

PRESENT AND FUTURE

THE REVEREND HENRY FULTON was among the oldest white inhabitants of New South Wales. He was Irish and had entered Trinity College Dublin as an undergraduate in the year the colony was founded. Despite being a Protestant clergyman, and a man with respectable connections, he had been caught up in the rebellion of the United Irish in 1798. Tried for sedition, he had been sent to this remote corner of the world as a common convict, and had been here ever since.

He had known Governor King, who got him a free pardon. He had been a loyal friend to Governor Bligh, whom he had seen arrested by subordinates in the 'rum rebellion' of 1808. Governor Macquarie had sent him to be resident chaplain at Castlereagh, on the lower reaches of the Nepean River, near Penrith. Now 77 years old, he had spent the remainder of his life there. His wife, who had come with him from Ireland, had died there in 1836. At his home, Castlereagh House, he had gathered a considerable library, including 'some of the most rare and valuable works of Ancient Authors', as evidence that he mixed scholarship with piety. In addition to his duties as clergyman and magistrate he had also conducted a boarding school for young gentlemen, partly as a means of educating his two sons, John and Henry, among youths of their own rank. There he passed on the pearls of classical learning which he had himself gathered at Trinity.

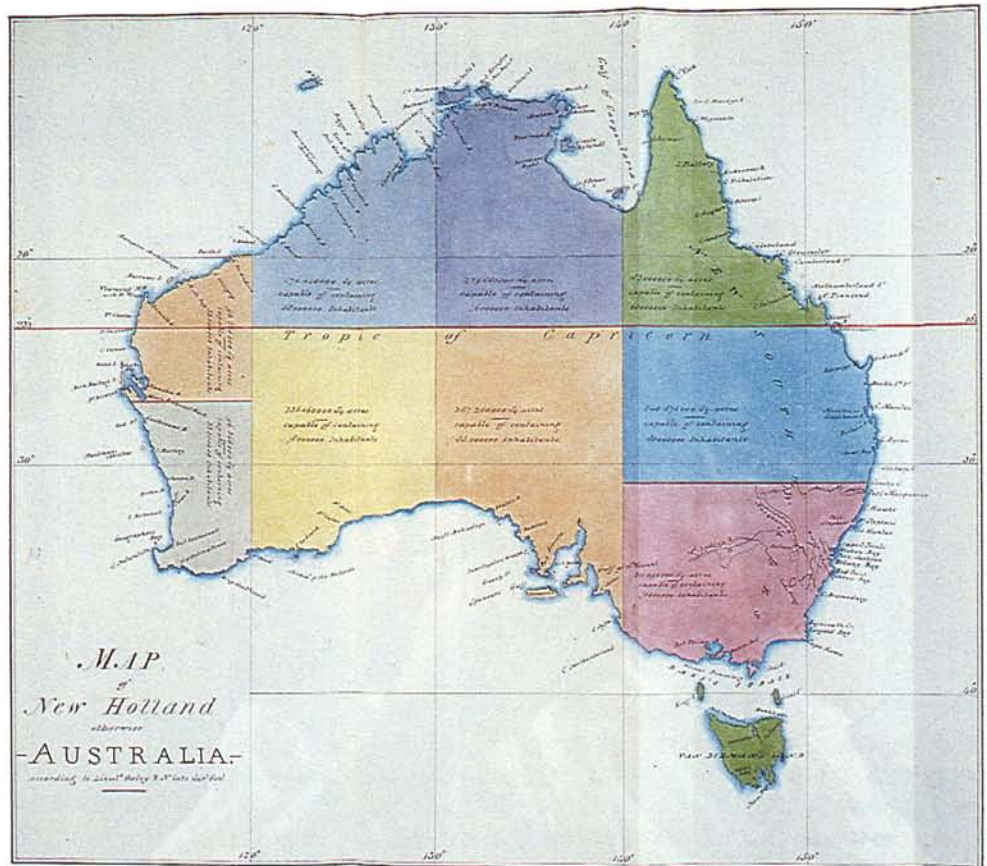
In 1826 Charles Tompson junior, one of Fulton's best pupils, had published a long poem about his schooldays. He paid tribute to his old master:

O Fulton! tutor of my early hour,
Nurse of its shoot—its bud—its op'ning flow'r—
Beneath whose fost'ring hand the scion rose,
Beneath whose grafted counsels still it grows.

It was pleasant to be so remembered. But such achievements belonged to Fulton's younger days. His sons were now grown up, his school closed. He was a relic of another era.

A future Australia. Major Benjamin Sullivan, police magistrate at Butterwick in the Hunter valley, carried in his head this grand vision of the future of Australia, which he transmitted to the Colonial Office in London.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,
LONDON



Fulton was nursing young minds no longer, but as clergyman at Castlereagh and Penrith he was still obliged to pay periodic visits to the Church of England primary school in his parish. On these occasions he heard about forty children, mostly aged between five and fourteen, say their catechism:

Question. How many parts are there in a Sacrament?

Answer. Two; the outward visible sign, and the inward spiritual grace.

Question. What is the outward visible sign or form in Baptism?

Answer. Water; wherein the person is baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Question. What is the inward and spiritual grace?

Answer. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness: for being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.

And so on. But it is doubtful whether the ageing Mr Fulton was able to give his pupils much idea of what all this meant.

One of the boys who repeated these lines at Fulton's dictation was John French, seven years old, the stepson of a small settler at Castlereagh named John Power. Power's life, like Fulton's, had passed through several phases—a shoemaker in Ireland, a convict, and now a tenant farmer making money from cattle. The boy's mother, Eliza Power, or French, had been a convict too. John had been a baby in the female factory at Parramatta, leaving with his mother when she married.

John French had not yet graduated from among 'the children of wrath' to become one of 'the children of grace', but until October 1838 his scant knowledge of religion was of little concern to anyone. His family's rank in society meant that his education would never go beyond the primary level, far below that expected

of Mr Fulton's young gentlemen. His stepfather was Catholic and his mother Protestant, but neither was sober or God-fearing. Power would boast before the most eminent company that he had been drunk four days in a row. Eliza Power saw herself as a good housekeeper, but she was otherwise like her husband. 'I was always able to do my business,' she explained, 'getting the money to get drunk among other things.' They sent their boy to learn his letters from Mr and Mrs Kennedy at the parish school. But the piety of the aged and Reverend Henry Fulton was to them, and their son, a closed book.

On Wednesday 3 October John and Eliza Power went to visit their neighbours John and Joanna Crowley, tenant farmers like themselves. The Crowleys had been drinking solidly since Sunday, and John Crowley had been beating his wife to make her do some work. After the visit Joanna Crowley and her little girl went home with the Powers to get away from her husband—although, according to Eliza Power, 'she must have been drunk, or she would not have left her good home to come to my bad one.' On Thursday morning John Crowley came to find them. John Power had gone to Penrith to buy meat, but Eliza Power and the boy saw Crowley grab his wife by the arm and hit her around the head and body with a stick. He then threw her out the door. They had all been drinking again, and Joanna Crowley lay there senseless, partly drunk and partly dazed from the beating. At this point her husband recalled a little of the religious learning he had absorbed in Ireland, shouting at her: 'Our Saviour lay three days, but she is lying the fourth.' She was taken home on Power's cart. She was capable of nothing beyond asking for a priest, and on Saturday morning she died.

John Crowley was charged with murder. Because Eliza Power was regarded as a woman of no credit whatever, her son, John French, became the principal witness for the prosecution, but the fact that he was only a child presented problems. Like Aborigines, children were not automatically presumed to be capable of swearing to tell the truth. It had to be shown that a child knew 'the nature of an oath', that he or she had sufficient acquaintance with religion to know that lying endangered the immortal soul. Another child, Ellen Harper, who at eleven years old served behind the bar at the Emu Inn, Sydney, had been allowed to give evidence in May after telling the supreme court: 'I never go to school; [but] I say my prayers every night'. In the Crowley case Plunkett, the attorney-general, asked the police magistrate at Penrith to find someone who could make sure that John French knew about damnation.

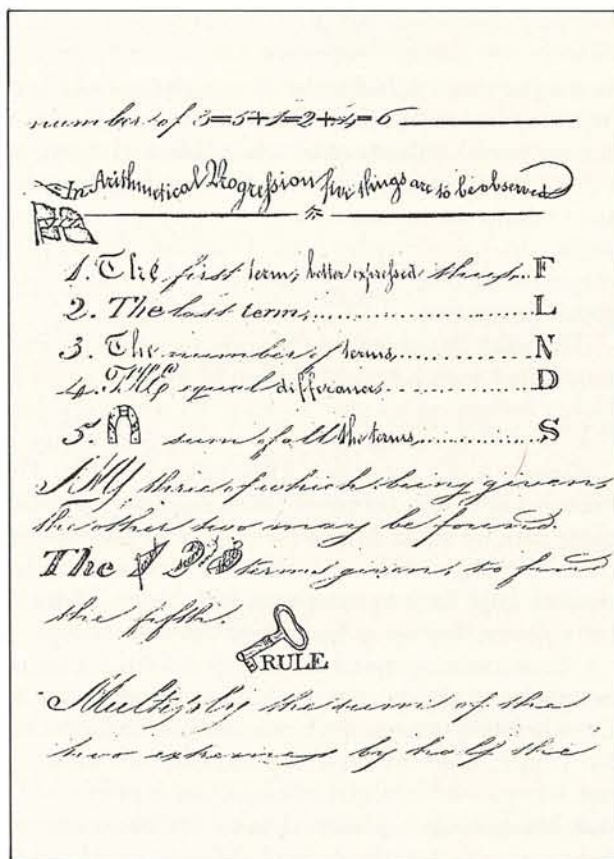
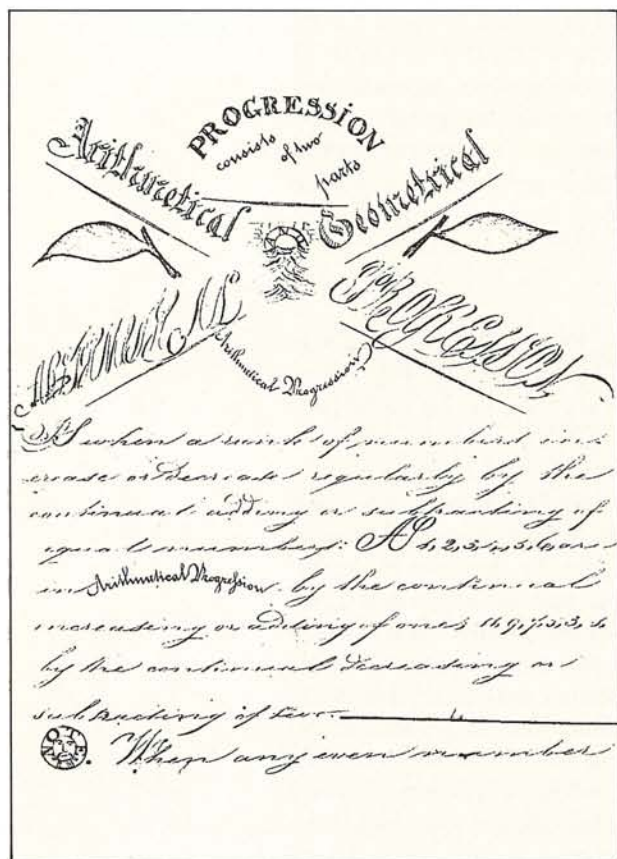
This duty devolved on the chief constable of Penrith, Daniel Dunlop, who was acquainted with John and his family. He was accustomed to go with the Reverend Henry Fulton on his visits to French's school. He had heard John say his catechism, but he did not think the boy understood it, 'no trouble having been taken to explain it to his capacity'. After talking to him Dunlop decided that the young French knew the difference between truth and falsehood, but in order to make quite sure he asked Eliza Power to send her son to him 'for instruction'. She sent back no reply, and the boy did not appear again. 'I fear,' said the chief constable, 'he may be kept back or tampered with.' In fact Mrs Power had already ordered her son to burn the blood-stained stick with which Crowley had beaten his wife.

