of all Denominations. or Police at
Intervals. Civil Officers of Government, Heads of Departments, Magistrates of the City, Intervals.
Magistrates of the Territory, Mayor and Corporation,
Members of the Legislative Council, His Honor the Resident Judge,
Aide-de-Camp. His Honor the Superintendent, Aide-de-Camp.
Military.

This was the fourth procession of the kind in the Province, and far eclipsed its predecessors. There was no denominational dissension or political difficulty, no Masonic prayer or invocation to annoy the religious consciences, no emblem steeped in the poison of party fanaticism to offend any nationality; and the occasion was a general ovation, which, more or less touched a sympathetic chord in every heart. The procession formed in front of the Government Offices in William Street, now the new Law Courts, but then a large enclosed area, and proceeded over the new bridge to the grounds now occupied by Government House. The procession and the crowd that jammed the streets numbered about fifteen thousand persons—an immense aggregation for the period.

The greatest novelty of the occasion was the turn out of the Melbourne printers, who had, mounted on a huge waggon, lent by the Messrs. Langlands of the foundry, a printing press belonging to the *Herald*. A platform was erected as standing room for Messrs. J. P. Fawkner (the father of the Port Phillipian Press), William Clarke and Samuel Goode (two well-known typos). The concern was ornamented with a small grove of evergreens, and to it were attached eight well-conditioned horses, supplied by Mr. Bradley of Albury. The animals were smothered in ribbons, and during the progress of the procession, the press was kept going, sheets worked off and sent flying. These printing specimens were neatly-bordered tracts, surmounted by a press and medallion likenesses of the Queen and Prince Albert. The letterpress was a chronological epitome of the most notable dates and events in Port Phillip between 1835 and 1850, and was the production of Fawkner. Of all the individuals who "composed" this "typo" contingent, only three veterans (so far as I know) survive in Victoria, viz., Messrs. Samuel Goode, John Ferres, and Benjamin Lucas. The banners and costumes of several of the Societies were remarkable for style and brilliancy, and had an imposing appearance.

The Masonic brethren were particularly noticeable in consequence of their display of official jewellery, and some of them wore a large number of jewels. One of the most prominent was Mr. John Stephen, whose decorations were profuse, and who, in addition, sported a green scarf, through his being a member of St. Patrick's Society.

Odd Fellowship also did its duty. The members of the various Lodges assembled in force, and the difference in their costumes had, by the contrast, a very happy effect. Their banners were very good, and emblematic of those great virtues which, if generally practised by all, would confer much benefit upon the human race.

The banners of the St. Patrick Society appeared to much advantage, and were objects of much interest and inspection from the circumstance that they had been systematically misrepresented and reported to be highly offensive to the feelings of a certain class of the community. This exhibition had, however, given the lie to such insinuations, and so far from being regarded with aversion, "standards of green unfurled" were regarded with admiration, especially a new one prepared particularly for the day, one side of which represented the Queen assenting to the *Magna Charta* of her namesake and youngest colony.

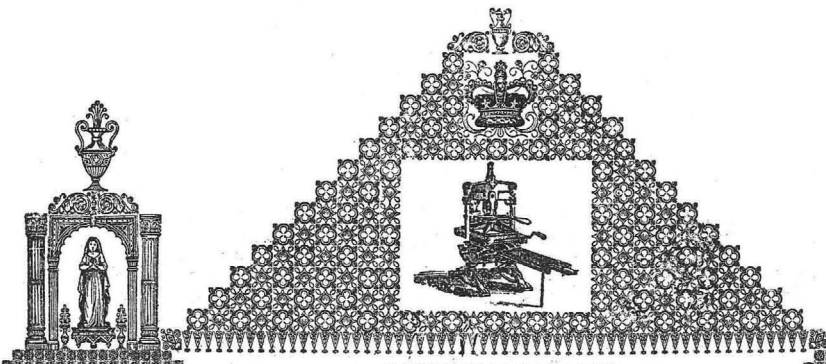
The several Orders of Teetotalism showed off some very becoming banners, including a full-length portrait of Father Matthew, the great Irish Apostle of the cause.

It would be unfair to omit the Germans, who, though necessarily few in number, made a respectable turn out, and showed three handsome banners.

On arriving upon Prince's Bridge, the Freemasons opened their ranks right and left, to afford a passage for his Honor the Superintendent and Staff to the centre of the arch, upon reaching which Mr. John Stephen, P.G.M., attended by the Masters of the several Masonic Lodges, approached his Honor, and thus addressed him:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR:

"The period having arrived for the proclamation of the Prince's Bridge, as being dedicated to the use of the public of Victoria, I am directed by the Ancient and Honourable Society of Freemasons to deliver up to your Honor the plans and drawings of this noble and elegant structure. Having assisted your Honor to lay the foundation stone, we have upon the present occasion to express our congratulations upon its completion in accordance with the design. In the name of the Fraternity



COMMEMORATION

OF THE

BOON OF THE SEPARATION OF THE PROVINCE OF VICTORIA

FROM THE

COLONY OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

Melbourne, the Fifteenth of November, 1850. Printed in the line of the Procession to open the PRINCE'S BRIDGE.

The ACT for the better regulation of the Australian Colonies, which constituted Victoria into a free Province, passed the Imperial Parliament on the First of August, 1850, of which information reached this Colony, by way of Adelaide, on the 11th of November, 1850.

In this cause the PRESS has been ever active, and has nobly performed the duty entrusted thereto. Justice has at length triumphed! Victoria is freed from the clog of the Elder Colony of New South Wales! Her people rejoice as one man. The PRINTERS, and all employed on the diffusion of the printed page: all engaged on the all-powerful PRESS, join heart and soul in the People's joy.

This Colony was founded August 31st, 1835, on which day the first house was commenced for Mr. John Pascoe Fawkner. On the 1st of June, 1836, the first Public Meeting of the Inhabitants took place, and James Simpson, Esq., was elected unanimously as Ruler of the People.

In September, 1836, Captain Lonsdale and a small force of Military, with Officers and Workmen, arrived from Sydney, to govern and order the new Colony.

On Monday, 1st January, 1838, the first Newspaper was issued—a written sheet, published to the extent of 32 Nos. weekly, by Mr. John Pascoe Fawkner. The first Paper was printed on the 5th of March, 1838, and was entitled "The Melbourne Advertiser." It is now "The Melbourne Daily News and Port Phillip Patriot," edited by the Proprietor, George D'Arley Boursiquot, Esq. It commenced a foolscap sheet, once a week, was enlarged to a full sheet of double demy, and was first published daily, commencing on the 15th May, 1845, by John Pascoe Fawkner.

"The Port Phillip Gazette" was first published early in October, 1838, by Messrs. Strode and Arden, bi-weekly. It is now a tri-weekly Journal, edited and published by Thomas M'Combie, Esq.

"The Melbourne Morning Herald" was commenced, and is still carried on by George Cavenagh, Esq. First published in January, 1839, twice a week. It has been a daily Paper since Jan. 1849.

"The Melbourne Argus" commenced on 1st June, 1846, and ceased 12th September, 1848.

"The Argus" commenced 15th September, 1848, and as a daily Paper 18th June, 1849. Present Proprietors,—Messrs. Wilson and Johnston.

"The Times," published by Ryland John Howard, was commenced September 1842, and was discontinued 1844.

"The Standard," bi-weekly Journal, was commenced by G. D. Boursiquot, Esq., in 1844, and amalgamated with the "Port Phillip Patriot" Oct. 1, 1845.

"The Courier" was published by Mr. S. Goode on 6th January, 1843, and discontinued in April, 1844.

"The Albion" was commenced by Mr. S. Goode in December, 1847, and discontinued in March, 1848.

"The Geelong Advertiser" was commenced at Geelong, November, 1840, by J. P. Fawkner. Edited and Published by Messrs Harrison and Watkins. Began as a weekly paper, and is now the property of Mr. J. Harrison, and published daily.

"The Victoria Colonist," formerly "The Corio Chronicle," is published for Dr. Thomson, at Geelong, bi-weekly; and "The Omnibus," by Mr. Combe, is also issued at Geelong, making three Newspapers issued in that town.

The District of Portland Bay boasts its two Papers bi-weekly, viz., "The Portland Guardian," and "The Portland Herald."

Belfast also has its "Gazette," published by Mr Osborne.

Melbourne also produces sundry other publications:—

"The Church of England Messenger," originated by Dr. Perry, Bishop of Melbourne, January, 1850.

Hall's "Illustrated Australian Magazine," commenced August, 1850. Monthly.

"The Australasian," Published by Mr Pullar, a quarterly reprint. October, 1850.

"The Presbyterian Magazine," issued by Mr Ramsay, monthly.

"The Temperance Advocate," issued weekly by Mr. Finlayson.

"The Melbourne Family Journal," commenced by Mr. Hayden, and carried on by Mr Craig.

"The Christian Citizen," published by Mr Goode, monthly.

"Victoria Weekly Price Current and Circular," published by Mr W. L. Lees.

Thus VICTORIA can boast of the PRESS, and the people can exult in the noble patronage they afford to

THE PRESS,

Which has rendered Britain the Arbitress of the World, and has also wrought wonders in Victoria. This PRESS and the People have achieved that consummation so devoutly to be wished, viz., SEPARATION:—Total Separation from New South Wales. 'Tis to the PRESS that this city is indebted for the information diffused by Three Daily, One Tri-weekly, Three Weekly, Four Monthly, and One Quarterly Journal; and the City of Geelong circulates the pabulum of knowledge by means of One Daily and Two Weekly Newspapers. Portland Bay and Belfast have also the benefit of the information circulated by means of Three Journals. The PRESS is Omnipotent! Its diffusion is not only wide, but universal; its voice penetrates the deepest recesses of the forest; crosses the widest plains, the highest mountains, and the most rapid streams. Not a hut in the wilderness but feels the powerful influence of that Lever of Freedom—THE PRESS.

The first Meeting to demand Separation was held in Melbourne, June, 1840. The feat was forwarded by NON-ELECTION, July, 1848, and finally accomplished August 1, 1850.

LONG LIVE THE QUEEN!



VICTORIA SEPARATION ODE.

All hail! thou Glorious Press!
When first thy mighty frame was rear'd,
Truth rose, in radiant light enspher'd,
The Nations to address.
Then Tyrants trembled in dismay,
And Reason held her sovereign sway,
Supported by the PRESS!

Advances still the PRESS!
And fair Religion's healing hand
Sheds peace and love o'er every land,
The multitudes to bless!
Whilst Science all her varied stores
From clime to clime benignly pours,
Assisted by the PRESS!

Time-honored now, O PRESS!
Thy power to quell the oppressor's pride,
And draw corruption's veil aside,
Our grateful hearts confess!
This day shall joy each voice attune
To greet dear Freedom's welcome boon,
Enforced by the PRESS!



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I have to thank you for the compliment which has thus been paid to our Order; and I have further to express our sincere desire for the future happiness of your Honor, and the prosperity of this important Province."

The Superintendent receiving the plans from Mr. Stephen, presented them to the Order for preservation amongst the Masonic archives of the colony; and then spoke as follows:—

"I have now to declare the Prince's Bridge open for public use. In so doing I must express my acknowledgments to all parties concerned in its erection for the kindly feeling manifested during its progress. I must especially note the conduct of the operative masons and the mechanics employed in the work for their generous and manly conduct in continuing their labours during the period when the supplies voted were not forthcoming. Such a dilemma could not have occurred had this district possessed a Legislature of its own. I had anticipated the completion of the Bridge upon the third anniversary of its building, but was disappointed from the above cause; and a much further delay must have ensued but for the liberal conduct of the artisans employed in the undertaking. I should remark that the entire materials of this, the first Bridge of Victoria, (shall I say) are composed of colonial produce—Victorian granite, Victorian mortar, Victorian labour—and when your children's children may be crossing this bridge in after years they may probably have learnt that this very important structure was raised during the period of the government of a 'Superintendent.'" Upon the conclusion of these remarks a peal of stunning cheers burst from the assembled thousands; and the crash of the artillery from the opposite hill announced to the inhabitants that the Prince's Bridge was opened as a free bridge to the public of Victoria.

The procession then moved on in inverted order, his Honor preceding, and the Masons, Oddfellows, and other Societies following over the bridge.

After passing the Bridge the procession proceeded towards the site for the intended Vice-Regal residence, and here the several bodies falling into line, remained for about a quarter of an hour, with bands playing and colours flying. His Honor the Superintendent (who was dressed in the official uniform of a Lieutenant-Governor), was very warmly received, and loudly and vociferously cheered as he rode through the different Societies, and courteously acknowledged the ebullitions of public feeling with which he was everywhere greeted.

In reference to Prince's Bridge, it may be worth remarking that on the day of its foundation an item of the ceremony consisted of what is Masonically termed an Invocation offered by the Rev. A. C. Thomson who acted as Chaplain, as follows:—"May He, Whose mighty hand encompasseth Eternity, be the Guardian and Protector of this infant city and its inhabitants, and may this building which spanneth the waters be long His protection—long preserved from peril and decay." Judging from results it is not unreasonable to assume that the first half of this precation has not been without its effect on the then future; but the prayer for the preservation of the bridge has been as unavailing as many a prayer for rain since, for in little more than thirty years, the structure was removed to make way for a larger one, and the Yarra Yarra no longer (1888) knows the first stone bridge that spanned its once unpolluted waters.

That evening the Mayor entertained a select party at the *Port Phillip Club Hotel*, Flinders Street

The Duke of York Order of Oddfellows enjoyed themselves at the *Robert Burns Inn*, in Lonsdale Street. The Brothers sat down to table in full regalia, the Lodge banner being displayed from the window, and a band playing in the room.

The members of the Fitzroy Lodge dined at the *Cornwall Arms*, Bourke Street, and did not separate until an early hour on Saturday morning.

The Grand United Order of Oddfellows held a Separation Ball at the Protestant Hall. Upwards of three hundred persons assembled—Brothers in full costume. Dancing commenced at ten o'clock, and was kept on with spirit until one o'clock, when about two hundred sat down to supper, or rather breakfast, which was laid out in the lower room under the superintendence of Mr. Hunter, confectioner, Collins Street.

In the city the banners of the different Societies, besides other flags bearing different devices, were hoisted from the windows, and music and revelry were again the order of the day.

Between 10 and 11 o'clock those who had not been drawn away by other recreations were steering for Emerald Hill, and shortly after 11 o'clock preparations were made by the Stewards to carry out the Programme of the Separation Sports.

It was notified to the Stewards, Messrs. M. King, Dal. Campbell, D. S. Campbell, J. Stewart, W. J. Disher, and Francis Stephen, that the amount collected would not allow of the games being carried out to the extent stated in the programme, and these gentlemen in the most liberal manner undertook at their own expense to provide the prizes, and would not curtail the programme of a single event, trusting to the honour of the public to eventually reimburse them the outlay to be so incurred. They were greeted with loud huzzas when their liberality became known.

Printers' Excursion to Geelong.

At six o'clock on Saturday morning the Melbourne Printers, fully determined to make the most of their holidays, started from the wharf on an aquatic trip for Geelong, in the "Thames" steamer, chartered for the purpose. They were accompanied by their "sweethearts and wives," and all shared the enjoyment of the hour. There was an excellent band on board, and with Mr. J. P. Fawkner as *generalissimo*, it was resolved "to have a day of it and no mistake." The morning was fine, and a smart sea-breeze wafted health and happiness to all. This state of things did not long continue, for Neptune, the Ocean god, in whose time no such bipeds as printers existed, appeared bent upon being unpropitious. The vessel no sooner cleared the Williamstown Lighthouse than the waves got up steam as well as the "Thames," and the latter heaved tremendously. Then commenced in reality a species of "separation rejoicings" not included in the programme, and so continued until in the beautiful Bay of Corio. Fawkner, who was most indefatigable in providing for the general comfort and enjoyment, improvised a dance on the quarter-deck, and there they "tripped it gaily" until they approached the Geelong jetty, when the Gottenberg banner was unfurled, and the band struck up a stirring tune.

The Geelong printers gave their *confrères* from Melbourne a cordial reception, and invited them to a "feed" at the *Union Hotel*. At four p.m. a return on board was effected, and they started for Melbourne amidst peals of loud and long cheers from an immense crowd assembled to witness the departure. Within an hour of midnight the Melbourne Wharf was reached; and, notwithstanding the unfavourable nature of the weather, all were gratified with their day's outing.

The Theatre, which had been closed for several evenings, was re-opened, profusely illuminated, and the bill of fare presented induced many of the holiday folk to wind up the week before the curtain.

The illuminations were reproduced on a curtailed scale, and the last of the revellers marched home accompanied by the band from the steamer as the mystic hour of "High Twelve" appeared in the heavens. No accident or disturbance of any kind occurred during the day.

The period of the public amusements terminated on Saturday, but the enjoyments might be considered as kept up until Sunday evening. That day, after church, was in a great measure devoted to small parties of pleasure to Brighton, St. Kilda, the Beach, Saltwater River, etc.; and next morning reason and business resumed their sway in Melbourne. It was highly gratifying to observe the peaceable and good-tempered manner in which everything passed away.

Monday was a kind of "suffering a recovery" period, and it was the last of the Printers' holidays. There was no newspaper issued, which did not by any means tend to mitigate the universal *ennui*. On Tuesday Melbourne was again to rights, and the ordinary business of life was thoroughly resumed.

It should be mentioned that Geelong, Portland, and other townships had their own special rejoicings and festivities.

The project of a public dinner in Melbourne was abandoned, because there was a Fancy Ball yet to be disposed of. Great preparations were now made to wind up creditably with this entertainment, quite a novelty in its line; and as it was the first of its kind in the colony, I hope to be excused for giving a detailed notice of

The Separation Fancy Dress Ball.

On the night of the 28th November, 1850, the "Separation Rejoicings" terminated. The procession, the illuminations, the rural feats and other excursions, the bonfires and tar barrels, all had had their day, but it remained for the Fancy Dress Ball to close an ovation which, from its general nature, and the heart and soul thrown into it by everyone, has had no parallel in Victoria. St. Patrick's Hall was decorated in a very tasteful manner. The entrance doorway was embowered in laurels and evergreens, and illuminated with a V.R. lamp, which scattered its rays to the opposite side of the street. The staircase leading to the ball-room was similarly decorated, and the spacious room itself was overhung with banners and transparencies in endless variety. The walls were profusely festooned, and at the northern end was a dais, surmounted by a neat portrait of Her Majesty, the property of the Victoria and Tasmania Society. The chaste and beautiful banner of the St. George Society was also unfolded, displaying the gallant Saint of legendary celebrity slaying the formidable dragon. At intervals, hanging from the ceiling, were the St. Patrick Society's banners—the harp, the earliest emblem of Ireland, displaying its proportions on emerald green; St. Patrick anathematizing the snakes from the "sacred isle;" the same Apostle converting the Irish Kings on the hill of Tara, where the rude monarchs are electrified by his persuasive eloquence. On another, pagan Ireland is delineated by its immemorial "Sunburst." And though the last, not the least, the one representing the Queen assenting to the "Victoria Emancipation Act."

This banner was unfurled in front of the dais which His Honor the Superintendent occupied during the night. Union Jacks fluttered in all directions, and in several parts of the Hall were several transparencies. The room was lighted by a range of chandeliers, and when their flood of light bathed the rich and picturesque banners, the transparencies, and ornamental foliage, and then swept over the beautifully-dressed, high-hearted groups beneath, the scene was one of the most thrilling effect. Megson's Band was retained for the occasion, and the Stewards were indefatigable in their attention to the assemblage. The supper was provided by Mr. Cantlon, a newly-established caterer, and was said to do him much credit.

The following is an alphabetical list of the company present, who left their cards at the entrance door, and the characters in which they appeared as marked thereon:—

A'Beckett, Mrs.; Anderson, Mrs., a fancy dress; Anderson, Miss, a Nepaulese lady; Anderson, Elizabeth, fancy dress; Anderson, Rosa, fancy dress; A'Beckett, William, Resident Judge, full Court dress; Aitken, Mr., settler; Anderson, Colonel, in full uniform of 50th Regiment.

Balbirnie, the Misses, Italian peasants; Bawtree, Miss Ellen, a Persian lady; Bawtree, Mrs. Samuel, lady of Court of Charles First; Bawtree, Miss, Persian lady; Barker, Mrs. Edward, lady of 19th century; Bennett, Mrs., plain dress; Browne, Mr., Highland costume; Balbirnie, R. A., hussar uniform; Benn, Mr., gentleman; Barlas, Dr. James; Bawtree, Samuel, gentleman of Court of Charles First; Barker, Wm., gentleman of 19th century; Barker, Edwd., a gentleman of 19th century; Benjamin, Solomon, barrister-at-law; Bennett, Mr., Glaucus the Athenian; Brodie, R. S., the Bunyip.

Campbell, Mrs. William H., as herself; Chambers, Mrs. Hugh J., a fancy dress; Creswick, Mrs. Henry, plain clothes; Collyer, Mrs., ball dress; Cox, Mrs., ball costume; Cavenagh, Miss, fancy dress; Cavenagh, Mrs., lady of 19th century. Campbell, W. H., in a new suit of clothes; Chambers, H. J., an Irishman; Cadden, H. C.; Cadden, H. F.; Campbell, Robert, Royal Arch Mason; Connolly, J. M., gentleman of 19th century; Creswick, H., a Spanish Brigand; Collyer, W. D., gentleman of the present day; Cox, Mr., ball costume; Cavenagh, George, a private gentleman.

Disher, Mrs. W. J., Venetian Lady; Dismorr, Mrs. N., plain dress. Dismorr, N., plain dress; Don Francisco de Cavello, Spanish gentleman; Dunbar, J. W.; Disher, W. J., Royal Arch Mason; Davies, B., Neapolitan costume; Dana, Captain Commandant Mounted Police; De Graves, William, a Sportsman; Dana, Mr., Officer of Mounted Police.

Erskine, Mrs. J. A., ball dress. Ellerman, H. C., a Squatter in mufti; Edwards, J. S, a "Skipper"; Erskine, J. A., a DACG.

Finn, Mrs. E., Colleen Bawn; Finn, E., Garryowen; Ford, F. T. W., Medical Man, present date; Frencham, H., Julien St. Pierre; Ford, William, Hon. Artillery Company; Fenwick, N. A., uniform; Fenwick, William, Albanian costume; Fenton, T.

Gardiner, Miss; Greene, Mrs. E. B., full dress. Goodman, John, Yeomanry Officer; Greene, W. F., a Lieutenant; Gurner, Mr. H. F.,; Graham, James G., Highland dress; Greene, E. B., Chinese Mandarin; Greene, E. B., junr., Midshipman Easy; Gibson, S.; Greeves, Alderman, full dress; Goode, Lieutenant, 11th Regiment.

Harris, Mrs. S. H., ball dress; Hart, Miss, ball dress; Hart, Mrs. J. A., lady of the year 1850; Henderson, Mrs. Thomas, ball dress; Hunter, Mrs. M'L., ball costume; Hazard, Mrs., ball costume; Haley, Miss; Hainz, Miss, full dress. Hart, Edward; Hart, J. S. H. gentleman of the year 1850; Hart, H. J., Royal Arch Mason; Homan, C. B., a Forester; Howard, C. J., Spanish Cavalier; Harrison, George, Lieutenant, R. N.; Henderson, Captain, Naval uniform; Hodgson, John, a Steward; Hunter, M'L., gentleman rider.

Irvine, Mr.; James, George, private; Jones, D. L., a gentleman of the 19th century; Jamieson, Alexander, Andulasian costume.

Kerr, Mrs. W., fancy dress; King, Mrs. J. C., an Irish lady. Kerr, W., Royal Arch Freemason; King, J. C. (Town Clerk), Civic costume.

Lydiard, Charles, a private gentleman; Lamond, E. B.; Lang, William, Tyrolese noble; Langhorne, Alfred; Lulham, G. A., Commander, ship, "Lysander;" Livesay, G., a "Skipper;" Levi, H., a Midshipman.

M'Kenzie, Miss, fancy dress; Martin, Mrs., Spring; Moor, Mrs., Autumn; M'Kenzie, A., Deputy Sheriff, official dress; Moor, H., Knight Templar; Mair, Captain, military uniform; Moffatt, G., gentleman of the 19th century; Montefiore, Mr., as a mongrel, *alias* half-horse, half-alligator, Midshipman, R. N., member of boating club; Mitchell, Mr., private club.

Nicholson, Mrs. John, an English lady; Nicholson, Mrs. William, an English lady.

Orr, John, private. Pearsall, Mrs., a lady of 19th century. Powlett, F. A.,; Philcox, Mr., a page; Philcox, James, a gentleman of 19th century; Pinkerton, Mr., as Hamish; Pearsall, John, a gentleman of 19th century.

Robertson, A. M., a Catalonian sailor; Roe, Lieutenant, 11th regiment.

Smythe, Mrs., ball dress; Shaw, Mrs. H. S.; Scott, Miss, ball costume; Scott, Mrs., a lady of 19th century; Seldon, Miss, an Italian lady. Sheppard, Sherbourne, Dick Turpin; Stephen, Francis, Claude Melnotte; Stephen, Fitzroy, Neapolitan; Stephen, V., Corsair; Stephen, W., member of the boating club; Smythe, H. W. H., gentleman of 19th century; Shaw, H. S.; Sievewright, Adolphus, courtier, King Charles I.

Trollope, Miss, ball dress; Thomas, D. J., Welsh peasant girl, Shanew Paish Gosh; Trenchard, J., plain dress; Turnbull, Phipps, a braw callant frae Auld Reekie. Winter, S. P.

The following ladies and gentlemen were also present, but did not hand in the descriptive cards as required:—

Barrow, S., and lady; Bell, E., and lady; Black, Charles; Barry, Redmond; Beaurteaux, L., and three ladies; Bruce, Mr.; Benjamin, D., and sister; Bunbury, Captain; Bell, Mr.; Bruce, Mr.; Cole, Captain, and two ladies; Black, Wm.; Campbell, Dalmahoy; Chadwick, Mr.; Fenwick, Wm.; Gibson, Stewart; Geary, Mr.; Gilbert, Mr., and two ladies; Goodman, Mr., and lady; Greene, W. F.; Greene, R.; Highett, W., and lady; Hunter, Dr.; Harman, Mr.; Harvey, Mr.; Heape, B., and lady; Heape, C.; Jones, Mr., and lady; Kerr, Robert; Mills, Mr., and lady; M'Kerlie, Captain; Orr, Edward; O'Shanassy, J., and lady; O'Connor, N.; Power, Mr.; Probart, Mr.; Ross, George; Stephen, Jas., and two ladies; Stephen, H.; Smith, James; Sturt, E. P. S.; Taylor, J. W.; Thompson, A. P.; Umpleby, Mr.; Wake, P.; Westgarth, W.; Wilkinson, F., and two ladies.

The outcome of all those enthusiastic celebrations furnishes a curious commentary upon the proceedings, and one so little creditable to the public spirit of the people, that were I other than a truthful historian, I should be disposed to suppress it. When settling day arrived, it was found that both ends (the assets and liabilities) would by no means meet, unless the public patriotically came

to the rescue, which it was not willing to do, for the excitement had evaporated, and as public feeling cooled, the public pocket grew less relaxed. The mistake was, that, at an early stage, the money hunting was mismanaged, and contributions which ought to have gone to the Central Rejoicing Fund were given to local amusements got up by the publicans and others in some of the suburbs. However, it it was now found that there would be a deficit of something like £250. The loss on the Fancy Ball would be from £90 to £100, the bonfires and illuminations £100, and so on. The general subscriptions realized only £141 18s. whilst the treasurer's disbursements were £175 9s. 6½d., and the outstanding claims, including the balance of £33 11s. 6½d., due to the treasurer, were £119 19s. 6½d. It was said that the Ball Stewards paid £4 14s. 7d. each to square their book, and whether the other general item was ever made up I cannot say positively, but I believe it was privately subscribed.

And thus passed away the Victorian Separation Celebrations. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*



CHAPTER LXV.

THE COLONY OF VICTORIA.

SYNOPSIS:—Victoria's First Constitution.—The Inauguration Ceremonies.—Addresses of Congratulation.—The First Levée.—The First Proclamation.—Government Appointments.—Style and Title of the Mayor and Council.—The First Public Departments and Salaries.—The Government Printing Office.

ANNUS DOMINI, 1851, broke upon the embryo colony with a burst of excited expectation. Separation was now a *fait accompli*, and hope was actively picturing in rainbow hues, the grand future to result from Colonial Independence. The long-patient, much-suffering Port Phillip was now on the threshold of emancipation, with its destinies in its hands, and it rested with the sagacity and patriotism of her colonists to weave them into a dark or brilliant future. As the year advanced public spirit quickened, and the first anxiety was respecting the Electoral Act to be passed by the Legislature of New South Wales, to give effect to the Imperial Statute, and provide the Executive and Electoral machinery necessary to set the Victorian autonomy going. Mr. Superintendent Latrobe proceeded to Sydney to personally attend the State consultations to be held there; and the provincial agitators were not idle. Much interest was felt as to the formation of the electoral districts and the distribution of the Members of the first Legislature. Several public meetings were held to advocate the fixing of representation upon the basis of population—a proposition strongly demurred to as likely to trench too much upon squatting influence. At one of these gatherings Dr. Palmer submitted statistical returns which showed that in March, 1851, Victoria had a population of 75,000, of which Melbourne could claim 23,143. Land had been sold of the value of £710,000; to which may be added for improvements at 100 per cent. or another £710,000; and there were 9,000 tenements worth at an average £250 each, or (say) £2,500,000, or a total of £3,920,000. He estimated the value of stock, *i.e.*, sheep, cattle, horses, with stations and chattels, at £3,602,684. There were vehement discussions as to whether vote by ballot should, or should not be.

On the 28th March the New South Wales Legislature was opened by the Governor, and its purposes were thus stated in the Vice-Regal speech:—

"The object for which I have called you together is the consideration and enactment of the measures necessary for giving effect to the provisions of the Imperial Act 13 and 14 Victoria, chapter 59, for the better government of the Australian colonies, in the division of the colony into electoral districts on the Separation of Port Phillip from the Middle District, and of Port Phillip on its erection after such Separation into the colony of Victoria." His Excellency also officially communicated the fact that the Superintendent (Mr. Latrobe) had been appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new colony, "as a reward for his long career of usefulness."

The Local Act (14 Vict. No. 47) "to provide for the division of the Colony of Victoria into electoral districts, and for the election of members to serve in the Legislative Council," was passed and assented to 2nd May, 1851, and thus the painter was cut at last.

Victoria's First Constitution.

The Imperial Statute, 13 and 14 Victoria, Chap. LIX. (5th August, 1850.)—an Act for the better government of the Australian Colonies—defined the principles upon which the new colony was to be built. The district of Port Phillip "including the Town of Melbourne, and bounded on the

north and north east by a straight line drawn from Cape Howe to the nearest source of the River Murray, and thence by the course of that river to the eastern boundary of the colony of South Australia," was separated from New South Wales and erected into a separate colony, "to be known and designated as the Colony of Victoria." It was to be governed by a Legislative Council, two-thirds of whose thirty members were to be elective, and the other third to be appointed by Her Majesty; but the elective number, and their appointment through the several electoral districts, the boundaries of which districts and other matters of detail were to be determined by a local Act, to be passed by the New South Wales Legislature. The qualifications of voters were: Every man twenty-one years of age, a natural born or naturalized subject of the Queen, or legally made a denizen of New South Wales, having a freehold estate in possession in the district for which his vote was to be given, of the clear value of £100, above all charges and encumbrances, and of or to which he had been seised or entitled at law or in equity for six months prior to the date of the writ of election, or being a six months' resident occupier of a dwelling-house in the district, of the annual value of £10, or the holder at the date of the writ of a Government license to depasture lands in the district, or having a leasehold estate in possession in the district, valued £10 per annum, the lease of which had not less than three years to run, subject to the usual disabilities attending a conviction for treason, felony, or other infamous offence in any part of Her Majesty's dominions, etc.; and the non-payment of rates, taxes, and license charges, except such as had become due within the preceding three months, etc.

The qualification of members remained unaltered, viz., 21 years of age, a natural born or naturalized subject, and possessed of lands and tenements in New South Wales of the annual value of £100, or worth £2,000 unencumbered. Every candidate before capable of being elected, should, if required by any other candidate or elector, or Returning officer, make a declaration of qualification; but this requirement was not insisted on, and deferred until the taking of the seat. A false declaration involved the punishment of perjury. There are other provisions relative to the creation of an Executive, a Supreme Court, grants for Civil and Judicial services, Appropriations, Customs, etc., which it would only embarrass my narrative to particularize. It was also enacted that upon the issuing of the first writs for the first election of members of the colony of Victoria, such colony shall be deemed to be established, and the legislative authority of the Governor and Council of New South Wales, and the powers of such Governor over the new colony and its revenues should cease. The local Act fixed the 1st July as the period for doing so, and thus all further impediments were at length and for ever removed.

The Superintendent returned from Sydney on the 10th May by the steamer "Shamrock." About a thousand persons had assembled to give him an enthusiastic greeting, but as he had not yet obtained his Commission, he desired there should be no open demonstration, and the welcome home therefore consisted simply of a respectful silence. Despatches from the office of the Secretary of State were shortly after received, forwarding His Excellency's Commission of Lieutenant-Governor, and authorizing him to appoint his Executive Councillors and other officials necessary to administer the infant Government.

The Inauguration Ceremonies.

Though the Writs of Election which were to constitute the nativity of the new colony were issued on the 1st July, the official initiation did not take place until the 15th, which may therefore be deemed the veritable beginning of the system by which Port Phillip became a thing of the past. It was arranged that the installation of the Governor should be a public ceremony in the area fronting the Government Offices in William Street, since removed to make way for the New Law Courts. Eleven o'clock was the hour appointed, and the day was observed as a holiday. From an early hour of the morning the principal marts of business in the chief streets were closed. The people promenaded in groups, and there seemed to reign everywhere a feeling of deep satisfaction that the good time, so long coming, had at length come, mingled with a fervent hope that a fair share of the

material and moral blessings so long anticipated, and so often foretold, would be realized. The military and police stationed in the city arrived about 10.30, and filed into the square, and some pieces of artillery were placed in position; whilst Hore's Saxhorn Band was in attendance. There were some two thousand persons of all ranks and conditions present, and the upper windows of the building were decorated with bevies of ladies in full dress. As the clock struck the specified hour the new Governor, C. J. Latrobe, Esq., appeared in the porch of the building, attended by the Resident Judge (Mr. W. A'Beckett), the newly-appointed Attorney General (Mr. W. F. Stawell), and all the principal officials; the Episcopalian Bishop (Dr. Perry), the Archdeacon of Geelong, and others of the Clergy, with various members of several deputations previously appointed to wait upon His Excellency with addresses of congratulation.

Mr. E. Bell, Private Secretary and *Aide-de-camp*, proceeded to read the Queen's Commission nominating Sir Charles Fitzroy, as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Australasian Colonies; and next the Commission appointing Charles Joseph Latrobe, Esquire, Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria.

The oaths of office were next read to His Excellency by the Attorney-General, and duly subscribed in the presence of the Resident Judge.

The newly-appointed Colonial Secretary (Captain Lonsdale) read a Proclamation nominating the Executive Council. As he commenced a discharge of artillery commenced also, and continued at intervals until thirteen guns were fired. The National Anthem by the band followed, the multitude remaining uncovered.

The Lieutenant-Governor then retired within the building to receive the several

Addresses of Congratulation.

The Mayor (Dr. Greeves), accompanied by Mr. William Kerr (Town Clerk), and several members of the City Council, presented the following:—

"To His Excellency C. J. Latrobe.

"May it Please Your Excellency,—

"We, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors of the City of Melbourne hail with welcome the arrival of the period when, in obedience to the commands of our beloved Sovereign, Your Excellency enters upon the Administration of the Government of the Colony of Victoria, and the final indication is given us of the consummation of our most anxious hopes—the Colonial Independence of Port Phillip.

"We beg to assure Your Excellency of our devoted loyalty to our Sovereign, of our attachment to the Institutions of the United Empire, and of our high gratification that Her Majesty has been pleased to confer Her Royal name upon this young and flourishing colony. We hope that Her Majesty will never suffer that name to be sullied, nor our adopted land to be polluted by associations with the outcast criminal population of the Mother-country, and we confidently trust that Your Excellency will persevere in your endeavour to preserve this bright gem of the British Crown stainless and pure.

"We assure Your Excellency of our continued desire to promote, as far as lies in our power, all measures tending to the prosperity of this city and the public good.