The attorney-general decided that John French would be a competent witness nevertheless, and he was made to stand up in the supreme court to tell his story. Even with his meagre understanding of hell, John's evidence was simple and direct. Mr Justice Willis called it 'most important'. However, in the event the jury were more impressed by the results of a post mortem on Joanna Crowley, which showed that her brain was poisoned from 'excessive use of ardent liquor'. She had been dying anyway. On these grounds John Crowley went free.

Primary schools also taught reading, the common textbook being the New Testament. The children learnt writing in three stages: in large hand on slates, large hand on paper, and then small hand on paper. Arithmetic was generally limited to 'the first four rules'—addition, subtraction, division and multiplication. The better children might go on to 'the rule of three' (finding a fourth number when three are already known, the key being an understanding of proportions), practice (multiplying commodities so as to find out, for instance, the price of a large number of them) and vulgar fractions (as distinct from decimal ones).

Church of England parish schools were the common schools in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, providing a little learning for the mass of people. There were about thirty in New South Wales. Two were in the lower reaches of the Hunter valley, one was at Port Macquarie, one at Wollongong and, until August, one at Moreton Bay. The rest were in and around Sydney and Parramatta and scattered through the small farming settlements of the Hawkesbury–Nepean valley. The schools in the old parishes of St Phillip and St James, in Sydney, were

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ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CHILDREN AT ST PHILLIP'S PARISH PRIMARY SCHOOL, SYDNEY

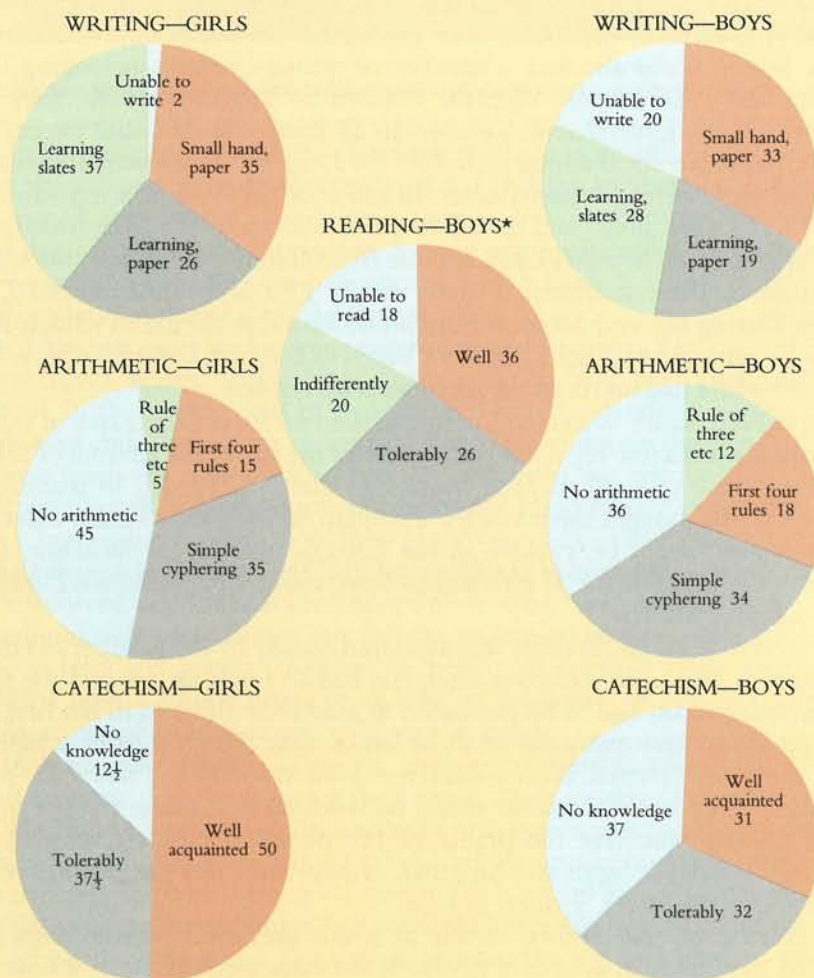
These figures come from a report for the first quarter of 1839, when there were 85 boys 'belonging to the School' and 40 girls.

There is no figure for girls' reading because the evidence for this is not clear. In the report fourteen girls were not counted 'amongst the Readers' but were said to 'come from Sewing School to learn Cyphering [Arithmetic] and Writing'. They must have been able to read already, but we do not know how well.

The boys at school greatly outnumbered the girls—much more than in most primary schools. The girls were generally older: all were between seven and fourteen years old, but there were eight boys younger than seven and one older than fourteen. This may help to explain why the girls were mostly more advanced. It also seems likely that girls who were no good at their lessons did not come to school, or went only to sewing school. But perhaps the girls simply worked harder.

According to Mr Justice Burton, who collected these figures, this school was typical of primary schools throughout the colony, but it was not typical in the inequality between boys and girls.

See the text for an explanation of the different stages of education.



*The evidence on girls' reading is unclear.

From W. W. Burton, *The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales*, London 1840, 147.

the biggest, so big that the small children had their own teachers. At St Phillip's school there were 432 children, two-thirds of them classified as infants and taught separately. The dividing line between infants and primary was about seven years old, but it probably varied according to teaching resources. At St Phillip's a married couple taught the infants while one man, Edward McRoberts, looked after the primary classes. In most rural schools there were between thirty and sixty children altogether, not enough to justify special classes for the infants.

There were another 30 of these schools in Van Diemen's Land, but they were much smaller. Hobart Town had only one, with 85 pupils, and, except at Launceston, there was none elsewhere with more than forty. The little school at Ross had only three boys and two girls. In both colonies the normal practice was for a married couple to be in charge, the wife also teaching sewing to the girls. Abraham Biggs, the master at Jerusalem, north of Hobart Town, explained that from nine o'clock to twelve every morning he taught 'all the little boys and girls I can collect under my charge', with the help of his son Alfred, aged thirteen. In the afternoon, from two to four, he taught the boys, and the girls went to his wife, Eliza Biggs, for needlework. A similar couple, Edward and Rosetta Kennedy, managed John French's school at Penrith. A few men looked after schools by themselves; and one woman, Charlotte Wells, was in charge of thirteen girls and seven boys at Back River, not far from Jerusalem.

New South Wales also had a number of primary schools belonging to the Catholics and Presbyterians. Like the Church of England schools, they were subsidised by the government. Teachers in all these schools could expect from parents a halfpenny for teaching each child for a day, but as this was rarely enough to live on, they were also paid a salary. In a few of the Protestant schools, where parents were very poor, and in all the Catholic ones, the government paid everything. In Van Diemen's Land, because the children were so few, the teachers relied more on their government salary, usually £50 to the husband and £25 to the wife. During the year Sir John Franklin decided that the parish schools should cease to be managed exclusively by the Church of England; but unlike New South Wales, the island had no room for three separate systems.

Even in New South Wales the Catholic system suffered from a lack of teachers. The Catholics had a few big schools, about twice the size of the Church of England ones. They were short of married couples to share the burden of teaching and discipline. It was thought unseemly for a woman on her own to teach older boys, but that could hardly be avoided in the Catholic schools. At Windsor, Esther Cassidy was responsible for 37 girls and 64 boys, and at Campbelltown Eliza Smith carried a similar burden.

The success of a schoolteacher was measured mainly by the number of children who came to be taught. Effective discipline had to reach far beyond the school door because parents had to be persuaded to send their children in the first place, and to get them there every day more or less on time. To most parents, especially among the poor, it seemed more natural for children to live and work side by side with adults. They learnt about the world by working in it, under the eye of their parents, and by watching the drama of life played out in public places: old performances like fist fights and hangings, or new ones, like the floating of a gas balloon above Pitt Street, Sydney, in June.

The routine of each family, insofar as it was measured by the hours at all, depended on public clocks or on schoolbells. We have seen in chapter 8 how three clocks in one small Van Diemen's Land village might differ by as much as half an hour. Even the public clock at Launceston, which controlled the departure of the royal mail, might be out by as much. In Perth the only public timepiece was the



There were many useful ways in which children could be occupied, besides being at school: collecting shellfish, for instance. Watercolour (detail) by S.T. Gill, c1845.

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bugle blown as a signal for the soldiers of the garrison to prepare for church. This had once been reliable, but had ceased to be so. There was now no standard time at all. In such circumstances it was hard for teachers, especially in the country, to set any strict timetable and expect parents and children to abide by it. This could be managed only within closed institutions such as orphanages. Elsewhere the school day consisted of long periods, loosely organised, and school routine was often so undisciplined that children occupied with work at home, or bored with school, sometimes stayed away for days at a time.

Discipline was easier within some communities than others. The Catholic schools in New South Wales, despite large classes, seem to have been particularly well regulated. In the central parts of Sydney they had an attendance record close to perfect, each child turning up, on average, for 317 days during the year. In Catholic country schools the figure was around 280, but even this was far better than for any of the Church of England schools. Along the Hawkesbury, children in the old parish schools—such as the school John French went to—came on average for less than half the teaching year. The Catholic priesthood in New South Wales had lately been reinforced, and Catholics responded by sending their children very regularly to learn, not only their letters, but also the rudiments of their faith. Even such a couple as John and Joanna Crowley, in their most drunken hour, seem to have retained a little Catholic piety, or at least an awareness of religion, which the familiar accent of an Irish priest could turn to good.

In their constant struggle to get the children to come to school, teachers were moved by more than fondness for their work. Their incomes depended partly on daily attendance. South Australia had only one experienced teacher, John Banks Shepherdson, who had been trained in England. He opened his school in May 1838, in a wooden house with separate classrooms for boys and girls. The school attracted about fifty children, surprisingly few, with the European population of the colony approaching three thousand. Desperately short of money, Shepherdson offered to give evening classes to adults, and even asked to be allowed to give up and return home. But he stayed on, supplementing his earnings by work as secretary to J.B. Hack's Joint Stock Cattle Company.



The Reverend John Burdett Wittenoom, M.A. Portrait by an unknown artist.

ROYAL WESTERN AUSTRALIAN
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Western Australia experienced similar desperate efforts to win the hearts and minds of the children, each worth a penny a day. So far only two schools were well enough established to earn government subsidies. In Perth the Reverend J.B. Wittenoom—the senior Church of England clergyman in the colony—opened a school for boys in the courthouse building in February. This was extremely inconvenient for the sheriff, who had his office there: he could get in for only two hours a day, he complained, ‘the interval the building is not occupied by the children’.

The school had two departments, senior and junior. The senior boys were divided into three classes and were taught Latin and English grammar by Wittenoom himself; they included three of his own sons. The junior department was like a parish primary school, and it included two classes: in one writing and arithmetic were taught and the other went no further than reading. For the junior department Wittenoom had an assistant. He himself was a graduate of Oxford and had been headmaster of a grammar school in England, so that he was above teaching of this kind. The junior department had 27 boys, less than half the number of primary school age in Perth. Their fees varied according to the level of instruction, from £10 down to £3 a year, except that two soldiers’ children paid a little less, two others ‘paid in labour’ and five paid nothing at all.

Perth’s only equivalent school for girls was opened in September by Mary Helms, aged 26. She too hoped to attract children from ‘all classes of society’. She explained beforehand:

I purpose dividing my scholars into separate rooms and classes according to the studies and acquirements they are pursuing, with half yearly examinations, one room at a time, (each quite distinct) and at which the parents of each pupil in the room examined will be invited to attend.

This scrupulous division into classes was very up to date, and the government was sufficiently impressed to promise her a subsidy if her school prospered. She was competent and well educated, but she too had trouble finding pupils. Whether she would have succeeded in time we cannot know, for by the end of her first term she and Mr Wittenoom, a widower, had arranged to marry in the New Year. This appears to have meant the end of her school.

In Fremantle Mary Ann Bateman ran a subsidised school for about thirty children, which, as in Perth, was less than half the number of children of school age in the district. Even this small dominion she had to fight for. She was married to the Fremantle postmaster, and a postman named Lancelot Taylor Cooke brought the mail down from Perth. Cooke had kept his own school at Fremantle in former years and, in spite of his present humble occupation, he was a clever and articulate man. He objected to the authority of John Bateman and, apparently, to the official status of Mrs Bateman. After a series of quarrels he resigned in January and went about among the parents of Fremantle, getting up considerable support for a new school of his own. But Sir James Stirling chose to let the subsidy stay with Mrs Bateman.



The daily battles fought by schoolteachers throughout the four colonies were part of a much larger enterprise, of which some of them were only dimly aware: the imposing of order on the people. Some of the weapons were ancient ones, such as the Church of England catechism with its call to the ‘children of wrath’ to become

'children of grace'. But there was a new enthusiasm about, a keen optimism unknown to earlier generations.

Ordinary school lessons were, as always, closely linked with religious discipline. In Protestant schools children learned to read using the New Testament. Catholic schools had their own books which conformed with church principles, and the children went regularly to their lessons mainly because learning was integral to their faith. Among both Protestants and Catholics many children who did not go to school during the week turned up for Sunday school. Young colonists thus learned to read and to worship at the same time. We have seen in chapter 6 how lecturers at mechanics' institutes tried to make religion central to the information they imparted, confident that, in the words of the Bible, the heavens declared the glory of God and the firmament showed His handiwork. In schools it was usually impossible to say where church discipline ended and other forms of education began.

The worship of God was bound up with respect for worldly power. In the catechism of the Church of England children were made to promise not only obedience to the gentler precepts of original Christianity but also

To love, honour, and succour my father and mother: To honour and obey the King, and all that are put in authority under him: To submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters: To order myself lowly and reverently with all my betters: ... To keep my hands from picking and stealing, ... Not to covet nor desire other men's goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me.

It was especially urgent, of course, to impart such learning to the children of the poor, who might well be tempted by 'other men's goods'.

There was a great divide in colonial society between the illiterate—and partly literate—and people who could read and write well. This division had existed for centuries in all British communities; but the generation now in power had given it sharp moral overtones. The teaching of literacy, and the moral order it embodied, had become a crusade. An educated society was one in which social progress was possible—one that could develop rational goals for the future and tackle them confidently. The uneducated could have little part in such a future; even in the present their moral status was doubtful. In abstract terms they were already the enemy. The mechanics' institutes represented an attempt by the educated to infiltrate their ranks—to win over their best and brightest for the march forward.

Until they became educated themselves, the children of the educated had something in common with the illiterate and partly literate. Educated parents were aware of a common feeling between poor men and women, including convicts, and their own children. Servants and children could often join forces to undermine the disciplinary efforts of their elders and betters. Thomas Petrie, aged seven, was the son of an official at Moreton Bay, and his tutor was a partly educated convict named Kelly. With Kelly in charge the boy's education moved very slowly:

Poor Kelly ... would never tell on me. Although I used to get many a thrashing from father for not knowing my lessons, and Kelly got many a scolding for not getting me along better, he would never 'split' on me. I used to take him now and again a bit of tobacco and a little tea and sugar, or a piece of bread, all unknown to my father, and sometimes I gave the other prisoners some, so I was a great favourite among them, and no matter what I did they never let it out.

Convict nursemaids seemed even more dangerous, because their relationship with

children began earlier and was more intimate. From such women, wrote a respectable observer in Sydney, 'children learn the vilest expressions, and it is fortunate if not equally vile ideas'. But a good education could remedy such defects and set the children of the respectable classes apart from the common people. Education and literacy meant civilisation and culture.

Colonial children had a self-sufficiency which tended to make them independent of school learning. In Van Diemen's Land G.T.W.B. Boyes, whom we met in chapter 9, maintained that they had 'a degree of liberty' unimaginable in England. The bush was their domain: 'they shoot, ride, fish, go bivouacing in the woods, hunt O'Possum and Kangaroos, catch ... [and] train parrots'. Nor did this make them useless in the adult world: 'They are also connoisseurs of horses, cattle, sheep, pigs and wool ... and this they all understand before they can speak that two and two make four'. All observers agreed that while the boys, at least, were quick to learn, they also displayed a 'systematic insolence' which made them hard to manage.

The struggle against illiteracy was far from won. Some poor but respectable parents tried to prepare their children for the discipline of church and school by teaching them to say a simple prayer at bedtime. One favourite was

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on.

But colonial children, like their predecessors in Britain, could translate even such primitive learning into doggeral more suited to the world they actually lived in. Repeated from child to child, lines like

Matthew, Mark, Luke and John
Hold the horse till I get on;
When I got on I could not ride,
I fell off and broke my side

only served to show how resourceful Satan might be in spreading early seeds of wickedness.

The general standard of literacy was so low that most men and women were bad examples to the young. About two-thirds of the men transported recently to the colony could read, and about half the women. Most of the men could also write, but only a fifth of women convicts could do both. The poor free immigrants arriving in large numbers in New South Wales and South Australia were better educated, though the women still fell far behind the men. Within all four colonies about two-thirds of the men of all ranks could write as well as read, and about half the women. Among these the number who could be called educated—whose habits of thought had been moulded by their reading and who could pick up a pen without fear—was much smaller.

There was little prospect of radical improvement among the rising generation. In Perth and Fremantle, as we have seen, just under half the children of primary school age were at school during 1838. The proportion was much the same in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, and smaller in South Australia. However, many other children had had some experience of school, having come and gone, taking with them a smattering of learning; and many more could expect to appear later on, when their parents could spare them. Standards of literacy did not therefore seem likely to decline.

How much they would improve was another matter, but there was one ray of hope. Girls were turning up in numbers nearly equal to boys. In some schools, it is true, girls were scarce. At St Phillip's primary school in Sydney Edward McRoberts taught 104 boys and only 46 girls, but this was probably because he had no wife

No. 149 - John Curran - of the Parish of Mulgoa - and
 Elizabeth Smith - of the Parish of do - were
 married in this Church by Banns with consent of the Governor
 this twenty fifth day of January in the year 1838
 By me Thomas Reddall Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { John Curran
 Elizabeth Smith her mark
 of Mulgoa
 In the Presence of { Elizabeth Keatinge Nobody

No. 150 William Toner - of the Parish of Cook - and
 Maria Cristof - of the Parish of do - were
 married in this Chapel by License with consent of Parties
 this fourteenth day of April in the year 1838
 By me The Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { William Toner
 Maria Cristof
 In the Presence of { William Toner of Stoke Newington
 Maria Cristof of do
 Ruth Johnson of Collymore

No. 151 James Butler - of the Parish of Camden - and
 Harriet Wheeler - of the Parish of do - were
 married in this Chapel by Banns with consent of Parties
 this twenty eighth day of May in the year 1838
 By me The Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { James Butler
 Harriet Wheeler
 In the Presence of { James Wheeler of Camden
 Caroline Wheeler of do

No. 152 George Morley - of the Parish of Cook - and
 Elizabeth Brennan - of the Parish of do - were
 married in this Chapel by Banns with consent of His Excellency the Governor
 this thirty first day of January in the year 1838
 By me The Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { G. Morley
 Elizabeth Brennan
 In the Presence of { Henry McKewen of Sydney
 Matilda Campbell of do

A page from the register of marriages in the parish of Narellan, near Camden and Campbelltown, to the south of Sydney.

The signatures of the two clergymen, Thomas Reddall and Thomas Hassall, are those of educated men. The more awkward, though still quite literate hand of the parish clerk, can be seen in the main part of each certificate. Among the parties married, and the witnesses, we see a number of illiterate and partly literate men and women. Those who could not write signed with a cross, where the clerk had written their names. The rounded hand of Ruth Johnson and Matilda Campbell gives a fair indication of the type of writing that was taught in the parish schools. The marriage of James Butler and Harriet Wheeler is mentioned in chapter 3. Parish register in the possession of the rector of St Paul's, parish of Narellan.

to teach needlework. If the different standards of literacy among grown men and women in 1838 are any guide, more girls were being educated than in earlier times. The daughters of the poor in the colonies were learning more than their mothers had done.



For those who put their faith in education as a means of shaping the future, the orphan schools of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were places where perfect methods could be worked out. Some of the inmates were real orphans. Others, as we have seen in chapter 3, had been abandoned to the state by parents

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 Maria Grisold
 In the Presence of { William Grisold of St John Newington
 of do
 Butler of do

No. 151 James Butler of the Parish of Camden and
 Harriet Muler of the Parish of do were
 married in this Chapel by Banns with consent of Parties
 this Twenty eighth day of May in the year 1838
 By me The Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { James Butler
 Harriet Muler
 In the Presence of { James Wheeler of Camden
 of do
 Caroline Muler of do

No. 152 George Morley of the Parish of Cook and
 Elizabeth Brennan of the Parish of do were
 married in this Chapel by Banns with consent of His Excellency the Governor
 this Thirtieth day of May in the year 1838
 By me The Chaplain.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { G Morley
 Elizabeth Brennan
 In the Presence of { Henry McDougall of Benbogh
 of do
 Matilda Campbell of do

A page from the register of marriages in the parish of Narellan, near Camden and Campbelltown, to the south of Sydney.