"The distinguished mark of the Royal confidence which Her Majesty has been pleased to confer upon Your Excellency, in appointing you Her Representative, with the power and authority which are indispensable to good government, combined with Your Excellency's personal experience of the wants and wishes of the colonists of Victoria, lead us to hope that the future progress of this colony under Your Excellency's administration of the Government will be commensurate with the unexampled career of the past."

His Excellency delivered the following reply:—

"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—

"The expression of loyalty to our Gracious Sovereign, and attachment to the British Constitution, which you are pleased to present to me on this occasion is the source of sincere gratification to me, and will, I am sure, be appreciated by Her Majesty.

"It is gratifying, I am sure, both to you and myself to reflect that the name by which this province will henceforth be designated is one which will ever remind us and our posterity of the love and duty which we owe to her and her children after her. I fully participate in your anxiety to watch over the moral character as well as the

physical development of the country, and am assured of your desire to promote, as far as may lie in your power, all measures tending to the prosperity of this city and the public good.

"I would take this occasion of offering to the City Council my testimony to the advantage which the community has reaped by the introduction of Municipal Institutions in the City of Melbourne, and to the general ability which has distinguished the labours of the Corporation for the last nine years.

"No one is better able than myself to appreciate and acknowledge the disadvantages under which from circumstances it had to enter upon its functions.

"Its claims upon the attention of Government are undeniable, and I shall always feel it a duty to attend to them whenever reasonably advanced and supported, so far as the general interest of the colony and my powers permit."

A deputation from the colonists of Victoria was next introduced, and Mr. Henry Moor (ex-Mayor and M.L.C.), as its spokesman, read thus :—

"To His Excellency CHARLES JOSEPH LATROBE, ESQUIRE, Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria, &c.

"We, the undersigned inhabitants of the City of Melbourne and its vicinity, avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by Your Excellency's arrival as the first Governor of Victoria to express, through you, our loyalty and affection to our most gracious Sovereign.

"We would congratulate Your Excellency upon assuming the Government of this colony, and assure you of the satisfaction we feel in reflecting that Her Majesty's choice has fallen upon one who, from his late official position, must have acquired that extensive and valuable local knowledge so essential to the efficient moulding of a new Government.

"We assure Your Excellency that we extend to the Representative of Her Majesty, sentiments of loyalty and respect befitting the dignity of so high an office; and trust that Your Excellency will be enabled so to administer the Government of this colony that the effect of your measures may be beneficially felt by all classes of this community.

"As the reward of your public services in this colony you have the satisfaction of feeling that your Sovereign has elevated you to the distinguished position you now hold, and we offer the assurance that our confidence in your government is enhanced by a sense of the uprightness of your intentions.

"The future advance and prosperity of this colony, untrammelled as it now is by a distant Government, must mainly depend on Your Excellency's measures. We shall, we trust, fairly appreciate them, and cheerfully co-operate in furthering all those which may tend to advance the social, moral, and religious interests of this our adopted country."

To this document was appended 360 signatures, representing every section of the community. His Excellency thus responded :—

"CITIZENS AND GENTLEMEN,—I receive this address from the inhabitants of Melbourne and its vicinity with great pleasure, assuring you of my perfect confidence in the affection and loyalty it evinces towards our most gracious Sovereign.

"I thank you for your general expression of goodwill towards myself, and for the trust you intimate that I shall be enabled to administer the government of the colony in such a manner as may tend to the public advantage.

"I am fully aware of the responsibility of the office which Her Majesty has been pleased to confer upon me, but I have good hope that with the sincere and hearty co-operation of all classes of the community, it may be in my power to discharge the trust reposed in me; and, in conjunction with them, to secure the steady progress of the noble province which it has pleased God to attach to the British Empire in this quarter of the world, in moral and physical prosperity.

"You will never doubt my personal attachment to the city and neighbourhood in which we live, and my desire to further its growth and advancement in every manner consistent with my public duty and the claims of the community at large."

Similar compliments were offered (1) From the Officers of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons; (2) Provincial Officers, on behalf of the Officers and Members of the Independent Orders of Oddfellows; (3) The Solicitors of the Supreme Court of the Colony; (4) the Officers in the Public Service; and (5) The Bishop of Melbourne and Clergy of the United Church of England and Ireland. To each of which His Excellency replied.

LEVEE.

The first *levée* of the first Governor of Victoria was held at 2 p.m., and attended by 450 persons. His Excellency's suite consisted of Mr. Edward Bell, Private Secretary and *Aide-de-Camp;* Mr. E. P. S. Sturt, the Superintendent of Police; Captain Dana, the Commandant;

Mr. Lydiard, Lieutenant of the Mounted Police, and Lieutenant Maxwell, of the 11th Regiment, in command of a guard of honour from the same corps.

After the *levée*, Captain Conran, the military Commandant, presented two medals to veterans whose services by "flood and field" warranted such distinction. His Excellency called for three cheers for the Queen, which were rapturously accorded, and followed by three more for himself.

Throughout the day there was a large concourse of people congregated in front of the Government Offices, and a general dispersion was not effected until a late hour.

The finale was one of the most numerously-attended and successful balls that ever came off in the colony, particulars of which are included in the notice of the Benevolent Asylum given elsewhere,* in which building (then finished but not occupied) it was held. On the evening of the 16th the members of the Melbourne Club entertained the Lieutenant-Governor at dinner, and on the 17th the heads of Departments dined with His Excellency.

Government Appointments.

A *Government Gazette* was issued on the same day as the official inauguration, containing the first Proclamation, in which Mr. Latrobe announced his appointment of Lieutenant-Governor under Royal Sign Manual and Signet, bearing date at Westminister, the 31st December, 1850, and declaring that he had taken the prescribed oath, and assumed office. He further intimated that Her Majesty had been pleased to appoint as members of the Executive Council of the Colony of Victoria, the Crown Prosecutor, or the Principal Law Officer of the Crown for the time being, the Colonial Secretary, the Sub-Treasurer, or Treasurer for the time being, and the Collector of Customs, or the Principal Officer of Customs for the time being.

Further official announcements were made, the principal being the appointment of Captain William Lonsdale as Colonial-Secretary and a member of the Executive Council.

Mr. J. H. N. Cassels, Collector of Customs.

Mr. Alastair MacKenzie, Colonial-Treasurer.

Mr. Charles Hotson Ebden, Auditor-General.

Mr. Robert Hoddle, Surveyor-General.

Mr. Alexander M'Crae, Postmaster-General.

Mr. Edward Bell, Private Secretary and acting *Aide-de-Camp* to the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. Edward Grimes, Clerk of the Executive Council.

Mr. Henry Ginn, Colonial Architect.

Mr. John Sullivan, Colonial Surgeon.

Mr. William Foster Stawell, Attorney-General.

Mr. Redmond Barry, Solicitor-General.

Mr. R. W. Pohlman, Master in Equity of the Supreme Court of New South Wales for the district of Port Phillip, and Chief Commissioner of Insolvent Estates for the Colony of Victoria.

Mr. James Simpson, Sheriff.

Mr. James D. Pinnock, Registrar of the Supreme Court of New South Wales for the district of Port Phillip.

Mr. Edward E. Williams, Commissioner of the Court of Requests for the City of Melbourne and County of Bourke.

Mr. Henry Field Gurner, Crown Solicitor.

The Executive Council consisted of Messrs Stawell (senior member), Lonsdale, M'Kenzie, and Cassels. Mr. James Croke, for several years Crown Prosecutor and Law Adviser, was relieved from duty, because, as was rumoured, the Lieutenant-Governor did not believe in him for an Attorney-General an appointment expected, and failing which he declined the second place of Solicitor-General.

One of His Excellency's first acts was to confer a long-coverted dignity on the Melbourne Corporation, which he did in the following terms :—

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* Page 249, vol. 1.

"With reference to the notice published in the New South Wales *Government Gazette*, dated 22nd November, 1842, wherein the style and title of the Mayor and Council of the Town of Melbourne is notified as 'The Worshipful the Mayor,' or 'The Worshipful the Mayor and Council of the Town of Melbourne,' His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor is now pleased to intimate that until the pleasure of Her Majesty be known, the Mayor and Council of the City of Melbourne will in all official acts emanating from this Government, be addressed or designated as 'The Right Worshipful the Mayor' or 'The Right Worshipful the Mayor and Council of the City of Melbourne.'"

The First Public Departments.

The young colony had started business on its own account. The permanent heads of Departments were appointed, and the Departments themselves, as so many administrative workshops, had to be organized. As a curious contrast between past and present, a notice of the principal infantile establishments will not be uninteresting, and though in some slight degree an anachronism, it will be convenient at this stage to refer to them and their endowments as proposed on the Estimates for 1852.

THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

His Excellency (special appropriation) ...	£2,000	0	0	Contingencies, including £60 house rent allowance to Private Secretary, and £84 for purchase of four horses	652	4	0
Private Secretary	£300	0	0				
Aide-de-Camp, 9s. 6d. per diem	173	17	0				
Mounted Orderlies, viz., one Sergeant at 4s. 6d., and three Troopers at 3s. 6d. each per diem	274	10	0	Total...			£1,400 11 0

COLONIAL (CHIEF) SECRETARY.

Colonial Secretary	£900	0	0	Occasional Clerical Assistance	£100	0	0
Chief Clerk (first-class) ...	265	0	0	Messenger	50	0	0
Three Clerks of third-class, at £140, £120, and £110 per annum...	370	0	0	Housekeeper	20	0	0
				Incidentals	295	0	0
				Total...			£2,000 0 0

COLONIAL TREASURY.

Treasurer	£500	0	0	Messenger at (2s. 6. per diem)	£45	15	0
Chief Clerk (second-class) ...	200	0	0	Occasional Clerical Assistance	50	0	0
Clerk of second-class ...	170	0	0	Incidentals	114	5	0
Three Clerks of third-class (two at £110 and one at £100)	320	0	0	Total...			£1,500 0 0

AUDIT OFFICE.

Auditor-General	£600	0	0	Incidentals	£80	0	0
Chief Clerk (first-class) ...	250	0	0	Housekeeper	20	0	0
Clerk (second-class)... ...	150	0	0	Total ..			£1,100 0 0

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

The Resident Judge (special appropriation)	£1,500	0	0	Clerk to Attorney-General...	100	0	0
Attorney-General	750	0	0	Two Clerks to the Crown-Solicitor, *i.e.*, one at £150, and one at £100 ..	250	0	0
Solicitor-General	500	0	0				
Crown-Solicitor	400	0	0	Crier and Court-keeper ...	80	0	0
Crown-Prosecutor	400	0	0	Two Messengers 2s. 6d. per day each	91	10	0
Master in Equity and Commissioner of Insolvent Estates	500	0	0	Sheriff	450	0	0
Registrar of Supreme Court and Curator Intestate Estates	450	0	0	Clerk	180	0	0
Chief Clerk and Prothonotary	300	0	0	Commissioner of Court of Requests	300	0	0
Four Clerks—one at £175, two at £110, and one at £100	495	0	0	Registrar	200	0	0
Clerk to the Judge	200	0	0	Contingencies	2,170	0	0
				Total ...			£9,316 10 0

CUSTOMS.

Collector	£600 0 0	Landing Surveyor	£400 0 0
First Clerk	260 0 0		
Four Clerks, viz., one at £210, one £160, one £130, and one at £110	610 0 0	Total	£1,870 0 0

PUBLIC WORKS.

The Colonial Architect	£450 0 0	Messenger at 2s. 6d. per day	45 15 0
Clerk of Works	180 0 0		
Draftsman at 8s. per day	146 0 0	Total	£941 15 0
Clerk of 3rd Class	120 0 0		

There was set apart for public buildings, including £800 as rent of temporary offices, a sum of £29,850.

A bridge branch was likewise provided for with the following staff:—

Superintendent	£300 0 0	Clerk 3rd Class	£130 0 0
Assistant Superintendent	160 0 0		
		Total	£590 0 0

And it was proposed to expend £14,000 upon, "roads, bridges, and other public works."

There were six branch Customs establishments from Port Albert to Portland, and the total contingencies were put down at only £380. In addition to the Port expenditure there was that of the Harbour Masters, Pilot stations, lighthouse keepers, telegraph stations, etc., etc.

The first Audit Office was in a house rented for the purpose a few yards below William Street, at north side of Lonsdale Street. Mr. Ebden, the first Auditor-General, burst suddenly into light as a Master of Finance, but I believe I am correct in stating that the gentleman who practically put the new machine in motion was Mr. E. C. Symonds (until lately—1888—one of the Commissioners of Audit), who was detached from Sydney for that purpose.

The Government Printing Office.

Amongst the earliest appointments made was that of Government Printer, the first holder of the office being Mr. Edward Khull, who held the position only about three months, when he was succeeded by Mr. John Ferres, for some time overseer of the *Herald*. During Khull's *régime* little was done towards the formation of an office, except ordering some types and presses from England, and collecting a few miscellaneous articles in town. Khull picked up an old press, for all printing purposes worth about its weight in iron; and the first press secured by Ferres was a foolscap Albion, which lived and worked all through the vicissitudes of wear and tear, until it came to a tragic end by incremation in the fire at the Printing Office on Queen's Birthday (24th May, 1882.) Mr. Ferres lost no time in putting his little house in order, and a very small beginning it was. He opened shop in the month of November, 1851, on the ground floor of a small two-storey building in Lonsdale Street West. The number of hands at the commencement was half-a-dozen, with two presses. The *Government Gazette* commenced its issue from this place in January, 1852, and in February, 1853, a movement was made to a tenement still standing, though in a very so-so condition, in Lonsdale Street, next to the Law Courts site. In old times it was well known as the residence of Dr. Cussen, the first Colonial Surgeon. Ferres found much more elbow-room here, though the place soon became inadequate; but an unexpected stroke of good luck soon turned up. After the festivities occasioned by the Governor's Ball on the 24th May, 1853, Mr. Ferres conceived the happy notion that the best use to which the empty ball-room could be put would be to convert it into a printing office. Accordingly the subject so unceremoniously started was subsequently well considered, and orders were given to fit up the place for a printing office, wherein work was begun on the 14th July, 1853. The same Mr. John Ferres, who may be designated its *accoucheur* and wet-nurse, and who subsequently dry-nursed it with not only a nurse's but a mother's care, is still its faithful guardian (1886.) He was once separated from the object of his parental solicitude through

the mistaken notion that when a man attains the age of three-score years he is only fit to be shelved; but a succeeding Government, scouting such an absurd fallacy, reinstated him, where he continues to discharge his onerous and responsible duties with unimpaired ability and undiminished integrity. There is no post in the Public Service of Victoria of more trustworthiness; more worrying in its manifold details; more difficult to hold because of the numerous interferences consequent upon the uncertain political system now prevalent; requiring more the faculty of organization, or technical knowledge; more trying to the human temperament, or needing more a cool head, and an inexhaustible stock of patience. Yet through all these tests the incumbent passed with a degree of success which certainly few other men could equal and none excel. For more than thirty years he was a part and parcel of a department whose rapid growth from an infant to a giant he daily witnessed; and the name of "John Ferres" can never be dissociated from the strange and eventful early history of the Victorian Government Printing Office.

Whilst engaged in collecting materials for the foregoing information, I was communicated with from more than one quarter to the effect that on Khull's exit the offer of Government Printer was made to, and declined by, Mr. Benjamin Lucas, a well-known printer still amongst us. For years he carried on business in premises in East Collins Street, next to *The Argus* office; and from his establishment was issued the "Separation Announcement" previously published and signed "Wm. Nicholson, Mayor." One thing is, however, certain, viz., that during the brief *interregnum* between the parting of Khull and the coming of Ferres, Mr. Lucas was placed in temporary charge of the Government shop. From memoranda supplied to me by him I thus extract:—"Mr. Gill (Clerk of Stores) waited upon me at my office, and requested me to see the Auditor-General (Mr. Ebden) on the following morning. I called and saw Mr. E., and, at his request, immediately took possession of the Government Printing Office (so called). I put up the 'press' (the first press), arranged the office, and then printed the Estimates. . . . No 'press' was put up by Khull, or 'rollers' cast (the 'rollers' were cast in my private printing establishment, No. 72 Collins Street East); therefore no printing could have been executed without a 'press' or 'rollers' in the Government Printing Office up to the date of my entering the office."

On referring the *vexata questio* to Mr. Ferres for his report thereon, I was favoured with the following communication:—

4th January, 1883.

My Dear Sir,—You ask me to give you some circumstances attending my appointment as Government Printer.

As you well know, we were fellow-workers on the *Herald*, which paper supported the Government at the time. This brought me, as Manager, often into communication with several members of the Government, and also with Mr. Latrobe.

The first conversation I had upon the subject of the appointment was with Mr. Ebden, (the Auditor-General), who asked me if I would accept, but I declined, as I was well satisfied with my position on the *Herald*. I had several interviews after, and also with Messrs. Ebden and Cavenagh (the *Herald* proprietor) together. However, I finally accepted the office.

Mr. Ebden wished me leave the *Herald* at once, as some important work was urgently required, but this I could not do, so it was agreed that I should superintend both establishments for a fortnight, Mr. Ebden undertaking to obtain such help as may be required. It was, of course, necessary that I should make a formal application, so that the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor may be recorded.

Several friends called on me, urging me to accept the offer, some of whom are living, but most of them are dead.

Yours very truly,

J. Ferres.

After giving the conflicting testimony careful consideration I am disposed to accept the Ferres version as the correct one, a view strongly fortified by my personal recollection of what happened. The appointment of Mr. Ferres as Government Printer was approved by the Governor-in-Council on the 28th October, 1851 and the new officer entered upon his duties on the 10th of November following.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

SYNOPSIS:—The Melbourne Election.—The First Legislative Council Chamber.—The First Council Establishment.—Mr. John Barker, First Clerk of the Council.—Captain Conron, First Sergeant-at-Arms.—The Parliament Library.—The First Legislature.—The First Meeting.—Dr. J. F. Palmer, First Speaker.—The Opening Day.—The First Legislative "Row."—Fight Over the Lord's Prayer.—The First Prorogation Ceremony.—The Thirty Pioneers.—The First Legislatorial Death.—Elevation of Redmond Barry and W. F. Stawell.—The Bicameral Legislature.—Dr. Palmer, First President of Council.—Mr. Murphy, First Speaker of House of Assembly.—Political Knighthood.

BY "The Victoria Electoral Act, 1851," it was enacted that the Legislative Council of Victoria should consist of thirty members, one-third to be appointed by Her Majesty, and the residue elected. The colony was divided into sixteen electoral districts, of which the City of Melbourne was to return three members, the Town of Geelong and the Northern Division of the County of Bourke two members each, and every other District one member each. Bribery was defined to be, "the giving by candidate or agent of money, or any article whatever, to any elector with a view to influence his vote; or the holding out to him any promise or expectation of profit, advancement, etc., or to any of his family or friends; or the making use of any threat, or intimidating any voter, or supplying voter with meat, drink, lodging, horse or carriage hire, or conveyance by steam or otherwise at, coming to, or going from, election; paying voter money for acting or joining in any procession; the keeping, or allowing to be kept open any public-house, shop, booth, or tent, or place of entertainment, whether refreshment of any kind be distributed there or not; the giving of any dinner, supper, breakfast, etc., at any place by a candidate, etc. The polling was not to extend beyond one day, and the voting was by an open ballot or slip of paper. Various contingencies were provided for, and several of the clauses were a re-enactment of the Colonial Electoral Law previously in force.

The first member returned (6th September), was Mr. Adolphus Goldsmith for the United Counties of Ripon, Hampden, Grenville, and Polwarth. He was opposed by Mr. James Thompson, and obtaining a show of hands, neither Thompson nor six electors for him being present to demand a poll, the event was a "walk-over."

THE MELBOURNE ELECTION.

The number of electors on the Roll was:—Gipps Ward, 1063; Latrobe Ward, 750; Fitzroy Ward, 652; Lonsdale Ward, 630; Bourke Ward, 556; Total, 3651.

The nomination took place in the porch of the old Supreme Court in Latrobe Street on the 10th September, 1851, and the candidates proposed were:—Messrs. James Stewart Johnston, George Ward Cole, William Westgarth, John Hodgson, A. F. A. Greeves, William Nicholson, and John O'Shanassy.

The poll, fixed for the following day (11th), was held at the following places, viz.:—Bourke Ward—*Crown Hotel*, Lonsdale Street; Latrobe Ward—*Bull and Mouth Hotel*, Bourke Street; Gipps Ward—*Say's Hotel*, Lonsdale Street; Lonsdale Ward—The *Imperial Inn*, Collins Street; Fitzroy Ward—The *Crown and Anchor*, Charles Street.

A good deal of hard work was done in the way of vote-coaxing and hunting in the city; a "dead-set" was made to oust O'Shanassy, and national and religious jealousies were invoked as allies. O'Shanassy was now fairly in the front, as probably the ablest public man of the time, and

the citizens could ill afford to lose his valuable services. Nicholson was popular, and his defeat was a surprise. Hodgson, though plausible and complaisant, carried but a small quantity of metal, whilst Greeves' unquestionable ability and acquirements were lost in the general unbelief in him. Captain Cole was too independent to canvass, and paid the penalty, though he could have stood no chance in such a race. Westgarth's lengthened services furnished him with an undeniably first claim, whilst Johnston had established himself as a fluent, pungent speaker, a thorough "hard-hitter" when he liked, a reputation he did not quite retain in after years. Westgarth and Nicholson obtained more of the general voting power than the others; but the Hibernian "plumpers" told effectually for O'Shanassy, as did the Caledonian contingent for Johnston. Though intense interest was manifested during the day, there was nothing like the acrimonious violence or riotous effervesences of the first town election in 1843, and the close of the poll showed :—For Westgarth, 1202; for O'Shanassy, 1168; for Johnston, 1128; for Nicholson, 1094; for Hodgson, 618; for Greeves, 257; for Cole, 219.

Through some unaccountable whim one vote each was recorded for Robert Hoddle, John Patterson, and William Stewart. Westgarth, O'Shanassy, and Johnston were returned, and much satisfaction was felt at the compliment paid to the gentleman who headed the list, who richly deserved it, as a return for a series of distinguished honorary exertions employed on behalf of the new-born colony.

The First Legislative Council Chamber.

There was not much difference of opinion as to the most eligible site whereon to erect a permanent Parliament House. The north of Spring Street had been years before suggested and ably advocated by Dr. Greeves. Others went in for the Public Library Reserve, but its proximity to both gaol and hospital put it aside. The corner of William and Latrobe Streets, opposite the Government offices (now the New Law Courts), had convenience and other advantages in its favour, but, finally, in February, 1851, the site subsequently built upon was chosen. There were only three buildings that could supply the room absolutely necessary, viz., the Mechanics' Institute, the Protestant Hall, and St. Patrick's Hall. The Colonial Architect (Mr. H. Ginn), selected the St. Patrick Hall as the most suitable, and the Directory of the St. Patrick Society was not unwilling to accept such a solvent tenant as the new Government; for, at the time, a fat slice of the public money, in the shape of a liberal rent, was not undesirable. The Milesians accordingly surrendered their stronghold upon handsome terms. It was little more than a large, cold-looking, two-warded barracks, but under Mr. Ginn's prompt operations it underwent a complete transformation. The upper compartment was converted into a Chamber for the senators, a reporters' gallery, and the strangers' gallery. The ground-floor was subdivided into four apartments, three of them to be used as clerical offices, and one as a Committee-room. The hall had originally but one staircase (in front), and this led to the Members' entrance. To provide a mode of ingress to the strangers' gallery, the Jews very obligingly lent a few feet of their Synagogue land, immediately westward, which was fenced in, and constituted a side avenue. The large upper apartment was the finest then in Melbourne. Primarily it was lighted by a row of windows in the eastern wall, but now a flood of illumination was admitted through the roof, in which was fixed "the first horizontal light introduced into the colonies."

The First Council Establishment

Was framed in accordance with the other small beginnings, and contrasts so amusingly with the state of things in 1888, that I transcribe *in extenso* the amounts provided for its maintenance in the first estimates :—

Salaries per Annum.—Speaker, £400; Chairman of Committees, £200; Clerk of the Council, £400; Sergeant-at-Arms, £100; Shorthand Writer, £200; Clerk of 3rd Class and Reader, £200; Messenger at 2s. 6d. per day, £45 15s.; Housekeeper, £25; Doorkeeper at 2s. 6d. per day, £45 15s.; Additional assistance during the Session of the Council, £300. Total, £1916 10s.

CONTINGENCIES.—To provide books and papers for the library, £500; Bookbinding for the library, £25; Stationery, £50; Bookbinding, £25; Postage, £100; Fuel, £22 10s.—Water, £7 16s.—Light, £100; Incidental expenses, £100; Paper for printing Council Papers, £150. Total, £1080 6s. Total, Legislative Council, £2996 16s.

Mr. John Barker was appointed Clerk of the Council, and so continued until November, 1856, when the original Legislative body died, and two Chambers of Legislation were substituted, viz., a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly, and to the Clerkship of the latter Mr. Barker succeeded. In this post he remained through periods of intense Parliamentary turbulence, and performed his onerous duties with an ability and impartiality which few men in such a trying position could attain. In April, 1882, he was transferred to the less onerous, though really more responsible joint office of Clerk of the Parliaments and Clerk of the Legislative Council, and his retirement from the Assembly was signalized by the well-merited compliment of a special resolution, acknowledging his invaluable services, accompanied by the presentation of a rare and costly silver *souvenir*, subscribed for by members of the Assembly. The clerk-assistant was Mr. Edward Khull, who was a fish-out-of-water in his new vocation, and soon made way for Mr. Charles Ridgway, who remained for many years a member of the corps of Parliamentary officials.

The first Sergeant-at-Arms was Captain Conron; he was soon succeeded by Mr. Edward Cotton, who also officiated as Registrar of the County Court, a duality that became inconvenient, and Cotton surrendered his place to Mr. William Palmer, who wields, or rather shoulders his mace, to the present period (1888). In the Old Council the Sergeant was mace-less, for that Historical Parliamentary "bauble" was not introduced as a Speaker's official double until 1856, when it crept into our Legislative system with other so-called "privileges" of the Imperial House of Commons.

THE PARLIAMENT LIBRARY

Started from the smallest of beginnings, *i.e.*, nothing. A sum of £500 was appropriated to the purchase of the intellectual *pabulum* required, and the earliest opportunity was taken to utilize it. One of the first sessional transactions of the Council was the appointment of the Speaker (Dr. Palmer), the Solicitor-General (Mr. Barry), Messrs. W. Westgarth, C. J. Griffith, and J. P. Fawkner, as a Library Committee. A catalogue of the books and periodicals required for a start was prepared, and entrusted to Mr. Henry Moor, who was about leaving for England.

In February, 1853, the temporary apartment erected at rear of St. Patrick's Hall, was shaped into a Library, and Ridgway, the Clerk-Assistant, was appointed Librarian. Early in April, a shipment of eleven cases of books, &c., arrived in the Bay. Ridgway nursed his infant Library as affectionately as a fond mother tends her first-born babe, and beheld it increase and multiply each year. In 1856 the Library was formed into a distinct department of the new Parliament Houses, and its dry nurse was most deservedly promoted to the position of Chief Guardian, and so stayed for several years to within a short period of his death. Few persons who have not witnessed the extraordinary change that has taken place in the Parliament Library can form any conception of what it once was and now is, from the time when it was domiciled in a single weather-board room a few yards square, to its transfer to the magnificent structure in which it is now tenanted. As is well-known, the Parliament Library of 1888 is an eastern adjunct of the Parliament buildings on a level with the two Chambers of Legislation. It consists of the main Library, with an area of 70 feet by 45 feet, and the north and south corridors, 50 feet by 25 feet, flanking it on each side.

THE FIRST VICTORIAN LEGISLATURE.

The elected members were thus notified in the *Government Gazette*:—

North Bourke: Charles Hilton Dight, and John Thomas Smith; South Bourke, Evelyn, and Mornington: Henry Miller; Grant: John Henry Mercer; Normanby, Dundas and Follett: James

Frederick Palmer; Villiers and Heytesbury: William Rutledge; Ripon and Hampden, Grenville and Polwarth: Adolphus Goldsmith; Talbot, Dalhousie, and Anglesey: John Pascoe Fawkner; Gippsland: Robert Turnbull; The Murray: Francis Murphy; The Loddon: William Campbell; The Wimmera: William Francis Splatt; Melbourne: William Westgarth, John O'Shanassy, and James Stewart Johnston; Geelong: Robert Robinson, and James Ford Strachan; Portland: Thomas Wilkinson; Belfast and Warrnambool: Thomas Hamilton Osborne; Kilmore, Kyneton and Seymour: Peter Snodgrass.

This score was supplemented by a nominee element of one-half as many members appointed by the Governor, which was further subdivided into five official and as many non-official members. The official nominees were:—W. F. Stawell, Attorney-General; William Lonsdale, Colonial Secretary; Redmond Barry, Solicitor-General; C. H. Ebden, Auditor-general, and R. W. Pohlman, Master-in-Equity. The non-official contribution being:—A. C. W. Dunlop, Charles J. Griffiths, W. C. Haines, J. H. Ross, and Andrew Russell. Professionally, or avocationally, the thirty might be thus approximately classified:—Miller, 1; Financier, 1; Merchants, 6; Landholders, 4; Squatters, 7; Barristers, 3; Attorney, 1; Newspaper Proprietors, 2; Medical, 2; and Shopkeepers, 3.

The First Meeting.

On the 17th October, the Lieutenant-Governor issued a proclamation convening the new Legislature for the 11th November, an eventful day in the Parliamentary annals of the colony. Though the weather was unpromising, a crowd collected before noon in front of the Council Chamber (Bourke Street West), the strangers' gallery was well filled, though the lady segment was sadly deficient. The small area in the "House" outside the Bar, was occupied by members of the City Council, the Sheriff, a few Magistrates, and others of the then large fry. Twenty-seven members were in their places, and as the three absentees joined them before the swearing-in ceremonial was over, there was a full House.

The Clerk having read the proclamation or summons, the Colonial Secretary produced a Commission from the Lieutenant-Governor authorizing himself and the Attorney-General "jointly and separately, to administer all oaths and affirmations to each other and the members," etc., etc., which was handed to the Clerk and by him read; after which the Attorney-General subjected himself to the testamentary ordeal, and all present followed through the same. The Letters Patent appointing the non-elective members, and the Writs returning the elective members, were produced as each individual presented himself to be sworn. The Colonial Secretary congratulated the House on its first assembling, and expressed a hope that the advantage to be expected from the system of self-government at length established would be fully realized.

Election of Speaker.

Mr. Westgarth moved, "That James Frederick Palmer, Esq., do take the Chair of this House as Speaker," which was seconded by Mr. Rutledge, and there being no other member proposed, Dr. Palmer was conducted to the Chair by his mover and seconder. The Colonial Secretary and Mr. Murphy offered their congratulations.

The pleasure of the Lieutenant Governor to receive the Speaker next day at Government House having been notified, the House adjourned.

At 11.30 on the 12th the Council met, and on motion to that effect, the members proceeded to the Government Offices to present their Speaker. Having done so, and returned, the Speaker formally reported "That the Lieutenant-Governor had not disallowed their choice, and had granted the usual privileges." It was also communicated that on the morrow, at 12 o'clock, the Lieutenant-Governor would in person "declare the purposes for which he had called the Council together, and open the Session thereof."

It was agreed to:—"That a suitable Chair be prepared for His Excellency on the occasion of his opening the Session, and that proper respect be shown to His Excellency by all the members standing," after which the Council adjourned.

The Opening Day.

From 11 a.m. of the 13th the Council Chamber commenced to assume a lively appearance, and by noon, there was, in theatrical parlance, a "bumper house." In the body of the Chamber the members' benches were surrendered to the ladies, of whom there was a fair sprinkling, whilst the strangers' gallery was, in the hyperbolic language of the newspapers, "crammed to the ceiling." The Resident Judge (A'Beckett), the Sheriff, and other Government officers were present, and prominent around the Bar were the Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors, and Town Clerk. Four pieces of artillery, planted on an eminence in the Government Reserve, boomed forth the departure of the Lieutenant-Governor for the Council Chamber. His Excellency travelled in an open carriage, and was accompanied by his Private Secretary and *Aide-de-camp*. His escort consisted of a few mounted troopers, and in front of St. Patrick's Hall was a guard of honour picked from the military detachment. His Excellency was received at the door by the Speaker, the Colonial Secretary, and the Attorney-General, and followed by them, he took up his position to the left of the Speaker's Chair. All the members rose as His Excellency passed, and at his request, Mr. Speaker asked them to be seated.

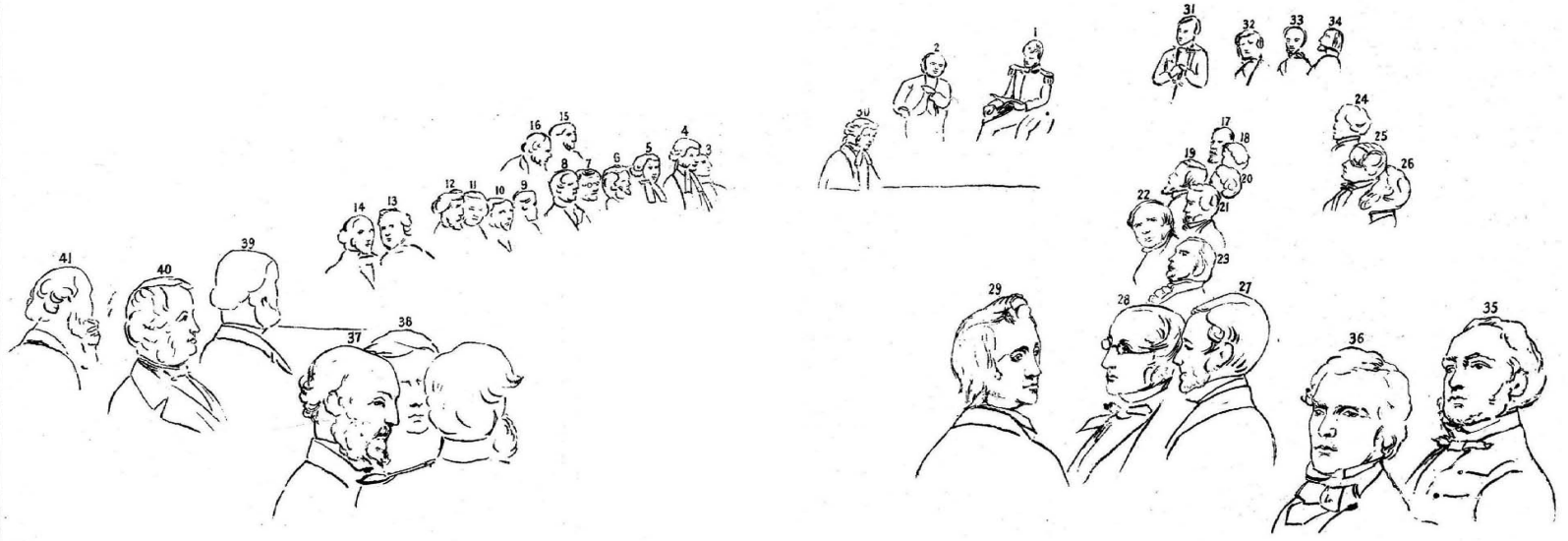
The Lieutenant-Governor, in a lengthy address, thus adverted to the goldfields:—"There is still one subject of great and absorbing interest to which it may be proper for me to advert, as it is one which will undeniably exercise a great and lasting influence upon the future position and prospects of our colony. The discovery of the existence of gold in large quantities in New South Wales earlier in the year, has been quickly followed by that of mineral wealth in equal, or perhaps greater abundance within our own limits, under circumstances which might leave it to be inferred that it may be found to exist throughout the length and breadth of the colony. The immediate effects of this discovery, the influences which it has at the outset exercised more or less upon the whole population, and monetary difficulties and anxiety to which it has given rise, can only be glanced at. I am encouraged, however, to hope that the more immediate consequences of these discoveries at this particular season of the year may ultimately prove less productive of general embarrassment than may have been at first anticipated, and that it will be found that neither the agricultural nor the pastoral interest will suffer to any very serious extent. I am also encouraged to trust that the large influx of population from the neighbouring colonies—at the same time that it must involve many grave considerations of a general character—may not be productive of the scarcity which some have apprehended. The prospects of the harvest throughout the whole of the colonies are most satisfactory, and there can be little doubt but that abundant supplies from without, sufficient to meet the demand, however great or unexpected, will not be wanting. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"And now, Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen, I am not, for my part, inclined to undervalue the responsibility of the task which the favour of our gracious Sovereign, the law of our country, and the voice of the community have placed in our hands. It is a noble one, and far higher interests than those of the passing hour demand that it should be well performed. What we sow our children will reap. It is for us to prove to the Mother-country, by the temper and prudence with which we fulfil our duties, that we are not unworthy of her; and we have to show to the world that in the case of Victoria early precocity, and an extraordinarily rapid, physical, and perhaps moral development, are not necessarily followed by early decay and failure of power, but that under God's good Providence, her mature age will not be unworthy the promise of her youth."