The signatures of the two clergymen, Thomas Reddall and Thomas Hassall, are those of educated men. The more awkward, though still quite literate hand of the parish clerk, can be seen in the main part of each certificate. Among the parties married, and the witnesses, we see a number of illiterate and partly literate men and women. Those who could not write signed with a cross, where the clerk had written their names. The rounded hand of Ruth Johnson and Matilda Campbell gives a fair indication of the type of writing that was taught in the parish schools. The marriage of James Butler and Harriet Wheeler is mentioned in chapter 3. Parish register in the possession of the rector of St Paul's, parish of Narellan.

to teach needlework. If the different standards of literacy among grown men and women in 1838 are any guide, more girls were being educated than in earlier times. The daughters of the poor in the colonies were learning more than their mothers had done.



For those who put their faith in education as a means of shaping the future, the orphan schools of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were places where perfect methods could be worked out. Some of the inmates were real orphans. Others, as we have seen in chapter 3, had been abandoned to the state by parents



Queen's orphan schools, New Town. Inmates at play.
Watercolour by Owen Stanley, 1840-41.

TASMANIAN MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

too poor to support them. In the orphan schools children might be controlled, in theory, every hour of the day and night. They had no parents to encourage resistance; no other home to go to. Precise timetables ensured that every hour—every minute—was put to good use. Space, like time, could be more carefully allocated than in the common parish schools because the movements of the children were more predictable.

Authorities in Europe held it essential for the children to understand that all their small actions, all their whims, had consequences for themselves and the society around them. In the boys' section of the Queen's orphan schools at New Town, near Hobart Town, the daily regimen was framed and hung up for all to see:

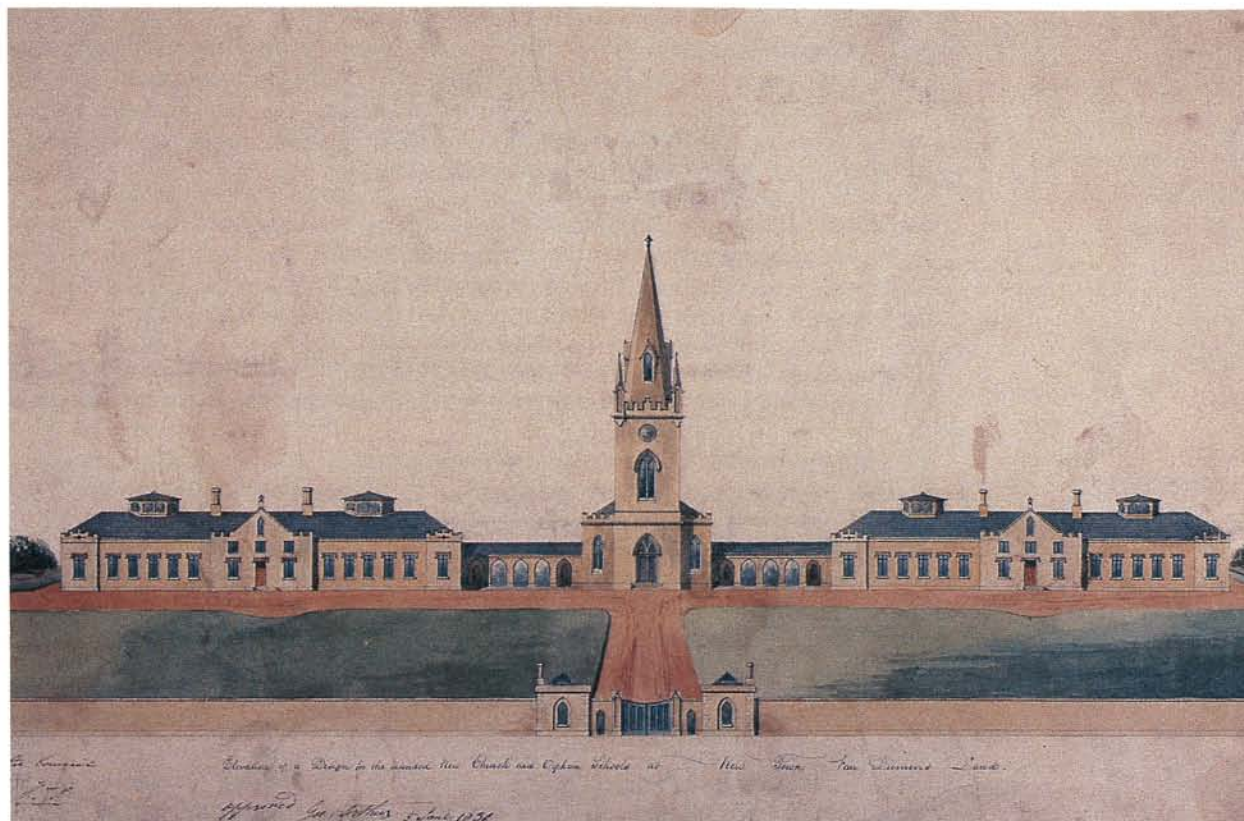
ORDER OF THE DAY—SUMMER

5.00 a.m.	Rise
5.00-6.00 a.m.	Bathe—beds—dressing etc.
6.00-7.30 a.m.	School Room—muster—roll-call and classes.
7.30-8.00 a.m.	Breakfast.
8.30-10.30 a.m.	School.
10.30-12.00 a.m.	Work—Respective trades and occupation training—Boys too young to work allowed to play (under control) or return to school.
12.00-1.00 p.m.	Roll-call and inspection—Dinner.
1.00-3.30 p.m.	Work.
3.30-6.00 p.m.	Play under strict superintendence.
6.00-7.00 p.m.	School—learning hymns, catechism, chapters and singing.
7.00-8.00 p.m.	Cleaning clothes and shoes—washing and bathing—Roll-call—bed.

On winter mornings the children were allowed an extra hour in bed. On Sundays, secular activities were replaced by religious observance.

As in the bigger parish schools, the children in orphan schools were classified according to age. The infants or nursery children learned little, but were trained in habits of discipline. The New Town schools had properly constituted infants classes, from which children graduated to the main schools and entered four courses of study, each internally graded: religious instruction, with four classes; reading and spelling, with five classes; writing, with four classes; and arithmetic, with four classes for the girls and five for the boys. Boys were expected to understand the practical application of arithmetic. For the boys there were also five classes called 'Miscellanea'—geography, navigation, principles of agriculture and gardening, elements of history, and elements of mechanics. Instead of these subjects the girls did needlework. The most promising children of both sexes might be trained as teachers in the 'Teachers' Class': but most of the boys were apprenticed from the school to local tradesmen. The girls could look forward only to being domestic servants.

A drill sergeant exercised the boys for two hours a week, while their free time was given over to cricket, leapfrog, trapball or prisoner's base. Trapball was a bat-and-ball game in which a shoe-shaped wooden 'trap' with a pivoted bar at one end was used to hurl a ball into the air for a batsman to hit. The aim was to hit the ball away before it fell to the ground. Prisoner's base was a game of chasing and catching. Each team had a base which was safe for themselves and a prison for anyone they caught. The Reverend Thomas Beagly Naylor, superintendent and chaplain of the Queen's orphan schools, asked for a boat in which the boys could also learn 'to row, steer and fish'. But his plan was thwarted by official fears that runaway convicts might steal the boat.



The orphan schools were meant to encourage individual effort. Within the four main courses of study the children had to master each grade one by one: promotion followed success. Good behaviour was also rewarded with tickets and merit badges, or by appointment as orderly or monitor. Badly behaved children might be placed in the school stocks, kept in solitary confinement or flogged.

Behind this method of education was a fundamental lesson: that the life of each individual was like a story, either an orderly account leading to respectability and happiness, or else a wild and chaotic tale in which the end was disgrace and an early grave. The mind must go on a journey, and just as one must read a book page by page and tell a story point by point, so each child must earn a place in life by moving up through school, class by class, by a carefully connected set of exercises. This idea of the individual with his or her own road to travel, looking forward, moving from one achievement to the next, was central to the educated view of the world. Generally, the illiterate and partly literate had no such linear view of things. Their ideas were typically shaped by the repetitive logic of conversation. They lived among the fleeting imagery of speech, and the certainties of here and now. Their minds were not formed for solitary journeys.

Rewards and punishments at the orphan schools were not designed, however, to encourage unreasonable ambition. Orphans—and poor children generally—having been born in the lower ranks of society, were to be satisfied, as the catechism put it, with the ‘state of life’ to which God had called them. While at school, therefore, they could not expect to live in much comfort. On his appointment as master of the boys’ school at New Town in 1837, John Offor had expressed high hopes for the betterment of the boys in his charge who, he declared, were ‘the victims of dirt—disease—and want of discipline’. Twelve months later

St John's Church and the Queen's orphan schools at New Town, Van Diemen's Land. This set of buildings was designed by John Lee Archer, colonial architect, in 1830, who drew this picture. The church, which was also to serve the people of New Town, was to be the focus of the community of boys and girls, at the same time keeping them at an orderly distance from each other. ‘The schools are calculated to accommodate 200 children each’, Archer wrote; ‘the church 500 besides the children.’ The church spire was not built quite as shown here.

ARCHIVES OFFICE OF TASMANIA

he presented the colonial secretary with a catalogue of complaints: the building urgently needed repair; the schoolroom had no proper furniture or books; his own quarters were too small for his family of eight; the children had to stand for their meals; the dormitories needed more air; effluvia from the water-closets seeped through the building; and all 220 boys had their daily wash in two small horse-troughs of cold water. Of their clothes Offor wrote:

the Boots cripple the smaller children, the leather trousers possess but little warmth—chafe the skin—cannot be cleaned—when wet are excessively cold and flabby—and at all times emit an offensive smell—from the highly vascular [sic] nature of the skin.

The monitorial system, he believed, needed revision, while the time spent teaching the boys a trade was wasted, because it was not enough simply to master technical skills.

The Reverend Mr Naylor, as superintendent of the whole establishment, resented Offor's statements and dismissed most of them as highly coloured. He could not agree that more staff were needed:

I am thankful for the liberality of the Government already so nobly extended and I feel perfectly satisfied that patient perseverance in the plans laid down for the guidance of the Institution even with its present force will gradually and satisfactorily accomplish the benevolent designs contemplated in its formation.

The benevolent designs of men like Naylor were shaped by their faith in the virtues of rank in society. They saw the orphan schools as a splendid experiment worthy of the care and attention of government, but they never doubted that the human material was extremely humble. Nothing would be gained by giving children a fineness of feeling beyond their station. Nor should their education be taken too far. The boys in the orphan schools, and perhaps the girls, could learn more than children in most ordinary parish schools. But as a statement of policy in Van Diemen's Land put it, 'considering the sphere of life in which these children are destined to move ... [there is] no necessity for, or advantage in, instructing them in any of the *higher* branches of education'.