His Excellency was dressed in full uniform, and wore the "hat and feathers" afterwards destined to figure for years as a historical bogey, which almost frightened *The Argus* out of its propriety. After His Excellency's departure the Council adjourned to three o'clock.

The First Legislative "Row."

The Lord's Prayer was, strangely enough, the first "apple of discord" rolled upon the table; and the first unseemly Parliamentary "scene" originated in the introduction of a topic which, from



1 Lieut. Gov. Latrobe	5 Sir R. Barry	9	13 Mr. Griffith	17 Mr. Snodgrass	21 Mr. Westgarth	25 Mr. Miller	29 Mr. Fawkner	33 Mr. Grimes	37 Mr. E. Bell
2 Sir J. Palmer	6 Mr. Ebden	10 Mr. Haines	14 Mr. A. Russell	18	22 Mr. O'Shannassy	26	30 Mr. Barker	34 M. Borsiquot	38 Mr. Greeves
3 Capt.n Lonsdale	7 Mr. Pohlman	11 Mr. Campbell	15	19 Mr. Bright	23 Mr. J. T. Smith	27 Sir F. Murphy	31 Capt. Conrab	35 Mr. Ridgway	39 Mr. Curner
4 Sir W. Stawell	8 Mr. Ross	12	16 Mr. Rutledge	20	24 Mr. Osborne	28 Mr. Strachan	32 Mr. Cassell	36 Mr. Hodgson	40 Mr. E. Henty

41 Mr. D. C. Macarthur (Nos. 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41 are introduced as spectators.)

KEY TO THE OPENING OF THE FIRST LECISLATIVE COUNCIL OF VICTORIA, NOVEMBER 13TH 1851, BY LIEUT. GOV. C. J. LATROBE.

From sketches taken on the occasion by Mr. William Strutt.

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its nature, one would think could be discussed without the indulgence of acrimonious expressions and the display of angry feeling.

On the resumption of the House, Mr. Dunlop gave notice of his intention to move, "That public prayers to Almighty God be offered up daily at the opening of this Council, so soon as the Speaker shall have taken the Chair. That it be referred to a Committee of this Council to select or prepare a suitable Form of Prayer for this purpose; and that the said Form of Prayer, when approved of by the Council, be used exclusively on all such occasions, and be read by the Speaker."

Mr. O'Shanassy immediately rose, and notified his intention to move, contingent on the Council adopting Mr. Dunlop's motion, "That it be an instruction to the Committee appointed to draw up a Form of Prayer, to move an Address to his Excellency, praying that his Excellency will be pleased to place a sum not exceeding £10,000 on the Estimates, to be placed by this Council at the disposal of the Prayerful Committee, to enable them to offer a premium for the best Form of Prayer submitted to them by tender, designed especially not to interfere with the civil rights or religious opinions or privileges of any Member of this House; and also that it be a special instruction of this Council that every member of the Committee of Prayer shall, on agreeing to their Report, accompany it with their letters patent of Inspiration, and the date of their origin."*

Mr. Stawell objected to the reception of the amendment, and he moved "That, inasmuch as the contingent notice of motion is blasphemous and unparliamentary, it be expunged from the notice paper of the Council." Seconded by Mr. Haines.

Mr. O'Shanassy designated the original motion as one brought forward with indecent haste. An official member had that day communicated to him that such a motion would be introduced, and of this he complained. Under the circumstances, he was ready to admit that the amendment had been prepared under the influence of excited feelings.

Mr. Stawell, after such an admission, would withdraw his motion if a similar course were adopted as regarded the amendment.

Mr. O'Shanassy would agree to do so if Mr. Stawell would withdraw some of the remarks in which he had indulged. He entertained as deep a horror of blasphemy, and knew what it was, as well as Mr. Stawell did, though, perhaps, not its legal definition. The use of a set Form of Prayer in the Legislature of Victoria would be an invasion of his right of private judgment as a member of the Council, and an insult to him as a Roman Catholic. Furthermore, it would be a violation of Her Majesty's instructions to Colonial Governments, that there should be no interference in matters of religion.

The discussion was continued for a short time in a rather peppery style, and eventually the amendment was by consent withdrawn.

On the 14th November the Prayer Question was to be discussed, and an amusing *contretemps* occurred, for it had dropped out of the notice paper, and Mr. Fawkner stoutly objected to its restoration. The Speaker ruled that as regular notice had been given, and the motion handed to the Clerk, it could be proceeded with.

Mr. Dunlop moved for permission to divide his motion, which was objected to, but on a division leave was given by a majority of 21 to 5. The first portion was next formally proposed, and seconded by Mr. Rutledge, upon which Mr. O'Shanassy moved, and Mr. Johnston seconded, the "previous question." Another acrimonious debate followed, and an amendment "That the question be now put," was carried. As this was the first division on record, the names are appended:—Ayes, 13: Messrs. Mercer, Campbell, Rutledge, Haines, Pohlman, Russell, Lonsdale, Stawell, Barry, Goldsmith, Griffith, Wilkinson, Dunlop (teller). Noes, 14: Messrs. Ebden, Miller, Robinson, Fawkner, O'Shanassy, Murphy, Ross, Westgarth, Dight, Johnston, Snodgrass, Turnbull, Strachan, Splatt (teller). Absent—Messrs. Smith and Osborne.

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* I cannot resist the temptation (for which I trust to be excused) of here stating, that Mr. O'Shanassy did me the honour to submit for my opinion his amendment before its public announcement, when I frankly declared my disapproval of its style, and questioned the wisdom of moving it; but O'Shanassy was a man, who, though from some mental vagary, would occasionally condescend to seek advice, seldom or ever took it when given. Of this failing, or otherwise, I was well aware, and it was, therefore, with no surprise I heard my opinion scornfully derided in terms he reverse of complimentary to my self-supposed sagacity.—[THE AUTHOR].

So the Prayer Question was shelved, and allowed to rest in peace, until the inauguration of our double branch Parliament in 1856, when it was revived in the Legislative Council, every sitting of which to the present time has been commenced with a solemn Presidential *Pater Noster*.

The Council settled to work, and Mr. Francis Murphy was appointed Chairman of Committees. As a maiden effort, the Session did credit to the newly-born body, and some of the members put forth symptoms of the business aptitude and debating powers for which they were subsequently distinguished. With the exception of a five days' Christmas recess, the sitting was continued as a rule for four days each week, and they met twice on Saturdays and Mondays—in all 34 meetings, and the general result of their legislation may thus be summarised:—Number of Bills passed and received the Royal assent, 15; Lapsed in Committee, 1; Lapsed in the Council, 2; Negatived on third reading, 1; Withdrawn, 3; Disposed of by the question that it be read a second time that day six months, 1; Total Bills introduced, 23.

The Prorogation Ceremony

Was effected on the 6th January, 1852, at half-past one o'clock, and when the Speaker took the Chair, the Chamber was well filled, but not to the same extent as on the Opening Day, a circumstance accounted for by the intense heat of the weather. The discharge of artillery posted at Batman's Hill, announced that the Lieutenant-Governor had set forth on his mission.

After the usual *salaams* had been interchanged, and the standing members requested to be seated, his Excellency read "in a clear and distinct voice," a Valedictory Address, from which I have transcribed two or three passages:—"The Provision which you have sanctioned for the maintenance of the different branches of the Public Service, would, doubtless, in ordinary times, be held, in the great majority of instances, to be amply sufficient for the purposes intended. Its insufficiency in certain important particulars, under the extraordinary circumstances in which the colony is placed, must nevertheless be conceded; and as the Council has not felt disposed to admit as charges upon the ordinary revenue, any expenditure which, however obviously necessary, it may consider consequent upon the gold discovery, and has declined to make the requisite provision to meet the extraordinary circumstances of the time, I have assumed the responsibility of sanctioning such additional expenditure as appears absolutely requisite, if the Public Service is not to be subjected to the most serious embarrassment, and have directed that such extraordinary expenditure should be borne upon the territorial revenue, pending reference to the Home Government. The Council will nevertheless be aware that there are branches of the Public Service which no justifiable sacrifice or exertion on the part of the Executive Government can place upon a thoroughly satisfactory footing, or render thoroughly efficient, under the existing circumstances."

It afforded His Excellency pleasure to accede to certain suggested modifications in the Estimates originally submitted; and, in the prospect of a rapidly increasing revenue, to sanction various additions to the original scheme of appropriation. A considerable addition had been made to the sums devoted to purposes of internal improvement, and he promised to provide for their effectual and economical employment, whenever the circumstances of the colony might give the required facilities.

Acknowledging the attentive consideration given to the subject of the future Administration of Justice in the colony, and the readiness with which the Council supplied the deficiency in the sum devoted under the Imperial Act to the maintenance of the various branches of the Public Service, His Excellency thus continued:—

"The Address presented to me by the Council, deprecating the continuance of the system of Transportation to these colonies, with the request that I would forward it to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, has already been transmitted to its destination, with a confident expression of my belief, that on whatever grounds of expediency the continuance of this system may have been hitherto sanctioned, it will no longer be persisted in.

"I fully concur in the opinion of the Council that, notwithstanding the great addition to our population, which the present development of the mineral resources of the colony is effecting, its

interests urgently demand that the emigration of certain classes should, as heretofore, be amply provided for from the public revenues; and I am glad to have found myself in a position to make further considerable remittances to the Home authorities to this end, from the balance in the Treasury to the credit of the territorial revenue.

"The various Addresses which I have received from the Council on subjects of general interest will meet with the consideration from me which they are entitled to."

His Excellency concluded by proroguing the Council to the 10th February, and forthwith withdrew, when the Chamber was rapidly emptied, and left "like some banquet hall deserted." And so there was an end to the first Session of the first Legislature of the infant colony of Victoria.

The Thirty Pioneers.

Though just half-a-dozen of them had figured prominently in the antecedent political agitation, they constituted a tolerably faithful reflex of public opinion. The regular "old stagers" were Ebden, Fawkner, Johnston, Palmer, Stawell, and Westgarth. O'Shanassy was then only coming to the front, and Smith and Russell were only known as prominent members of the City Council. The Session had not more than opened when some of the team began to show to advantage. On the Government side the Colonial Secretary (Lonsdale) would have been completely overpowered by the Opposition but for the Attorney-General (Stawell), seconded by the *suave* and gentlemanly Solicitor-General (Redmond Barry.) Stawell worked with the will of an Atlas. The sonorous affectation of the pompous Auditor-General (Ebden), and the innocuous lispings of Pohlman, wrought but little effect against the dashing and self-trained ability of O'Shanassy; the plodding persistency of the veteran Westgarth; the biting sarcasm and pungent points of Johnston; and the impetuous personalities of Fawkner. The nominee Members mostly sided with the Government, for which they could not be blamed; and the squatting Representatives often followed suit. Miller (even then by common accord known as the Money-maker) quickly established himself as an adept in finance, and promised in the early future to become a formidable opponent, though the reputation thus early shadowed forth for him never realized the success anticipated.

It may be interesting to briefly note the fate and future of the historical group. The first to die off was Dunlop, and in this present year of grace (1888), only the following (so far as I am aware) remain in the land of the living, viz.:—Johnston, Murphy, Splatt, Stawell, and Westgarth.

Barry was, in 1852, elevated to the Supreme Court Bench, whither Stawell, after a memorable and tempestuous legislatorial career, followed as Chief Justice in 1857. For nine-and-twenty years he exercised the functions of this high and honourable position to the satisfaction of the Bar and the public, and abdicated under the pressure of advancing years in September, 1886, the recipient of a much larger amount of salary-income than was ever netted by any Government official in Victoria, and entitled to draw two distinct pensions conjointly realizing an unprecedentedly liberal annuity.

Haines succeeded to the office of Colonial Secretary in 1854, and was subsequently twice Premier, and once Treasurer. Ebden jumped from the Auditor-Generalship to the Treasury, an office which he twice filled. Miller, Johnston, and Smith, were also Cabinet Ministers. Pohlman left the Equity Office for the County Court Judgeship, and twice acted as *locum tenens* in the Supreme Judiciary, whilst O'Shanassy was three times Chief Secretary. Murphy resigned the Chairmanship of Committees to accept the control of the Department of Roads and Bridges, and was succeeded by Snodgrass. On the inauguration of our present duplex Parliamentary system, Palmer ascended to the Upper House or Council, of which he was elected the first President, in November, 1856, whilst Murphy obtained the Speakership of the Assembly. Barry, Murphy, Palmer, Stawell and O'Shanassy respectively received the honour of Knighthood. Westgarth, whose services to the colony extended over a lengthened period, obtained neither official honour or emolument; a fact accounted for by his having left Victoria, and permanently settled in England.

Such were some of the veritable *Patres Conscripti*, who constituted the *fons et origo*, the spring-head, from which burst forth the stream of legislation which now rolls its waves through the colony.

CHAPTER LXVII.

SOME PECULIAR PEOPLE.

SYNOPSIS:—William Cooper, "The Literary Blacksmith."—"Tom" Watson ——Buckland.—James Ballingall.—Thomas Stevenson.—"Jemmy the Pieman."—M——.—"Micky Mac."—"Big Mick."—"Long M——."—Daniel Wellesley O'Donovan.

THERE are in all communities certain units of the population who may be classified as unaffiliated or individualized "odd" fellows, in the literal acceptation of the term. In a large city like the Melbourne of to-day, the peculiarities of such people attract comparatively little public attention, for they become merged in the great vortex of humanity, but in Melbourne, such as it was up to 1852, the reverse formed the rule, and some of the old townies, the subjects of mild eccentricities, became notabilities in their way, and were a source of much amusement and banter. Some of them have already appeared in these sketches, and to omit others would occasion an *hiatus* incompatible with completeness. The gap must therefore be stopped, and the revival of any names previously mentioned is for the purpose of supplying details excluded for the convenience of the narrative in other places.

WILLIAM COOPER was known as "the literary blacksmith." His smithy was a wooden shed in Little Collins Street, he plied his muscular vocation with remunerative assiduity, and was a "striking" example to his brethren in the trade. Cooper's forge was during working hours never cold, for

> "From morn till night,
> You could hear his bellows blow;
> You could hear him swing his heavy sledge,
> With measured beat and slow,
> Like a sexton ringing the village bell
> When the evening sun was low."

The world went on swimmingly enough with him until the incorporation of Melbourne. The tide then turned in Cooper's life, and the ebb of prosperity set in and so continued to recede until he was completely stranded. The first Corporation election was a regular pitched beer battle, in which most of the successful candidates fought their way to the head of the poll through the fumes and froth of spirituous and fermented liquors. Mr. Henry Condell, one of the first Town Councillors and Aldermen, and Melbourne's first Mayor and Legislative Representative, was a well-to do brewer, and as he jumped into the Civic arena he determined to roll himself on to the goal of his ambition astride his own beer casks. The erstwhile busy forge was now quenched; the welding of iron and shoeing of horses passed over to other and surer workshops, and Cooper himself went completely to the dogs. For the remainder of his life he existed mainly on fermented suction, and his downfall soon followed. For seven or eight years he was a thorough tavern cadger, in which line, as he was in his way jovial, good-humoured, and harmless to all save himself, he was regarded as a sort of street favourite, and could always command a liberal supply of free drinks. Fortunately for him, when he could not hold out much longer, the Benevolent Asylum was opened as a refuge for the destitute, and, in 1851, "old Cooper" enjoyed the rather questionable distinction of being the "number one" of its inmates.

THOMAS ("TOM") WATSON, another remarkable identity, was a Waterloo man, and a Peninsula veteran. Old Tom was fond of expatiating at all times and seasons upon his soldiering and recounting

> "The story of his life
> From year to year; the battles, sieges, fortunes,
> That he had pass'd."

If credence were to be given to a tithe of his "tall talk," one would fancy him to have been as deep in Wellington's confidence as the most trusted of the "Iron Duke's" staff. There was little doubt, however, that he had served in the 33rd Regiment of British Infantry. "Tom," from his arrival in the province, took an active interest in promulgating the benefits of abstinence from intoxicating fluids, and both by his precept and example was much of an acquisition to the early Temperance Societies. He was master of the Russell Street Band, and his portly figure, decked out in scarf and rosette, with a Waterloo medal shining on his breast, advancing with the regulation military step in the van, was of itself worth looking at. Tom Watson was such an intense teetotaller, that, not satisfied with being an openly avowed water drinker, he resolved to obtain a livelihood by vending the precious element. He was soon recognized as one of the most efficient of the corps of "watermen," the first known medium of water supply between the Yarra and the householders of Melbourne. He lived a long, active, and useful life until his last earthly barrel was emptied. I know not if any epitaph was inscribed over his grave; but if so, none would be more appropriate than the one dictated by the poet Keats for himself—

> "Here lies one whose name was writ in water."

——— BUCKLAND.—When what is known as the Flagstaff Hill West Melbourne was occupied as a signalling station, a person named Buckland was employed there, as an assistant. He was possessed of a large fund of general information, widely read and especially communicative. Unfortunately for him he was an "expiree" convict, and on the erection of the province into an independent colony the employment in the public service of persons of convict antecedents was considered so objectionable that Buckland and his billet parted company. The dismissal preyed so much upon his mind, that he retired moodily to his cottage in Fitzroy. One day he made a valuable present of books to the Mechanics' Institute. Ere a week passed, his friends were horrified by the intelligence that he had committed suicide by blowing out his brains. A letter was found declaring that all his money was exhausted, and as he was too proud to seek a situation, he had determined to put an end to his life. The day following, his coffin was taken on a dray to the cemetery, and interred close by the eastern fence. The sexton did his work so carelessly, that the covering consisted of only two or three inches of mould, and a heavy rainfall coming down during the night, in the morning the coffin lid was quite exposed, and a re-burial the inevitable consequence. Buckland had at the Flagstaff a queer old helper known as George Fisher, a "Jack tar," who had fought at Navarino, and was a great card at yarn spinning about his wonderful adventures in "The Battle and the Breeze." He was the proprietor of a really splendid telescope, which he brought with him from England. It was fixed upon a rude wooden stand, and its owner positively declared that through it he could not only view exteriorly any ship in Hobson's Bay, but absolutely everything on board. "Old George" soon tired of his post of observation after Buckland's death, and withdrew to some very humble quarters at Brighton, where he, for several years, eked out a precarious livelihood. His friends, however, did not altogether abandon him, and one warm-hearted Scotch brewer, still alive, sent him regularly a small cask of ale weekly, not a very stinted ration to keep one antiquated throat from getting parched. Finally he found a comfortable harbour of refuge in the Benevolent Asylum.

JAMES BALLINGALL.—Few of the early colonists were better known, or more thoroughly esteemed than he who first figured in Port Phillipian life as accountant at the mills of Manton and Co., in Flinders Street. On the closing of that concern, Ballingall transferred his financial allegiance to the

baby Corporation of Melbourne, was appointed a Rate-collector, and in this capacity until his death* honestly looked after the bantling feeding-bottles. Hailing from the briny Scottish town of Kirkcaldy he seemed an imitation of Plimsoll in the deep interest manifested for the proper construction of ships, which he would have fabricated with what he designed "solid bottoms." Two grand panaceas for the welfare of the world, he believed to consist in the building of ships with stout, durable understandings, and the wearing of skin flannels by the human race. He was so gone on the "solid bottomed" ship theory that he wrote on it, lectured about it, and it was his walking and table-talk morning, noon, and night. He once told me that he passed scarcely a single night without dreaming of it. "Depend upon it, my friends," he would reiterate, "solid-bottomed vessels are the only sort to be trusted to the mercies of wind and waves," and the somewhat ungenteel epithet, with "Old" prefixed, ultimately grew an *alias* universally applied to the well meaning enthusiast,—

"An honest man close buttoned to the chin,
Broadcloth without, and a warm heart within."

His hale, hearty form, and weather-beaten face were welcome and familiar objects in his peripatetic rate-collecting rounds. His friends were legion, and after attaining to a green, or rather red old age, Jamie departed this life, regretted by all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance.

THOMAS STEVENSON was another professional street-walker as well (though not so agreeably) known as Ballingall. Originally a school teacher, when pupils grew scarce, he betook himself to the collection of debts. Though what is known as a "dun," he possessed none of the impudent, bullying characteristics attributed to the historical Adam of the fraternity, Joe Dun, the notorious money-hunter of the reign of Henry VII Stevenson was in no way impertinent in the pursuit of an unpleasant vocation; but what was of more importance, he was unceasingly importunate, and popped on a defaulter in a silent, ghostly way, which had a more marked effect in unlocking reluctant pockets than bluster and bounce. Ballingall's "beat" was restricted to Lonsdale Ward, but Stevenson's extended everywhere. Anything in the shape of a bad debt had being. His business was large and lucrative, and his reputation such that unlimited confidence was placed in him. Though quiet and gentlemanly in his manner of dealing with his customers, it was remarkable that a hint of his name to a defaulter was potent in extracting payment.

"JEMMY THE PIEMAN" was another of that ilk, from the fact of his having instituted an industry, as he declared, "for the special benefit and invigoration of intoxicated nocturnal wayfarers." This was simply the manufacture of rather doubtfully embodied pies and saveloys of a strong un-aromatic flavour in a basket, and the vendor and vendibles taken together, constituted about as unwholesome a combination as could well be conceived. After dark "Jemmy" was almost invariably "in a state of beer." He was one of the most drunken old reprobates of a not over sober era, and twice or thrice every week the day dawned over "Jemmy" anchored in the watchhouse. His police interviews were always of the funniest kind, and the offender frequently escaped punishment. One night on an unusually heavy "burst" in a low tavern in Little Bourke Street, he so overdrank himself (a feat of some difficulty) that he was picked dead out of the channel the next morning.

There were some half-a-dozen characters who will be now presented with certain blank indications in consequence of the questionable antecedents of some of them, and the fact of their descendants surviving in the colony. It was a rule with the "expiree" convict settlers, whose sojourn at the penal settlement was no secret, to account for their enforced expatriation in a manner to minimize the enormity of the offence for which they had been transported. For instance ask an Englishman of the class referred to why he had been obliged

"To leave his country for his country's good,"

And in nine cases out of ten the answer will be that his "lagging" was due to some poaching or

* An anonymous correspondent informs me that I am in error as to old "Solid Bottom" being in the service of the City Corporation to his death. He says, "I am only a new chum, but recollect old "Solid Bottom" in the Government service, as a locker at Yander's Bond, in 19 Latrobe Street East, 32 or 33 years ago. I have often seen him walking down with a loaf under his arm and a bunch of onions; and when doing business at the Bond he was invariably treated to a dose of his favourite theme."—[THE AUTHOR.]

other violation of the very stringent code of game-laws then in force in the parent country; whilst the Hibernian would give the response a patriotic twist, by assigning his misfortune to some nocturnal "ribbon" escapade, agrarian outrage, or the bringing to grief a tithe-loving parson or tithe-catching proctor. There was not much harm in such equivocation, though it was far from being swallowed *in toto* by the "never-convicted" portion of the public.

M—— was an "expiree" engaged in half-a-dozen small businesses, which brought him in a pot of money, which was enjoyed by him until a few years ago, far away from Victoria. Substantial and comfortable in shape, tastefully clad, he strutted smilingly through the streets, one hand in trouser's pocket, the other twirling a massive gold watch chain, and his lips almost unintermittently employed in a muffled whistling. He was a man of means, and took care to let the world know it in divers ways. Some offence connected with illicit deer-stalking was commonly reported as the reason for his deportation to a penal settlement; but those who were admitted to his Bacchanalian confidences knew better. Good stiff punch found special favour with him. After putting away six tumblers of this mixture, his bump of caution would disappear, his face assume a solemn sepulchral aspect, and his eyes glare like miniature lamps. His boon companions then knew that the climax was approaching, and to expedite the *dénouément* one of them would indulge in some remark referring to a cemetery. M—— would jump from his seat, look up the chimney, and peer into corners to make sure no outsider was on the watch. He would go through the mimic process of digging into a grave, finding a coffin, and then, as if extracting a corpse, and bearing it on his shoulders to the window, in imagination heave it out as if into a dead cart in readiness for its reception. After going through this terrible pantomime he would resume his seat, when the frightful impulse of which he had been temporarily the victim would pass away, and he had no recollection whatever of the transition through which he had passed. The explanation of all this is that he had followed the vocation of a resurrectionist, or "body-snatcher," in England. The circle of acquaintance to whom the above was known was very limited, and the secret of the periodical *post mortem* performance was remarkably well-kept.

"Micky Mac," as he was known, was another extraordinary assimilation of flesh and blood. He hailed from Limerick, the Irish city of the historical violated "treaty stone," where a murder was perpetrated as one of the outcomes of a trade combination. "Mac" was not actively implicated in the outrage, but he was convicted on an indictment for a capital conspiracy, and was sentenced to death. Through his wife he acquired some local and political influence which told with such effect upon Spring Rice (afterwards Lord Monteagle), a distinguished Irish statesman that, after considerable deliberation, the Executive at Dublin Castle reluctantly agreed to commute the extreme punishment to a life transportation. The decision was not, however, known to the Limerick prison authorities until almost literally the last moment. The culprit was actually at the foot of the gallows, and about to ascend the fatal ladder, when a mounted courier, waving a white flag, rode up to the gaol and stayed the tragedy. In such remote times there were no such instantaneous Mercuries as telegraphic wires, and the Post-Office arrangements were even so slow and uncertain that well-horsed messengers were employed on pressing emergencies. "Mac" therefore escaped, "by the skin of his neck," for in another minute or so, had there been no authorized interposition, his neck would have been stretched, and himself, in journalistic phraseology, "launched into eternity." He actually told me himself that just as he was about to ascend to be placed under the rope, the Roman Catholic priest in attendance bade him what was believed to be a final earthly farewell, by gently pressing his hand, and saying in a low voice "Good-bye, Michael, be easy and hopeful of mind for in one minute after you die your soul will be in Heaven." Whether such expressions had ever been employed, of course I had no other proof than "Mac's" *ipse dixit*, not at all times a reliable consideration. I recollect, however, being in 1845 driven to Brighton by Dean Coffey, "Mac" being then at logger-heads with the authorities at St. Francis. He was booked as a troublesome, bad boy there, and during our trip he became in some manner

mixed up with our conversation, and I laughingly re-called for the old Dean's edification the valedictory scene between the chaplain and "Mac" under the gallows-tree many years before. I never have forgotten the commentary, which was nearly *verbatim* this: — "And so the fellow 'Mac' told you that, did he? (Here a short, low whistle). I doubt much if any priest ever uttered such words; but if he did so, all I can now say is (another whistle) that if the rogue 'Mac' could get to Heaven in a minute then, he was a great fool not to chance it, for I verily believe if he died to-day, instead of doing the journey in sixty seconds, it would take him a full three weeks; and even then I am not all sure that something would not trip him up on the road." It must not be supposed that the opinion so confidently expressed by the worthy *padre* indicated any indirect disclosure of Confessional secrecy, for "Mac" was not over particular in supplicating a forgiveness of sins through the agency of contrition, a vow of reformation and penance. Dean Coffey based his surmise upon his general knowledge of the individual's merits and demerits. "Micky Mac" found his way to Port Phillip at the close of 1839 after a slightly round-about fashion. He was shipped to New South Wales, as an item of a convict cargo, and his wife quickly followed and settled in Sydney. After a brief interval under the then prevalent system of prison assignment, her husband obtained a ticket-of-leave, and became his wife's assigned servant. This was a practical evasion of the law's intention, but in special cases it was connived at by the authorities. The Monteagle influence did not sleep at home, and through Governor Sir Richard Bourke, another Limerickite, "Mac" soon obtained a pardon restoring him to entire personal freedom, except that it conditioned that he should leave the colony; whether there was the further proviso that he should never return to it, I cannot say, but such was usually the form in which such indulgencies ran, and it is not likely this case was an exception. However, this might have been, "Mac" complied, so far as clearing out of New South Wales with his better-half was concerned. He went to Van Diemen's Land, and after a brief sojourn, doubled back to Melbourne where he remained for many years. The faithful wife accompanied him, and be it recorded to his discredit that he did not requite her affection as it deserved. "Mac" once actually offered a £5 premium for a new curse for which there were half-a-dozen competitors, and the winner of the "prize" is not only still (1888) alive and well in Melbourne, but anyone seeing the solemn-phizzed semi sanctimonious looking worthy "doing" one of our public places, could scarcely conceive the possibility of his ever having taken so questionable an "honour." It is a laughable circumstance that the first person to experience the effect of the particular malediction was the late Sir (then Mr.) John O'Shanassy. "Micky" had a fairly prosperous career in Melbourne for more than twenty years, when he levanted to California, and was never after, so far as I know, reliably heard of.

"Big Mick" was a burly, lazy-going, soft-faced, sly-eyed customer who occasionally fraternized, but more often fought, with a little customer nicknamed "Micky the Ribbon," from certain proclivities marking his career before leaving the "Himmeral Hoile," as he was wont to designate the land of his nativity. "Big Mick" and the "Ribbon man" were night-watchmen. The big fellow's beat was Collins Street, and the little one's Elizabeth Street; but the only boundaries they beat were the back doors of public-houses, where they skulked and begged for free drinks. "Micky" was the first to lie down in the Old Cemetery; but "Mick" managed to spin out existence until September, 1849, when he gave up the ghost, and was interred by the Friendly Brothers, a small Charity Society, whose good deeds have long been forgotten.

"Long M———," though not a convict, acquired a dubious notoriety before he transferred his *corpus* from Launceston to Melbourne. A loud boaster of a past military career, (he was an ex-soldier sergeant), his first public appointment was the overseership of a small gang of prisoners, into whose care was temporarily given the maintenance of the unmacadamized streets. In M———, the luckless devils had a rough, unreasonable master, and matters finally assumed such a threatening aspect that to evade probable assassination the overseer threw up his billet in terror and disgust. As a constable, he supplemented his pay by blackmailing drunkards and both licensed and unlicensed grog-sellers, and he clung with a sort of affection round the door of the Police Office, as, what is known in

police cant as a "mounter." As years rolled on he struck into a reputable way of living, and succeeded. He became a cattle-dealer, and saved some money, after the gold discoveries, by lucky land speculations. From this he became an extensive squatter, kept a grand house in East Melbourne, where he was profusely hospitable to those who saw no objection to accepting his invitations. He had his carriage and servants in livery, and used to be driven, pompous and prideful, through the streets. But the wheel of fortune turned, his wealth took wings and flew away. Though not reduced to the low-watermark of his early colonial career, it was low enough, and his last days were passed in the Melbourne Hospital, an institution which has witnessed the end of many a better man and more meritorious colonist.

DANIEL WELLESLEY O'DONOVAN'S name winds up this segment of humanity. His sponsors baptismally hooked him to the two great Irishmen, Dan O'Connell and the hero of Waterloo. Hailing from Kerry, he was born and bred in the vicinity of "Killarney's classic lakes." A fine-proportioned, pleasant-faced, funny-eyed young man, Port Phillip offered him a good chance of carving out a comparatively bright future; but there was a big stumbling-block in his way in either the brandy-cask or the beer barrel, or both, and these proved his destruction. Moderately grounded in an English education, he was, perhaps, the best Latin and Greek scholar in the province. He was exceptionally well posted in all the branches of Celtic history, and could give you extracts from the *Annals of the Four Masters*, *The Book of Ballymote*, or the *Psalter of Tara*, as pat as he could roll out a Roman Catholic Rosary. He succeeded in obtaining clerical employment, but driven, as he would say, by the hot winds, he rapidly acquired an unconquerable appetite for "rum and two ales." His quill-driving and he, therefore, soon dissolved partnership, when he betook himself to any chance employment falling in his way, from private tuition to shepherding, from wharf-labouring to scavengering; but he could never keep sober for a month; the curse clove to him with a tenacity that rendered it impossible to shake it off. The last decade of O'Donovan's life was passed in the Kew Lunatic Asylum, where he died a few years ago. O'Donovan was given to reciting favourite passages from authors he had well studied. In such a mood he was indulging one November afternoon, poised against a superannuated gum tree, on the verge of the Merri Creek crossing-place leading from Melbourne to Heidelberg. The first resident Judge (Willis) resided at the latter place, and on this occasion his Honor was going home, and approaching the tree, though he could perceive no human being in sight, he was surprised to hear, as if from the interior of the trunk, delivered in true declamatory style, portions of one of Cicero's orations against Catiline. The Judge pulled up astounded, and for a time did not well know what to make of it. The voice could not issue from the tree, though it never occurred to him that it might come from some person at its off side. Dashing forward, and slewing his horse round, he was at once face to face with the bush orator, who, without seeming to notice the intruder (whom he well knew), continued until he had finished the peroration, and then doffing his weather-beaten cabbage-tree hat with a low bow, expressed a hope that his Honor was not displeased with the harmless bit of pastime he had witnessed. Willis complimented him on the taste and style of his deliverance, which led to a brief conversation, the end being that the Judge ascertained who he was and took him into his hired service with an order to march at once to Heidelberg. Amongst Willis's two or three horse screws, in ministering to the cleanliness of an old trap, and keeping things right in the stable, O'Donovan appeared as if in Elysium for a few weeks. Fate was already weaving into poor O'Donovan's future thicker threads of darkness than had appeared hitherto, and there was doomed to be a speedy flare-up between him and his new patron. It was Willis's custom to open each monthly Criminal Session of the Supreme Court with an address or charge to the jury panel; but, in reality, more of an ultra-official oration to the general public. These fulminations had, however, the merit of careful preparation, and though more abusive than pungent, were on the whole clever specimens of tolerably readable, though overdone phraseology, highly spiced with well-fitting pedantry. They were crammed with quotations, ancient and modern, from languages living and dead. Never did one of them appear without Latin *excerpta*. Willis was aware that his Crier or Tipstaff would be unable to be at his post on one of these occasions, and he decided upon trotting out his favourite groom in a new capacity. O'Donovan had a good voice, and could talk, rant and shout, (in more than one sense), and of his eligibility as a *locum tenens* Crier there could be no doubt. He was

accordingly rigged up in a cast-off white choker and swallow-tail (the latter being hardly big enough), and on his appearance in Court was indeed "the observed of all observers." The "Oyez, Oyez" exordium was got through by the new Tipstaff with a nasal solemnity, and after the disposal of one or two formalities, the Judge began his address. A quotation cropped up, but of this the Judge did not care, for, as hitherto, he would take it as a hunter does an ordinary jump, in tip-top style. It was a hackneyed passage from one of the Satires of Horace, and the orator stepped in amongst the hexameters with a graceful lisp, as if assured that what he was saying would be duly appreciated. In this manner he travelled safely over the fourth line, but in the fifth uttered a slight misquotation, when the new Crier was down upon his great superior, and figuratively shook him as a terrier would a rat. "I beg your Honor's pardon," said the irate O'Donovan, "you are murdering my most favourite author, and this I cannot permit to be done by either Judge or Jury. If your Honor will kindly allow me I shall set you right; in fact, permit or not I'll do it. So now your Honor and gentlemen of the Jury, listen to the only true and correct version." Here followed some dozen lines of Horace, including the corrected reading of where the Judge had floundered. It is no exaggeration to say that all in Court except the Judge and his "Tip" were convulsed with laughter. As for Willis, he was flabbergasted at O'Donovan's gross but unconscious contempt of Court, and at length screamed to the Sheriff to place the transgressing scoundrel under lock and key until he could command time and patience to consider how to best summarily deal with him. All this time O'Donovan was unable to comprehend that he had acted with any impropriety. Equally at sea as to the reason for the Judge's fuming and the people's laughing, he seemed half bewildered. He boldly declared his inability to understand what wrong he had done by setting the Judge right. He thought he had only done his duty. Mr. Raymond, the Deputy-Sheriff, kept him under durance until the time for adjournment. He was then told to call next day for the wages due to him; but he was prohibited from ever again showing his face at Heidelberg. It is strange I have been unable to find any report of this extraordinary episode in the newspapers; but it is next to impossible to have access to a complete copy of the early journals. Of the occurrence there can be no doubt whatever.