Very few schools in the four colonies offered 'the higher branches of education'. Among them were the schools of the Reverend J.B. Wittenoom and Mary Helms in Perth. In Adelaide the Congregational minister, the Reverend T.Q. Stow, had a classical academy where, according to a manual on the colony, the marked success of the boys was said to be 'commensurate with the learning and talent' of the master. There were also four small establishments at which the young ladies of South Australia might aim at intellectual and social refinement beyond that available at the primary level.

In New South Wales the Reverend Henry Fulton's school at Castlereagh House had been one of the earliest seminaries of this kind. In 1838 the three main secondary schools for boys were the King's School at Parramatta, which was Church of England, and at Sydney the Australian College, connected with the Presbyterian Church, and Sydney College, a proprietary school, or in other words one owned by a number of private shareholders. Although nearly all of its boys were Protestant, Sydney College had no formal ties with any church. It was the most successful of the three, and had already sent at least five young men across the sea to Oxford and Cambridge.

DESCRIPTION OF BREAK-UP AND EXAMINATION DAY, SYDNEY COLLEGE, BY A RECENT STUDENT.

A school-room on such a day as this would present a scene well worth any one's contemplation. The youths neatly dressed—the room in which they were assembled carefully arranged and filled partly with chairs for the expected company, combined with the anxious appearance of the boys and their masters, might clearly indicate that something of more than common importance was about to take place. Like a great army on the eve of an engagement, nothing but the ceaseless din and bustle of preparation could be heard, and every one would appear eager to be in readiness to undergo the approaching trial. Lessons oft repeated would be returned to once more; and even the most studious and accomplished might be discerned conning again over that by which they expected to draw upon themselves the applause and admiration of the public.

When the examiners began to make their appearance, the classes were formed with all the precision and regularity of disciplined troops about to undergo a review. After the usual display of studied learning on the part of the examined, and silent attention and nodding approval* on that of the examiners, the time for distributing the prizes at length arrived. This was a moment of suspense and anxiety among the pupils, which created an uninterrupted and a death-like silence. With due solemnity the names of the fortunate individuals were then loudly proclaimed, and after an appropriate address had been delivered on the merits of each, the prizes were awarded. Then finished the exhibition and the time for departure was at hand. The elder youths clustered affectionately round their tutor to bid a short adieu. It must have been extremely pleasing to him to witness the enjoyment of his pupils and receive their cordial embrace prior to their departure for their respective homes. All past animosities, which his necessary severity might have caused, at this moment were forgotten, and the stern aspect which discipline during the rest of the year compelled him to assume, gave way to a benevolent smile of friendship and cordiality. Often as I had incurred his resentment, I could not but envy him the gratification which at that moment he appeared to enjoy.

*I cannot here resist the temptation of relating an anecdote of a certain wiseacre who once came to our annual examination to form an idea of the state of colonial education. With a degree of modesty which I would particularly recommend to the notice of examiners in general, he did not aspire to investigate the productions of any youth beyond the age of ten, and in looking attentively and solemnly over a juvenile theme he met with the word which, spelt according to the orthography which I have here adopted. This not exactly suiting his profound taste, and being totally at variance with his erudite notions of propriety, he sagely altered with a stroke of the pen to wick—observing at the same time, that with the exception of that one word the theme was beautifully written,—thus establishing his fame as a skilful critic beyond every possibility of dispute.

JAMES MARTIN,

The Australian sketch book, Sydney 1838

There being no Church of England secondary school in Sydney itself, the bishop had organised a new grammar school, near St James Church, which was opened during the year. At about the same time a small group of gentlemen combined in an effort to establish a college in the Hunter valley, at Maitland or Newcastle. This was to be a proprietary school but, unlike Sydney College, the proprietary element was meant to keep the school exclusive. It would be limited strictly to young gentlemen. Sydney College had always been dominated by rich ex-convicts, who



The King's School, Parramatta, New South Wales. The central building was erected in 1836. To the left was the dining hall and kitchen and to the right the headmaster's house. Kindly supplied by Mr Peter Yeend, The King's School.



Hannah Maria Clark of Ellinthorp Hall. Miniature watercolour, undated, by an unknown artist, in private possession.

had used it to instil ambition in their sons. Even the King's School, whose original purpose had been to educate the sons of large landowners, was now catering mainly for families of middling rank—tradesmen, petty officials and farmers from around Parramatta. At least two-thirds of the boys had ex-convict connections. As with Sydney College, ties between the King's School and the illiterate and partly literate community beyond seemed altogether too close. Boys at this school who were not born in the colony were called 'new-chums'—aliens in the world of the native born—and were constantly obliged to fight the rest. The school had even seen a rebellion when the boys demanded a half-holiday for St Patrick's Day, the festival of the Irish. They had barred their headmaster, the Reverend Robert Forrest, from the schoolroom, and had given in only when he threatened to summon the local garrison. The Hunter valley gentlemen aimed to begin with a clean slate and a better type of boy.

Throughout New South Wales were various small private secondary schools, similar to the one that Henry Fulton had conducted at Castlereagh House. Some were for girls. Four seminaries for young ladies were to be found in Sydney, none of them very good. Newcastle had a new boarding school for girls. Morpeth, near Maitland, had another, run by Mrs John Luke, with 25 young ladies between the ages of seven and fifteen. Mrs Luke's school was probably the biggest of its kind in the colony. Mr Justice Burton, who saw it for himself and was evidently impressed by its high standards of piety and discipline, called it 'a very interesting establishment'. No other sort of education was available to a girl beyond the level of the parish school, unless her mother took her in hand or employed a governess.

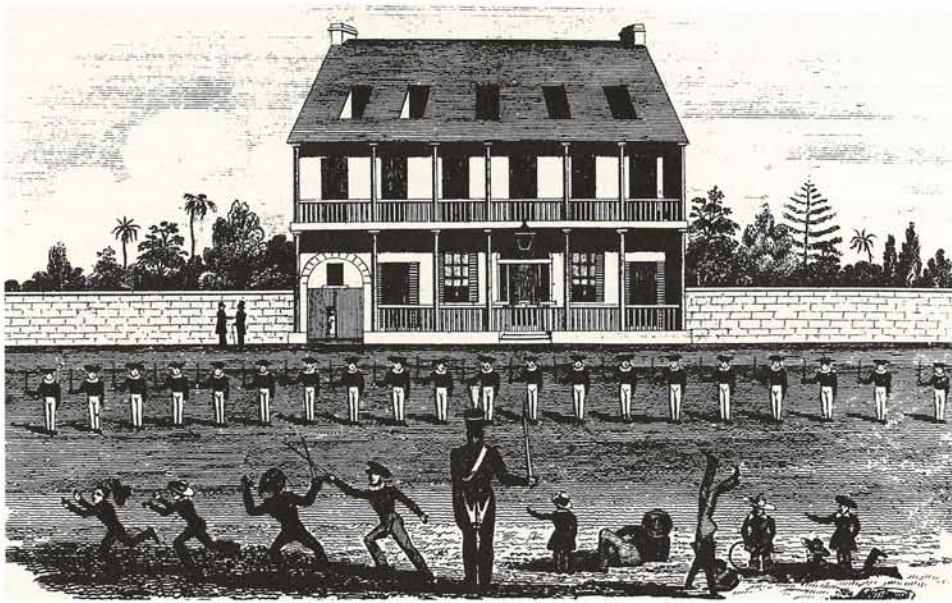
Van Diemen's Land was poorly supplied with boys' secondary schools, though Sir John Franklin was making strenuous efforts to establish one, helped by his friend in England, Thomas Arnold, the eminent headmaster of Rugby. However, at Ellinthorp Hall, near Ross, halfway between Hobart Town and Launceston, was to be found the most successful young ladies' school in the four colonies.

Ellinthorp had been established in 1827 by Hannah Maria Clark, whose husband owned the Ellinthorp estate. It was a boarding school with forty or fifty girls. A year's fees for girls above eight years old came to £40, with more for extra subjects, so it was a very expensive school. But Mrs Clark took in a few pupils at reduced rates and some even free of charge. She offered to teach 'every branch of Female acquirement' to be found in the best schools of England, including English and French, writing—in the fine 'Italian' style appropriate to ladies—arithmetic, geography, needlework—both useful and ornamental—music, drawing and dancing. The girls also learned deportment: how to hold up their heads, how to enter and leave a room, how to sit down and how to get up.

They were taught as well to be good housekeepers and to look forward to managing households of their own. Frugal habits and self-denial were considered high virtues, and school discipline hammered them home. 'My dears!' said Ann Sylke, the assistant mistress,

do you know that every Monday morning I make out a list of the things that I really require, then through the week I strike out all the things that I can do without, and you would be surprised to find on the following Monday morning how few things are left on the list!

The girls did their own darning, and Mrs Clark insisted that the weaving of new patches must be perfect. She would punish a small mistake by unpicking everything and scraping the hole bigger with her thumbnail. One girl was so careless as to leave in her washing a pin which stuck in the laundress's hand. She had her own palm pricked hard all over by Mrs Clark.



Exercises at the Normal Institution, Sydney. This school (1834–38) was unusual in imparting a thoroughly practical and secular type of education: the pupil, according to his age and progress, is gradually rendered familiar with the principles and details of arithmetical, geometrical, physical, and ethical science: whilst the application of his various acquirements to the business of active life, is never for a moment lost sight of in the midst of his daily round of occupations. Hence it is, too, that the training of the physical frame is considered an important part of the pupil's education. The dancing class—taught by the most approved master procurable—is therefore recommended, especially to the boarders of the establishment: moreover, with the permission of the Commanding Officer of the Garrison, the Sergeant-Major of the regiment on duty has hitherto been induced to attend, three days a week, for the purpose of drilling pupils in the military extension-motions, and in gymnastic and sword exercises. J. Maclehose, Picture of Sydney, Sydney 1839, 113–4. Drawn and engraved by J. Carmichael, for Maclehose.

Few outdoor games were thought suitable for young ladies, but Mrs Clark's girls went for regular walks. Every morning before breakfast they walked together to a red gate about a kilometre from the school, touched it one by one and walked home again. On spring mornings Mrs Clark waited for them on the verandah with a bowl of brimstone and treacle, as an antidote for the spring air. Each had to swallow a spoonful, say a 'Thank you, Marm' and curtsy. Smaller groups also walked out in the afternoons, escorted by teachers.

Mrs Clark paid well for good teachers. Henry Mundy was a skilled composer and portrait painter who taught both music and art at Ellinthorp. In 1838 he composed eight sets of quadrilles, which he dedicated to his girls and published in London. But Mundy's quadrilles were symptoms of a new decadence. It was said that the thoughts of the girls at Ellinthorp were beginning to hang too much on dancing, to the neglect of more serious pursuits.