When "off his chump," Wellesley O'Donovan implicitly believed himself to be one of four heroes of Irish History—viz., two Pagans and two Christians; and it depended on the season of the year which of those personages he would imaginatively personate. In Winter, he was Dharra Dhoun; in Spring, Dathi; in Summer, Brian Boru; and Autumn saw him O'Neil of the Red Hand. He remained in Melbourne for several years, and paid several compulsory visits to the Yarra Bend in its infantile days. There was a reporter on the *Herald* known by the ultra-Milesian name of Finn, who was a special favourite with O'Donovan. Whenever they met during the latter's sanity he invariably addressed the other as "Mr. Finn;" but in his mad moods O'D. was fully convinced that Finn was no other than O'Rourke, the Prince of Brefni, well known in Irish prose and verse. Whenever and wherever they met O'Donovan would uncover and make a profound obeisance to "the Prince." Once the following almost incredible Police Court scene occurred. O'Donovan was for about the dozenth time charged with alleged lunacy, and by all appearance he was what is in vulgar parlance denominated "as mad as a hatter." The late Mr. Sturt was the sole presiding Justice, and the Mr. Finn before mentioned the sole occupant of the reporters' stall. The accused on being placed in the dock turned towards the single reporter, and refused to acknowledge even by a glance the single Magistrate. On being requested to face the Bench he replied in a stern tone that he would do nothing of the sort; that he was Dharra Dhoun, the monarch of the world, and could never acknowledge the representative of any Foreign Power, more particularly England. There was in Court opposite to him the scion of one of the ancient kingly races in his old country, and to him he would render a cheerful allegiance. Mr. Sturt (who knew him but too well): "What are you talking or rather dreaming about, O'Donovan?" The prisoner (with a wave of the hand): It is neither a dream of the day or night, but a reality. I now see before me in human shape no less a personage than O'Rourke, the Prince of Brefni. As for you, sir (to Mr. Sturt), though you are a kind, good-hearted fellow, an English minion like you is not worthy to brush the coat of a

descendant of Irish royalty." Whilst Sturt gazed with a pitying kindliness on the unfortunate creature, O'Donovan sang, or rather keened, the first two verses of Moore's beautiful melody—"The Song of O'Rourke"—which describes the return home of the Prince of Brefni only to discover the elopement of his wife with the King of Leinster, and his threats of vengeance thereat:—

"The valley lay smiling before me,
Where lately I left her behind;
Yet I trembled for something hung o'er me,
That saddened the joy of my mind.
I looked for the lamp which she told me
Should shine when her pilgrim returned;
But though darkness began to unfold me,
No lamp from the battlements burned.

"I flew to her chamber—'twas lonely,
As if the lov'd tenant lay dead!
Ah, would it were death, and death only!
But no!—the young false one had fled.
And there hung the lute that could soften
My very worst pains into bliss,
While the hand that had waked it so often
Now throbbed to my proud rival's kiss."

Drawing out the last line in a modulated tenderness of voice, he stood erect, the eyes of the maniac glaring like coals of fire, and continued—

"Then onward the green banner rearing,
Go flesh every sword to the hilt."

Looking yearningly towards the supposed Prince of Brefni, and extending his right hand—

"On our side is virtue and Erin"—

Then shaking both fists in Sturt's face, and with the howl of a wild animal—

"On yours is the Saxon and guilt!"

Every person in Court felt for the poor maniac, and not the least, the kind-hearted Magistrate before whom he was arraigned, for in a subdued, softened voice he thus delivered judgment:—"My poor man you are to be pitied, a person with your good parts so besotten by drink as to be completely bereft of reason. Your exhibition before me leaves little doubt of the superfluousness of a medical enquiry to ascertain your state of mind, but as the law requires it, you are remanded." When under restraint he lost most of his Hibernian gush; and the caged eagle seemed as if deprived of the power of wing, brain and voice.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FLOTSAM, JETSAM, AND LIGAN.

WHILST fishing in old waters I collected my last cargo of old Port Phillipian miscellanies, some of which were picked up too late to be included in the chapters with which they could have been incorporated, and others so peculiar that they could only be presented to my readers in a casual ward, such as I have constructed for their reception.

The imperfect records of the Collins Convict Settlement at Sorrento in 1803, as contained in the orders issued by the Commandant, and the diary of the Chaplain, the Rev. R. Knopwood, disclose some events curious in themselves as being the first of the kind in Port Phillip. From these I collate a few interesting waifs.

The first free emigrants to Port Phillip are comprised in the following list of persons who, according to Labiliere, "obtained Lord Hobart's permission to proceed to Port Phillip, 5th April, 1803, viz.:—Mr. Collins, seaman; Edward Newman, ship carpenter; Mr. Hartley, seaman; Edwd. F. Hamilton, John J. Gravie, Mr. Pownall; a female servant; Thos. Collingwood, carpenter; Duke Charman; John Skilhorne, cutler; Anty Fletcher, mason; T. R. Preston, pocketbook-maker." This contingent accompanied the batch of 307 convicts, the prison strength of the Collins Expedition. The wives and children of some of the convicts were also allowed to come out; and in this manner J. P. Fawkner, his sister and mother obtained free passages.

Tuesday, 25th October, was celebrated in honour of the accession to the throne of George III. At 8 a.m. the British flag was hoisted at the camp, at noon the Royal Marines fired three volleys, and at 1 p.m. the "Calcutta" boomed forth with twenty-one guns.

The first collision with the Aborigines is thus detailed as occurring, 23rd October, 1803. It happened with two boats' crews under Lieutenant Tuckey, engaged on a survey expedition from the north-west point of the Bay: "At 8 they observed three natives approaching them. Mr. Tuckey gave them fish, bread, and many presents; they were much pleased and friendly. At 10 Mr. T. and Mr. Collins went across the bay, and about 5 or 6 miles with a boat's crew, leaving Mr. Harris and Mr. Gammon and 2 men to take care of the tent, and make observations on shore. The three men, seeing Mr. T. go away in the boat, they likewise went away. Early in the afternoon they returned with a great many of them; and at 2 P.M. they in the boat coming back observed 70 in a party. Mr. Tuckey called to them, at which they hastened to the place where the tent was. On Mr. T. coming up he found Mr. Gammon surrounded; and the chief at that time seized Mr. G., who called out to Mr. T. to fire on them. Mr. Harris was surrounded at the tent; and the blacks were taking what they could from the boat. Mr. T. fired over them; they ran away a small distance, but soon approached again with the king (who wore a very elegant turban-crown), and was always carried upon the shoulders of the men. Whenever he desired them to halt, or to approach, they did it immediately. Mr. T. fired over them a second time, at which they removed to a very small distance. Those about the king, to the number of 50 or 60, were all armed. The blacks finding that none were wounded, and that the number were approaching, and the second in command was going to throw his spear at Mr. Tuckey, gave orders to shoot him, as an example; they

fired and Innis killed him, and wounded another; they all fled. The number of savages were not less than one hundred and fifty. Had not Mr. Tuckey fortunately come up with the boat, no doubt but they would have killed Mr. Gammon and Mr. Harris and the 2 men. We have great reason to think they are cannibals."

The parson seems to have held the Commission of the Peace, for he thus relates of the first Magisterial decision:—"Nov. 2.—At eleven a complaint came before me as a Magistrate that Robert Cannady, servant to Mr. Humphreys, had promised Buckley, the Governor's servant, a waistcoat for a pair of shoes, which he had taken and worn, and would not return the waistcoat; but after hearing them on both sides I had the waistcoat given to Buckley." The complainant here was the same William Buckley who soon afterwards escaped, spent nearly half a tolerably long life with the blacks, and rejoined the whites.

On 10th November this "General Order" was issued:—"The Lieutenant-Governor is concerned to learn that six men have been so blind to their own welfare as to absent themselves from the Settlement, and proceed in the desperate undertaking of travelling round to Port Jackson. If such is actually the motive of their absenting themselves, they must inevitably be lost in the attempt, and nothing more will ever be heard of them; for, independent of the risk they run of being killed by the Natives, it is impossible for them with any quantity of provisions they could carry, to endure the fatigue of penetrating a thousand miles through the woods of this country; for such would be the distance which, by rounding the heads of the different harbours that present themselves in the *route* they would have to travel. Although caution to them is now useless, yet it may not prove so to those who remain. He therefore takes this occasion of informing them that, while admitting the probability of their succeeding, and reaching Port Jackson alive, they would instantly be apprehended, and sent back to this Settlement by the Governor, here to meet the punishment justly due to their rashness and offence."

The first kangaroo killed by a white man was shot on the 13th November, by Lieutenant Pateshall. This happened on the Sabbath, and the next day there was a grand kangaroo dinner in camp, at which all the officers that could be spared from the "Calcutta" attended. According to the diarist, "It weighed when skinned, the head off, liver, heart, and entrails taken out, 68 lbs.; the skin of a dark-brown colour."

Bird-nesting was a pernicious amusement, and on 30th November a humane prohibition was promulgated against "daily bringing birds' nests into the encampment, containing either eggs or young unfledged birds." The practice was denounced as cruel and destructive, and punishment promised for future similar offences.

A barge's crew of the "Calcutta" the next day killed on the beach a sea-elephant, with skin of a light-brown colour, a head like a bulldog, 12 ft. long, 5 ft. 2 in. round the body, and weighing over 200 lbs.

The first white baby born in Port Phillip was the son of Sergeant Thorne, of the Detachment of Marines forming the escort of the Collins Convict Expedition. At nine a.m. of 25th November, 1803, the Sergeant's wife became the mother of a bouncing boy at Sorrento, the place of the temporary encampment. At noon of the following Christmas Day, and beneath the shade of an umbrageous gum-tree, after Divine service, the little Australian was baptised in the name of William James Hobart Thorne, by the Rev. R. Knopwood, the Chaplain; the Commandant, Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, kindly consenting to stand as the male sponsor. Baby Thorne of course accompanied the Expedition when it moved across the Straits to Van Diemen's Land, and he not only grew up to man's estate, but lived to an advanced age there.

The first nuptial knot was tied at Sorrento, three days after the foregoing birth, viz., 28th November, the contracting parties being Richard Garratt, one of the convicts, and Hannah Harvey, a spinster, permitted to accompany the Expedition from England as a "free settler." She did not retain her freedom long, and it is not known how futurity dealt with the alliance. The first white death was in the case of John Skilhorne, another free settler, on the 10th October. He was a cutler by trade.

Mr. Knopwood fell back upon many recreations to while away the dull times, though it cannot be denied that some of his fancies took a practically useful turn. Some poultry had been brought from Home, and the good-natured, fussy old chap took the notion of becoming a fowl-breeder. His diary for 10th December shows this entry:—"I set my white hen on twenty-one egg this morn, but the experiment was not the success hoped for, as the 'twenty-one egg' only produced 'seven young chickings.'"

"Skinning trees for their hides" preceded the flaying of sheep and cattle as a local industry, as it was resorted to in a small way even before the Batman-*cum*-Fawkner occupation of Melbourne. The latter event happened during the latter half of 1835, whereas, in the April of that year, bark-stripping was commenced at Western Port, and for the following information on the subject I am indebted to the Captain Fermaner referred to in other chapters. There was in Launceston a mercantile firm known as Griffiths, Henty, and Connolly, and, fancying from the supposed character of the Australian Continent, that good marketable bark was obtainable on the mainland, they despatched a party of strippers with stores, drays, bullocks, and other *etceteras*, in the "Elizabeth," a 151-ton schooner (Hart, master), which was followed by the "Andromache," barque, Captain Jacks, to receive the cargo. Good anchorage was found near Settlement Point; and, having discharged the "Elizabeth," she was sent back to Launceston. Between Griffiths Point (called after the merchant of that name) and the Bass, the men went to work and found bark in abundance. The only annoyance was the Aborigines, who made certain warlike manifestations; but the white fellows were wary, and some musket demonstrations indulged in kept the blacks in awe. One night, however, a determined attack was made. The barque was loaded, and all hands awaited the hourly-expected return of the schooner. About midnight a rush was made and repulsed. The enemy's loss was never ascertained, but one white man, named James McLoughlin, received three spears in one of his arms. The men succeeded in defending themselves for a few hours, when the schooner arrived, and they got safe on board, and sailed away. In 1836 the "Elizabeth" returned with the barque "Norval," which loaded there. Some wild cattle were found, in capital condition, and the beef was declared to be first-rate. The wild herd was supposed to be the progeny of a few horned stock left behind by the Sydney Exploring Expedition in 1826. There were other indications found of the incipient colonization, for there was for a time some intention towards a permanent occupation of the country. About three miles from Settlement Point was discovered a large kiln of bricks; and the only fresh water obtainable at one time was the fluid accumulations in one of the excavations from which the clay for the brick-making was taken. There were also ruins of a brick wall, as if once intended for a barracks, a gaol, or a "tench," as a convict quarter was in the old times called. Portions of land showed traces of former cultivation, and it was in parts partially fenced, the enclosures now crumbling away. There was also an old forgotten burial-ground, with grave marks, and three or four rudely-sculptured, but now almost defaced tombstones. Hunter, subsequently the captain of Fawkner's historical schooner, the "Enterprise," was mate of the "Elizabeth," and Captain Fermaner was one of the crew.

John Pascoe Fawkner (or more correctly, his party) did for the colony what Collap Coll Frewi is said to have done for England in the 6th century—grew the first wheat; whilst Batman (through his party) is credited with having put down the first potatoes. Robert Marr was the first carpenter; Evan Evans made the first pair of boots for Buckley, "the wild white man;" and to Miss Batman's needlecraft is due the first linen shirt put together, for she (one of Batman's seven daughters) fabricated a garment of that

kind—also for Buckley. The first Melbourne residence –a sod hut—was put up by George Evans; and the first shearer of sheep was Kenneth S. Clarke, manager for the Van Diemen's Land Great Lake Company, the operation having been performed 9th October, 1836, at the Saltwater River.

The winter of 1836 was very cold, and the thermometer was known to be as low as 19 degrees in a range of 88 days. For several days in the summer of 1836-7 the thermometer was at 107, and at night it was cold enough for a fire.

Mr. Thomas Napier, of Essendon, who died in 1881, was the first to open a timber trade between Melbourne and Van Diemen's Land. In 1837 he chartered a schooner and brought over a cargo of material for building. He soon passed from building into a cattle station, went on and prospered. Napier Street in Fitzroy is named after him.

One of the oldest Port Phillipian emblems in existence is a waterman's badge, issued to Captain Joseph Fermaner, the first Pilot and Harbour Master at Port Albert. It is a small brass plate, crescent-formed, and thus inscribed :—" 1838. No. 1. Melbourne Licensed Boatman." It was obtained at the Customs House, cost 5s., and authorized the plying of a boat on the Yarra and the Bay. The first water conveyance of the kind worked by Fermaner was the whaleboat "Nancy," between Melbourne, Williamstown, and down Hobson's Bay. The same old tar has mentioned to me the following incidents, well worth preserving, in connection with the times of old :—Originally the shipping used to employ stone ballast, and Fermaner was the first to substitute sand taken at Fisherman's Bend for the "Regia," ship, bound for Calcutta. The stone realized 10s. per ton, and the first price paid for sand was 8s. In my chapter on the Yarra,* it was stated that in its native condition the ledge of rocks known as the Yarra Falls contained a fissure large enough to admit the passage of a boat at high water. Captain Fermaner has since assured me that in 1836 he passed through the aperture in a six-ton schooner, named the "Mary Anne," and proceeded up the Yarra as far as the present Church Street Bridge.

Mr. John Murchison, who died at Kew in 1882, drove the first "tandem" overland from Sydney to Melbourne in 1838. He had attained his 86th year, and was the grandsire of 36 descendants.

The first recorded death from excessive drinking is that of Mrs. Emma Sarah Briars, the wife of a quarryman, who arrived towards the close of 1838. On the 17th January, 1839, Mr. Briars discovered his wife stretched on the floor. Dr. Cussen was sent for, but before he could arrive she expired.

There was no such convenient appliance as a Guardian of Minors, and consequently no person legally authorized to give away in marriage any over-young lady desirous to contract a matrimonial alliance before ceasing to be an "infant." This want was remedied in January, 1839, by the appointment of the Police Magistrate (Captain Lonsdale) to an office which, one would think, was (though it was not) something like an absolute sinecure.

Presumably on the principle embodied in the adage, *poeta nascitur, orator fit*, it is that the real poet is a rare animal in a new country; for while orators may be turned out to order by the half-dozen, the true National bard is an organism which Nature is chary of evolving from human kind. The first original colonially manufactured effusion that I can find appears over the pseudonym of "Coloniensis" in the *Port Phillip Gazette*, 26th January, 1839. It is an ambitious production, with a fitting theme, and though I have never heard the name of the writer, it contains internal evidence of style and treatment to induce me to assign its authorship to George Arden, the *Gazette* Editor. Its

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* Chapter XXXVII, p. 497.

portraiture of the rapid early progress of the infant settlement is reality itself; and its forecast, though extremely hyperbolical, has been verified to a marvellous degree, and would astound the writer, were he now alive. As a literary curiosity here it is :—

MELBOURNE.

Melbourne ! Unclassic, anti-native name !
And yet, as by Magician's spell up-sprung,
Thee have I chosen, subject fit for song.
No antique relics, pyramids sublime
May be thine to boast. But who thy hist'ry
Knows? Whether primal city, embattled
Tower, or imperial throne on which have
Sate tyrant Czars, a long succession, the
Muse informs me not. No seer am I, nor
Doth my vision scan time past; sufficient
'Tis the present to describe. Then aid me
Austral Muse, if such exist.
The swarthy
Tribe appear'd, remov'd, or with force of arms,
Into the interior driven back;
(For power, the law of right, too oft o'ercomes)
A savage to a civil race gives way.
At first, selected, is large patch of land
Deem'd suitable, and for water standing
Well. A weather-boarded hut is rear'd, or
One of turf; shingled or thatched, not to rain
Or penetrating winds impervious,
Or against the sweeping storm secure; round
It the electric fluid fork'd or sheet
Is seen terrific; while above is heard
Of thunder loud, peal after peal: Meantime
The lonely hut shakes at its very base,
If base it may be nam'd. The affrighted
Inmates now, their isolated thoughts, in
Turn express and other neighbours wish. They
Wish not long. Man must not dwell alone. So
Hut unites to hut, to acre, acre.
A site thus fixed, a town is plan'd; the streets
At angles right are then divided off,
And Anglicised. The whole a Statesman's name
They give, and call it Melbourne. It's fame now
Sounded far; emigration's tide rolls in,
And population swells. Lot after lot
Is sold. The lonely weather-boarded hut
Is lost. The turf-built house is taken down.
Now brick to turf succeeds, and stone to wood.
Now spacious stores, and dwellings palace-like
On every hand are seen. Enacted now
Are laws and magisterial rod, the
Rights of each protect. Tis thus men form the
Future empire; the central city build.
Melbourne ! thy rise an Austral poet sings;
But who thy fall shall see and thus record?
I leave thee now, and distant be the day,
When " Here stood Melbourne," shall the traveller say.

The first Inspector of Slaughter-houses and cattle for slaughtering purposes, was Mr. William Wright, an early Chief-Constable, who was appointed as such on 1st February, 1839.

In March, 1839, great satisfaction was felt in Melbourne by an announcement to the effect that the Colonial Surgeon "had received a supply of fresh cow-pox matter."

The *Gazette* of the 11th May, 1839, notifies, as a remarkable sign of the times, "that Mr. Thos. Sutherland, builder, married Miss Jones; that fourteen days before the auspicious event he had neither house nor home, and in that time had erected a substantial building thoroughly complete inside and out, and ready furnished to present to the object of his affection."

The Town of Melbourne was not brought under the operations of the Dog Act until 8th June, 1839.

No person in Geelong could sell spirits or wines, even in quantities not less than two gallons, until June, 1839, when the second clause of the (then) General Licensing Act was extended to that township.

A very singular whale capture was effected off Williamstown on the 25th July, 1839. A squadron of seven spouters put in an appearance, and had quite a lively time of it for an hour or two. Amongst others who beheld the sight was a Mr. Harding, the chief officer of a brig named the "Emma," and a seasoned old whaler. They hastily manned a whale-boat, and not having a harpoon, borrowed a bayonet, which they fastened to a stick, and gave chase. Off Gellibrand Point a fine sperm whale was skilfully harpooned, and hauled ashore. It measured fifty-five feet in length, and was purchased for £80 by Messrs. Campbell and Woolley, an old mercantile firm, and whose Mr. Woolley still lives in Melbourne.

The first case of smuggling adjudicated upon in the colony was at the Police Court on the 17th September, 1839, when one Spottiswood was charged by the Chief-Constable with a breach of the Customs Act, by having smuggled a 100lb. case of tobacco. He was fined thrice the value of the goods (£57).

Mr. Hugh Niven, a settler located a few miles from Geelong, was riding to that township on the 20th September, when his horse stumbled and fell, throwing the rider and rolling over him. He was found in the bush, and removed to McNaughton's inn, where he expired on the 23rd.

Drowning of a Diamond Ring.

Perhaps of all the musty relics jettisoned by Time in the old waters through which I have trawled, there is none of my recovered waifs possessed of a more peculiar interest than the legend here subjoined, and now for the first time worked into a connected narrative. It is a little epic in itself, both romantic and realistic, pointing the moral that in firmness and practical good sense is most likely to be found the efficacy sufficient to avert or mitigate the mortifying troubles of human existence.

In the course of 1838 several English families of position and considerable pecuniary resources arrived in Sydney, intent upon wooing fortune in the wide field of Australian colonization, then attracting much attention in the Mother-country. Attached to one of these migrating households in the capacity of governess, was Miss Theresa M———, a bonny blonde, with gentle Anglo-Saxon blood coursing through her veins, and of personal attractions only equalled by intellectual gifts and educational accomplishments. Born and bred in a London suburb, she contracted an intimacy with a young man in a higher grade of life, and, as usually happens, the attachment soon ripened into an affection which was believed to be mutual. In consequence of the disparity in social relations of their respective families, a marriage in England would entail consequences not to be prudently disregarded by one of the parties, and it was arranged that the lady should precede the gentleman in travelling to Australia, and he was to rejoin her in Melbourne by a certain time. A betrothal was enacted with all the fascinating folly of such ceremonies, and the gentleman's final attestation of the contract was slipping a diamond ring over what is conventionally known as the engagement

finger; and so they parted. Miss M———, who was not without moderate private means of her own, came on to Melbourne in the beginning of 1839, where she obtained an engagement in the family of one of the settlers located near town, and as this is not a chapter of a novel, it is no part of the writer's business to enter into a detailed description of the longing, pleasant, worrying time she had of it, yearning for the period fixed when a letter would be received from the *fiancé* intimating when his arrival might be positively looked for. In consequence of the uncertainty of the English mails, this was to be during March; and though a couple of European posts had been received in Melbourne in the time, no message of love for Theresa was amongst them. Co-incidently on the 1st April she made her way to the brick cottage in Chancery Lane, the home of Her Majesty's mails at the period, and when Mr. David Kelsh, the grim guardian of the window, in a husky, curt, tone so familiar to him, blurted "Nothing for you Miss," the poor girl fancied that the day was emblematic of her errand, for it was "Fool's Day" in reality for her. For the first time a spasm of doubt—it was but a small one, there was not then room for more, since it would be treason to her love to encourage such an undreamed of idea—thrilled her trusting heart.

> "——The little rift within the lute,
> That by-and-bye will make the music mute,
> And, ever widening, slowly silence all."

Loving and hoping, crushing distrust when it whispered the possibility of deception, and ever haunted by waking and sleeping dreams, she passed through a harrying ordeal of several weeks, until one day, when calling at the Post Office, she was handed an English newspaper, and opening it, was thunderstruck by reading therein an announcement of the marriage of the recreant on the memory of whose last interview with her she had, so to speak, existed since they parted. The notification was ink-lined to give it significance, and there was little question as to the identity of the transmitter of the terrible news. The spell was immediately broken, the trustful girl was dis-illusioned. He in whom she had so implicitly trusted, had played her false, and was a traitor to the vows attested by the ring. The shock wrung her heart in every fibre, and was near killing her; but she was not easily conquered, and with an almost superhuman effort she instantaneously resolved that her misplaced devotion should be suppressed, and every vestige of even a memory of her deceiver crushed out of her existence. She proceeded without delay to carry out her intention, and, walking along the river bank towards Richmond, near where the Botanical Garden Bridge now spans the water, she held final commune with herself. The ring sparkled on her now disengaged finger, and every way she moved it some *facet* of the donor's treachery was reflected therefrom. At length her mind was finally made up; there should be no half measures. Her love should be quenched in oblivion, and no sooner was this resolve fixed than its execution was promptly commenced. Rushing from where she sat, she approached the river brink, looked into its then calm, pellucid waters, and drawing from her finger what she had for months reverenced as an amulet that would bring her peace and happiness, she gazed wistfully upon the small globe of carbon as it innocently flashed in the sun, and, with an untrembling hand, dropped it into the river, where, in all probability, it rests in peace in its liquid sepulchre to this day. Returning to town with a bursting heart, Miss M——— sought the solace of her couch. She had a dreary and harrowing night; but ere her eyes dozed in sleep some pitying muse looked into the chamber, and, inspired by the presence of the mysterious visitor, Miss M——, much to her own astonishment, found a strange solace in versification, and, under an involuntary impulse, produced on paper a poetical effusion in every sense, a maiden essay. Thus disburdened, a feeling of quietude gradually possessed her; she enjoyed a dreamless tranquil sleep, and awoke with a conviction that her blighted attachment was as dead and buried, and as irrecoverable as the drowned ring. In the course of the day she forwarded the elegy so unaccountably written to the Editor of the *Port Phillip Gazette*, requesting its publication, and accordingly on the 22nd May, the following was presented to the reading public of Melbourne:—

THE RING.

Let Yarra deep entomb my cherished ring—
'Twas given in colder climes to mem'ry dear—
And let its sombre waters o'er it fling,
A gloomy pall upon its darken'd bier.

For why retain a pledge of vows misplaced,
Which, broken like a mirror only shows
The image which its spotless surface graced,
In fragments fragile, which no spell can close?

Then let the Yarra, with its gentle sway,
Assist me to obliterate the past;
And let its sweet mimosa banks allay
The turbid thoughts, with which my soul's o'ercast.

But why should absence deeply steep the past
In sleep, as cold as death, should only give?
And why should ties, ('twas said, must ever last)—
Break—and then leave the sever'd far, to live?

Then Yarra, keep my faithless token-ring
Enshrin'd for ever 'neath thy placid wave;
It told of joys borne on Hope's buoyant wing,
Embalm it—let it find in thee its grave.

THERESA.

The lady did not tarry long in Melbourne, and returning to Sydney, in the course of two or three years, she became acquainted with the captain of a "merchantman" trading between the Port and Liverpool. The skipper, who was of Dutch descent, fell in love with her, and offering his hand in marriage, she took it and threw away the green willow. She sped back to Europe with her sailor husband, and after a few successful voyages he joined a commercial house in Belgium, where he not only prospered, but acquired much wealth. Not longer than a dozen years ago it was known in Melbourne that he was residing in the vicinity of Brussels, the father of a numerous family. His wife was then a proud and portly matron, the once luxuriant auburn hair considerably lessened in its dimensions, and more of a silvern than a golden hue, and the face, though lacking its pristine lustre, preserving relics of the brilliant beauty once enthroned there. But no one could tell if she ever looked back to that long ago day when the Yarra Yarra swallowed her discarded diamond ring.

In November, 1839, the following notification appeared in the newspaper advertisements of the day:—

> "TENDERS will be received until the 1st of December, by parties willing to contract for the establishment of a Ferry over the lower part of Collins and the middle of Elizabeth Streets; the state of which in rainy weather, renders these impassable without the means of a Punt."

This is evidently a skit, but it by no means misrepresented the once almost utterly impassable state of the Melbourne thoroughfares.

Subsequent to the death of Mr. W. F. A. Rucker, his son presented to the Melbourne Public Library the books of the Derwent Banking Agency, which was one of the first banking institutions established in Melbourne. The set consists of cash-book, ledger, bill-book, letter-book, with a packet of cheques and vouchers, and two parcels of various documents. Among the names which appear in the books is that of the historical John Batman, and according to the "Bills Receivable" book, the first bill negotiated by the Agency was one drawn on 1st February, 1838, by John M'Nall, in favour of Thomas Napier. The ledger shows transactions with John Batman from 17th April to

25th August, 1838, amounting in the aggregate to £398 8s. In the Letter-book appears the following, from the Manager to the Chairman of the Board of Directors:—"I have now about £200 in small bills from ———, who is a good mark; shall I do them?" The M'Nall referred to kept a somewhat extensive butcher's shop in Collins Street East. The Thomas Napier was an enterprising old colonist, now dead.

The first immigrant ship to arrive from England was the "David Clarke" in 1839.

The first person for whom a residence was erected at the now flourishing St. Kilda, was Mr. George Thomas, of the firm of Thomas, Enscoe, and James, established at the corner of Flinders and William Streets. This was in 1840, when Thomas held a license to depasture cattle on the picturesque country then known as the Red Bluff and the Green Knoll. The Red Bluff was nautically denominated as Point Ormond, and the designation "St. Kilda" was conferred by Mr. Latrobe, the first Superintendent of Port Phillip.

Special Surveys.

In the early days of colonization, a right of free selection on a large scale was permitted in Port Phillip, by which tracts of country were taken up at the rate of £1 per acre. Brighton, Kilmore, Belfast, and other places were so appropriated until the system was abolished in 1840. The following is a waif relating thereto, the original of which is not now to be found in our Lands and Survey Department:—

Return of all special Surveys taken prior to the abrogation of the system.—

County.	Parish.	No of Acres.			Name of Purchaser.
		A.	R.	P.	
Bourke	Bulleen	5120	0	0	Frederick Wright Unwin
Bourke	Moorabbin	5120	0	0	Henry Dendy
Gippsland	Unnamed	5120	0	0	John Orr
Gippsland	Unnamed	5120	0	0	William Rutledge
Gippsland	Unnamed	5120	0	0	John Reeve
Unnamed at	Mt. Martha	5120	0	0	Hugh Jamieson
Bourke	Boroondara	5120	0	0	Henry Elgar

Note.—Besides the above, a special survey of 5120 acres was purchased for Henry Hopkins, of Hobart Town, which was subsequently taken in detached sections, and is consequently not included in preceding return. There still remains unsatisfied a special survey order for 5120 acres, purchased by P. W. Flower, Sydney.

Amongst the earliest sticking-up cases is that of Mr. Watson, a settler on the Goulburn, whose place was, on the 7th January, 1840, surrounded and gutted by seven armed scoundrels, who pretended they were shooting lyre birds. On the 17th of the same month a mob of thirty-six blackfellows rushed the homestead of Mr. Hector Munro, near Mount Alexander, and rounding up the shepherds, drove off all the sheep.

A Bachelors' Ball.

The commencement of 1840 was distinguished by a pair of happy re-unions. There was a susceptible influx of imported respectability in the latter portion of 1839, including a sprinkling of gay young cavaliers and attractive damsels. It was therefore determined to get up the first bachelors' ball. There were three hotels, the *Lamb Inn*, the *Caledonian*, and the *Adelphi*, with large apartments attached, though for some reason or other none of them was deemed suitable. Mr. W. F. A. Rucker

had a new brick store in Market Street, and this place the proprietor freely placed at the service of the projectors of the coming festivities. The event was fixed for the 14th January. There was an orchestra of six musicians, and, luckily, the precaution was taken of borrowing one of the three or four pianos then in town. One hundred cards of invitation had been issued, and there were but few absentees. The supper was served in a *marquee* at the rear, communicating by a covered way with the ballroom, and everything went on as merrily as could be required until the refreshing of the band, when the copiousness of the stimulants imbibed had such an effect upon the performers that they unceremoniously stampeded from the place, leaving the deserted dancers in a plight. The improvisation of choruses of hummers or whistlers was suggested, but it was a notion impossible as well as absurd. The extrication from the annoying, though laughable dilemma, was finally effected by four of the ladies volunteering as amateur *pianistes*, and so

> Trip it gaily as you go,
> On the light fantastic toe,

Was the order of the early moon-lit morning, and the merriment was kept up with no intermission, until a general dispersion was effected. The return home, however, witnessed a singular mishap.

Amongst the departing equipages was the carriage of Mr. Thomas Wills, with five lady inmates, and as the Melbourne streets were then mostly a mixture of ravine and quagmire, the coachman, to secure as firm ground as was possible for his drive, took the circuitous route of William Street and Bourke Street. He whipped along in safety until he approached the intersection of Bourke and Swanston Streets, where frowned a centrepiece in the shape of a large, upright, gum-tree trunk, flanked by a yawning rut. In turning the corner the vehicle was by some mischance tumbled into the chasm, the driver was shot out of his box-perch, and the horses bolting, dashed into collision with a tree growing in the street, where the whole concern was reduced to a condition of smash. The horses finally got away, the carriage was in pieces, and the five fair belles were left sprawling in the mud. One of them was pronounced as being in that condition which is conventionally classified as "interesting," yet, almost incredible to relate, neither she nor her companions, though nearly frightened out of their lives, were seriously injured.

The following narrative of an early case of self-murder presents circumstances of horrible ghastliness, in the midst of which one can hardly refrain from smiling at the methodical madness of some of its surroundings. A Dr. Mitchell, the scion of a highly respectable Edinburgh family, and of great professional acquirements, came out as Surgeon Superintendent of an Immigrant ship bound from Leith to Adelaide. He proceeded hence to Sydney where he remained for a few weeks, and returned to Melbourne, putting up the *Lamb Inn*, and drinking immoderately. On the 24th January, 1840, he was found dead, and in one of his pockets was found an unfinished and unsigned draft of a will, one side of which was covered with writing in justification of suicide.

One day in February, 1840, Mr. Wright, who resided a few miles from town over the Yarra, sent in one of his men with a bullock dray for stores. The fellow loaded the vehicle, and had a female passenger, after which he adjourned to a public-house to enjoy himself. Hours elapsed before he returned to start homewards, himself very full, but his bullocks very empty. The day being extremely hot, the beasts were half dead with thirst, and on nearing the Yarra and smelling the water, off bolted the bullocks and plunged into the river with the dray and all it contained. The driver and his lady passenger escaped with difficulty, the stores were all spoiled, and five sheep and six of the bullocks drowned.

"Damper and doughboys" were the two first flour-eating industries in the colony, and the third was probably brick-making. The first chimneys in the primitive habitations were composed of slabs and clay, and to ensure durability and comfort Launceston bricks were introduced. The first brickfield was over the Yarra, eastward of Prince's Bridge, and thence transferred to between the river and Emerald Hill; but the bricks made there were very unserviceable in consequence of the unsuitability of the material and the

brackishness of the water. Of the first colonists to improve such an unsatisfactory state of affairs, was Mr. David Lyons, who purchased some land at Richmond, and commenced brickworks there. He also, without protection or bonus, started the first candle-making establishment in Melbourne. His chandlery, so early as 1840, stood at the corner of Market and Little Flinders Streets, the present site of the *London Hotel*, and the "Lyons mould candles" were the first locally made. He died in January, 1883.

The first prosecution of an owner of scabby sheep (though found on Crown Lands), was dealt with at the Melbourne Police Court on 20th March, 1840, when the defendant was fined 40s.

The first brick building erected in Geelong was in 1840 and the residence of Rev. Mr. Love. The now well-known *Mack's Hotel* was originally a slab hut before the licensing era.

A Ladies' Picnic.

The guests of the recent celebration were charmed with the chivalrous and generous conduct of the bachelors, and they decided to return the compliment in some becoming manner. This took the form of a picnic, and came off on the 22nd February at what was then somewhat vaguely described as "the hill at the Salt Water River Racecourse." It is unnecessary to identify this as the now famed Flemington "Hill," whereon so many thousands perch themselves on a Cup day—a place in 1840 a wild scrub encircled, swamp-bound wilderness, and now the scene of a series of transformations as wonderful as any written of in Oriental fable. This was the first occasion of its being pressed into the service of *al fresco* revellers, and was a grand success. Tents were borrowed in town, and conveyed to the field of action, where they were turned into an encampment, and the early chronicles declare "that at 3 o'clock 150 ladies and gentlemen 'sat down' to a dinner provided by Mr. Overton." This caterer was the first to start business as confectioner and pastry-cook in Melbourne; and he is, in 1888, alive, and an active, bustling man. The Town Band was there, but did not skedaddle this time, probably through the limited supply of drinkable rations served to them. Though the weather was oppressively warm, dancing was kept up at "a killing pace" until sunset, when the joyous gathering found its way back to town without any sensational occurrence, or cause for a coroner's inquest. This Ladies' Return Picnic was the theme of pleasant gossip for many a day after, and it was estimated to have precipitated a score of honeymoons in the course of the current half-year.