Teaching older children gave men and women scope to indulge a love of learning. The Reverend Henry Fulton and the Reverend J.B. Wittenoom were scholars who loved to impart a correct view of the truth, as defined by ancient authors. Other teachers loved a more up-to-date kind of inquiry, similar to that encouraged by the mechanics' institutes. William Woolls, a young teacher at Sydney College and formerly at the King's School, liked to take his boys in search of botanical specimens. Using the most modern teaching methods, he encouraged individual effort by sending the boys out to look for them themselves.

In an essay about his schooldays, James Martin offered a picture of how successful this kind of teacher could be:

One morning after we had all been seated at our desks, in that order and silence which fear of punishment invariably creates, he came into the room with a quadrant and a variety of other mathematical instruments, with the names and uses of which we were totally unacquainted, and immediately commenced arranging them in order for an observation. Of course, every eye was bent towards him, and all evinced in their looks that air of surprise and astonishment

which any unusual circumstance creates in the mind of the inexperienced youth. Our surprise was still further augmented, when we received directions to look about the yard for all the pieces of broken glass that we could meet with, and hold them over lighted candles until they became darkened by the smoke. When this operation had been performed, and every lad, from the child of eight to the youth of sixteen years of age, was furnished with a piece, we were directed to look towards the sun, and there behold, for the first time in our lives, the wonders of a solar eclipse.

Unwittingly, Martin had revealed another aspect of the environment of learning in the colonies: even in a well-ordered school broken glass was part of the common furniture of the schoolyard.

Girls were not meant to know much about science, especially its practical application, but at Ellinthorp Hall Ann Sylke cultivated an interest in phrenology. This involved study of skull shapes and was based on the idea that the contours of the skull revealed the development of the brain. Through it many leading scientists expected to open up new areas of truth about human character. In May a bushranger was shot dead on the school verandah. The older girls were allowed to file past the body and then Miss Sylke examined the head herself. The result of this experiment was surprising: every bump was virtuous.

MAKING SENSE OF THE WORLD TO COME

The catechism in which the Reverend Henry Fulton, and most other clergy of the Church of England, instructed the children of their parish schools, contained these words:

I pray unto God . . . that it will please him to save and defend us in all dangers ghostly and bodily; and that he will keep us from all sin and wickedness, and from our ghostly enemy, and from everlasting death.

'Ghost' in the catechism meant spirit, and 'our ghostly enemy' was the devil. But we may guess that children, and many less than literate adults, thought that this prayer was about the ghosts of the dead.

The Reverend Mr Fulton had a son, John, who maintained that he knew all about ghosts. John Fulton was a clever young man, though probably less clever than he imagined. Nor was he as young as he sometimes appeared, being now aged 34 and the father of seven children. Yet he carried himself like an insolent youth. He had lately tried to have his old father charged with perjury; we do not know the details. He was native born and proud of it. He liked to sign himself, 'John Walker Fulton, an Australian'.

At the beginning of the year John Fulton and a few of his native-born friends began publishing *The Australian magazine*, planned as a monthly journal of essays, poetry and mathematical puzzles. It survived only until March. To the January number Fulton contributed a short piece called 'The Drummer'. It began—after a Latin motto and some lines from the poet Gay—with a preamble pointing out that only education would free 'the unthinking multitude' from superstition, including belief in ghosts. The Irish and the Highland Scots were especially credulous: 'It would be a matter of supererogation to enter into a detail of divers *balderdash* still firmly imprinted . . . in the craniums of Scotia's and Erin's Sons'. He aimed to show by the story of the drummer how readily even the people of Castlereagh would believe in ghosts.

About two years earlier the drummer of the 17th Regiment, which was stationed nearby, had drowned while trying to swim the Nepean River. He was

to be buried the following day, but the body was not brought to Castlereagh churchyard until night time. Only four of his fellow soldiers could be spared for his burial, though it was customary to have a firing party and military honours. Fulton's servant had informed him a few weeks later that the drummer, having been improperly buried, could not rest quiet in his grave, '*and that in consequence he plays his unearthly music every night on top of it*'.

Fulton went to the farm of his brother-in-law, and asked there about the ghost. 'Why,' the overseer answered:

he sometimes comes down as far as the master's garden beating his frightful midnight reveillie. Neither the master nor any of the servants will stir out, for their lives, *after dark; nor will they at the parsonage either.*

He heard the same story at the sexton's house. It appeared that 'THIS DISTURBED AND INFURIATED SPIRIT' held in consternation the whole village of Castlereagh, even including some of Fulton's own family.

"What time", I then required, "does the goblin beat his drum?" The sexton said nine o'clock. 'The hour of *nine* arrived—it was dark, cloudy, and dismal. *The drum I distinctly heard.*' The courageous Fulton went alone to the churchyard, armed with what he called a 'waddie'. It was there, seated on the drummer's grave, that he worked out where the noise came from:

I remembered that a chain of ponds descended from Windsor towards the church-yard, until within half a mile! The water was a conveyance of sound!! *It was the music of the Windsor band!!!*

Thus an active young man, by a combination of modern scientific intelligence and 'a little common nerve', had released Castlereagh from its ignorant terror.



The supernatural world of children, especially little children, was inhabited not only by ghosts but by bogeymen, who did more than the church catechism to teach rudimentary lessons of obedience. Educated parents relied on the teachings of the church. But nursemaids could strike fear into the hearts of children in their care by telling them that bogeys inhabited certain places, such as church crypts, cellars, wells and the dark corners of outhouses. Bogeys were usually big and black, with burning eyes and sharp claws. They did unspeakable things to disobedient children, children who would not go to sleep, and children who told on their nursemaids.

HERE LIE BURIED SUCH REMAINS AS WERE FOUND OF THE BODIES OF CAP^N. WILLIAM CROMARTY, AGED 50 YEARS AND WILLIAM HIS SON AGED 16 YEARS WHO HAVING LEFT THEIR HOMES ON THE MORNING OF SEPTEMBER THE 1st 1838 ACCOMPANIED BY AN ASSIGNED MAN SERVANT, AND AN ABORIGINAL NATIVE, FOR THE PURPOSE OF RECOVERING A BOAT WHICH HAD BEEN CAST ASHORE AT THE HEADS, WERE NO MORE SEEN, HAVING PERISHED, IT IS SUPPOSED, IN LAUNCHING IT THROUGH THE SURF.

READER! LET THIS ADMONISH THEE OF THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE PRESENT LIFE; AND MAY GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT TEACH THEE SO TO LIVE THAT DEATH MAY NEVER FIND THEE UNPREPARED!

Gravestone inscription, Port Stephens, New South Wales. From L. Gilbert, *A grave look at history*, Sydney 1980, 99.

It was ideas such as these that the clergy, schoolteachers and other educated men and women sought to replace with a pattern of belief in which God alone was creator and judge. Every funeral sermon reminded listeners that the death they mourned should make them repent, for they too might be called at any moment. Gravestones often carried the same message. But 'hell' was not a common part of conversation. Some clergy often edged around the idea even in sermons which dealt with divine judgement, talking instead of 'eternal separation' from God. It was in keeping with current habits of thought to dwell on anguish of soul rather than on physical torment, pitchforks, fire and brimstone. The methods of eternal justice were thus kept in step with penal reform on earth, such as we have observed in chapter 7.

Dear soul she suddenly was snatchd
 Away, and turned into cold &
 Lifeless clay. She was a tender
 Mother and a loving wife,
 Faithful and just in every
 Part of life. We here on
 Earth do fade as do the flowers
 NOW MARK WHAT FOLLOWS
 She was alive and well and dead
 Within three hours.

Gravestone inscription. Wilberforce, Hawkesbury valley, New South Wales. Catherine Hopkins died aged 30, on 5 November 1838. From L. Gilbert, *A grave look at history*, 92.

But Wesleyan and Baptist ministers and some evangelicals within the Church of England, still saw it as their duty to terrify their people with ancient penalties, warning them for instance against 'Horse racing gambling, balls and Sabbath breaking' by 'hold[ing] over them the Sword of Justice and open[ing] the flaming pit of Hell'. The Reverend Thomas Hassall, a Church of England clergyman with Wesleyan connections, told the little children at the Sunday School at Liverpool,

Remember ... God also speaks to you in judgement. By his judgement I mean his awful warnings and punishments of sinners e.g. when the people sinned at Sodom and Gomorrah ... Now you hear of people being punished—hanged—some die in their drunkenness—killed in a moment ... Oh children, beware of sin, it must lead to punishment.

To men and women of Hassall's mind, the passage of the guilty soul to hell was as sure as the flight of the blessed one to heaven. Catholic clergy allowed for the intermediate stage of purgatory; but purgatory, too, could evoke dread, and for Catholics in a state of mortal sin the threat of hell itself was unabated.

Many lay people had a strong sense of divine judgment, especially those with some education. If they were Protestants, the most pious among them were often drawn to Methodist, Baptist or Presbyterian congregations, where standards of vice and virtue were more strictly defined than among adherents of the Church of England. If one was accepted by them, it was a good sign that one would be acceptable to God. William Sherwin, probably a humble type of tradesman, had applied for membership of the Independent congregation—Congregationalists—at Hobart Town in June 1832, and had been admitted nearly a year later. In March

1836, however, he had been suspended from communion 'for immoral conduct'. His suspension continued until January 1838 when, reawakened to the problem of his eternal future, he sent a letter to the pastor, Frederick Miller. He had been sick, and had lately found himself an outcast at death's door:

Cold I but tel thee and hall that know Christ in sinseraty how to enter in to my feelings it wold speak wonders for i some tims expected i was about to step in to hell, and i thought at the time of my last illness my damnation was shuer a wounded conscience who can bear it.

Miller visited him. He had suffered a relapse, but the pastor gladly reported to his people 'that he conversed with Mr Sherwin a few hours before he died, and that he then gave expression to views and feelings of a most satisfactory character'.

A few men and women were equally sure that there was no such thing as divine judgment. In Western Australia William Nairne Clark was given to declare that 'he did not believe either in heaven or hell—in God or Devil'. Though many others had no clear or urgent notion of judgement, such a statement was so bold as to be scandalous. Between the two extremes represented by Sherwin and Clark there was a range of complex and inconsistent ideas. The dead were occasionally glimpsed in the mind's eye standing before the heavenly tribunal, but they were more often seen at peace, resting beneath a friendly earth at the end of life's journey. This was a neat and satisfactory way of thinking about the deaths of grown men and women, especially if they were old. But what about children? When children died, at the *beginning* of life's journey—when

... gentle infancy is snatched away,
Untouch'd by care, unconscious of decay—

In Memory of Joseph Charles
Tremayne only son of Joseph
Hyde Potts of the Bank of N.S.Wales
who resigned his spirit on the
9th day of November 1838 aged
3 months and 9 days.

Also

Harriet May Sheba only
daughter of Joseph Hyde Potts and
sister of the above who ceased to
breathe on the 5th day of December
1838 aged 1 Year, 7 months and
15 days.

Let us not murmur at thy
dispensations
Oh Heavenly Father, thine were but
loans
Let us return them to thee
With cheerfulness, in perfect
submission to Thy Blessed Will.