Two other old festivities occurred, but were unconnected with any special association or party. In July, 1840, several adventurers arrived from Sydney, with cattle intended to be depastured on Port Phillip runs. They were so elated with the promising prospects before them that they gave a grand ball on the 21st at the *Adelphi Hotel*, Little Flinders Street. Though the room was 60 feet long, it was inconveniently crowded, for over 200 persons were present. Much disappointment was felt at the absence of Superintendent Latrobe, who promised to, but did not attend. In such importance was this entertainment held that business in several of the few shops then in the principal streets was suspended during the afternoon.

The Licensed Victuallers in 1840.

What a contrast is presented by a comparison of the trade in 1840 with what it is in 1888! What a sorry figure the then miserable little string of publicans, compared with the great grog-selling muster roll of to-day! The following is extracted from the *Port Philip Herald*:—

Licenses.—On the 21st April, 1840, at the Court of Petty Sessions the following licensees were successful:—Flinders Lane—William Allingham, *Ship Inn;* Lewis Pedrana, *Dundee Arms;* John Shaw, *Shaw's Hotel;* Michael Pender, the *Shamrock;* Thomas Britton, *Philadelphia Hotel.* Collins Street—Thomas Halfpenny, *William Tell;* Thomas Anderson, *Lamb Inn;* Thomas Graham,

Edinburgh Tavern. Collins Lane—William Evans, *Builder's Arms;* John O'Shaughnessy, the *Australian Hotel.* Bourke Street—William Sidebottom, *Golden Fleece.* Bourke Lane—Thomas Walton, *Horse and Jockey.* William Street—M. Harper, *British Hotel.* Queen Street—John Shanks, *Royal Highlander.* Queen Street—John Byng, *Victoria Tavern.* Elizabeth Street—George Coulstock, *Melbourne Tavern.* Williamstown—James Muir. Pascoevale—Edward Butler, the *Young Queen.*

Flinders Lane held the premier place in the small nobblerizing community; Collins and Queen Streets followed; Bourke and Elizabeth Streets had each its unit; whilst the great thoroughfares of to-day—Swanston, Russell and Lonsdale Streets—were entirely ignored.

The first Tradesmen's Ball was held at the *Caledonian Hotel,* Lonsdale Street, on 18th January, 1841, at which eighty couples were present.

FITZROY IN 1841.

The large tract of country now occupied as the site of a large flourishing city is thus pourtrayed (as it appeared in the summer of 1841-2) by the Hon. R. Dundas Murray, a visitor, in a work written by him, and published in Edinburgh, in 1843:—"A large suburb called Newtown is now springing up to the eastward of the town, and long since the chosen resort of the principal inhabitants, whose residences are dispersed throughout the many lovely spots with which it abounds. Certainly nothing can be more romantic and secluded than the sites of many of their villas. Almost all of them stand in the shadow of giant forest trees, which here spread over the ground like the ornamental timber of a park; the hollows and eminences by which the surface is broken being alike clear of underwood, and of every object but the vast stems that shoot up at regular intervals from each other. The solitude, besides, is most profound; and though Melbourne is only a short mile distant, so little is its noise carried that way, that you might easily fancy yourself far away in the depths of the inland forest. But the greatest attraction is the green sward, which stretches up to every door, everywhere offering to the tread a short, firm carpet of verdure, a luxury of no small price to those whose daily labours lead them into the dust of the town. No greater annoyance can be conceived than this fine dust, clouds of which rise during high winds of such volume and density as to darken the skies over the town, and for a time to envelope it in the gloom of a London fog."

At the January Quarter Sessions of 1841, six blackfellows were convicted of assault and robbery, and each sentenced to ten years' transportation. They and three others, nine in all, were placed on board the "Victoria" cutter, for transfer to the "Vesper" schooner, in the bay, bound for Sydney. They were ironed singly, and in passing down the river, when near the Saltwater Junction, all of them suddenly jumped up, flung off their blankets and bounded into the water. The guard fired on the swim-aways, killing one and wounding another, who was re-captured. The rest managed to gain the bank, and scrambling into the scrub, broke off the irons and escaped.

The first coroner's inquest in the Province was held at the *Lamb Inn,* Collins Street West, on 16th January, 1841.

In the month of March, 1841, at Geelong, one of the officers of the barque "Majestic" indulged in a bath at Point Henry. Whilst standing in the water an immense stingaree thrust its sting into the man's thigh, and actually dragged him some distance before he could be rescued. On being got ashore the sufferer was attended by Dr. Clerke, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, who with much difficulty extracted the sting, which measured eight inches in length by one in breadth.

In July, 1841, Mr. Watson introduced two Maltese stallion asses, which were considered quite a novelty. They arrived in the "Frankfield," from Liverpool, were two-year-olds, and fourteen hands high.

About the same time a Mr. Ardlie brought four camels (two males and two females) from India to Sydney, where the "gentlemen" ones died. The "ladies" he sent overland to Melbourne. They were only fifteen months old and about sixteen hands high. Their owner proposed to import a number from India for the Government, taking all risk at £60 per head, an offer not accepted.

A shocking suicide occurred in December, 1841, at the *Caledonian Hotel*, long vanished from Lonsdale Street. A Mr. G. W. A. Gordon, who had been in the service of the East India Company, arrived in Melbourne in the previous October, and gave way to habits of intemperance. One morning he did not make his appearance at the breakfast table, and on the door of his room being burst open, deceased was found dead in bed, his throat cut from ear to ear, and an open razor grasped in his hand. A sheet of paper, inscribed with an inventory of unpaid home debts amounting to £1,095, was found on a table close by. He came of a highly-respectable family in Aberdeenshire.

The first illicit still discovery was made in April, 1842, by Mr. C. H. Le Souef a Custom House Officer, who, after a weary quest of eight days "sprung the plant" in a ti-tree scrub near Dandenong. It was capable of distilling forty-eight gallons in twenty-four hours, had been three months at work, producing 250 gallons of potheen every week, and this vile "raki" was delivered at the brickfields over the river to an agent, who got rid of it through the licensed and unlicensed grog-sellers; but although twenty-nine persons were believed to be engaged in the "spec," not one of them was brought to justice.

The consequences of over-cleverness were exhibited in a funny way at the April Criminal Sessions, 1842. A cattle-stealing case was down for trial, and one Charles Jones, much interested in the acquittal of the accused, attempted to "nobble" an important Crown witness by giving him £30 to make himself scarce when the case was called. The witness took the money, but "peached" on the briber, who was arrested, and figured in the same calendar as his friend. Jones was convicted, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with £100 fine. But the cream of the joke was that the cattle-stealer was tried on the same day, and though the supposed material witness was examined, the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," so he was discharged, and the unlucky Jones retained to take it out on the stool of repentance.

One of the earliest extensive nocturnal outrages was committed at the store of E. Westby and Co., Little Flinders Street (28th July, 1842), which was plundered of a large iron safe containing the account books and £7000 worth of bills. The robbers had secreted themselves during the day, and at night the safe was lowered with a pulley from the second floor to the ground. The books were found a few days after in the Yarra near the breakwater, whilst the bills were turned out of the chimney of a house occupied by one Byng on the Eastern Hill, though there was no reason to suppose him to be a *particeps criminis*. A large reward was offered, and the police professed to have done a deal in beating up the guilty parties, yet no conviction followed.

In all the literature of the marriage ring, I have met nothing to exceed the *naiveté* of the following intimation of an Hymeneal "January and May," as gazetted in the newspapers:—"Married on the 20th August, 1842, by special licence, at the residence of Stephen Coombs, Esq., of Collins Street, by the Rev. Mr. Bell, Presbyterian Minister, Captain Miller, late of Her Majesty's 40th Regiment, aged sixty-five, to Miss M'Queen, of New Norfolk, aged seventeen. After the ceremony the happy couple, with their friends, partook of a splendid repast, and retired late in the evening highly delighted."

The man who raised the first head of cabbage in Melbourne was James Liddy, a licensed victualler in the *Adam and Eve Hotel*, in Little Collins Street; and it was in a little garden at the rear of that hotel that he accomplished his horticultural feat. On the 22nd September, 1842, Mr. John Lewis, a greengrocer in Little Collins Street, exhibited in his shop window a head of early York cabbage, weighing 42¾ lbs., and measuring 5 ft. 8 in.

In 1842, a Mrs. Nott Simpson was in the service of Mr. W. Thomas, an Assistant Protector of Aborigines, at Dandenong. Early in the evening with two of her children, she started on a visit to a dairy acquaintance on a station of Mr. Leslie Foster, some two miles from the Dandenong Creek crossing-place, and after making a brief stay she left to return home. One of her youngsters she carried in her arms, and the other trudged by her side. Nothing like a regular road was then to be found, the only thoroughfares being rough cattle tracks, crossing each other in every direction. Mrs. Simpson struck into one of these, which, instead of conducting her homeward, stuck her hard and fast in the ranges. Not returning in time, her absence excited considerable alarm, and search parties were organized to scour the country in every direction. The black police and the few residents in the locality set to work, dragged the creek, and for a week searched everywhere, without effect, when the absentees were given up for lost. A Mr. Dobie occupied a station in the neighbourhood, and he with one of his shepherds while in quest of some stray sheep decided upon following a track into the ranges. After proceeding some distance they came upon a mia mia, or hut, made of boughs, and as the Aborigines mostly construct theirs of bark, the hut-keeper exclaimed, "This is no blackfellow's doing. Mrs. Simpson must have been here." They carefully examined the place, and discovered footprints as if of a person walking on one foot bare and the other in a boot. These marks they traced some way, and soon after, to their astonishment, beheld Mrs Simpson coming from a creek with a boot filled with water, which she was taking to a child placed in a hollow log, near which the other was sitting. Dobie hailed her, and looking round, she got alarmed and ran away, but the men followed and overtook her. The hut-keeper inquired if she was hungry, and her reply was, "I can walk to Melbourne. Is it far?" Both mother and children were after some persuasion taken to a station of the Rev. J. Clow, not far off, where every attention was paid to them, medical aid obtained, and they soon rallied and recovered. The most extraordinary feature in the event is that these human stray-aways were for nine days and nights bushed, and had only a lump of butter to subsist upon. Still they survived. Mrs. Simpson could never give any satisfactory account of how they contrived to live, except that they used to eat leaves and some roots and berries. Mrs. Simpson, her boy and girl, were soon convalescent; the youngsters in course of time grew up, married, and became the parents of other youngsters. The mother, I believe, is still living (1888) in Kyneton, well and hearty. This narrative, not previously, so far as I know in print, is so unaccountably strange that I should hesitate in publishing it but for the unquestionable source from which it was communicated to me.

The First Foundry.

Early in 1842 two enterprising Scotchmen made their appearance in Melbourne. They were named Robert Langlands and Thomas Fulton, who had formed a partnership before emigrating, and after a brief look round they resolved upon the establishment of an iron foundry. Flinders Street then was absolutely a swamp, and ground thereabouts was to be had cheap enough. An allotment running from Flinders Street to Little Flinders Street was obtained, whereon some small, rough shops were hastily thrown together, and an actual start made. From the inception of the undertaking, difficulties, now almost incredible, though then hard, unpleasant facts interposed, and anything like even the most trifling progress could only be effected by pluck and determination of no ordinary character. The proprietary was certainly possessed of some of the tools of trade, but of a quantity and quality the reverse of encouraging. There was in the place only one piece of machinery, a small slide rest lathe, to be turned by foot, not a very assuring prospect for the class of work to be executed.

The earliest milling firm was that of Messrs. Allison and Knight, who had premises erected off the southern line of Collins Street West, near King Street, for which was imported a steam engine. Langlands and Fulton were employed to erect this "work of art," and they also received orders for rack wool-presses required by the squatters who use this sort of article, until a screw-press was received from Van Diemen's Land to serve as a model for an improved appliance. But the great stumbling-block at the infant foundry was the want of suitable apparatus. A pair of large blacksmith's bellows was indispensable to enable William Crole (afterwards the proprietor of the

Vulcan Foundry, Geelong) to weld a screw shaft out of the small bars of iron, then only obtainable; and the blower was accomplished by the energy of Edmund Ashley, who afterwards had a creditable and successful Colonial career. Next came the cutting of a square threaded screw for the wool-press with the small lathe already mentioned, and this feat could only be tackled by the partner Fulton, the principal mechanic. The lathe had to be lengthened to take up the screw, and the only motive power available was to place a belt on a grindstone and turn it by hand. When the screw was cut about one-third its depth, the lathe was found to be too light and weak for the work, and Fulton, with hammer and chisel was obliged to cut the screw to the full depth. After some time, horse-power was substituted for the manual labour, and at length, by a rare stroke of luck, a small rotatory engine was picked up, which was in time further improved on by the importation from Scotland of an antiquated seven horse-power steam-engine and some engineering tools.

In 1843-4, when Port Phillip was in the direst throes of financial distress, and its golden fleeces fell to small account, it was ascertained that a dead sheep was better than a living one, and the melting-pot appeared as the public regenerator. Tallow instead of wool was the watch-word, and the boiling down of carcases eventuated in shoving the Province through its menacing troubles. In the heating and steaming experiments the first foundry played an early part, and the first six sheep were sent there by Messrs. Watson and Wight. This brief period might be historically labelled as the age of mutton, for legs of that material, some weighing 9 lbs., could be purchased at the boiling-down *entrepots* at from 4s. to 5s. per dozen, and retailed to the public at sixpence each.

After a business connection of four years the co-partnery was dissolved, and Fulton (in partnership with George Annand and Robert Smith) started at the north-east corner of Collins and King Streets, afterwards in the premises known as Manton's Mill, and remained there for a number of years. He was accidentally killed at Sandhurst, through the false warping of a rope by which he was ascending a shaft. Ashley kept with Fulton, and only severed his connection in 1851. Fulton was the sort of man for an infant setttlement, skilful and industrious, strong of mind, iron in frame, outspoken, and honest to the backbone.

A singular case of drowning and dreaming occurred on the 5th February, 1843. James Marnell lived with his wife just across the Yarra, and the man came into town on some business. After he left, the woman went to sleep and dreamed that her husband was drowned. On awaking she was visited by a neighbour to whom she recounted the dream, and had just concluded when a messenger arrived with intelligence that Marnell had accidentally fallen into the river and was drowned.

The bakers were a troublesome craft, and when the journeymen were not striking for high wages the masters were striking for high prices. In July, 1843, the latter began a strike against each other, and for a short time the consumers practically realized the adage about thieves falling out, etc. The "deil was amang the bakers," and very welcome he was, too, though his stay was brief. Competition brought down the 4lb. loaf to 3½d., and there was such a rush for bread that on the 18th all the shops were cleared out. A Trade Meeting was held, and it was decided to raise the price to 6d., or 5s. 6d. per dozen loaves.

In connection with the "boiling-down" experiments, I find the following metrical effusion by a bard who appropriately enough signed himself "Juvenis," and flourished in April, 1844.

"At Melbourne, some few months ago,
When stock was selling very low,
Our settlers hurried to and fro,
And looked and talked despairingly.

"But Melbourne showed another sight,
When, through the thickest gloom of night,
Forth burst a voice 'All will be right!
Build melting-down establishments.'

"Then all at once on Yarra's banks
Vast numbers rushed with beams and planks,
And cauldrons, boilers, tubs, and tanks
Were piled on heaps promiscuously.

"And now on Yarra's bank a scene
Of fearful carnage may be seen,
And bloodier work than e'er has been
At Linden, Prague, or Waterloo.

"Prostrate beneath those awful sheds,
Ten thousand lie on gory beds;
Hide, butchers, your diminished heads
In blaze of our establishments."

What a curious contrast is presented in the specifics prescribed for righting the meat markets of 1844 and 1888! Then it was thawing, now it is freezing.

For years after the foundation of Melbourne no vehicles plied for hire, for the inhabited limits of the township did not extend beyond the area bounded by King, Lonsdale, Russell, and Flinders Streets; and as for suburbs, there were only Newtown (Collingwood), Richmond, half-a-dozen tenements at St. Kilda, and some half as many at Sandridge. Liardet, the mail contractor between the Bay and Melbourne, put on a cart, and afterwards a two-horse vehicle, and, in 1844, a queerish kind of 'bus was ventured between Melbourne and St. Kilda, but was soon laid up through a dearth of custom. The first approach to a cab was an ingenious contrivance, worked by one Peter Jackson, a shelved coach-builder, who, in some mysterious manner, annexed an invalided Dublin "jingle," imported by some "well-in" immigrant; but the roughness of old colonial ways soon taught him otherwise, and the "Shandradan" was disrated and sent adrift to shift for itself. It was not until after the gold discoveries that covered cabs made their appearance. In 1847-8 a brougham and a cab appeared in Collins Street, and the following year some half-a-dozen of both found precarious employment. In October, 1849, it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Howard, the proprietor of the *Royal Hotel*, at St. Kilda, "had started a new omnibus, built after the latest London fashion." It made two trips per day between St. Kilda and Melbourne; fare, 1s. At the same time a 'bus made one daily trip between Brighton and Melbourne, starting from the former place at 8.30 a.m., and on its return at 4.30 p.m.; fares, 2s. each way.

Mr. T. C. Riddell and Dr. Palmer were the first to provide public baths. Swimming baths were opened for gentlemen in January, 1844, over the river, opposite the Custom House. They were sixty feet long, and the ferryman sold tickets—*i.e.*, red 6d., black 3d. The sixpenny tokens admitted to what might be termed, though a solecism, the dress circle; the others to the pit, a division of the pool less select. In February, 1845, Liardet, an hotelkeeper, established a swimming concern at Sandridge.

The occasional glut of fat cattle and sheep benefited the public in the same way as the contentions of the bakers, and meat was often to be got for something amounting to little more than a song. In February, 1844, the following rates were advertised in the Melbourne newspapers:—Best beef and mutton, 1d. per lb.; lamb (not to be surpassed), 1s. per quarter; and rounds of prime beef, 1½d. per lb.

Times were very bad and money scarce in 1844, yet somehow or other the ladies contrived to keep up their supplies of pin-money—at least, such must have been so, if one is to credit the published fact that during the first five days of February the sum of £1250 was taken over the counter at the shop of Mr. Spence, a draper in Elizabeth Street. Mr. Spence retired from business without reaping a golden harvest.

The public nuisance of street preaching set in as early as 1839, and one of that fraternity used to advertise himself as "C. A. Robertson, Israelite Missionary." He was a loud-voiced and an unmealy-mouthed

ranter, who held forth, mounted on a barrel, in the old Market Square. His stock-in-trade was "Anti-Christ and the Papists," and one Sunday, in the beginning of 1844, a number of Roman Catholics determined upon testing how far immersion might operate in softening his abusive tongue towards the creed in which they were believers. Sunday afternoon arrived, and so did the preacher, with a barrel for a pulpit. He was soon, in full lung, dilating upon the abominations of Anti-Christ, Popery, and the Scarlet Lady, when the rostrum was rushed, and the evangelist knocked off his perch. Half-a-dozen strong arms rolled him over, packed him into his own barrel, like a shelled snail, and were about to revolve him off to the Yarra, therein to sink or swim, when, luckily for his earthly salvation, some police came up and rescued him. His narrow escape had as cooling an effect upon him as an actual sousing in the river.

The first elopement occurred in March, 1844. Mr. and Mrs. Hemingsley carried on business in Collins Street, and as an attraction his wife added a cigar divan, over which the lady presided in person, dispensing smiles with cheroots. She was a paragon of politeness to customers, and a very attractive woman, with rosy cheeks and ebony locks. She accordingly made an impression upon a black-haired, close-shaved, tallow-faced young settler named Quinan, who, beginning with the purchase of a bundle of cigars, ended by bargaining for the lady herself, who decamped with him on a Wednesday evening. They stayed for two or three days at the house of a friend in Lonsdale Street, and thence found their way to a place appropriately known as "Sugarloaf Creek," on the overland route to Sydney, where they found comfortable quarters at *Young's Hotel*, and were never after seen in Melbourne. The gentleman cleverly contrived to procure "free passes," for throughout the journey he paid his way liberally by cheques drawn on the Union Bank, all of which turned out valueless. Hemingsley and the police professed to make a mighty fuss after the lady's exit, but to no purpose. The deserted Hemingsley grew inconsolable, and the Melbourne Magistrates sympathized with him so far as to appoint him poundkeeper at Deep Creek; but he so "pounded" away at the public-houses that he very soon became poundless as well as wifeless.

In May, 1844, Messrs. Riddell and Stephens consigned 1100 sheep to the establishment of Watson and White in Melbourne; and the average yield of tallow was 53 lbs., giving 5s. 11d. each sheep, and only ten days elapsed between the delivery of the sheep and the delivery of the cash.

A Mr. David Y———— kept a grocer's shop in Collins Street, and was a thrifty thriving, well-to-do man. Coming from the "land of green heath and shaggy wood," few of his countrymen new better how to transmute a bawbee into a "canary," and his bank pass-book was a pleasant one to look at—at least for himself. He owned some land at the Merri Creek, which was sublet to one James M'Mahon, and as the latter's farming operations did not pay as expected he fell into arrears with his rent. He was under a landlord who would stand no nonsense, and to stave off the bailiffs he resorted—as was believed at the instance of his creditor—to illicit distillation. Accordingly an excavation was made in the scrub near M'Mahon's hut, the plant was procured—also, as was believed, by the landlord's help—and M'Mahon having learned potheen brewing in Ireland was soon making a handsome thing of it. Information of the goings on being communicated to the authorities, on the night of 22nd May, 1844, Major St. John, Inspector of Distilleries, with the Chief-Constable and a couple of troopers, surprised M'Mahon and an an assistant "worming" away in the hut, and pouncing on the workshop found therein a complete still, two large casks of wash, twelve gallons of strong whisky, and other accompaniments, all of which, and the two men, they transferred to town. A few days after the Collins Street establishment was searched, and a seizure made of two demijohns of 13 o.p. whisky. The Derwent wine vaults, a tavern at Newtown (Fitzroy), rented from Y———— by Joseph Coulstock, was also overhauled, and some un-customed liquors unearthed there. M'Mahon was brought before the Police Court, pleaded guilty to the possession of an illicit still, and was fined £100 or twelve months' imprisonment. Y———— was prosecuted for defrauding the revenue, and was also fined £100 or a year in gaol, but he paid the money. A second conviction followed for a second offence with a similar penalty, but Y————, sooner than pay a second fine went to prison. When the police found he would not "bleed" freely other informations were withdrawn. Landlord and tenant were now "caged birds" together, and though each served his full time gross favouritism was said to

be shown to the rich man, whose money enabled him to procure sundry small indulgences which tended to alleviate the *ennui* of incarceration—comforts unprocurable by the other, who was believed to be simply a tool in the hands of Y————, and forced by the pressure placed on him—a law-breaker by compulsion. How M'Mahon fared in after life I cannot say, but Y———— on his enlargement went on and prospered. He became a member of the Town Council, and his name is perpetuated in the street nomenclature of one of Melbourne's suburban cities. A few months after William Turner was caught *flagrante delicto* whisky-making in a house in Lonsdale Street, and was fined £100. Short of means of payment, and having a large family, the Magistrates reduced his term of imprisonment to four months.

On the 31st October, 1844, the price of new-laid eggs had fallen to 4d. per dozen, and the best fresh butter was hawked through the streets for 5d. per lb.

Writing of butter, I may again pass to bread and its congeners. Wheaten bread is supposed to be a Chinese invention, though its origin is uncertain. But no such mistiness clouds the cradle of another edible of almost general use in the early times. This was the well-known "damper," simply a well-handled, well baked mixture of flour and water. This rude method of making bread was invented by William Bond, one of what was known as "the first fleet" arrivals in Sydney, where he carried on the bakery business, and was the author of the first bread loaf proper kneaded in New South Wales. He died in Pitt Street, Sydney, Anno 1839, after attaining to the very advanced age of 110 years. There is a place near Dandenong called "No good Damper," and the origin of this name is very laughable. The proprietor of a small store there had occasion to be sometimes away from home, and the Aborigines, who had a great weakness for flour and mutton, stole a quantity of some flour, but the storekeeper said he would be even with the blacks. So he got a couple of bags of lime from Melbourne, and made them do duty for the flour at his next absence. "Blacky" called again, but instead of flour purloined a bag of lime, and left in great glee. On arriving at their quambying ground they commenced baking operations, when on mixing water with the supposed flour, they were horrified to find it fizz, and fancying the white man's "debble debble" was about to bewitch them, they ran away yelling, "No good damper, no good damper." So thus the phrase took, and so the storeman's place is named to this day. The flour was never troubled after. Arsenic, is said to have been often mixed with flour for the special use of the blacks at more than one of the stations in the then wild interior.

The Lawyer and His "Quarry."

Mr. J. B. Quarry was a very stylish Attorney, and he and a Mr. John Willmett espoused two handsome sisters. It was said that Mrs. Quarry had neither love nor liking for her lawful lord, and the gossiping world soon gave out that it was not all bliss in the Quarry elysium. The husband felt that he had soon reason to doubt the fidelity of his wife, and resolved to send her in keeping to her parents; but until he should be able to make arrangements requisite for her departure, he deposited her under surveillance at Willmett's house in North Richmond. The brother-in-law was a wary guardian, and kept watch and ward unceasingly. Still there was strong reason for believing that the lady was by some means in communication with the outer world. Willmett had certain premonitions that something critical would happen on the night of the 7th September, 1844, and, as events proved, his presentiment was not groundless. Double sentries were put on; Willmett and his servant watching in the front verandah, and Quarry and his valet posted as a guard in the rear. After waiting patiently for some time, footsteps were heard approaching stealthily at the front, and the figure of a man was shortly after made out. Onward it moved until challenged by Willmett, when the laconic response, "I am Jack Robinson," was returned. Willmett, pistol in hand, made a rush; the figure ran away, closely pursued, and at a distance of about seventy yards was pulled up and collared by Willmett, who sang out lustily for Quarry, but was silenced by a ball in the arm, which soon caused him to look to himself. The unknown then escaped, and when Quarry arrived all he found was Willmett bleeding on the ground. His wound was so dangerous that his life was considered to be in peril unless the arm was amputated, to which he would not consent, and after a few weeks he recovered. An outrage so daring occasioned much excitement, yet, singular to say, there was no evidence circumstantial or

direct to point to the real offender. Willmett protested he could identify the would-be assassin if found, and half-a-dozen fast young men were arrested and brought before the Police Court, but there was not a scintilla of proof forthcoming. Two of them were clerks at the Treasury, and another a settler residing near the Heads. Quarry offered a reward, but no information could be procured. Accident, however, soon effected more than rewards or police could do, for Quarry intercepted a letter addressed to his wife which disclosed the name of her seducer. He was a Mr. Edward Hodgson, and Quarry immediately sent him a challenge through Mr. F. Hinton, a brother Solicitor; but before a meeting could be arranged, Hodgson was arrested and bound over to keep the peace. During the duello negotiations there was a minor squabble between the seconds and Hodgson's friend—a Mr. A. M. Campbell—(an ex-clerk in the Insolvent Court) was ordered to enter into peace recognizances for threatening to pull the nose of the other friend, Hinton.

On the 5th November, Hodgson and his servant--one Gow—were charged at the Police Court with being the perpetrators of the outrage upon Willmett. Mr. Stawell appeared for the prosecution, and Mr. Moor for the defence. But the prisoners could not be identified, and the case was dismissed. The general belief was that on the night of the nearly fatal occurrence, Gow had been sent by Hodgson to deliver a letter to Mrs. Quarry, arranging an elopement, and that sooner than be captured he fired a pistol at Willmett. An action for *crim. con.* was next instituted against Hodgson, who was arrested and lodged in gaol. On an application to the Supreme Court, the proceedings were quashed on a technicality, and he was enlarged. He made prompt use of his liberty, for he gave them leg-bail, and never re-appeared in the district.

There is a sad *finale* to be told of the Willmetts and Quarry. After the lapse of some time, Willmett, with his wife, and Quarry, with his child, sailed from Melbourne in a vessel bound for Singapore, and though weeks and months flew by, nothing was ever heard of them until a few years ago, when a sailor, who had been for ten years sojourning with a tribe of Queensland blacks, effected his escape and fell in with a party of white settlers. From him it was ascertained that he had belonged to the same ship in which the Willmetts and the Quarrys were passengers; that she was wrecked on a coral reef; and the captain and his wife, with the others, were several days knocking about on a raft; some were drowned at sea, and others thrown on the Queensland coast, but the sailor was the only person who was saved. Mrs. Quarry remained in the colony, and some years ago was the landlady (under an assumed name) of a hotel in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy.

About the same time (and the only time in the colony) an offended husband offered a reward for the discoverer of a literary desecration of a tombstone. One day there appeared in the cemetery a freshly chiselled monument thus inscribed:—"Sacred to the memory of Eliza, wife of George ———, departed this life 19th October, 1844. 'A faithful wife and a tender mother.'" George was not very long before he helped himself to a new "rib;" and when he, with his second better half, visited the grave of the dear departed, their moral sense was shocked by seeing as an addendum to the epitaphic scroll the words, "And George soon married another." Such rhyming levity drove the husband into a rage, which led to the offer of a reward; and ended in a fit of *delirium tremens.*

In 1844 Dr. Palmer resided at Richmond, and was the owner of a public-house rented to one Hayes. On Sunday, 27th October, Palmer, being indisposed, stayed from church, and his tenant called in a state of uneasiness to say that he required to see him. A servant delivered the message, and on Palmer appearing, Hayes said his grog had run out, and he had not a drop in the bar; he therefore wished the other to sell him two gallons of brandy. Palmer complied, and Hayes said he would take half-a-dozen bottles with him, and paid 20s. as the price. Next morning Palmer entered in his books the sale of two gallons to Hayes. Nothing further was heard of the Sunday traffic for over three months, when the Doctor was rather astonished at receiving a summons to attend the Police Court, upon a charge of selling a less quantity than two gallons of spirituous liquors, the case was heard before Major St. John, Messrs. R. W. Pohlman and James Smith, J.Ps., on the 1st February, 1845, and dismissed on the ground that the information had not been laid within three months of the commission of the alleged offence. It was evident that Hayes had a "down" upon his landlord for pressing him for payment

of arrears of rent, and had given a garbled version of the transaction to Chief-Constable Brodie, a factotum of Major St. John; and that St. John and Brodie had a grudge against Palmer. Though Dr. Palmer was never a popular favourite, public opinion sided with him on this occasion.

In 1842 three white men were executed for bushranging. They had committed a series of outrages north and south of the Yarra, and in the dark catalogue was the robbery of the homestead of Major Newman over the river, their spoil consisting of £30, a powder horn, two watches, and some military ornaments. Though Newman offered a reward for the recovery of the property, it had no effect. Connected with the culprits was what is termed a "fence," or thieves' receiver named Cam, sentenced to transportation, and the hut occupied as a residence by Cam passed into the possession of one Adams. In April, 1846, this person, whilst digging near the hut, turned up some object wrapped in flannel, and on examination it was found to be an old tin can or "billy," and from it was extracted the missing property, evidently so secreted by Cam. The treasure trove was advertised by its finder, and identified by, and restored to Newman.

On Sunday, 19th May, 1842, Sergeant Corrie, recently retired from the police, was buried amidst a tempestuous deluge of rain. As a member of the Father Matthew Society, members of the Temperance Band played and marched in procession to the grave, but on this occasion they had a stiffer dose of cold water than their teetotal pledge ever contemplated.

In 1844, Mr. John Barker (now Clerk of Parliaments) was the proprietor of a station at Cape Schanck, and is so still. According to a newspaper of the period, on the 8th March a fire broke out and speedily rendered the residents for the time homeless. Some woodwork in the kitchen igniting, the flames rapidly spread, and the dwelling and an adjacent store were destroyed. Though the furniture and stores were with difficulty saved, the loss sustained was estimated at several hundreds of pounds. During the conflagration, which was short, sharp, and decisive, a somewhat amusing incident occurred. There was amongst the movables a cask of brandy, which the proprietor was very unwilling to have sacrificed as a burnt offering to the Fire god, so, seizing a blanket, which he wrapped about the cask, he dashed with it through the flames and landed it in a place of safety.

On the 7th April, 1845, Mr. Frank Liardet, an indefatigable mail-contractor, was conveying an important ship mail in his two-horse post-cart from Sandridge to Melbourne, when the steeds turning refractory, the driver jumped off; but in doing so his leg got into collision with a wheel and was broken above the ankle. He had not let go the reins, and with difficulty scrambling back to his seat, he succeeded in reaching town and delivering his charge. He called at the shop of O'Connor, an Elizabeth Street druggist, where the maimed limb was set by Dr. Sanford, who advised him to lay up in town and send the cart home by another person. This Liardet declined to do, and would insist upon driving back, alleging as a good reason for so doing, "that if anyone else drove there would be necks instead of legs broken." Beyond suffering much on the return trip, there was neither inconvenience nor mishap.

There was great commotion in March 1844, when the newspapers announced a veritable case of Asiatic cholera, and that a Sergeant M'Culla, of the 99th Regiment, had died of it after an illness of a couple of hours. After death his body turned quite blue. Some other cases presenting the usual symptoms were reported, but his was the only fatal one. The Sergeant's *corpus* obtained a soldier's funeral, and an obituary farewell from a firing party of twenty of his late comrades.

The second instance of a triplet of births (two girls and a boy) occurred at Heidelberg, at the end of March, 1845, the prolific matron being a Mrs. Barney O'Leary. On the 1st April (Fool's Day) the youngsters were brought into Melbourne to be "cleansed of original sin" at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Francis. They were escorted by the proud parents, and made

comfortable in an old dog-cart. After the baptismal ceremony was satisfactorily got through, an adjournment was made to the *Rising Sun Hotel*, in Little Bourke Street, where the health of the trio was so repeatedly *encored*, that when the coachman of the vehicle took his seat to drive the party home he was in a very "tight" condition. At the intersection of Swanston Street there was a pool of water, and into this the whole concern, trap, passengers, and cargo, capsized. The mother clung tenaciously to one of the little strangers, and two of them were shot into the muck; but they were with difficulty fished out.

Mr. William Bayes embarked in the venture of running a two-horse carriage between Melbourne and Mount Macedon, for doing which he obtained a license from the Mayor.

In looking through some musty legal records, I have exhumed the following trifle, a small historical curio in itself:—"New Insolvent, 18th March, 1845. John Pascoe Fawkner, Melbourne. Liabilities, £8898 0s. 10d.; assets, valuation of landed property mortgaged to various persons (except property valued at £35), £2352 1s.; personal property, stock-in-trade, etc., £15 14s.; outstanding debts, bills, bonds, etc., £815 18s. 1d.; (independent of bad debts £9114 8s. 5d.), balance deficiency, £5714 7s. 9d." The peculiarity of this schedule leaves little doubt of its being the fingerwork of Fawkner himself. His financial difficulty was brought about by his enrolment as one of the "Twelve Apostles," a monetary manœuvre detailed in another chapter.* Fawkner always said he had been victimised on this occasion, and often regretted his "Apostolic" good nature; but through the agency of a post nuptial settlement, he was able to weather the storm.

What a jealous woman may be impelled to do was fearfully exemplified at Brighton, on the 1st May, when Mrs. Cameron, the wife of a blacksmith, resident there, with a fine baby in her arms, walked into the sea, and kept moving until both mother and child were submerged. The bodies were washed ashore next day.

On the 5th June, William Dana was fined £5 for thrashing Gideon Manton. Both belonged to the "swell" portion of creation, and Dana, hearing that the other had been talking too freely about him, knocked one evening at the residence of a Mrs. Musgrove, at Collingwood, where Manton was staying, and demanded an explanation. This was not given, and a horsewhip leathering was administered to the reputed maligner, who found refuge in a neighbouring house.

As early as 1843, several Melbournians subscribed to the Society for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland, but it was not until June, 1845, that the first engraving arrived. The subject was "The Glee Maiden," and it was said to be exquisitely executed.

"Coining" was one of the last of the major class of felonies introduced to Port Phillip in 1845, when a small counterfeit mint was started in Little Bourke Street West, but the charge of coining could not be established; but as three bad shillings were found in possession of one John Richards, he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

In October, 1845, there were 2288 inhabitable houses in Melbourne, and not more than a dozen empty. The town population was estimated at about 11,000.

One day in November, 1845, a Mrs. Elliott, wife of a publican who kept the *Mechanics' Arms*, in Little Collins Street, whilst in a state of insanity, rushed from her home with an infant in her arms. No trace of her could be discovered until three weeks after, when mother and child were found drowned in a waterhole in Richmond Paddock. In the same month of the following year, Mr. William Lang, father of Mrs. Elliot, committed suicide, induced by such an awful family bereavement.

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* Chapter LII., page 708.

Capital punishment for forgery was abolished in the colony in 1845, by Imperial enactment.

In 1845 a clever swindler named Thomas Newman, furbished up some skins of parchment, so that they might fairly resemble old title deeds, and gave out that he had just succeeded to an estate of many thousands through the death of an uncle, a wealthy livery stable keeper in London. Through the fatuity that sometimes prevails in places where it ought not, the rogue had only to ask credit and cash and he got it. It was said that he let in Messrs. Cowie and Stead, of Geelong, rather extensively. He held on for some time, but he disappeared, and never turned up afterwards.

A well-informed correspondent writing from Geelong, has favoured me with the following:—"The first choir at St. Francis', Melbourne, consisted of Dr. C. J. Sandford, with Mr. J. P. Smith, Solicitor; Mr. William Clarke, a music seller and music teacher, who kept a shop in Collins Street East; and a fourth (F. L. Clay, another Attorney?) whose name has passed from my recollection. They were all "jolly good fellows," but better adapted to "trolling a catch" than chanting High Mass. Vespers were not sung in those remote days. Three or four young fellows—Tom Kennedy, Michael Lyons, Davy Hurley, John Cosgrave (late City Treasurer), John Mansfield, and James Reilly, determined to form a class. One of the party was so eager in the matter that he sold his watch to pay his share of the expenses. Their first attempt in the church was on the occasion of Archbishop Pohlding's first visit to Melbourne, when they were complimented by the Rev. Father M'Evey, on having made "a precious mess of it." They persevered, however, and with the assistance of a few ladies, got on very well. After a little while "Micky Mac" picked up an old harmonium in some sale-room, and made it a present to the choir. A Miss Lyons—now Mrs. Dutfoy (of Rokewood), sister to the late Mrs. Quirk, and a daughter of Peter Whelan (who once kept the *Daniel O'Connell* in Bourke Street, near the Post Office), with a few other ladies, joined. J. Cosgrave, as well as singing, learned the harmonium from Mr. Clarke; besides which, he had M'Donald on the cornopean, and P. Phelan, clarionet.

In January, 1846, George Wise, landlord of the *Richmond Hotel*, Richmond, put on a cab to run daily to and from Melbourne, and give free transit to any persons wishing for a rural trip, on condition of their looking in for refreshments at his place.

Two noteworthy incidents happened in February, *i.e.*, the death from inflammation of Necromancer, an imported thoroughbred stallion, belonging to Mr. T. H. Pyke, and worth 700 guineas. As being the best blooded horse in the province, the event caused much lamentation on the turf.

Mr. Peter Hurlestone settled near Brighton, where he established a mill. The engine originally belonged to the "Firefly," the first Yarra steamer. When it failed here the owner worked it up into what was termed a threshing machine, which he set up near Elsternwick. Corn was threshed for 4d. per bushel.

The summer of the year 1846 was hot and droughty, and during February and March extensive bush fires raged. The Plenty country was laid waste, and several residents of the Plenty and Moonee Ponds were burnt to the verge of ruin.

During the summer and autumn seasons small-pox committed much ravage amongst the Aborigines, and was very destructive to the children of the tribes located on the Murray River and its tributaries.

In March much excitement was created through the discovery by Dr. Jamieson of a quantity of salt of a fine quality in a fissure of a rock jutting into the Bay near Brighton. It was to be a grand new industry, but the whole thing soon evaporated.

A Mr. Willoughby was one day in April out with a five-year-old son, near "Arthur's Seat." Some Aborigines lurking about kidnapped the boy. After several days' search the dead body of the child was found at a blacks' camping-place, but it showed no marks of violence. The Aborigines confessed to the kidnapping with the view of exacting a reward for the restoration, and that the cause of death was the child's inability to eat the food given to it.

The first line of railway proposed in the colony was from Geelong to the River Glenelg, on the South Australian border. The Geelongites were the originators of this mad-cap undertaking, but it went no further than a grand preliminary "blowing," which came off at a public meeting held at *Mack's Hotel*, on the 13th July, 1846. An estimate of the annual traffic anticipated was submitted to the gathering, viz. :—

	£	s.	d.
7062 bales of wool, at 7s. 6d.	2,647	17	0
2000 tons stores, at 80s.	8,000	0	0
3000 passengers going and coming the whole line, at 40s.	12,000	0	0
3000 do. do. intermediate places, at 20s.	6,000	0	0
1000 tons salt, at 20s.	1,000	0	0
1000 tons agricultural produce, at 20s.	1,000	0	0
Total	£30,647	17	0

A Mr. Alfred Diaper, aged 30, committed suicide on 25th August, on board the schooner "Diana," from Williamstown to Western Port. He was addicted to intemperance, and had he remained alive untill the arrival of the next mail from England, would have inherited a large fortune through the death of his father, a wealthy grocer at Portsmouth. Deceased left home in 1839, with an appointment as Private Secretary to Colonel Campbell, then Governor of Sierra Leone, where he remained for some years, and thence went to Hobart Town.

On 17th September, 1846, three ladies residing near each other in the Eastern quarter of Melbourne, presented their husbands with twin pledges of affection. The triple event occurred not only on the same day, but at the same hour, 9 a.m., and its announcement was regarded as a most auspicious omen of the future "Vital" prosperity of the metropolis.

During the same year it is remarked that the Jewish births were just one-twelfth of the whole of the British population of the colony.

The first premises for which a publican's license was granted in Newtown (now Fitzroy) was a straggling weatherboard structure of four or five rooms. It was called *The Travellers' Rest*, and occupied the ground whereon now stands King's College in Nicholson Street. In 1846 it was kept by a Mr. Beveridge, and about 9 p.m. on Sunday, 13th September, the place was "stuck up" by three armed men who escaped.

In 1846 a project was started in Liverpool for forming a Company to construct a railway from the new bridge in course of erection at Melbourne to Sandridge; and Mr. D. Lennox, the then Superintendent of Bridges here, was reported to have made a survey of the best route, but the affair collapsed.

A narrow escape is recorded in a Melbourne newspaper on 27th August, 1846 :—"Mr. Stawell, the Barrister, has had several narrow escapes by flood and field, and we now chronicle another, which was within an ace of terminating with the loss of his life. In attempting to swim his horse over the Saltwater River, he was carried down, horse and all by the current, and was within a few yards of being entangled in a tree, when he jumped off the animal, and with great difficulty reached the shore in safety. Mr. Stawell is very much respected in Melbourne, both by the public and his

profession, and if anything happened to him it would be a public loss." The gentleman referred to was, afterwards, the much-esteemed Chief Justice of Victoria (Sir W. F. Stawell).

The numerous and prospering residents of the now "Border City" of Albury will be amused by the following patronizing notice culled from a Melbourne newspaper of May, 1847:—"The little township of Albury is rising daily into importance. In the course of a short time, from its peculiar situation, it will become a place of no little enterprise. A certain Melbourne physician intends forthwith transferring his household gods there, where he is led to believe his prescriptions will be honoured and remunerated." The migrating doctor was a Mr. J. J. Keating, a surgeon, who kept a so-called Medical Hall some time in Elizabeth Street. Things went better with him in Albury than in Melbourne, where he lived, cured, and did well for many years.

Small remnants of the Aboriginal tribes of the Yarra, Western Port, and the Goulburn hung about Melbourne, a mendicant drunken nuisance. Men, women, and children cadged for cash, grog, tobacco, refuse food, old clothes, etc., and much to the public satisfaction, on the 30th September, 1847, some impulse moved them to migrate to the country. The more effectually to shake off all clingings of civilization they discarded all the tattered European raiment worn, made heaps of and burned it, and then collecting a few invalid adults and weakly children, they placed them in some "mia-mias" over the river near Heidelberg, and cleared out. Mr. Thomas, an Assistant Protector of Aborigines, provided for the wants of the poor creatures deserted, who fared much better than those who had abandoned them.

On the 16th February, 1847, a young butcher, named Edward O'Donnell, was summoned by an attractive damsel, Miss Rose Reilly, for the maintenance of twins; and to support her plaint exhibited as evidence the two living affidavits. The knight of the cleaver consented to pay the weekly sum of 5s. each for the care of his lambs.

Smuggling ex-Convicts in Boxes.

The receivers of stolen watches and other valuables obtained from the Melbourne thieves used to export their ill-gotten wares to Launceston, and as if by a reciprocity treaty, Melbourne used to be favoured with the occasional import of a "contraband lady" quietly smuggled across Bass's Straits, stowed away like brew in a beer cask, with the bung-hole open. Some of the most pronounced Cyprians of the period were known to have passed through the Port Phillip "Rip" in this way; and the reason was that they were transported female convicts from England, who were let out to assigned service in Van Diemen's Land. The fair one, casked, cased, and provisioned, was berthed under the special *surveillance* of the steward, and generally released in the Bay. In March, 1847, a shocking tragedy arose out of this practice. There was in Launceston a Mrs. Nancy Robertson, the reputed wife of a flying pieman, known as "Jemmy." The man was an expired convict, the woman's sentence had not expired, and "Jemmy" believed that if his "Nancy" could be got over to Port Phillip, their joint fortune would be made, and pies "all hot" need not be "flied" or cried any more. Nancy was willing to come, but objected to be coffined alive, if only for two or three days, and the difficulty was how to get her on board the steamer "Shamrock." A case was nicely padded and prepared for her reception, and "Jemmy" was at his wits' end to know what to do. He tried a little coaxing, in which he was potently aided by some over-proof rum, and "Nancy" was what might be politely termed "moribundly intoxicated," and in this state was boxed up and placed below in the hold. "Jemmy" was an ordinary passenger, but during the trip, his frequent flittings up and down the hatchway aroused the suspicions of Captain Gilmore, who closely watched him; and before the day was over a very offensive odour was perceptible below. The pieman was at last seen to approach a case, and placing his lips to an interstice, say in a whisper, "Nancy, it's all right now; you can come out." But there was no response, and no "Nancy" came out. The

Captain had the case immediately opened, when a horrible spectacle was presented. There was the once good-looking face of the gay Mrs. Robertson twisted into a frightful state of distortion. She was dead, with a bottle of gin placed near her head; and as the corpse was in a state of incipient decomposition it was brought up and thrown overboard. The matter was reported on the steamer's arrival to the water police at Williamstown, and though the "flying pieman" was apprehended, nothing further came of the shocking event.

The following appeared in the *New Zealand Public Opinion* of the 24th October, 1885:—"A writer of the CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE gave an account in one of his chapters of the way in which females were smuggled from Tasmania during the early days of this colony. The rule seems to have been very strict, and captains of vessels were afraid to take females of the penal class. 'Garryowen' asserted that many were brought over in boxes specially provided for the purpose, and an account was given of the shocking death of one who had been unwillingly compelled by her husband to undertake the passage in one of the boxes. To many this would appear like romancing. However, from Adelaide comes an account by wire of a stowaway having been confined seven days in a box 3ft. 6in. by 2ft. 1in. On the arrival of the 'South Australian' from Western Australia, a box addressed 'Mr. Walter Bills, passenger,' was found to contain a man who gave the name of Alderson, although papers upon him led it to be supposed that his name was William Burnside. He had been stowed in the hold of the steamer, and was in a fearfully emaciated condition when released, having been without water the whole voyage. Last accounts were that he was recovering with careful treatment."

The following incident is narrated of a Melbourne Pioneer, for many years removed from all worldly strife:—"On the Queen's Birthday, 1847, Mr. George Say, landlord of the *St. George and Dragon Hotel* in Lonsdale Street, was so overpowered by his loyalty that he resolved to let off steam by the roasting of a bullock in honour of the Queen, in front of his house, now forming the southern portion of the Melbourne Hospital grounds, where he constructed a queer kind of furnace, over which the carcase was suspended. The "Boniface" pocket had, however, more 'Say' in the demonstration than intense allegiance; for it was a clever ruse to secure a day's large till-takings. A brass band of three or four instrumentalists was perched on empty beer casks near the bar door, whence the most 'stunning' of music was performed. The 'rule of the roast' for the distribution of the bullock was that anyone could bring his or her own knife, and slice off any particular portion fancied. The beef, however, did not turn out very enjoyable eating. That night the two Georges (and the Dragon, no doubt) closed their eyes amidst a haze of self-congratulation at the profitable way in which the loyalty dodge had been worked."

In September there was turned out of Langland's foundry, in Flinders Street West, a machine capable of making 40 bricks per minute, 2,400 per hour, or a daily average of 30,000.

In September another triple birth occurred, but this time at Portland, where a Mrs. Quinn became the mother of two boys and a girl. Little more than nine months before she had twins, and a year previous a son, *i.e.*, not quite three years married and producing at the rate of two babies per annum!!!

The unusual take of a fine turtle was effected at the beach near Williamstown, on 10th October, by two boatmen, who, ignorant of what it was, killed it, and brought it to town, when it was found to weigh about 300 lbs. It was sold to Peter Perkins, an oyster-selling celebrity, at the rear of the present Theatre Royal. Several of the hotel-keepers refused to have anything to do with it. This was the first known instance of a turtle visit to Port Phillip Bay.

In November, 1847, a Melbourne newspaper chronicled as something like an indication of a wonderful postal progression, that an answer to a letter posted in town, for London, had been received in seven months and four days from the date of the original mailing.

In December, 1847, Melbourne was honoured by a visit from Mr. E. Deas Thomson, Colonial Secretary for New South Wales. It was a private trip, and no public recognition was attempted. It was as well, as he was no favourite.

During the night of 14th December, 1847, there was a terrific thunderstorm, and Jacob Wyer and John Chaplin were killed by lightning. They were fishing in the Bay, and Wyer's hair, eyebrows, and clothes were much singed. Wyer was Chaplin's father-in-law.

The summer of 1847-8 was very dry, and the country so bereft of feed and water that a considerable number of sheep and cattle died. The first Anglican Bishop (Dr. Perry), after his arrival in January, had prayers for rain offered. In March an event, never previously known, happened in the River Plenty completely drying up.

In March, 1848, Mr. Henry Baker, of the *Imperial Inn*, Collins Street, erected a public-house at Heidelberg, known as the *Old England Hotel*. This Baker was a podgy, pushing little man, great in getting up substantial shilling dinners; and thoroughly believed in advertising. He remained for several years a "Boniface" there, when he was obliged to succumb to that inevitable which no one, "publican or sinner," can evade.

On the 1st April, that remarkable anniversary made two distinguished Melbournians simultaneously play a bit of the fool. Judge A'Beckett and Bishop Perry resolved to have an outing. They did not travel together, but each took a different route, drove a gig, and had a lady passenger. Both traps capsized, both ladies were unhurt, the Judge had his cheek cut at Flemington, and the Bishop was well shaken on the St. Kilda Road.

There is quite a little history to be raked up about that now well-established hostelry, the *Royal Mail Hotel*, corner of Bourke and Swanston Streets, if one only knew where to look it out and find it. At first it was an uncouth-looking, large, rough edifice, built by a road contractor who had made a good deal of money out of broken stones. This man, however, went insolvent in 1848, and the property was brought under the hammer by the Official Assignee, and knocked down for £770 to a Mr. E. B. Green, a well-known and well-liked mail contractor. Green had it improved intending to convert it into an hotel to be named in a way that would perpetuate the manner in which he made the money with which the property was purchased. Thus it was called the *Royal Mail*. Its first landlord was Mr. Sugden, once a well-known Chief-Constable. In 1880 the place was sold for £60,000, though the corner half-acre was originally bought at Government land sale by a Mr. William Bowman for £136 16s.

Subsequently I was supplied with the following:—"The original price paid for the *Royal Mail Hotel* was £1750, not £770. E. B. G. did not make his money solely by mail contracting. He was at that time owner of four cattle and sheep stations—Keilawarra, eight miles below Wangaratta, on the Ovens River; one at Greta, or Fifteen Mile Creek, midway between Benalla and Wangaratta; one on the Broken River; the other on the Wakool Creek, fifty miles below the Sandhills, now called Deniliquin. The hotel and five shops adjoining the theatre, where the late Richard Punch's timber-yard formerly stood, E. B. G. left to his family, consisting of myself and two brothers. The property has never been sold, nor likely to be.—I am, etc.,

"E. B. GREEN,

"Casham House, St. Kilda Street, Brighton North.

"16th September. 1885."

A very aggravated assault was committed at Brighton, 24th June, 1848, by Dr. Adams operating upon Mr. E. L. Lee, the Private Secretary of Mr. Latrobe. The parties met near Lee's residence, and a row was got up about a pony on sale by a Mr. Manby, and which the other two wished to secure. Adams seized Lee by the throat, and half-throttling him with one hand, horse-whipped him

with the other. Mutual friends endeavoured to effect an amicable arrangement, and some days after Lee received a note from his assailant, enclosing a £25 cheque as a *solatium*, with a request to apply the amount to charitable purposes, but it was indignantly returned. Dr. Wilmot and Mr. J. B. Were endeavoured to settle the quarrel, but the case was carried into the Police Court, and the presiding Justices (Mr. James Smith, Dr. Fletcher, and Captain Dana) inflicted a fine of 1s., and £4 15s. costs.

Amongst certain legalized nuisances of early Melbourne were the night auctions, held mostly amongst a very questionable class of individuals, who were, nevertheless, entrusted with auctioneers' licenses. Their rooms were the resort of the rogues and vagabonds, who utilized such dens as a means of getting rid of the stolen property of the period; for this was before the advent of pawnbroking establishments. The law was at length compelled to step in and put down the night sales. The next auction nuisance was the perpetual clattering of auctioneers' bells in the streets by day; and so intolerable did this become that the Town Council passed a by-law suppressing the ringing of bells and sounding of instruments. Some of the Hammer Knights started bugles, which were given up on an intimation that they broke the law as flagrantly as the bellman. Mr. Peter Davis set up a gong, and declared that neither he nor it should be put down, and when cautioned, maintained that the Corporation had acted *ultra vires* in what had been done. On the 25th July, 1848, he was summoned for a breach of the by-law, and the Police Court fined him 10s., with 5s. costs, which, after some demur, he paid, and sent his beloved gong to Jericho. Eight years after, this same Peter was Mayor of Melbourne, and there never was a man in the Commission of the Peace who strained points farther to secure convictions for breaches of the law.

In August, 1848, the wife of a cooper, residing at the corner of Flinders and Williams Streets, rushed from the house in her night-dress, and mounting the steps of the wharf, plunged into the River Yarra, under the stern of the "Circassian." One of the ship's crew slipped down a rope into the water, brought the woman to the surface, and landed her safe on shore. Immediately on the woman casting herself into the river, a fine Newfoundland dog, belonging to Mr. T. B. Sibbering, of the *Market Square Hotel*, plunged in and swam towards her, but the ready act of the sailor anticipated him. It appears that the would-be "suicide" had been driven to desperation by the ill-treatment of her husband, a man of intemperate habits.

The *Punt Inn*, a small hostelry at the off side of the Salt-water River, where a punt then plied, was destroyed by fire on the night of the 13th January, 1848. The place was of weatherboard, and house, furniture, and stock were carried off with great rapidity, the inmates having as much as they could do to bolt out of bed into the bush, and so save their lives. The proprietor, Mr. Henry Kellett, never had such a close shave, for though the run was only a few yards, it was absolutely a race for life. A very deserving and industrious young man, his loss exceeded £400. A sum of £30 and 23s. in silver was in the bar till. The notes were turned into tinder, and the coinage was returned to the condition of ore. Some fine rum went up in the blaze, and there was not a penny of insurance effected. The casualty was caused by the obliviousness of a drunken servant omitting to extinguish a candle. In the course of the same day a conflagration occurred in Richmond Paddock (now Yarra Park), when some twenty acres of the place were laid waste. At one time it was feared that the fire would gallop off to Richmond, and at another that the residence of the Superintendent (Latrobe) at Jolimont would come to grief. Neither contingency, fortunately, happened.

A terrible wholesale drowning occurred in Geelong harbour on Sunday, 2nd December, 1849, Captain Kircus, of the "Victor," a nephew of Captain Davidson, of the "Posthumous" (two vessels riding off Point Henry), and two ship's apprentices, proceeded by boat to Geelong, to attend Divine service there. This they did, and were returning in the afternoon to go on board the "Victor" when the boat was capsized in a squall, and all hands perished.

On 27th December Dr. Greeves (not the Melbourne medico, but a ship's surgeon) was walking along the beach at Lime-burner's Point, near Geelong, armed with a gun, and out snipe-shooting. Noticing something like, as he fancied, a human body floating on the water, he hailed a boat, and pushing towards it perceived the tail extremity of an immense stingaree. On moving the "whole animal" was seen, and in dimensions it seemed about eight feet long, and nearly as broad. The Doctor's piece was charged with small shot, and firing into the fish it wheeled round, rushed the boat, and struck at it with much violence. It then swam in a circle round the craft, "thrashing the gunwale with its tail," but a second shot sent it under. On rising again a boathook was thrust into it, and they tried to haul it on board, when the stingaree struggled so furiously as to wrench itself off the grappler, and lost no time in turning tail and getting away.

In 1849, Mr. Whyte was the leader of a survey party employed in marking the boundary line between Port Phillip and South Australia. One day, provided with some provisions and two horses, he started alone on a short exploring trip, and lost himself in the Mallee Scrub. He wandered about for several days, and was reduced to much privation through want of food and water. One of the horses died from exhaustion, and by devouring some of the flesh the castaway was enabled to tide over a couple of days, when he was so pressed by thirst that nothing remained but to cut the throat of the other animal and drink the blood. At length he was found by some of his men on the hunt for him, lying in a condition of extreme debility, on the bank of the Murray. He was sent to Adelaide, where after a time he was restored to his normal state of health.

During the Christmas holidays of 1849–50, there was displayed in the shop windows of Mr. John Yewers, confectioner, Elizabeth Street, the most wonderful Twelfth Cake ever fabricated in the province. It weighed 200lbs., was 4 feet high, and had 16 feet 8 inches of a circumference. It was highly ornamented, the centre piece representing Albert, the Prince Consort, as Field Marshal. As no single customer would venture to invest in it, a half-crown raffle was resorted to, and thus the enterprising Yewers succeeded in getting it off his hands.

A Mrs. Stammers kept what might be termed an infant school in Melbourne, and if not altogether forgetful of her own name, she ought to be prepared to make some allowance for any "stammering" propensities manifested by the mites of children committed to her tender care. She appears, however, to have shown no mercy on this account. She had amongst her pupils a four-year old creature named Hartnett, whose little tongue could never manage to surround the letter X. In fact the compound consonantal sound was too much for her, and the joint operation of pressing the thick part of the tongue against the roof of the mouth, and the end against the portion above the teeth, was so complex that the urchin could not master it. The soft-hearted preceptress fancied that an unmerciful caning would very soon overcome the difficulty, and the child was belaboured accordingly. The youngster's parents held totally different views as to the efficacy of corporal punishment, and summoned the school mistress for her cruelty. Mrs. Stammers accordingly put in an appearance at the Melbourne Police Court on the 22nd September, when the defendant's "stammering" apology did not avail, and she was fined 40s., or in default one month's imprisonment. She paid the fine, and left the court amidst an unmistakable "X"-pression of sibilant disapprobation from the crowd in attendance.

In 1849 supposed symptoms of Asiatic cholera appeared. Thirty-five cases were said to have occurred, though it was all a groundless scare, for a physician in extensive practice pronounced it to be only "plum-pudding cholera."

A Thieves' Association was organized in January, 1849, for the "protection of the marauding fraternity," its chief purpose being, by the skilful use of that instrument of legal ingenuity, known as a *habeas*, to procure the release from prison of thieves irregularly committed or improperly

convicted. Funds were subscribed, a "Thieves' Solicitor" appointed, and several Police Office summary convictions were quashed for technical shortcomings. A thieves' census was taken by the police, which returned the number of professed plunderers at 100, *i.e.*, 70 males and 30 females, exclusive of 50 outsiders, or *sub rosa* aiders and abettors. The Association was at times both conciliatory and considerate, for a Mrs. Pitman having been robbed of a well-lined pocketbook, advertised for its return, even empty, as it was a family *souvenir*, and in a week after she was the recipient of a parcel through the Post Office, consisting of the denuded relic, and a polite letter bearing the initials of the "Honorary Secretary of the Thieves' Association." A public acknowledgment of the receipt of the parcel was asked for and given.

On the 30th January, 1849, Mr. William Pender occupied a station on the Bass River, Western Port. James Gleeson's wife, Mary, acted as general servant. One day as she was passing barefoot from the homestead to the dairy, she trod on a diamond snake about seven feet long, and was bitten on the heel. The reptile sought refuge in the hut, where there were three young children running about. The woman, apprehensive for the safety of the youngsters, half frantically followed, and seizing the coulter of a plough, she promptly despatched the snake. The poison in a short time began to work, and a handy man of a shepherd exsiccated some of the flesh in the heel, and applied an embrocation of tobacco leaf, but Mrs. Gleeson died after intense suffering about 8 o'clock next morning, in her 33rd year.

In February, 1849, a shocking case of *inter se* cannibalism was reported from Main Creek, Mollison's station, at Mount Macedon. Some blackfellows of the Sugar Loaf and Devil's River tribes captured an unfortunate Campaspe Aboriginal, employed on the station of a Mr. Bennett. He was killed, skinned, and disjointed, some choice portions were roasted and devoured, and the rest of the remains buried in a water-hole, where they were found.

George Hudson, a Yorkshireman, and widower with five children, arrived in Port Phillip in a ship which also brought out two brothers and four sisters named Ellis, of one of whom (Mary) Hudson during the voyage became enamoured, but the affection was not reciprocated. A brickmaker by calling, he established himself on a brick-field, then between the Yarra and Emerald Hill, and the Misses Ellis being dressmakers rented one of what were known as Drummond's Cottages, near the Mechanics' Institute, in Collins Street. Hudson several times renewed his suit, without effect, and becoming discontented and moody, was at length driven to such desperation that about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st February, 1849, he appeared much excited at the girl's place, and asked to see Mary. He was told to go away, when insisting on an interview she came to him, and in reply to a question if she were willing to marry him, as she had promised, the girl peremptorily ordered him off. At this he drew a butcher's knife from inside his coat, and stabbed her three times. Jane hastened to her sister's assistance and she was stabbed twice, near the region of the heart. Flinging the bloody knife away the maniac rushed from the house. On reaching the cottage then occupied by Mr. (now the Hon.) James Graham, he pulled from a pocket the lower portion of a loaded percussion gun-barrel, capped the nipple, and getting a stone, after turning the muzzle towards his heart, struck the cap, when the piece went off and he received the charge, which laid him prostrate. He explained at the hospital that what he had done was in consequence of the falsehood towards him of Mary Ellis. He expired about seven o'clock. Both the girls were seriously injured, though they after a time recovered.

In May, 1849, two enterprising colonists, known as Barbour and Lowe, erected a flour mill at Campbellfield, on the Sydney Road, which was a great convenience to the neighbourhood until after the gold discoveries.

In the early part of June, Mr. Walter Glass Chiene, a settler near Belfast, blew his brains out with a pistol, leaving a wife and four children. He had given way to intemperance, and the day

prior to his death he had a narrow escape from drowning. This caused his wife to remonstrate with him, so next morning, after saying she should have no reason to speak to him so again, he passed into the farm-yard, and shot himself behind a haystack. He was widely known, and deeply regretted.

In olden times there flourished in the centre of our present Parliament Reserve, facing Bourke Street, an immense gum-tree—one of those forest monarchs whose birth dated back to a time of which there is no written or traditional evidence. The Melbournians taking their evening country stroll to inhale the pure air of the then Eastern Hill, were proud of this umbrageous remnant of ancient forestry, and many a spicy colonial yarn was spun beneath its shadow. On the evening of the 23rd June, 1849, some mischievous urchins were playing around its trunk, and one of them set it on fire. When darkness came, the youngsters went away, and nothing particular of the tree was noticed until about midnight, when it blazed forth such a Baal fire as would gladden the hearts of the Antipodean Druids of yore. Towards morning it fell with a crash, and the next day a mixed mob of men and women collected, and armed with axes and tomahawks, had a regular field-day of wood chopping.

On the 24th of same month Henry Major, chief mate of the schooner "Sophia," berthed at Cole's Wharf, died from suffocation. The vessel was infested with rats, and fumigation being determined on as a means of abolishing the pest, a fire was lighted, and every aperture closed for the night. Next morning the captain went on board, and raising the main hatch, he saw Major lying on the floor, dead. A coroner's jury attributed death to the inhalation of sulphur.

On the same day, a pig of the astonishing weight of 644 lbs. was slaughtered at Mr. Blastock's *Grange Inn*, Belfast.

One chilly evening in June, Mr. Wilson, a chemist in Collins Street, was enjoying the comfort of his parlour fire, when two immense snakes jumped out of some burning logs, and set up a wriggling dance too close to his legs to be agreeable. Jumping from his chair, and seizing a carving-knife, he bi-sected them with the effect only of rendering them more lively. He repeated the chopping, yet the several parts shewed no signs of dying, until an application of prussic acid gave them a quietus.

The death of the most aged man in Port Phillip at that time, occurred on the 8th July, in Latrobe Street, when William Devine, a very worthy old fellow, bade the world farewell, just after turning his ninety-fifth year.

Some very clever pen-and-ink forgeries of £10-notes were uttered in September. They were supposed to be the handiwork of the "Penton-villians." The forgeries were executed on baked paper to give them crispness, and the plate portion though a clumsy imitation, when discoloured, the valueless considerations were liable to deceive. They purported to be Bank of Australasians, and the autograph of "D. C. M'Arthur," the manager, was as near perfection as a counterfeit could well be.

Stories of the bunyip occasionally sprang up, to be believed by the credulous and laughed at by the majority. In October, Mr. John Edwards, managing clerk to Mr. Henry Moor, Solicitor, retailed the following questionable yarn, which he solemnly avouched to be a fact. He was on board the "Thames" steamer, endeavouring to intercept a defaulting runaway named Hovenden, supposed to have levanted in a Sydney-bound vessel. The "Thames" put into Phillip Island, and whilst there (*sic dixit* Edwards) an object was seen one day squatted on a rock in a lake, and the spectators could not well make out what it was. It appeared to be some seven feet in longitude, and looked half man and half baboon, with the long feathered neck of the emu. Five gunshots were discharged at it with these effects:—At No. 1, it only shook its head, the second caused it to grin fiercely and show its teeth, with the third it backed towards the water; shot four was answered by a loud noise composed in equal parts of growl and shout; whilst the fifth and last was acknowledged by a jump in the air,

a flinging out of the hind legs, and a disappearance into the lake. The narrator was positive it was the bunyip, but only that such monsters of the deep do not exhibit from the tops of rocks, I should be disposed to think "it was very like a whale." Edwards was given at times to the amusement vulgarly termed, "drawing the long bow," and this was, doubtless, a specimen of that sort of archery.

Another infantile triplet made its appearance in Melbourne on the 10th November, 1849, an auspicious event which caused quite a flutter of excitement amongst the matronhood of the place. The prolific mother was the wife of F. B. Jones, the proprietor of a small cooperage in Elizabeth Street, northward of the Post Office. Dr. F. T. Ford was the *accoucheur*, and the new arrivals were all bouncing boys. The parents were not over well to do in the world, and a subscription was started. The youngsters were named Matthew, Mark, and Luke. To obviate any mistake in their identity or a possibility of their getting mixed, it was determined to assign to them a distinguishing badge or colour, by tying a strip of ribbon around the neck of each. Matthew to sport red, Mark blue, and Luke green. When decorated in this style the little Joneses formed an interesting exhibition, a real baby show which used to be frequently visited and enjoyed by the ladies. The future of this trinity was not unremarkable. Matthew died early in his infancy, and some years ago (as I am informed) Mark was a "cabby," and Luke a "bobby," pursuing their respective avocations on the streets of Melbourne.

The first chemical works were opened in 1849, on the Yarra at Richmond, by R. Charles and Co., where some tolerably good starch was produced.

On 23rd November, 1849, Mrs. Cummings, the wife of a private of a detachment of the 12th Regiment, noticed what appeared to be the point of a needle protruding from the arm of a child three months old, and on consulting Dr. Black, the needle was drawn, and was of a colour quite blue. It transpired that at an early stage of her pregnancy, Mrs. Cummings, in the course of her work had accidentally swallowed a needle of the kind then known as "a Whitechapel blunt," which was identical with the one taken from the child.

A terrible wholesale drowning occurred in Geelong harbour on Sunday, 2nd December. Captain Kircus, of the "Victor," a nephew of Captain Davidson, of the "Posthumous" (two vessels riding off Point Henry); and two ship's apprentices, proceeded by boat to Geelong, and as they were returning in the afternoon, the boat capsized in a squall, and all hands perished.

Alleged Conjugal Infidelity.

A case of unprecedented cruelty on the part of a husband was investigated at the Melbourne Police Court, 8th March, 1850. Charles Collins, aged sixty, was married to a girl of twenty, and they, with one child, resided in a cottage at Brighton. They had been married six years, and lived on the most affectionate terms till the husband questioned the fidelity of his wife. For this there was no tangible rhyme or reason; but Collins took measures to restrain her supposed illicit amorous propensities. He caused to be forged a pair of iron rings, with a strong connecting chain, like bullock hobbles, each ring opening with a hinge, and fastened on the opposite side with a padlock, for the purpose of clasping above the knee. To the main chain was attached a second one, to be fixed with a staple to a log of wood embedded in the earthern floor of the kitchen of his hut. Taking the wife he fettered her with this apparatus, and looped a piece of rope about her neck, so as to choke her unresistingly at a moment's notice. Here the poor creature was ironed for three weeks, though she was the mother of a child only a few months old, which she was compelled to attend to in her captivity. The shocking outrage at length coming to the knowledge of the police, Constable Draper unexpectedly visited the place, the woman was at once liberated, and the husband arrested on a charge of cruelty. When the parties were confronted in the Police Court, the woman, who showed the faded remains of no inconsiderable personal attractions, was little more than a girl in appearance, though seemingly of impaired intellect, whilst the husband was ferocious in aspect, of slovenly habits,

and to all intents and purposes a madman. Collins, in his defence, declared that Sarah was for some time all that a dutiful wife should be, and he kept her like a lady until one day he beheld some improper familiarities between her and a strange man, and this made him change his course of treatment. He was a strict Wesleyan, who prayed thrice each day, but his wife refused to join in prayer with him. He was a man who was in frequent communication with God, stood on sanctified ground, and could preach as good a sermon as any parson. He believed his wife to be thoroughly unfaithful to him, and he chained her up for no other purpose than to prevent her in his absence running off into the bush to keep improper appointments. Evidence was given of the irreproachable character borne by Mrs. Collins; and, notwithstanding all that she had gone through, the poor wife looked with a yearning woeful face at her husband, and was very unwilling that the prosecution should go further. The prisoner was committed for trial, but the Crown Prosecutor did not see his way to file a bill, and Collins was released.

Human Fecundity.

On the 29th June, 1850, another triplet of young colonists made its appearance in Melbourne in the interesting form of two girls and a boy, but on this occasion the mother died shortly after parturition. She was a Mrs. L. Quinan, whose husband was connected with a horse repository in Bourke Street. Mr. Quinan was away two hundred miles in the interior when the unusual increase and "sorrowful bereavement" occurred in his family.

It is remarkable that a high average in triplicate births is shown in favour of the Port Phillip of the past as compared with other countries in the world, and especially modern Victoria. In the ten years (1841-1850, both included) the Port Phillipian births are returned as 15,449, giving a triplet to every 3089 births. According to the obstetric statistics of Great Britain, France, and Germany, the triplet is as one in every 7443 births, and as to Victoria, the following extract from *Hayter's Handbook* (1883-4) speaks for itself:—"In 1883, 183 twin births, but no triple births were registered, as against 215 twin births and 2 triple births in 1882. In the ten years ended with 1880, 2426 cases of twins, and 21 cases of triplets were recorded; the total number of births in the same period having been 268,710. There were thus 266,242 confinements in the ten years, and it follows that one mother in every 111 gave birth to twins, and one mother in every 12,796 was delivered of three children at a birth."

It will be seen from this that the triplet (or three-fold birth) is an exceptionally rare procreative product, but the quadruplet (or four-fold birth) is immeasurably rarer; for from returns compiled at the Rotunda Hospital, a famed maternity institution in Dublin, the proportion of quadruplets is computed as one in every 129,172 births. There is one, and only one, authenticated instance of the birth of a quintuplet, *i.e.*, five children—all born alive!!