Gravestone inscription. A bank official has allowed his view of the hereafter to be shaped by his devotion to his work. The children were victims of influenza. Pioneer Memorial Park, Botany, NSW.

it was as if God contradicted a fundamental tenet of belief among educated men and women. For what could be the purpose of cutting short mental and moral life before it had a chance to grow?

The native-born poet, Charles Harpur, tackled this question in a poem published in January following the death of his niece:

And art thou gone? So early gone!
 But yesterday, and thou wer't fresh,
 As is the breeze the mountains on,
 Or verdure by the fountains' gush;
 A day is past—and thou art found,
 A fragment of the burial ground.
 So, for what purpose cam'st thou here?
 Towards what did thee short-lived bloom?
 Wer't but t' extract from love the tear,
 And swell the trophies of the tomb?
 Or, like a tint of closing day,
 A gaud to smile itself away.
 Perchance Heaven look'd and saw thy trace
 Of destiny, too prone to stray,
 Thro' the black waters of disgrace,
 On sun struck passion's homeless way;
 Then, pitying—ere thine azure eyes
 Saw evil—snatch'd thee to the skies.
 At least thou'st found full repose,
 A shelter from the future storm;
 The hands that crush the opening rose,
 Destroy, as well the gend'ring worm;
 And give it triumph o'er the might,
 Of strength'ning heat, and gath'ring blight.

The influenza epidemic which struck both Sydney and Hobart Town towards the end of the year killed hundreds of small children, including in some cases several from a single family. It brought this problem home to many minds.

Sacred to the Memory of
 Sarah SIMPSON died
 Dec 10 1838
 aged 42 Years
 And am I born to die
 To lay this body down
 And must my trembling
 spirit fly
 Into a world unknown
 A land of deepest shade
 Unpierced by human thought
 The dreamy regions of the dead
 Where all Things are forgot.

Inscription on a gravestone in Castlereagh cemetery. Though this woman was buried by the Reverend Henry Fulton it is very doubtful whether he would have agreed with her idea of the afterlife.

After fifty years as a community the British settlers in New South Wales were beginning to think of themselves as a nation. With a common past reaching back so far they could embrace a common future, in which their individual destinies were bound up in one single destiny. Poets and public speakers personified the colony—the people were thousands, and yet they were one—though no ideal figure had yet emerged who could stand for them all as ‘Britannia’ did in Great Britain and ‘Columbia’ in the United States. The connotations of ‘Australia’ were too mild to call forth any such icon, even if poets and artists had looked for one.

Clergy also used a collective image when they argued that God would judge the people of the colony, not only one by one, but as if they shared a single soul. In January, the Reverend James Fullerton, Presbyterian minister at Windsor, wrote a letter to the *Colonist* in Sydney urging people to take stock of themselves in this, the colony’s fiftieth year. Instead of celebrating Anniversary Day, 26 January, with the normal festivities, which could lead only to ‘intemperance and debauchery’, they ought to be contemplating ‘national sins’. Three types of transgression especially concerned him: the lack of family worship, in which households might come together each day to offer thanks to the Creator; drunkenness, by which so many families were sunk in vice and poverty; and adultery, which broke up the sanctified order of family life.

Fullerton was vague as to the penalties which he imagined the people might suffer for their common wickedness. In the short run, he believed that the sins he listed ‘disturb the peace, and mar the prosperity of this country’. In the long term he could only promise that, ‘should we as a nation continue to offend in the open and aggravated manner in which we have hitherto done the divine judgements will assuredly be sent forth against us’.

To all appearances Fullerton proved correct. Late in the year it seemed that judgment had indeed descended on the colony. With the deepening of the drought throughout 1838 it became clear that most of the wheat crop, normally harvested in October and November, would be lost. Not only landowners and squatters, but also small farmers, millers and bakers, and thus the mass of the people, faced at least a year of scant income and severe shortages of bread. The people were indeed obliged to take stock of themselves, and the governor proclaimed 2 November ‘a day of General Fast and humiliation throughout the Territory’, when the people might pray for rain.

Among the clergy who took full advantage of the occasion was the Reverend Henry Fulton at Castlereagh. As an old man who had lived in the colony for nearly forty years he could speak for the people as well as to them—something Fullerton, a recent arrival, could not hope to do. Even so, the imagery of Fulton’s fast-day sermon, with its references to ‘the awful showers’ of God’s wrath and ‘the dark cloud which hangs over our land’, was strangely inappropriate to a country in drought. Also, unlike Fullerton, who had shown a fashionable interest in the sins that affected family life, Henry Fulton loved to dwell, in more old-fashioned terms, on the people’s relationship with the divine. He cherished his own position as a ‘minister of Christ’, as an ‘ambassador of God’, and as a teacher. ‘Yea, many of you,’ he told his people at Castlereagh, ‘are ignorant and shew no wish to be instructed ... or to learn from hearing a sermon what your duty is and the way to everlasting happiness.’ They preferred instead, he told them, the simple conversation of the illiterate: ‘idle chat and gossiping’.

But both ministers saw the people of New South Wales, like the people of Israel in ancient times, as especially favoured by God. Their prosperity and past happiness proved that God loved them. Yet, said Fulton, ‘the greatest number by far neglect God and his service altogether’. Besides the indifferent and the ignorant, he

Mansions of the wealthy dead, including the family tomb of John Burnett, colonial secretary, in St David's cemetery, Hobart Town. Watercolour by Owen Stanley, c1840.

TASMANIAN MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY



declared, there were two parties among the people who had set themselves apart from Christ. Some educated people had been led astray by modern ideas about religion, and especially by 'the infidel philosophy' which taught that God did not intervene in daily life, 'that the affairs of the world are left to the uncontrolled management of natural causes'. And then there were the Catholics, 'gross idolators, worshipping crosses and images of wood, and stone, and iron, and brass, and saints, angels, and the Virgin Mary'. Our 'colonial guilt' was a combination, said Fulton, of the sins of the indifferent, the ignorant, the sceptics and the Catholics. The judgment of God was to be seen not only in the drought and the failure of the crops, but also in the current influenza epidemic among the children, though on this last catastrophe Fulton touched only gently.

Both Fullerton and Fulton declared that the colony, through the wickedness of its people, was facing a disastrous future. They fixed on different kinds of wickedness, but even between them they did not exhaust the catalogue of evils for which the British had been responsible in this part of the world. James Fullerton, comparing Anniversary Day to the ancient Jewish jubilee, explained that Australians, unlike the Jews, had no captives to be released and no alienated possessions to be restored as a means of celebrating God's goodness. If he was aware of the irony of such a remark he gave no sign of it. Yet he had touched the heart of what British public opinion—for some a more active and powerful judge than providence—believed to be most evil in the Australian colonies. In short, Australians depended on a captive workforce, the convicts, and therefore had most of the sins of a slave society. Also, moved by little more than thoughtless greed, they had taken the land itself from its ancient possessors. However, the remedy for these problems, insofar as there was one, seemed to lie not in the colonies but with the imperial government in Downing Street.



British people in Australia perceived close connections between their future as a society and the individual future of each soul. God governed both, and both were subject to his final judgment. Their clergy urged such beliefs on them, but Fulton

was right when he said that many only *thought* they believed, coming to church to 'express sentiments and affections with their lips to which their hearts were strangers'. And many did not come to church at all.

In Aboriginal society there was no place for unbelief. The ceremonies through which an individual passed were necessary to confirm social identity. Without them one could not become child, or adult, or spouse or—after death—a spirit. And group action was necessary for both the physical and spiritual welfare of the people. Without ritual care the land's regenerative powers would be lost, and the stock of souls diminished.

In May George Fletcher Moore, advocate-general of Western Australia and a keen student of Aboriginal customs, described a native burial for the enlightenment of the readers of the *Perth Gazette*. The warrior Weiup-wert had been killed by a settler while taking a bag of flour from a farm on the Swan River. Relatives and friends, on hearing of the death, came immediately. Women flung themselves on the corpse, wailing and lacerating their faces. Men dug a grave running north to south, and straight and narrow—about four feet by a foot and a half across, and three feet deep. Great care was taken to keep both the sides and the thrown-out earth in correct alignment. A small fire was lit in the grave, and watched 'with a mixture of awe and curiosity', especially when a frog appeared. The body was doubled up into a squatting position, the hair cut close to the head and the beard singed off with fire. Fire was also used to strip the nail from the little finger of the right hand. This finger and the thumb were bound together, 'either as a token that his days of using a spear were at an end, or that he might no more use the spear'—the explanation given to Moore was ambiguous.

Then they came to the burial itself. Four men lifted the body gently into the grave, adjusting the face to look to the rising sun. The dead man's cloak was placed over the body, then green branches, then earth. His spears were broken and stuck into the burial mound, together with his spearthrower, knives, hammer, ornaments and feathers, and his bag was torn and scattered with its contents. A screen of boughs was built over the western side of the grave and a fire kindled on the east. The ground was cleared and tall trees nearby were marked with notches and rings.

The funeral carried meanings more complex than Moore implied. As clearly as the words that Christians read over the grave, the Aboriginal ritual spelt out a particular understanding of death. Just as pious Christians believed that every death signified the active intervention of God, so the Aborigines held that no death happened of purely natural causes; 'they believe', wrote George Grey, 'that were it not for murderers or malignity of sorcerers, they might live for ever'. Every death was therefore the work of a particular enemy or enemies, and had to be avenged—and the more a person was loved and respected, the greater was the anger and grief and the more urgent the revenge. The friends of Weiup-wert promised retribution on his killer, but they assured Moore that they did not consider the whites as a whole responsible.

Like Charles Harpur's poem on the death of a child, like Fulton's sermon on the drought, one main purpose of the ritual at Weiup-wert's burial was to uncover the origin of the forces causing destruction. The fire in the grave was intended to draw the death-laden malignity out of the earth, and the behaviour of ground-dwelling creatures—here the frog—was read like a Roman augury to detect the direction from which death had been sent. This was important for the process of revenge.

Moore may have thought it wise not to explain to his readers another aspect of belief manifest in the burial ritual: that the soul of Weiup-wert would not be at peace until the symbols on the trees ringing his grave were daubed with his killer's blood. The proposition that Aborigines believed themselves to have souls would



Monument in a garden. Inscribed 'Juliana Theresa Curr, Died 24 June 1835. Aged 2 years 11 months & 14 days. She rests in peace'. The style and setting of gravestones and monuments were clear statements of belief about death. The death remembered here—especially as depicted by the artist—seems to have no Christian significance. It is merely mournful and romantic, a focus for refined sentiment. Juliana was a daughter of the chief agent of the Van Diemen's Land Company, Edward Curr, and the tomb stands at the company headquarters at Highfield, northwest Van Diemen's Land. Detail of an undated watercolour by an unknown artist.

ALLPORT LIBRARY AND
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, STATE
LIBRARY OF TASMANIA

Quarantine burial ground,
Sydney Harbour.