On 16th August, 1850, a Mrs. Hopwood, whose husband was in comfortable circumstances, was walking along the bank of the river at Richmond. She was accompanied by two daughters (aged respectively eleven and nine), a nurse-maid, and a baby in arms. The servant and elder girl sought to obtain a drink of water, and whilst so engaged, the woman, warily creeping behind, pushed the servant into the river; but it was in a shallow muddy spot, and she scrambled safely out. The mother next pushed in the daughter, who was drowned. Making for the second girl (Eliza) she also forced her in, but the servant calling to the girl to hold on to a stump, got her out. The mother, who had evidently been suddenly bereft of reason, ran up and down for awhile, and then facing the current leaped into it and was also drowned. An inquest was held on the recovered bodies, when "Temporary insanity on the part of the mother" was the verdict.

The first hat manufactory was opened about this time by Mr. R. F. Bickerton, in Swanston Street; and a newspaper of 25th September in making the announcement, declares that "Mr. B——— is prepared to 'turn out' the best and cheapest hat in the Australian colonies,

and for superior quality and finish, we doubt if any house in London could excel the hats now exhibited in his shop for lightness of texture and elegance of shape."

The South suburban traffic, so far from progressing, appears to have adopted the crab as a model, by going backwards, for in October, 1850, the eve of the Separation rejoicings, the daily Brighton 'bus had shrunk into a tri-weekly, as evidenced by the following notification:—

J. MOONEY

BEGS to inform the Public that he intends running his Omnibus to and from Melbourne and Brighton on the following days, namely,

FROM BRIGHTON.

The *Brighton Hotel*, on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, at half-past 8 o'clock in the morning.

FROM MELBOURNE.

Mr. Chitty's Horse and Carriage Repository, Lonsdale Street, and Mr. Sugden's *Royal Mail Hotel*, Swanston Street, at half-past 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the above days.

Fares, Two Shillings each way.

Years have flown by, and Brighton and Melbourne and the two hotels remain, but the 'buses and Chitty, Sugden, Mooney, and the horse repository have all gone to their account, and little more is known of them than if they had never been. In the vehicular traffic, as well as in everything else appertaining to Melbourne and its suburbs, marvellous changes have taken place; so much so that in musing over the now and the then the mind feels as if almost incapable of comprehending the reality.

A sad event arose out of a birth of twins at Collingwood, on 20th July, 1850. A Mrs. Buckingham resided near the *Rose and Crown Hotel*. She was 26 years old and three years married, and two days after her *accouchement*, in a paroxysm of puerperal mania, she sprang out of bed, and with her husband's razor nearly severed her head from her body. The husband, who was well known, received much sympathy.

In October there was a great scarcity of coal in town, when the price ran up to £2 10s. per ton, in consequence of the demand at Newcastle (N.S.W.) for coal to ship to California. On the 20th eleven prisoners broke out of the Geelong Gaol, where they were all incarcerated in one cell. The door was opened for some purpose by the keeper, who was knocked down, and with two turnkeys was secured in the room vacated by the runaways. There was a police sentry posted outside, who captured three of the gang, but the others made good their escape, and were never re-taken.

Lieutenant-Governor Latrobe held a *levee* at *Mac's Hotel*, Geelong, on 3rd September, where some ninety persons attended, and an address was presented from the Town Council.

Mr. Richard Spence, a corn-dealer in Swanston Street, next to Germain Nicholson's, was a well-to-do individual, with a wife and three children, and one of the last men in Melbourne, to all appearance, likely to make away with himself. On the 18th October he was found covered with blood, and a large Dover knife in his hand. Drs. Wilkie and Greeves were promptly in attendance, but the unfortunate suicide died soon after. No reason, positive or presumable, could be assigned for the deed.

The daughter of one Michael Reynolds strayed into the bush near Fiery Creek, and notwithstanding a weary and heart-rending search, all traces of her were lost. She was only a child, and was supposed to have either perished in the wilderness, or fallen into the hands of the Aborigines. In November, 1850, a white girl, about ten years old, was observed with a tribe of blacks in the same part of the country, and it was believed to be the lost youngster. Though a reward

of £20 was offered for her recovery, and all other possible measures taken for her rescue, it was to no effect.

On 7th December, Mr. Mason, from Geelong, was driving two ladies in a carriage belonging to a once well-known Mr. Hugh Glass; and whilst proceeding through East Collins Street, the horses, becoming unmanageable, dashed to the south side and in upon the footpath, where the vehicle was pitched clean over a low fence, into the playground of a school kept by a Mr. Butterfield. Though the carriage was broken, and the horses much injured, Mason and the ladies miraculously escaped injury.

In January, 1851, there were in Melbourne 2 steam mills, 7 breweries, 1 soap-boiling establishment, 1 blacking manufactory, with 3 iron and 1 brass foundries.

On 7th March, 1851, "A gentleman by Act of Parliament," named Taggart, an Attorney, whilst suffering from *delirium tremens*, rushed out of his lodgings, in no wearables but shirt and socks, through Collins Street about seven in the evening. Bursting into the shop of Pelescini, a jeweller, he astonished the good folk there; but he bounded out again, and there was quite a man-hunt along Swanston Street, but Taggart landed himself in a watery grave by jumping into the Yarra.

At this time the Melbourne butchers (twenty-eight in number) issued a trade notice that there was to be a rise in the prices of meat in consequence of the increased price of fat stock. Their tariff was moderation itself compared with the ruling rates of the present day, for the scale was:—Roast beef, legs, loins, and shoulders of mutton, 3d. per lb.; rump steak and loin chops, 3½d; prime corned beef, 2½d., &c.

In April, 1851, things wore a very discouraging aspect in various parts of the interior. Cattle were dying in hundreds in consequence of the drought, and sheep were going off in thousands on several stations. Feed had nearly altogether disappeared, and some of the most productive plains were as grassless as the streets of Melbourne. Catarrh had broken out in several quarters, and it was feared that if the unfavourable weather continued flocks never before afflicted with the pestilence would become its victims. Most of the waterholes were completely dried up, and there was scarcely a drink of water to be found in the Loddon for a considerable way up its course. The settlers were looking forth with much apprehension for the next lambing, which would be materially injured should there be much more dry weather. The intelligence from the Western District was not so gloomy, though the want of feed and water was beginning to be felt. The last week of the month, however, tended much to alleviate, if not completely banish, such forebodings, for ere May-Day set in there was plenty of rain, especially in the Western Port and Western Districts, and the rainfall was pretty general inward.

Mr. Cunninghame, a tinsmith in Elizabeth Street, constructed an ingenious sort of pump for emptying cellars. It was estimated as capable of, with the power of one person, lifting water 32 feet and conducting it 500 feet. The brass castings for it were manufactured in South Australia, the price was moderate, and several of the articles were ordered.

Mr. Cole, a Richmond gardener, exhibited grapes from a two-year old vineyard, which, considering the season, were never before equalled in the province. They were of three kinds, and a bunch of black St. Peter's weighed 4 lbs. They were kept on show for some days in the shop of Mr. H. W. Mason, of Collins Street. Soon after he exhibited what he named the "Defiance" pea. From one pea planted in the preceding year he had as seed for the current year two bushels (less five quarts). In size the pea resembled the "Marrowfat," required no sticking, should not be sown before June, and then dibbled into the earth at intervals of nine inches.

About this time a young man named Rooney brought to town some specimens of beautifully variegated marble, a whole range of which he declared he had discovered at the River Ovens. They were presented to Superintendent Latrobe.

In the year 1851 bread reached so high a price at Geelong that a meeting was held at the Theatre, Malop Street, and a "Co-operative Bread Society" started, with a capital of £2500 in one thousand fifty-shilling shares, no one person to hold more than five shares. A Provisional Committee was appointed to prepare rules of management, but the project fell through.

On the 23rd August a sow on the farm of Mr. Holmes of the Merri Creek, gave birth to twenty young ones—an instance of fecundity hitherto unknown here, and beating "the three little Joneses" record.

There is now (1883) in Melbourne an antique Christianised Jew named Samuel Henry, who declares himself an "Old Colonist" of the Fawkner-*cum*-Batman era, and asserts that it was he who first cropped and shaved Buckley, "the wild white man," after his surrender to the Batman party at Indented Head. He had a very tough job of it—and no wonder, for Buckley had been untouched by soap or steel for thirty years. This tonsorial feat occupied Sam the best part of a day, and spoiled a pair of sheep shears and two not over-set razors. He was paid, though not illiberally, for he got a bottle of brandy as his hire; and, under the circumstances, the labourer was not unworthy of it.

A popular error has hitherto prevailed in the colony, which it is almost a pity to destroy, but true history should be inexorable. As I have previously stated, when Mr. J. T. Smith, Melbourne's only seven times Mayor, visited England in 1858, he brought back with him to Victoria a veritable British-born ass. Port Phillip, however, possessed an anterior ass, if not of English birth, of the undoubted Anglican species. Amongst the early arrivals who squatted near Melbourne was a Mr. Sylvester, commonly known as "Paddy" Browne, who resided at Heidelberg, and depastured a small station on the Plenty. Amongst the belongings with which he cleared out from Sydney was a donkey, but whether foaled in New South Wales or not I cannot say. However, he was indubitably the first ass of either British birth or pedigree ever domiciled in Port Phillip. The "Edouard" was turned out to grass with some young cattle in a paddock, when a party of Aborigines hove in sight, returning from the Ranges, whither they had gone to procure lyre birds' tails (now obtained only with much trouble in Gippsland, but then in abundance in all the heavy-timbered country nearer town), with which the natives carried on a commerce with the Europeans. They were in high good humour, for their hunt had laden them with spoil, and they laughed, crowed, and chattered merrily. Suddenly the darkies and the donkey confronted each other, and the meeting was a mutual surprise. The Natives looked upon an animal the like of which they had never before seen or heard of, and the jackass started with astonishment at the mob of nondescript creatures before him. With English blood in his veins his courage rose to the occasion, so letting off a volley of braying, with a gallantry unusual in his race, he charged the blackfellows, who, dropping their precious booty in affright, commenced a retreat pursued by the donkey for some distance. And this is how the first four-footed ass got a footing in Melbourne.

The Founder of Portland.

My reading and inquiries have impressed me with the conviction that notwithstanding all that has been written and orated to the contrary, the real founder of Portland was a now almost forgotten individual, named William Dutton. In this belief I am confirmed by a letter written in November, 1884, to a Melbourne journal by Mr. Alexander Campbell, of South Yarra, who speaks chiefly from absolute personal knowledge. From it I extract thus:—"In 1832 I was asked to join a whaling shore-party going to Portland Bay, but preferred sperm-whaling as being more adventuresome. The coast even then was well known. My cousin, Captain Hugh M'Lean, in command of the 'Henry,' made two or three voyages there, trading in wallaby and seal-skins to

Launceston, in and about 1828. He was afterwards lost in the sad-fated 'Britannia.' The whaling party went, and built comfortable huts on shore (in one of which I afterwards lived), under the charge of Mr. William Dutton, who received the Hentys hospitably on their arrival (his own words). He had over 30 men employed there, and some could not return. I was in charge of the whaling-station when Major Mitchell arrived in 1836 with not less than 24 men. * * * * *

"The late Captain Mills and others were sealing there before the arrival of the whalers. Mr. Edward and Mr. Stephen Henty commenced whaling in 1837.

"It is impossible to tell the correct history of the first Western Victorian pioneers without mentioning the name of the energetic, enterprising shipmaster and shipbuilder John Griffiths. He fitted out all the early whalers to that part out of Launceston, and built 'The Brothers,' a schooner, in 1847, at Port Fairy, and a punt in 1837 for cutting in whales. He was born in New South Wales in 1801, a pioneer of our native youth."

A correspondent under the signature "A Portlander," dated 17th August, 1885, furnished me with the following:—"William Dutton undoubtedly carried on Bay whaling at Portland prior to the arrival of any of the Hentys; but it may reasonably be inferred, from experience in other localities, that had the existence of the Town of Portland depended on the whalers who frequented its shore, the site would, in all probability, have been abandoned with the decline of the whale-fishery which embodied their staple interests. Edward Henty left Launceston with the intention of settling at Portland, and founding a home there, as the following oft-quoted extract from the *Launceston Advertiser* of the 13th October, 1834, should conclusively prove:—Departures.—'Thistle,' schooner, Liddle, master, for Portland Bay. Passengers—E. Henty and five servants, together with a full cargo of agricultural implements and building materials. On the 29th November, 1834, the 'Thistle' returned from Portland Bay in ballast, and afterwards was continued for a time taking stock across from Launceston to Portland. Edward and Stephen Henty may not have commenced whaling until 1837, but the settlement took place some three years prior to this, and the fishery was only added as a branch industry to their already established farming operations. The foregoing may not be of any interest to the general community, but to those who value historical correctness, these few remarks should be of more importance, and this must be my excuse for tendering them."

Mr. Francis Henty, in a recent communication to a Melbourne newspaper, makes the annexed correction: "It was in September, 1835, on my way back from Launceston to Portland in the small cutter, the 'Mary Ann,' that I first saw the site of Melbourne. We called in at Port Phillip and removed Batman and his party from Indented Head to the Yarra Yarra Falls, now the Queen's Wharf. Batman had been round the coast to this spot before, and I found Mr. Fawkner's party located on the south bank of the river, but not Mr. J. P. Fawkner himself, he not having arrived till about the middle of October, as his own signature to the old colonists' address to Prince Alfred will testify."

My First and Last Trip to the Races.

An "Old Colonist," whose courtesy I have acknowledged elsewhere, has supplied the following scrap of reminiscence which is worth publishing, though considering that he has been in the colony since before the first race meet was held at Flemington up to the present, his turf experiences are of the most limited character. Nevertheless, the particulars of his two ventures upon the forbidden ground are both reliable and readable.

"In the olden times the annual races on the metropolitan course took place usually in the month of March, and, as it was the only meeting of that kind in the colony, many country people visited Melbourne during the race week. The sole means of access to the course by land was riding on horseback or in a dray—no lighter vehicles being used then; and, as there was no road, it was rather rough on travellers. But there was a much pleasanter way of getting to the same destination by water, as the steamer 'Aphrasia,' which traded to Geelong, was laid on for the racecourse direct; and, as the Town Band was announced to play on board, this was an additional attraction to lovers

of music. Accompanied by a friend, we proceeded to the Queen's Wharf, where the 'Aphrasia' was lying, decorated with a profuse display of bunting, which gave her quite a gala appearance. Casting off her moorings, she steamed down the Yarra, and with Tickell's band playing in fine style, 'In Days when we went Gypsying, a long time ago,' we passed the 'Christina,' 'Henry,' 'Lillias,' 'Flying Squirrel,' and other colonial traders, discharging and loading in the stream. The Yarra at that time was bordered on each side by a dense ti-tree scrub, from below Batman's Hill to the junction of the Saltwater River. We had a very pleasant passage, the band playing dance and other music, to the satisfaction of the passengers. We were landed on the east bank of the river, on the site selected as a racecourse, and we beheld several booths erected a short distance off, and a number of flags flying in the breeze imparted quite a jolliness to the occasion. In front of the booths, a chain about 100 yards long was fixed on each side of the railing, so that the horses might pass by the winning post without interruption; and a portion of the course was marked off with posts, so that no mistake need be made during the race. Country folks were there in abundance, many of them riding about in a very reckless manner, with one spur on the right heel, with which they punished their poor horses rather unmercifully. The band, transferred from the steamer, was perched on a platform erected in one of the booths—a capital draw—for there was sure to be there a constant though changing crowd to listen to the music. It was a beautiful cool day, and the visitors enjoyed themselves very much. It was the grand annual, though casual, foregathering of acquaintances. The racing was first-rate, and two horses named Romeo and Plenipo carried off the honors, while the names of the successful jockeys, Sandy the Butcher, Jim M'Nall, and Lewis Pedrana, were noted by all. At that time very little of that curse of modern racing—betting—prevailed. The people returned home happy and contented with their day's pleasure. On the return trip the 'Aphrasia' was crowded with passengers, the band giving them 'The Lass of Richmond Hill,' 'The Light of Other Days is Faded,' 'The Sea,' 'Rory O'More,' and other tunes in favour with the public then. I did not go to the races next year. A drunken row occurred there, which caused the death of a poor fellow named M'Auliffe. Again the racing season came round, and I made up my mind to be all there; but as I was only 12 years old, my parents were not willing, on account of the unhappy occurrence of the prexious year, that I should go, and gave me as an alternative a trip to Hobson's Bay (which at that time was a great treat), or buy me a nice book. Nothing, however, would do, but I must go the racecourse. It was between 11 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, my parents, seeing that nothing else would please me, reluctantly conceded the privilege, and off I started. As the first race took place at 1 o'clock, I ran nearly all the way to the ground; and, as the hot wind was blowing with clouds of dust, when I reached my destination I was very thirsty, and there was no fresh water obtainable. However, I managed at last to get a drink of water on board a steamer which had brought down passengers. The racing was very miserable, for the dust was so great that it was hard to obtain a good view of the running; besides which many mounted countrymen galloped along inside the posts, so that it was almost impossible to see a single one of the matches on the card. Owing to the heat, some unfortunates drank too much beer, and were handcuffed to a bullock-chain passed round a tree, where they lay in the broiling sun until the evening, when they were taken to town in a bullock dray. I returned home, hot, tired, and dusty, resolving never to go again, which resolution I have kept."

Two Days' Fishing in the Olden Times.

The first was on a winter's morn in 1840, when two boys went down to the Queen's Wharf for a walk. It was a cloudy day, with a fresh westerly breeze blowing. At that time the wharf was in a very primitive condition. Only a small portion was piled for the use of the "Aphrasia" steamer, and the only other steamer in the port was the "Governor Arthur," which plied to Williamstown and the Bay. The remaining frontage to the river was in a state of nature, trees in many places overhanging the banks, to which vessels were moored when required. The approaches to the wharf were in a shocking condition—no vestige of a road, but just the original swamp, which stretched

along from Batman's Hill to Richmond. A large gully ran across the thoroughfare from the corner of William Street to the basin. In winter time this was a veritable creek, and was known as "the River Enscoe," from the name of the firm that occupied premises on the corner of William and Flinders Streets, Messrs. Thomas Enscoe and James. The ti-tree swamp, thickly overgrown with jungle, reached up to the place where the "Governor Arthur" lay at the entrance to the basin, and, taking advantage of the fine breeze and high tide, a large brig, named the "Jewess," from Sydney, had run up the river and anchored in the basin. A boat was sent in from the vessel and a hawser tied to a large tree on the bank, when the sailors commenced singing merrily at an old sea song (now out of date) "Oh row, and up she rises early in the morning." While walking along, the boys, having a piece of string, pulled a switch out of the swamp and fastened a hook on. A float was soon procured in the form of a cork from an adjacent public-house, and a piece of meat having been obtained from the cook of the steamer, the line was thrown in under a large tree which projected from the river's bank. Very soon the cork bobbed down, and one boy called on the other to assist him, and a splendid schnapper weighing 4 or 5 lbs. was landed. The boys returned home very much pleased with their morning's work, and thus ended the first day's fishing. The other day's fishing in the Yarra was in the early part of the summer of 1848. It was a delightful day, with a cool southerly breeze blowing, and every now and then clouds passing over the sun, tempering his ardent rays. Much improvement had been effected since 1840, for a comparatively commodious wharf now bounded the north side of the basin, whilst lower down were Cole's Dock and Raleigh's Wharf. The new dock trade had evidently increased, for there were five vessels of no inconsiderable size discharging cargo, including the "Velocity," a large schooner, belonging to the once well-known Benjamin Boyd, in which he had just brought to the colony a cargo of Fiji Islanders, as a sample of labour for the squattocracy. The Fijians of that day were cannibals, and looked as if they could eat anything. Some of the savage lot remained in Melbourne, and turned out to be very good servants. Slaughterhouses were, at this time, just below Batman's Hill, and here was the best fishing ground, and it was always well patronized by the amateur anglers, who lined the bank, and often secured some rare takes of fine large mullet. The writer had only the ordinary bait, and could not get as much as a bite, for those who were the most successful had baited with large maggots from a neighbouring boiling down establishment. At last, irritated by his failure, he overcame his repugnance to the successful bait, and determining to do in Rome as the Romans do, took a handful of the crawlers from a sheepskin, and threading half-a-dozen of the wriggling creatures on his hook, soon succeeded in obtaining a large number of the beautiful mullett, which were then easily obtainable in the Upper Yarra; but now, owing to the impure state of the river, and the constant navigation by the steamers, no such luck is possible. The largest fish captured was lost in rather a strange manner. There were a number of rat-holes on the bank of the river, and a rat, taking advantage of the fisher's excitement, popped out of his den, and seizing the largest fish, pulled it away with him, the last seen of it being the head disappearing. And thus ended a very pleasant day's amusement.

The business rows in some of the Attorney partnerships were often laughable, and though I could produce a host, I content myself with one *ex. gra.* Two of them once chummed in business, and went on harmoniously for a while, doing a roaring trade, and making a heavy purse. One of them was considerably the senior of the other, and they were both married to ladies of ages presenting a difference of years which might comparatively assimilate to those of their husbands. The elder of the fair sex, as became the proprietress of the head of the firm, was disposed to be somewhat exacting and dictatorial towards her junior friend, who rebelled against what she conceived to be an unauthorized exercise of social authority, and so one day it ended in a flare-up, and the ladies mutually severed all connexion with each other. But the quarrel did not end here, as it ought, for the elder matron appealed to what she conceived to be a higher court, and laid her grievances before her husband. Though a good lawyer, and a shrewd man, he was the unresisting subject of a gynarchy, and the next day the spiteful little comedy of the ladies was reproduced in

a more serious scale in the office of the male partners, when the *finale* was that the younger man had the unmanliness to threaten to kick the other, but he was himself (metaphorically) kicked out of the establishment.

Some portions of the career of that colonial notable "Johnny" Bourke are most interesting, and amongst them is the following:—

Just half a century ago, Mr. Bourke offered his services to Mr. John Hawdon, the contractor of the first overland mail to and from Melbourne and Sydney, to convey the post bag from Melbourne to Howlong on the Murray and back. This perilous task Bourke performed for a year, aided solely by a few good stock-horses, the water to be found on the route, a supply of suet "damper," and a case of pistols. These "fire-irons" were the most historical twins that ever helped in a blaze-up in the colony—for a year or so after Bourke had done with them, they figured in the first duel fought in Port Phillip, the belligerents being the once well-known Peter Snodgrass and William Ryrie, the battlefield the Spencer Street Railway Station, then (the since demolished) Batman's Hill.* I have in my possession an autograph account of "Johnny" Bourke's twelve months' letter-carrying, which may yet appear in print, when its perusal will satisfy any impartial reader that the post *courier* must have possessed a charmed life to have escaped death from either drowning, hunger, or thirst, or being murdered by the blacks. Through one of the many whirligigs of time which no one can foresee, Bourke, in after years a wealthy publican, succumbed to the pressure of adversity to such a degree as to be glad to accept a subordinate position in the General Post Office, for which he did so much in its infancy. He has now (1888) left the Government service; and, though a sexagenarian, it was a burning shame for the Public Service Board to get rid of such a man, so long as he was capable of performing his duty.

Amongst the numerous arrivals from England in the early years was a gentleman, a B.A. of Oxford University. After a short residence in Melbourne he invested his capital, which was by no means large, in the purchase of sheep, and with three motherless children—a son and two daughters—he joined a squatter who had a partially-stocked run in the Geelong district. Here he had the misfortune to lose one of his daughters, who was accidentally drowned in the Barwon River. A year or two later in company with his partner, he purchased a run in the neighbourhood of the Grampians, but at that time much infested with blacks, who were very numerous and warlike, and naturally resisted the approach of the white man. One of the first sights that met the gaze of the new arrivals were two skulls—one that of a young man of about eighteen, and the other that of a female somewhat older, sticking on the bush chimney of their future dwelling. Their original possessors had been surprised and killed by the natives, and their bodies devoured. Driven from their hunting grounds, deprived of their supply of food, and often hunted and killed by the settlers like wild beasts, the natives watched every opportunity for retaliation; hence huts were robbed, the hut-keepers tomahawked, the shepherds speared, the sheep driven away and slaughtered, and vengeance wreaked on any white man or woman who unguardedly wandered from home.

Fawkner, from his Van Diemonian experiences, had an absolute horror of convictism in any shape or form, and the "Ticket-of-Leave" men, whenever they got a chance, did not spare him. In the 6th number of his *Advertiser* he thus proclaims one of his early grievances:—"Sunday night or early this morning, six prisoners of the Crown absconded from their respective masters, taking with them a large boat belonging to J. P. Fawkner, and a Mariner's compass." On the 26th he delivers himself of the annexed elegant announcement in connection with the same scoundrels:—"On Friday last the six bushrangers who some time past stole a Boat from this town entered the hut of Mr. O'Connor's station near Western Port and took three guns, one Pistol and a quantity of gunpowder and Shot, Pair of Boots, Some Flour, Tea, Sugar, etc. Upon Mr. O'Connor

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Chapter LVI., page 775.

urging the danger of being left without firearms, they promised to return two of the Guns and Pistol. They behaved very quietly and avoided all that Brutal conduct which so frequently Attends such Exploits."

Though Fawkner was himself the first sly-grog seller—or, at least, the first unlicensed vendor of spirituous and fermented liquors—when he became a regularly set-up publican, he was not at all disposed to sanction infractions of the law, and this is how his paper discourses upon some recent Police Court convictions:—"On Thursday last several cases of grog-selling without a license were tried, and there were parties fined in the sum of £30 each. As they are punished for the offence they have committed, we refrain from giving their names, but we shall watch closely, and if they offend again they must incur the punishment of publicity."



APPENDIX.

INCIDENTS OCCURRING DURING THE PREPARATION OF "THE CHRONICLES."

SYNOPSIS.—Early Inspirations.—Dream-land Resolutions.—Personal Likes and Dislikes.—Reasons for a Nom-de-plume.—Conflicting Opinions of Critics.—Gratuitous "Story-tellers."—Hunting for a Gaol.—Rival Quasi-Authors.—Interviews with Mr. J. B. Were.—The Terminus within Sight.—De Mortuis Nil Nisi Justum.—Warning and Threatening Letters.—Sir John O'Shanassy's Prophecy.—Another Threatening Letter.—The Author's Life in Danger.—Rehearsal of an Unrecorded Intrigue.—"Garryowen" Fabled.—Origin of Nom-de-plume.—Lyrics and "Lie-rics."—National Panegyric.

AS a befitting sequel to the lengthened series of sketches recently concluded, it occurs to me that I could not do better than string together as an appendix several amusing incidents which occurred whilst I was engaged in their compilation, facts as droll and laughable as any of the hoary-headed events it was my duty to record.

Starting from the period when the coast of Gippsland was first descried from a discovery ship, the tree-bole or trunk of these CHRONICLES was to be constructed of the incidents occurring up to 1840, when Civil Government seemed to be firmly established, and Public Departments, Religious Communities, and Charitable and other Institutions began to take root and germinate. Each of those, as it showed itself, was to be treated as if a branch of the tree, until it either died off or stretched over the boundary line of 1851, when the province of Port Phillip ceased, and the colony of Victoria was created. After I had made a rough draft of my plan, started with the specifications, and commenced taking out the quantities, it slowly dawned upon my mind that I had undertaken a work of a much more pretentious, difficult, and lengthened nature than I had imagined; and for some days I had a strong notion of what in legal phraseology is termed "returning my brief." Though for thirteen years a general utility hand on the *Herald*, my strong points were sub-editing and miscellaneous news-mongering. I never credited myself with an aptitude for continuous writing, and I entertained considerable doubts as to my capacity to tackle such a job as my mind's eye glanced over, assuming the work to be turned out in a manner commensurate with its undoubted importance. In a condition of extreme mental disquietude I remained for some days, when one night I sat up late, and after two or three hours' anxious pondering over the vexed question whether to retreat or advance, I retired to bed, and was almost instantaneously a captive in the arms of *Somnus*. Towards morning, however, when the more reliable dreams are popularly supposed to be inspired, *Morpheus* must have appeared on the scene, for an apparition gazed upon me from above, in which I recognized the bust of the once well-known Father Geoghegan, pioneer priest of Port Phillip—the *Soggarth Aroon* of its early Catholicity. It seemed a life-like photograph of the man as I first beheld him in July, 1841, standing at the door of his cottage, on the St. Francis Church Reserve, Lonsdale Street. As I was about to speak the lips of the mysterious visitant moved, and the following words were impressively enunciated:—"My dear old friend, you have been requested, and you have promised to perform, a certain work. You are wavering about doing so. If not done by you, no one else can efficiently do it. The history of Early Melbourne should not remain unwritten. Be sure you do not leave it undone. Farewell." I was about to offer some reply, when the kindly and thoughtful face receded a little, the vision vanished, and I awoke with a start. In the course of the morning, whilst I was looking through an old note-book, I was struck by the remarkable coincidence that the day (15th May) corresponded exactly with the date of Father Geohegan's

arrival here in 1839. In a moment my mind was made up, and though, as a rule, no believer in the supposed realities of dreamland, I resolved that my promise should be redeemed to the best of my ability. I forthwith set to work with zest, and in three years I not only hunted up all the materials, but finished the work, which largely expanded as I proceeded. How I accomplished this result is a marvel, for I never permitted it to interfere in any degree with my ordinary avocations, and 11 p.m. rarely, if ever, found me with pen in hand. But it was a labour of love, and I went into it with enthusiasm and thoroughness of purpose. Mind and matter would have occasionally curious tiffs, but the grosser element was always conquered. Often of an evening, after writing a little, a cigar would draw me off from my recreation, and after the "blowing of the cloud" a disinclination to return to the inkstand would creep through me, and I would say, "I shall write no more to-night." But the resolve would be brief, for in less than a quarter of an hour I would feel a muscular twitching starting from my elbow, and slowly reticulating downward, until it culminated in a veritable fit of *cacoethes scribendi*, and so irresistible that I could only rid myself of it, as merchants deal with a bad debt—by writing it off. An esteemed medical friend to whom I mentioned those (to me) unaccountable circumstances, assured me that it was simply the unconscious action of the brain upon the nervous system.

Some years ago there lived in Melbourne four individuals reputedly recognized authorities in all matters pertaining to the early history of not only the metropolis, but of Australia generally. They were Messrs. H. F. Gurner, G. W. Rusden, John J. Shillinglaw, and David Blair. Gurner and Blair had already attracted attention in the world of CHRONICLES; Rusden had his since well-known History in an advanced state, and Shillinglaw had on the stocks the *Life of Flinders*. This quartette, through some whim or other, I would not consult. Gurner and I were acquainted from an early period, but somehow or other I never took kindly to him. With Rusden I was in constant official intercourse for more than twenty years, with scarcely the interchange of one unpleasant word, and though for him I always entertained a strong liking (which I hope shall never be diminished), outside the Parliament House we were almost strangers to each other, and for this and other reasons needless to mention I did not feel disposed to take him into my confidence. Of Shillinglaw I did not personally know much; and though Blair and I were on sociably talkative terms when he sat in the Legislative Assembly, friendly relations between us were strained for years through some cause of which I have not the faintest conception. By the time my sketches made their public *entrée*, Gurner had ceased to exist, and soon after Rusden left the colony, so any opportunity I might have of ascertaining their opinions as to how I acquitted myself was lost. Shillinglaw was the first to frankly and manfully accept my CHRONICLES as a sort of text book on the questions of which they treated. He conferred on them the marked distinction of preservation as they appeared, had them bound and filed in his office for reference, and, to his and my extreme regret, I have learned that some unscrupulous, though genteel rascal, had the audacity one day, when the Shillinglaw eye was not in its normal state of wide-awakeness, to abstract one of the volumes, and leave the "Jack" set in a state of incompleteness.

For some time I was undecided whether I should issue the result of my endeavours under my own name, or adopt a *nom-de-plume*, and personally it did not weigh with me which course I pursued, for I was certain of one thing, viz., that no unpleasant consequences would arise, for it was my fixed resolve that I should do justice to the dead as well as to the living. Under all the circumstances existent, the conclusion was forced on me that an assumed authorship would leave me more unfettered in dealing with a few special incidents; but it was purposely arranged that the identity of the writer was to be a very "open secret," the anonymity more apparent than real, the consequence being that without any breaches of confidence the secret was permitted to leak out, and the writer's name soon became generally known. An advantage of much importance was the consequence, for it led to direct personal and epistolary communications containing suggestions and information of no small value. In the course of THE CHRONICLES the almost transparent mask of impersonality was removed, and the writer revealed *in propria persona*, the same unpretentious and unbearded personage who has been a citizen of Melbourne for the last fifty years.

After I had a few chapters off my hands, when the publication was commenced in the *Herald*, searching, writing, and printing went on in harmony. I was much gratified at finding my humble effort was most favourably received by the public generally, and in a short time I had most encouraging and complimentary assurances from quarters least expected. One journalistic friend (now dead) was most gushing in his anticipation of what I should do, before a line was in print. With the first chapter he expressed much pleasure, with the second he was delighted; but when I asked him what he thought of No. 3, he mildly shook his head, and replied with a gentle sigh, "Ah, my friend, it is growing rather flat." I laughingly rejoined, "Well A———, if it be as you say, it cannot be helped; but of one thing I may assure you, there is such a long, galloping excursion before me, so many hills to be ascended, rivers to be forded, creeks to be swam, scrub to be penetrated, and ravines to be got through, that a now and then flat race canter will be a refreshing variation." In the afternoon of the same day, meeting a lady friend of considerable literary taste and discrimination, who was mistress of the "open secret" of the authorship, she congratulated me on the incipient success I had attained, and on asking her what she thought of No. 3, the reply was, "Nothing could be much better; why, in the reading it seems to move like a train." This showed me how widely judges may differ.

As weeks rattled on I became the subject of that modern newspaper nuisance known as "interviewing," not by persons desirous of squeezing opinions out of me, but using me for personal purposes in the way of either chronicling themselves, or accepting as facts the most preposterous fictions that could be invented. Take the following as samples:—A seedy-looking grey-bearded Israelite called one day, and exhibited something like the half of a broken scissors, declared that with it he had shaved William Buckley, the historical "wild white man," and that this was the first "barber-ous" operation in the settlement. In reply to a question, he stated in a tone of egotistical triumph, that he had crossed Bass' Straits with Fawkner, an announcement which at once put him out of court with me, for Buckley was first, not only shaved, but shorn by the Batman party settled at Indented Head, to whom Buckley gave himself up on dissolving partnership with the Aborigines, after a thirty years' sojourn in the wilderness.

One morning I was accosted by an individual I had not previously known, who declared he well knew me. He was desirous of detailing some particulars of early snakes. He assured me without a smile that on a certain Sunday morning he was "rushed" by two of these reptiles and had to run for half-a-mile, when the snakes, "bested" by his fleetness, had to give up the hunt. It is a well ascertained fact that the Australian snakes never follow; if you bar their progress they will dash at you; if you tread upon one it will turn and bite, or if you unknowingly feel one, you may pay dearly for it; but aggression upon man constitutes no article of the snake's creed.

Another "story-teller" favoured me with a still more incredible achievement. He positively asserted, and was prepared to make a statutory declaration, that in October, 1839, he, with three or four families, had established himself in a temporary settlement near the present township of Whittlesea; that late one evening a girl was pounced upon by an "old man kangaroo," and carried off towards the Plenty Ranges. A pursuit party was at once improvised, and, after an eventful night's chase, the girl was found in a state of exhaustion, but with no more serious injuries than a few flesh wounds from tree-branches or scrub. This I noted as before, but never dreamed of printing it until now.

Another "story" was on account of the first execution by hanging in Port Phillip, which, according to the narrator, came off in December, 1840, immediately before Christmas. A woman had poisoned her husband, a cooper, residing in Little Bourke Street, for which she was hanged in William Street, near the now Victoria Market. She was conveyed to her doom on a dray drawn by four bullocks. The gallows was the limb of a wattle tree; the hangman a drunken convict, well-known as "Big Mick," who so bungled his work that when the culprit was turned off, the rope broke and she fell half neck-broken on the grass, whereupon "Mick," fearful of a flogging for his unhandy work, threw himself upon the writhing body and performed an act of strangulation. Beyond the existence of "Big Mick," (a notoriety of the town for ten years after), there was not an atom of truth in this yarn. It could not have been, for until 1841 there was no Court of Law in Melbourne

possessed of a capital jurisdiction. The first execution did not happen until the 20th January, 1842, when two blackfellows were hanged for the murder of two sailors at Western Port.

I experienced much difficulty in fixing the precise *locus* of a certain old gaol. A veteran, who seldom failed me in emergencies when appealed to, reluctantly confessed that he knew of no such prison as the one wanted, adding with a chuckle, "a very good reason, too; for there never was one, as the first regular gaol was the brick building used as such in Collins Street West, near Spencer Street." My reply was to this effect, "The West Collins Street Gaol to which you refer was the third and not the first of Melbourne's 'Bridewells.' The first was a large wattle and daub hut thrown together on the Government block (the area contained between King, Spencer, Bourke, and Collins Streets), and burned down one night in 1838 by some black prisoners. The other was not occupied until January, 1840."

A know-nothing shake of the head only was the tongueless response of the Oracle, never before dumb to me. "Well," I continued, "As you are regularly stumped, and can do nothing, I must and will have a gaol for 1839, even if obliged to erect one."

Under the mingled influence of irritation and good humour, he exclaimed, "You must have a gaol, must you, though there was never such a one as you suppose? Well, then, build one, make it either a cabin or a palace if you like. Build it as big as the General Post Office, or the Parliament House. There is only myself in Melbourne that could, with any degree of authority, venture to contradict; and I promise, so help me ——— that whatever kind of a structure you may raise in print, I'll never say 'nay' to what you do."

As my history would be blurred by the awkward *hiatus* of no '39 gaol, I went to work to make one. Amongst some rare old documents lent me by Mr. Robert Russell, was copy of a receipt for a month's rent, given by John Batman, for the use of a brick building utilized as a gaol. The difficulty now was where was this tenement situated? In looking over a plan of Melbourne with the allotments disposed of at the primitive land auctions, with the names of the original purchasers, and the prices noted, I found that included in other Batman speculations were the half-acre lots from Collins to Flinders Streets, including the frontage to William Street. This proved a step in the right direction; and finally, through the instrumentality of Mr. Thomas Halfpenny, corroborated in a slight degree by some early recollections of Mr. G. A. Mouritz, the Harbor Trust Secretary, little doubt was left that the missing '39 gaol was a two-storey stable-like building, rearward of where the *Sydney Hotel* has for many years stood, in William Street. In due time a true and correct description of the supposed apocryphal fastness appeared in type before the world, and the morning after, my first visitor was the individual first referred to, who warmly congratulated me on my success as a prison architect, and declared, that having read my lucubration, the whole thing was just as fresh in his mind as yesterday. It had completely dropped out of his memory. Nothing could possibly be more correct than my account of the place, even to the wide slits in the boarded ceiling, through which the lady captives, lodged in the upper storey, used to amuse themselves by making not very fragrant offerings to the "lords of creation" immured beneath them.*

I was much perplexed in fixing the *situs* of the first theatre in Bourke Street, known as the "Pavilion," and it was through the agency of a son of the late Richard Capper, the veteran actor, that I procured a rough sketch showing that the so-called "Temple of the Drama" was situated in the centre of the area now jointly occupied by Cole's Book Arcade and Hosie's Pie Mart. In the course of my inquiries a gentleman most positively assured me that this theatre was placed on the land now burdened by the General Post Office. My informant ought certainly be a tolerably sure authority on the point, for he was the leader of a band of the hot-blooded, overfilled larrikins of the age, who sallied forth one night from the Melbourne Club, and in the midst of an entertainment, attempted to capsize the structure. Still, to his chagrin, I disbelieved him, for at the time we spoke of, the Bourke and Elizabeth Streets reserve was tenanted by a small brick edifice, which for several

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* Chapter XV., Page 184.

years was devoted to Her Majesty's service in delivering and despatching letters and newspapers. The facts above narrated clearly prove how defective the best of memories may prove betimes.

Nothing could well be more amusing than the speculations as to the identity of "Garryowen," after THE CHRONICLES commenced their appearance, and statements were made in my presence which required much facial control to avoid self-betrayal on my part. At least half-a-dozen times I heard their merits and demerits openly discussed, the subjects of commendation and censure, and twice in my hearing two pretenders severally declared that it was all their doing, and evidently considered themselves a species of public benefactor. I laughed mentally, never signifying the slightest dissent. One worthy in West Melbourne, and another at Prahran, in frequent references to the subject, invariably adopted the phrase "My Chronicles;" whilst a third in Carlton, when complimented as the writer, nodded forth a "Silence gives consent" acquiescence, heaved his shoulders, sniggered, rubbed his hands, and bleated forth "Do you think they are very good?" But the strangest case of all was a *bonâ fide* hallucination, where a poor demented old fellow really fancied himself "Garryowen," and whenever an instalment appeared in the *Herald* he went about reciting its contents. Arriving in Melbourne early in the "forties," a person of some education, he kept a private school for some time, then passed on to a mercantile desk, with a call to the "bar" as a licensed victualler in 1853, and thence dabbling in land and gold speculations was, in course of time stranded, having the moderately good luck of saving from the wreck a humble competence for life. The "Garryowen" craze seemed to be simply a mild and harmless monomania, for in all other respects he was rational as the average of humanity. He was personally known to me, and when I heard of some of his sayings and doings, I thought I should humour the joke, for whilst the self-delusion might gratify him, it could do me no possible harm. In a few months I was one day favoured with a communication from him, in which he proclaimed himself to be "Garryowen," and expressed a hope that I would grant him an interview. He assured me that he was the author of THE CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE, and I would render him material aid in the arduous business he had on hand. Preserving my gravity, I at once dropped into his views, and it was arranged that he could see me whenever he liked, and I would assist him to any extent I conveniently could. This farce was continued for years. Now and then he would call upon me, and showing me marked passages, of my own handiwork, would ask my opinion. When in all sincerity I could do nothing else than praise, he would get so intensely excited as to dance like a Merry Andrew round the room. He would also interrogate me about the old times, with which he was very familiar. I never wilfully misled him, because from the tenor of his conversations he had sense enough to detect imposition. And so matters proceeded between us until the day after the publication of the last of THE CHRONICLES when I was honoured with a visit, and he eagerly inquired what I thought of the wind up. My response was, of course, highly eulogistic, whereat the poor fellow's old eyes watered. I had then some thought of writing the present narrative, and I suggested to him that he should do it as a suitable finale to his *magnum opus*. I explained briefly what I fancied should be its general scope, whereat he clapped his hands gleefully, and with an ejaculation of "I understand—I'll do it—I'll do it!" fled from the room, and I have not seen him since.

Two or three of my funniest reminiscences sprang from conferences held with Mr. J. B. Were. He and I, though known to each other, had little or no personal intercourse until the publication of THE CHRONICLES was well started, when I was much gratified by hearing that such a shrewd old colonist had mentioned to a friend that he felt deeply interested in them, and eulogized the style in which they were worked out. This I regarded as a special test of their value.

In the chapter intituled "The Supreme Court and the Minor Tribunals,"* appeared a truthful narrative of the "eccentricities" of our first Resident Judge, the Honourable John Walpole Willis, with whom Mr. Were was more than once at loggerheads. One day, during the currency of the early part of the sketch, I was favoured with a note from Mr. Were, expressing a strong desire to see me, and asking for an appointment. I accordingly called at his office, was at once shown into

* Chapter VII., Page 70.

his presence, and met with a flattering friendly reception. Mr. Were complimented me upon what I was doing, enlarged upon its importance, and tendered all the aid at his command in the way of verbal and documentary information, for which I felt duly grateful. Suddenly, however, in the course of our conversation he broke into an exclamation of "But, Mr. F——, I see you have me hard and fast in gaol under a committal for contempt by that infernal old scoundrel Judge Willis. You must know how I afterwards got the upper hand of him, and was released with flying colours. I hope, therefore, as you have put me in you will bring me out in a becoming manner. Won't you?" For the moment I was non-plussed, and looked mystified into Mr. Were's face. I could not even guess at his meaning. Some days previously the particulars of the Supreme Court shindy appeared, in which Mr. Were figured in the hands of the Sheriff collaring him away to "chokey," in obedience to the Judge's mandate; but a day or two after, Mr. Were's release by order of Judge Jeffcott, the successor of Willis, was circumstantially circulated in type. It occurred to me that Mr. Were must have in some way or other missed this sub-section of the running sketch, and that he fancied himself still (figuratively) incarcerated, until it was my pleasure to enlarge him. I saw at a glance that I had him somewhat under my thumb, and as he was an imaginary "gaol-bird," I meant to keep him under bolt and bars as long as I could, the more effectually to make him useful to my purpose. On several subsequent occasions of meeting, Were would remark with a smile, "You haven't taken me out of gaol yet," or "When are you going to set me at liberty?" I believe that until he died he was under the impression that I had him still in the Willis limbo.

On another occasion there was quite an enjoyable encounter between us. I was about to write of the "Twelve Apostles," and only two of the "Saints" remained then on earth, from which both have been since removed by death—viz., Mr. J. B. Were, of Melbourne, and Mr. J. M. Woolley, of Adelaide. One day I called upon Mr. Were to obtain some information on the subject. He turned sharply round upon me, stared half aghast, and wholly surprised, and said, "Why, man, surely you have no notion of disinterring that miserable, forgotten affair? If you do, you will bring trouble on your head, for as no one except myself can give you any reliable particulars, and that I am not disposed to do, your version will be a distorted one, and as there are children and grandchildren of the 'Apostles' now alive and prospering in the colony, you will offend them, and they would be down upon you with a vengeance. Take a friend's advice, therefore, and wash your hands of the thing altogether."

I quietly answered, "Mr. Were, I am writing the THE CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE, which would not be complete without a reference to such an episode, so be the consequences what they may, the 'Apostles' shall most unquestionably grace a niche in my portrait gallery."

Then, rejoined he, "Well, of course, as you will not profit by my warning, perhaps you will not object to answer me one question. From what sources have you drawn your information about them?"

"Certainly not," said I. "The materials to be employed in the Apostolic Notice were procured from some Melbourne newspapers of 1842-3, from Mr. W. F. A. Rucker, the Arch-Priest of the sanctified circle, from Mr. William Highett, Manager of the Union Bank at the period of the negotiations, and from Mr. D. C. M'Arthur, Manager of the Bank of Australasia."

This intimation caused Mr. Were to considerably collapse, and he calmly replied, "Well, I'll tell you what had better be done. I shall supply you in the course of a week with as fairly written and full a notice of the 'Twelve Apostles' as I possibly can, and one that I think it will be quite safe for you to print."

A thought struck me that, by the sudden change of front, a bait was adroitly laid for me, so, with something of a gushing thanksgiving, went my way, and in the course of three or four days I received from under Mr. Were's hand an account of the transaction, written with a tolerable degree of fairness; but tinctured with an *ex parte animus*, not perhaps unreasonable, under the circumstances. It was so phrased that the writer evidently intended and thought that I would adopt it as my own. But in this he miscalculated, for I attached it as an appendix to my own sketch, accounting for its appearance by stating that it had been found amongst the papers of one of the "Apostles," and placed at my service.

After its appearance in print, on coming across Mr. Were, he smilingly replied, "Well, I read your sketch of the 'Twelve Apostles,' and nothing could be fairer or better done. You will permit me, however, to add, Mr. F——, that though you are generally supposed to be a very near-sighted individual, I apprehend that when you are on the look-out, it would take a rather sharp-eyed fellow to get at the blind side of you."

The next time I saw Mr. Were was our last meeting in this world, and it was caused by the receipt of the following communication:—

Wellington, 1st May, 1885.
Brighton Beach.

DEAR MR. FINN,—

I have been under the doctor's care for the last six months, suffering from an attack of jaundice, and have become very emaciated with wasting and loss of appetite. I am ordered to Riverina for change of climate, and I leave on Monday morning. If you can see me this evening, or at any time to-morrow, I am gathering some papers which I desire to hand you, and to have the pleasure of a short conversation with you. The terminus is within sight, and a very short distance from my house.

Yours faithfully,
J. B. WERE.

Edmund Finn, Esq.,
Parliament House, Melbourne.

After reading the foregoing I handed it to a friend sitting by me, remarking that the "terminus" mentioned therein was intended as a way-mark to point to my intended destination; but a something seemed to foreshadow it as the terminus of the writer's long and not unnotable terrestrial career. It might, had I been conscious of it, have been taken as the indicator of another terminus, then approaching, but unseen, viz., the end of my own official existence, for on the same morning I, for the first time, felt a defect of vision, which so increased during the ensuing two months as to leave me no alternative than to sever my connexion with a branch of Her Majesty's service, in which I had been engaged for nearly thirty years.

In compliance with his desires, I visited Mr. Were that afternoon, and noticed such a striking change in his appearance and manner as to leave but little doubt that if not absolutely in sight, the "terminus" was not far off. He commissioned me to offer, in his name, to the Public Library Museum, a life-size picture of himself, and a quaintly-capped Consular stick, a presentation made to him some years previously. He also deposited in my hands some rare and valuable documents, in print and manuscript, relating to an age now past, and a few of the early Melbourne *Directories*. Shaking hands with Mr. Were, we parted with mutual good wishes; but I never saw his face again.

The Hon. Roger Therry was the third Resident Judge at Port Phillip. After a short tenure he returned to Sydney, and remained Judge Therry there for several years. On his retirement, as an agreeable variation for his judicial mind, he amused himself by writing the *Chronicles of Early Sydney*; but stirred up the foul and stagnant waters of by-gone convictism so much that his book was voluntarily suppressed soon after its publication. This is a rock of which I have purposely steered clear. In Melbourne there was a goodly admixture of the dregs of Cockatoo Island and Port Macquarie absorbed in the primary population, and had I liked I could have done a little in the Therry style. But though at work in the *rôle* of a "fossicker," I spurned that of a social *vidangeur*. I would never willingly hurt the feelings of survivors who, by a life of honest toil, purged themselves of the dross of any wrong-doing legally expiated by others. A considerable tract of my wanderings lay as if through a large cemetery, and along this gruesome journey I trod lightly over the graves of departed friends and foes alike. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is an adage which the impartial writer cannot always adopt, and I preferred to substitute *De mortuis nil nisi justum*. So strictly did I act up to this, that only on three occasions was my verdict challenged, thrice only was I positively contradicted by persons by no means as conversant with the facts disputed as I was, and in each of the instances I amply vindicated my first assertions.

When the chapter on "Remarkable Trials" began its appearance, a small scare was caused in certain self-accusing quarters; and the Editor of the *Herald* received a letter from one of the alarmists begging of him to discontinue the publication, to "stay the hand of Garryowen," or terrible

consequences might result. The communication was forwarded for my perusal, and my reply was such as to remove all apprehension that I would wantonly abuse the trust I had assumed. The Editor, however, very properly took the precaution to tear off the guaranteeing name confidentially given; yet I was well acquainted with the correspondent's handwriting, and consequently his identity. The reason for his attempted *embargo* was that more than thirty years previously he was the occupant of a small squatting station, and one day in a quarrel with a shepherd, a pistol he held went off, slightly wounding his antagonist. For this he was indicted at the Criminal Sessions, where I was present, and reported the case for the *Herald*, and so thoroughly did the prosecution break down that myself and two fellow-reporters, in anticipation, noted a verdict of acquittal. The Judge's charge to the Jury plainly pointed to the same result, yet the twelve wiseacres found the accused guilty, whereupon the Judge, to emphatically mark his sense of the issue, sentenced the prisoner to a fine of sixpence, with imprisonment until such sum was paid. This was a case which I never thought of noticing. The sixpence was, of course, immediately forthcoming, and the marksman, whose firearm was accidentally discharged in the tussle, went his way rejoicing. He was then residing in a Melbourne suburb, in "the sere and yellow leaf," and when he perused my notice he knew for the first time that the absence of his case from the string of "Remarkable Trials," was not owing to his blustrous, threatening letter, but to my sense of what was worth recording, and what was not.

Another case, not in some respects dissimilar, was tried in Melbourne some forty years ago. A well-to-do colonist was accused of having forged and uttered the name of his brother-in-law to a bill of exchange with intent to defraud, &c., but there was no evidence forthcoming as to the counterfeit signature, and the charge fell through. For my omission of this I was warmly thanked by surviving relatives, though deserving nothing of the sort. The fact was that in both instances no bill ought to have been filed; but "Old Jemmy" Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, though at all times fairly conscientious, was occasionally wanting in the useful faculty of discretion.

The late Sir John O'Shanassy took a keen interest in my scribblings. Arrived here in 1839, and always a shrewd observer of men and manners, no one was more conversant with the shoals and shallows, the rocks, reefs, and quicksands through which I had to steer. But he estimated the dangers of the trip as much more risky than I did, for I held myself to be cool and cautious at the helm in all weathers; and with my long local experience to act both as chart and compass, and my journalistic knowledge as a self-acting buoy, to warn me at all points of danger, I never doubted my capacity to weather the storm, and return to port with the ensign of success fluttering from the mast-head. After I had sailed out of harbour without any mishap, O'Shanassy seemed really delighted with the exit; but when I met in open sea the cluster of islets, on each of which one of the primitive churches of Melbourne—figuratively speaking—was erected, proclaiming themselves as so many "salvation lighthouses," he grew nervous at the intricacy of the sailing, and warned me to keep a sharp look out for danger signals. Subsequently, up to his death, he gave me an occasional warning, but I entertained not the slightest apprehension on my own account. At length he resigned the unthanked office of Mentor in disgust, with a semi-prophetic intimation that, before the last of my sketches saw the light of publicity, I should see myself on the inside of a gaol, for it was humanly impossible for me to escape entanglement in the meshes of the law. Need I say now that Sir John's well-meant prognostications remain unrealized?

But though I contrived to elude the gaoler, I was not so fortunate in escaping threatened violence in two instances, though in both it eventuated in a *brutum fulmen*. The first explosion was something of a surprise, and wrapped up in the subjoined epistle:—

Melbourne, 14th January, 1885.

Edmund Finn, Esq.,—

SIR,—I have heard (but it is well for you the report is not corroborated by ocular demonstration) that you have referred to my father in your CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE. If you have done so, and you intend to publish your CHRONICLES in book form, I warn you to omit his name from the latter; otherwise you may have reason to regret not having taken this warning. If my father's Colonial career should ever be referred to, I want it done by an honest, fearless, truthful, out-spoken manly historian. Without seeming to criticise your performance, I may remark that I believe Mr. John O'Shanassy was right when, according to your own account, he informed you that

you could not honestly and conscientiously perform your work without giving mortal offence to individuals, and subjecting yourself and your publishers to countless criminal libel prosecutions and civil actions. The few of your published papers which I have read confirm me in that opinion. Your CHRONICLES, excuse me for being plain spoken, appear to me to be made up of a lot of wishy-washy inane trash, which, while on the one hand it gives no offence, on the other is not worth perusal. In steering clear of libel prosecutions and civil actions you omit all the metaphorical wheat of Melbourne history, and retain only the metaphorical chaff. For example, so far as I have heard, you have said nothing in your CHRONICLES of that swindler ———; of the Catholics of Melbourne having petitioned Pope Pius the Ninth for his removal from the diocese; of his having swindled the creditors of St. Patrick's College out of their just claims; of his having swindled Father ———'s estate, and Father ———'s estate, and my father's estate; of his having swindled Father ——— out of two and half years' salary; of his having committed felony by obtaining from Mr. ——— through me, three hundred pounds under false pretences; of his ——— especially his cast off ———, who afterwards lived with that fellow ——— for about four years, &c., &c., and so of a hundred other matters. Your CHRONICLES, before they are worthy of perusal, must contain some of the pith and point, the ideas, the facts, of Melbourne history. The deficiency (from the supplying of which you unmanfully, cowardly, shrink), and which renders your work worthless, I intend to supply at an early date in a book on this colony.—Yours obediently,

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The name of the writer of this uncalled-for effusion is, for his own sake, suppressed, and I have also taken the liberty of subjecting it to a process of emasculation by the insertion of certain blanks for the names of individuals. It will give some idea of the reason why I have incurred his wrath, when I declare that the only reference made to his father in my CHRONICLES was, when I introduced him as an old and trusted public officer, describing him as a "good, worthy man, much and widely respected in his day."

Threat No. 2, though much more minatory and to the point, was as amusing as unpremeditated. One evening in October, 1885, thousands of *Herald* readers were entertained by the perusal of a romantically tragic narrative of a summer house, a lady, the shooting of an apple-stealer, and the retreat of a disappointed, though unwounded, lover. The next day in Bourke Street, meeting an old friend, who had been a "wild oats" sower in his youth, clapping me on the shoulder he declared that for years past he had not read anything half so good as my sketch headed "Crossing the Garden Wall." "From what I heard of it when it occurred," he continued, "it is a most accurate account of what happened. But why the deuce didn't you put in So-and-so's (the runaway's) name?"

"Surely," responded I, "You wouldn't have me do such a mean thing, considering the supremely edifying and sanctified life he is now leading. Suppose it was your own case, how would you like to be pilloried, in the present improved condition of social *im*morality."

He reddened in the face, puffed out his cheeks and vehemently exclaimed, "Me! do you mean? How dare you even imagine that I could be in any way mixed up with such a disgraceful imbroglio. My name has been always, 'like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion,' and if you have anything to tell of me, out with it by all means, for I give you my full permission to proclaim it to the world."

I quietly smiled, and thus said:—"Exactly this time, forty years, when George Coppin was performing in Smith's Queen Street Theatre, a ludicrous *melée* happened one night at a small cottage-temple of Aspasia, perched near the play-house. The *dramatis personæ* in the domestic farce consisted of the 'lady of the mansion,' a Government official some way advanced in years, and a much younger man, bearing precisely the three names you own to-day. Now, have a little patience with me. A verbal altercation was got up between the men, which rapidly advanced to a scuffle, in which the old man was half strangled by the gallantry of his more active opponent, when, just in time to avert a Coroner's inquest, the damsel, decidedly the most *manly* of the trio, armed herself with a sweeping-brush, and with genuine Amazonian pluck, tackled the young fellow from behind, and so 'polled' him with the brush, that he dropped as if shot to the ground. Medical treatment was promptly improvised, and the prostrate hero slowly succeeded in recovering his senses through the combined influence of brandy, vinegar, hot water and salt, internally and externally applied, and with a flannelled head-piece he left the field of battle a wiser, and as was hoped, a better man."

"And do you mean to print that stuff in the CHRONICLES?" hoarsely whispered he, and an answer in the affirmative was given.

"Let me put one question to you," said he. "Do you know, sir, that I am a grandfather?"

"I don't care," replied I, "If you were even a great grandfather. As it cannot concern you there is no need for such excitement."

"Look you here," hissed he through his gnashing teeth, "So sure as I am a living man, should you give effect to your stated intention, and publish the facts just mentioned, the morning after its appearance I will pounce upon you at your office, and kill you on the spot. The Parliament House will be no sanctuary for you, for no matter what the consequences—even were I to swing for it —I'll murder you as sure as my name is what it is. Be warned, therefore, for your life depends on how you act."

"Shut up your bounce," I retorted in a pretended scoffing tone. "I care no more about your insane threats than I do of that," (snapping my fingers). "On this evening week (D.V.) the Queen Street *fracas* will appear in the *Herald;* and at eleven next morning, should you so wish 'We shall meet again at Philippi.' So until then

'Fare thee well, and if for ever,
Still for ever fare thee well.'"

I had not the slightest intention of doing what I had jocularly intimated. My threat was simply to reduce his "tall talk," but I learned that he had passed through a harrowing ordeal during the suspense week, for he believed I meant to gibbet him, and we rarely have a talk without reference to the terrible "rise" I took out of him.

The Nomenclative Origin of "Garryowen."

The *pseudonym* of "Garryowen," the curiosity as to its derivation and meaning, and the phases of mispronunciation through which it was squeezed, were sources of intense amusement to me. Irishmen, as a rule, were equal to both difficulties, but in English, Scotch, Welsh, and other European mouths the unoffending tri-syllable fared roughly. From "Garryowen" it was twisted into "Grioune," "Girone," "Groan," "Gron," "Groin" and "Grun," at all of which I laughed; but when a most particular friend once, in Collins Street, sang out, "Well, Grin, my boy, how long are we to be without seeing the end of your Sketches?" the best thing I could do was to "grin" and bear it. Included in my friendly circle is a worthy Frenchman, who had acquired a taste for English literature. He read my Chronicles as they appeared, and felt an interest in them which I appreciated much, as emanating from an "enlightened foreigner." But the term "Garryowen" he could not master, and it underwent several grotesque lacerations in his efforts to articulate it. In its course of transformations it became "Garringyong," "Grayiyong," "Carry-on," until finally it was "Carrion' on his tongue. I promised that I would explain it to his satisfaction, and, so as to keep my word, I worked up the following little fable. With a serio-comic face I told him that my ancestry in the male line sprang from an unit of the hardy Border Frenchmen once located on a spur of the Pyrenees, not far from where the famed river, the Garonne, rushes along *en route* to the Atlantic. In the course of time one of them found his way to Ireland amongst the Norman invaders, and having secured a large confiscated estate on the banks of the Shannon, and, what was better, a winsome Irish wife, and by becoming "more Irish than the Irish themselves," contributed towards the coinage of the historic adage, *ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.* The territory so acquired he named "Garonne," as a memento of his birthplace, and in the course of time the term got to be so softened by the contact of centuries with Celtic tongues, that it was imperceptibly modulated into "Garryowen," which could be simply regarded as the Hibernicised nomenclature of the French river. *Ergo,* as a Franco-Irishman by descent, and proud of my mixed extraction, I held the designation in such high esteem that I brought it with me from the Emerald Isle, resolved to do all in my power to transplant it in the country of my adoption. Such was the Why and Wherefore of "Garryowen." Monsieur, though in many respects as canny as the proverbial Scotchman, was unconsciously trapped, and thenceforth he was as well pleased with both title and story as one could possibly be. The term was no longer "carrion" to his palate, and he succeeded in mastering its orthodox pronunciation as well as the most undiluted

Mononian in Victoria could do. This revelation would remain unmade had not my worthy friend returned to *La belle France*, and is not likely to revisit the Antipodes.

But to wind up these CHRONICLES without recounting the real origin of "Garryowen" might by some be deemed an unpardonable omission, and I therefore append a *précis* of the circumstances attending its birth and adoption as one of the National airs of Ireland:—Once on a time, and a very good time it was, to use the phraseology of ancient story-tellers, Limerick, the historic capital of Munster, had amongst its surroundings a picturesque suburb, in which abode an old fellow named Owen, who possessed some taste as an horticulturist, and founded a species of tea-garden, which soon grew into a favourite place of recreation on Sundays and holidays; for, supplementary to the flowers and the tea, a certain kind of home-made fluid, which never paid any excise duty, and was known as potheen (pot whisky), was surreptitiously introduced; so that with junketings, dancing, fiddling, bagpiping, and tippling, the proprietor succeeded in rendering his limited dominion such a pleasure-ground as made it a popular rendezvous for the light-hearted and fun-loving folk of both sexes so characteristic of the Limerick of the period. It was called "Garryowen"—*Anglice*—Owen's Garden—and after old Owen was gathered to his fathers, the "garden" in process of years began to degenerate, and ultimately yielded to other and later sources of attraction. But there was something so unaccountably fascinating in the name that Limerick could not permit it to be obliterated, and so it got transferred to the street or suburb, which in course of time grew rather loose and boisterous in its habits; but "Garryowen" remains to this day, and will so for ever.

Gerald Griffin did something to perpetuate the name by writing of "Garryowen" as the birthplace of the never-to-be-forgotten Colleen Bawn, the heroine of his beautiful novel, "The Collegians." What was often a very rowdy quarter in reality owes its immortality to the singular fact that a miserable "larrikin" doggerel, misnamed a comic song, has been written, under the style and title of "Garryowen," to one of those thrilling Irish airs, so many of which had been wandering wordless for centuries through the musical traditions of the Irish people, until Moore and other bards of "green Erin of the streams" came to the rescue, and wedded some of them to melodies which will adorn the English language as long as it lives. The air is as old as the hills, and it was only in the middle of the last century that it was provided with an accompaniment—as grotesque and incompatible a union as if a blue-blooded spiritualized maiden were to be married to a rough, drinking, rowdy rake-hell. Though the so-called lyric (lie-ric) may be pronounced as virtually defunct, the tune is still alive, and will remain so. It was adopted as one of the standard favourites with military bands in the Old Country, was played on every modern battlefield where Irishmen have helped to conquer, and has acquired a popularity simply indestructible.

From my childhood "Garryowen," as one of the most electrifying of the winged warblers of Irish minstrelsy, fluttered around me. It is the name of one of the most cherished of Hibernian musical airs, as old as the Milesians, and as popular as the famous *trifolium ripens*—

> "The chosen leaf
> Of bard and chief,
> Old Erin's Native Shamrock!"

As I advanced in life, year by year, I heard it tuned thousands of times—played by military and amateur bands; and piped, fiddled, whistled, and danced to, publicly and privately, at all sorts of reunions, from a wedding to a "pattern," from a hurling match to a faction fight. When I emigrated, a schoolboy, to this country, I brought it with me as a cheap but treasured *souvenir* of the land I had left and still love; for that I am an Irishman, not only by birth but to the heart's core is a pride and pleasure for me at all opportune times to avow. I believe the grand Old Country of my nativity to be the dearest and brightest spot on all the great earth's surface; that it is, in the language of a once distinguished North-Irelander (Dr. Drennan), "the Emerald of Europe," and

> "In the ring of the world the most precious stone—"

But with its sparkle tarnished by the racial and religious feuds of ages fed by that bigotry of Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, which, to quote a great Protestant Irishman (Lord Plunkett) "is inaccessible to reason and irreclaimable by experience," the consequence being generations of misgovernment and injustice. The gem, however, may recover its pristine lustre, not by crude and hastily compounded political nostrums, but by a well-considered, equitably-devised system of genuine Home Rule, preserving the Imperial connection, rigidly protecting or compensating vested rights, and framed in the interests of all classes—a legislative guarantee for the welfare of the country North and South; not a mere Local Government Act, but a *Magna Charta*—to be used as a lever wherewith to raise Ireland to a position to which she would be in every way equal, when the inevitable *finale* would be "peace and prosperity."

I was not long a Port Phillipian ere I was affected by a *penchant* for dabbling in newspaper writing, and, as a singular matter of fact, my first contribution was a letter to the *Herald* in 1844, signed "Garryowen," and this was the first time the word saw itself in print in the colony. At the Grand Separation Festivity, the first fancy ball in the colony, in 1850, in concert with a dear, but now dead, Colleen Bawn, I assumed the character of "Garryowen." On several occasions since I adopted other *sobriquets* in journalistic amusements, but there was a time-hallowed charm surrounding the Limerick word that I was unable to dispel, and consequently a few years ago I made up my mind that when anonymously writing it should be my future literary trade-mark. I have kept my word, and it would be a singular repetition of History were the term to become so interwoven with the traditions and babyhood of the Premier City of the Southern Cross, as to be quoted by future generations, when the writer as an individual and an "Old Colonist" shall be utterly forgotten.

CONCLUSION.

And now I must shorten sail, for the chronological limit to which I am restricted, renders it necessary for me, though reluctantly, to bring this sketch to a close. I have started with Early Melbourne as an egg which a man wise for his generation, declared to have been hatched two years before its proper maturity; and I have accompanied the chicken from the shell through all its trials and tribulations, until I can leave it a thoroughly developed bird, long past its state of pupilage, and strong and lusty enough to hold up its head, flap its wings, and strike out as a brave bird ought to do, through the "dim religious light" of an uncertain future. That it has done so with account is indisputably proved by a comparison of the small town of 1842 with the magnificent city of 1888, when the once puny half-starved chicken now appears in all the gorgeous variegated plumage of some monster bird of fable, with the rapidly flowing blood of cities, towns, and boroughs coursing through the once unpopulated suburbs.

The early incorporated boundaries of Melbourne, included Hotham, Collingwood, parts of Richmond, Prahran, St. Kilda, Emerald Hill, and Sandridge. Its first year's civic income was £2388 2s. 9d. What it is now, and also that of the surrounding municipalities, the following figures will shew:—

	1881.	1887-8.	INCREASE.
	£	£	£
Melbourne	126,000	178,406	52,406
Emerald Hill—(South Melbourne) ...	28,009	59,531	31,522
Fitzroy	20,778	39,433	18,655
St. Kilda	10,985	27,251	16,266
Richmond	25,107	37,000	14,893
Collingwood	18,658	33,360	14,702
Prahran	19,550	34,000	14,450
Hotham—(North Melbourne) ...	12,758	15,969	3,211
Sandridge—(Port Melbourne) ...	8,361	11,929	3,568

Or, in round figures, a total of £436,879. Amply therefore, has the Metropolitan Civic motto been verified:—

"VIRES ACQUIRIT EUNDO."

EPILOGUE.

The promise made in the Preface to these CHRONICLES has been redeemed to the best of my ability. I have done my best; more no one could do. But whether I have done it well or otherwise, it is for others, not for me, to form an opinion. To write the history of Melbourne when it was a straggling, shabby, infant township,—now the metropolis of the Southern Hemisphere—was an enjoyable treat, for chance fixed my residence continuously within its precincts, and so enabled me to aid in many of the movements undertaken for its social and political advancement; and to watch the flow and ebb of the intermittent tides of prosperity or adversity by which it was flooded. There is hardly an old landmark I did not see removed, few events of importance in the olden time I did not witness, and which with the Melbourne of yore were so identified, that when I now ramble through its almost unrecognizable streets, I seem as if wandering amongst an unknown generation, a strange people, every crowd a sea of unfamiliar faces! I am like a haunted man, for visions of realities long shrouded in oblivion confront me at every step—

> "Impalpable impressions on the air,
> A sense of something moving to and fro"—

And gaze wistfully at me as I pass. Every score yards I traverse memory recalls some important, amusing, or may be, melancholy reminiscence connected with the *locus* of some public celebration, remarkable meeting, election row, or party riot, where a newspaper editor was knocked down, a conflagration flared up, or other notable incident happened.

To one merit, at least, I may fairly lay claim *i.e.*, the execution of a work which no one else could have undertaken with any well-grounded hope of success in the acquisition and arrangement of facts. Though many could easily be found of infinitely superior ability, no other individual possessed the long local experience without which the project would have been simply impracticable. Should any person imagine that a gallop through the old Melbourne newspapers, or cramming from the books written on Port Phillip, would suffice, he is egregiously mistaken; for I unhesitatingly declare in defiance of all contradiction, that a large number of the most interesting and raciest of the items recorded never appeared previously in print; but were gleaned from old letters and diaries; and the personal and epistolary enquiries addressed to the few surviving old colonists whom I considered competent to throw any light upon some mystified question, a dimly observed, almost obliterated speck in the *nebulæ* through which I was obliged to grope.

Originally, I had intended to publish THE CHRONICLES in book form; but reflection led me to deem it more advisable to issue it in sections through the Press to the public, inviting the freest criticism, and the correction of possible, though inadvertent, inaccuracies; and promising, in the not improbable event of its re-issue in a collected shape, to benefit by the same, so far as I could after careful investigation. My purpose in adopting this course was to render my effort worthy of the cause in which it was accomplished, and to make it a reliable record of bygone times.

I must also observe that as I never credited myself with any special attributes as a writer, and though having had much to do with the early journalism of the city, I was never so egotistic as to put forth any pretensions to be considered a *litterateur* in even the most restricted sense, and I claim nothing on the score of literary merit for what I have done. THE CHRONICLES OF EARLY MELBOURNE comprise little more than the collection of events and dates detailed in an order wherein each chapter constitutes a branch in itself, starting from a beginning, and running either to its termination,

or up to the period where there is a general leaving off. They were written *currente calamo*, with no attempted ornamentation, or fine writing, word-painting, or florid flourishing, accomplishments in which the author is well aware of his "know-nothingness." My Sketches aim at being merely a faithful portraiture of the times they affect to depict.

I am now not unlike a pilgrim after a toilsome, though not disagreeable, journey. Having reached the summit of the ascent upon which, as at a shrine, I hang my memorial tablet. I may rest at length, for my mission is over, my work is done, and my CHRONICLES are completed. On the 1st June, 1880, I set to work, and in the period of three years, without trenching upon my ordinary avocation, the materials were procured and the structure, such as it is, finished.

Though no Spiritist, I had been abiding in a spiritual world, and, impelled by imagination, retraced a region dead and gone, held communion with friends and foes alike, re-visited cherished spots long effaced, re-acted many a queer old "scene," in fact re-lived some of the pleasantest, most exciting, and eventful years of my colonial career. But all the illusions disappeared, the phantasmagoria by which I was entranced dissolved, the spell was broken, when my vow to write a book on Old Melbourne was fulfilled. My visit to Spirit Land was a trip from which I derived a pleasurable, though melancholy enjoyment never to be my lot again; and now that I have resumed my ordinary position upon the prosaic *terra firma* of everyday life, it only remains for me to conclude by affixing that which is the assured doom of everybody and everything in this mundane state of existence—aye, even the great globe itself—the inevitable word

FINIS.