*Tombstones clustered above
Spring Cove, near North
Head, mark the graves of
thirteen people for whom in
1837 this spot was a first and
last home in Australia:
voyagers on the Lady
Macnaghton, which had left
Ireland carrying not only 444
emigrants and crew but deadly
typhus fever. Undated
watercolour by an unknown
artist.*

ALEXANDER TURNBULL
LIBRARY, WELLINGTON



have been resisted by many of his readers. Some educated settlers thought it 'preposterous' to think that the Aborigines had souls; the corollary being that it was no great matter to shoot them. More sympathetic Europeans maintained that the Aboriginal vocabulary proved their belief in an afterlife. Moore translated 'Kadjin' as 'Soul; spirit; The form which rises after death, and goes over the sea to the island of souls'. Another observer construed 'tabea' as 'to die, to sleep; to lie down; to be buried', concluding that 'this would lead us to suppose that they have some idea of resurrection, and a life to come'. Francis Armstrong, the native interpreter in Perth, confirmed that

they believe that the spirits, or 'goor-doo-mit', of deceased persons pass, immediately after death, through the bosom of the sea to some unknown and distant land.

But he added that this understanding did not bring with it 'any idea of God ... constantly watching the actions of all men' to reward the good and punish the bad, a conception used by some contemporary writers to define the limits of humanity.

Like most peoples at most times, Aborigines mourning their dead found it hard to believe that souls would so readily leave the scenes of past joys and sorrows. The English vigil over the unburied body and the Irish wake carried the same meaning, as did the notion of the soul sleeping in the grave. And again like most peoples at most times, the Aborigines saw these lingering spirits as both dangerous and pitiful, to be shunned and also comforted. Moore's report of the ambiguity of the bound-up finger and thumb was more precise, perhaps, than he knew: the binding was at once a sad token that the hunter would hunt no more, and a guarantee that he could not do so. The use of fire, a symbol and agent of life, carried the same two-sided message. The fire left burning by the grave comforted the disembodied spirit; the fire in the grave subdued the power of the dead.

The settlers showed a similar ambiguity towards the dead. In the story of 'The Drummer', as told by John Fulton, the dead soldier was a departed friend, rightly honoured by a firing party of his comrades. But he was also a potential ghost, who had to be appeased by ceremony.

We have seen in chapter 2 how at first meeting Aborigines took all white men to be ghosts returned from the land of the dead. Individual white men were even

recognised as departed relatives, though strangely incompetent and forgetful of their earlier way of life. George Grey had this experience in Western Australia; so did Samuel Pratt Winter when he arrived with his stock to the west of Port Phillip. Such recognition made a place for the strangers in the Aboriginal world, and fitted them into patterns of kinship, exchange and landuse. But, like all ghosts, they proved to be dangerous. With so many of the Nyungar dead by British gunfire and disease, there was unintended irony in Francis Armstrong's observation: 'many of them now look forward to death as a positive gain, which will enable [them] to come back with guns, ammunition, money, and provisions'. Armstrong did not specify the targets of the ghostly bullets.



Weiup-wert's funeral had one further meaning, manifest in the fire in the grave and in the care of his relatives to double up his legs. The fire suggested life as well as destruction. The foetal position of the corpse evoked birth as well as death. The word for one's own land, *kalla*, was the same as the word for fire, that other source of life. Words and action both suggested the eventual return of the spirit to its own *kalla*, not as a ghost but as a newborn child. The ritual which changed boys to young men also took place in a narrow trench in mother earth. In short, the movement into life, adulthood and death was understood as a continuous event, a circle.

For the Aborigines life and death, and history as well, were not a movement away but a perpetual turning and returning. We have today inherited the way of understanding life and time that the British invaders brought to Australia. History has usually been written as the story of a journey, an account of change and continuity over time. This book has been different. Having created a small territory of time and space, we have lived in it for ten chapters, looking for patterns of action and belief. We have made a virtue of coming back to familiar places. Among strange people, it pays to watch and be patient.

CHAPTER AND CONTRIBUTORS

This book is the result of much closer collaboration between contributors than normally occurs in multi-author volumes. As explained in the Introduction its contents and form were discussed in a series of meetings over several years. Once its shape had been determined, individual authors researched and wrote discrete sections or passages of text. The whole was then reworked by the editors. This list is therefore a guide to who wrote what, rather than a precise statement of attribution.

1. PAST AND PRESENT Alan Atkinson
2. AT THE BOUNDARIES
Encounters – Marian Aveling; Dispossession – Marian Aveling and Lyndall Ryan
European images of Aborigines – Joan Kerr and Richard Neville
3. FAMILIES
Infancy – Marian Aveling; Childhood – Marian Aveling and Beverley Earnshaw;
Courtship and marriage – Margaret Anderson and Marian Aveling
4. WORK
The needs of working people, The needs of employers – Alan Atkinson; Work in
the towns, Work on the seas – Barrie Dyster; Agricultural work – Alan Atkinson;
Work with cattle and pigs – Barrie Dyster; Work with sheep – Alan Atkinson and
Jillian Oppenheimer; The uncertainty of work – Alan Atkinson
5. MARKETS
Consumer goods, Wool, Transport, Finance – Frank Broeze; Newspapers – Sandra
Blair; Land – Frank Broeze
6. MEETINGS
Introductory section – Marian Aveling; Colonel Gawler hosts a dinner for the
Aborigines – Marian Aveling; Protestants approach their God – Rob Linn; The music
of Catholic piety – Frances O'Donoghue; Mrs Broughton goes visiting – Beverley
Earnshaw; James Anlezark foments a riot – Marian Aveling and Mimi Colligan; Sir
George Gipps signs the pledge – Elizabeth Windschuttle; Dr Crowther lectures at
the Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution, A benefit performance at the Royal
Victoria – Elizabeth Webby; Hobart Town enjoys a regatta – A. J. Rayner; People,
classes and communities – Marian Aveling
7. PEOPLE CONFINED
Introductory section – Marian Aveling; Parramatta female factory – Laurel Heath;
Cascades factory – Tony Rayner; Hyde Park barracks, Port Phillip work gangs –
Martin Sullivan; Flinders Island Aboriginal establishment – Lyndall Ryan; *Port Arthur*
– Alan Atkinson
8. GOVERNMENT
The Queen's commission – Alan Atkinson and S.G. Foster; Servants of the crown,
Law makers – S.G. Foster; The appearance of power, Demands for change – Alan
Atkinson; Government at work: *The proper management of convicts* – S.G. Foster;
Immigration – Alan Atkinson and Rob Linn; *Fathers of the people* – Alan Atkinson and
Beverley Earnshaw; *Masters of the soil* – Alan Atkinson and Jillian Oppenheimer; *The
impending catastrophe* – S.G. Foster
9. JUSTICE
The theatre of the courts, Law and order, Beyond the law, The purpose of justice –
Alan Atkinson and S.G. Foster
10. PRESENT AND FUTURE
Making sense of the world – Alan Atkinson; Making sense of the world to come –
Alan Atkinson and Marian Aveling

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

While this book is the immediate result of the labours of those whose names appear on page viii, it could not have been written without the help of all those who contributed to the early issues of the *Push from the Bush*, the journal established in 1978 to promote exploration of 1838. We thank those who took the trouble to write for the *Push*, and also those who came to our early conferences, in Melbourne and Canberra, where the framework of the book was first worked out.

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Although the contribution of libraries, archives and galleries will be recorded elsewhere in the series, we would like to acknowledge their specific contribution to the illustrative content of this book. In particular, the National Library of Australia and the Mitchell Library in the State Library of New South Wales gave us generous access to their resources, and their pictorial staff offered expert advice that helped us use those resources to best effect.



NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

These notes supplement the information contained in captions to illustrations and maps. They include, as necessary, the titles of works and details of their location, as well as other details of provenance as required by holding institutions.

Page x John Glover, Australia 1767–1849, *A view of the artist's house and garden, Mill's Plains, Van Diemen's Land*, 1835, oil on canvas, 76.4 × 114.4 cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Morgan Thomas Bequest Fund 1951.

CHAPTER 1. PAST AND PRESENT

Page 4 Madeley/Lhotsky, *Captain Cook's tablet at Cape Solander, Botany Bay, New South Wales*, London 1839. Page 5 Russell, *La Pérouse monument*, in *Lithographic drawings of Sydney and its environs*, published by J.G. Austin, Sydney 1836. Austin's original contribution to the works he published has not yet been determined. Page 5 McArthur, *General view of Port Essington*. Page 6 Bickley, *View of Fremantle*, engraved by J. Cross and published by him in London in 1832. A watercolour by John Buckler, in the collection of the Mitchell Library, is either a copy of the aquatint or the original of the work. Page 7 Reinagle, *Panoramic view of Hobart*. Page 10 Invitation to William Macarthur, Macarthur Papers A2935 vol 39, p 250, ML. Page 13 Frances Amelia Skipper, Australia 19th century, *View from the Mount Lofty Range* c1838, coloured wash on white paper 11.5 × 16.5 cm, Art Gallery of South Australia. Page 14 Entering Sydney Harbour, published by De Thierry in *Vue de Sydney et de l'entrée de la rivière de Paramatta* (1st Feuille).

CHAPTER 2. AT THE BOUNDARIES

Page 20 John Michael Skipper, Australia 1815–1883, *Corroboree, South Australia* 1840, oil on canvas 106 × 152.3 cm, South Australian Museum. Page 22 Govett, *Surveyor's camp*, in his *Notes and sketches of New South Wales*. Page 24 Hamilton, *Starting on an expedition*. Page 24 Hamilton, *Bushmen encamping*. Page 26 George Hamilton, Australia 1812–1883, *Stages in a bush journey—morning*, watercolour with pen and ink 26.8 × 44.7 cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Earl Bequest Fund 1979. Page 29 Hodgkinson, *Bushmen, Aborigines, horses and dog*. This original drawing was bound in with the proof plates of Hodgkinson's *Australia from Port Macquarie to Moreton Bay*, London 1845. Page 39 Hamilton, *The noonday heat: the wilderness*. Page 40 Hodgkinson, *Dance of defiance of the Yarra-Bandini tribe*. Page 46 Govett, in his album of *Original drawings*. From 1836–37 the *Saturday Magazine* in London published a number of illustrated essays by Govett called *Sketches of NSW*. Page 53 Gill, *The marauders and The avengers*, in an album of watercolours entitled *J.T. Doyle's sketches in Australia*, c1854–1863. J.T. Doyle was probably a pseudonym used by S.T. Gill. Page 61 Govett, *Three blacks encamped for the night*, in his *Original drawings*. Page 62 Cawthorne, *A fight at the Murray, in the scene painting style*.

CHAPTER 3. FAMILIES

Page 68 Gill, *Port Adelaide, South Australia*. Page 74 Dashwood, *Pakenham Street, Fremantle*. Page 75 From Boyes, *Sketchbook* containing English and Australian views. Page 76 Russell, *Darling Point, near Sydney*. Page 77 Westmacott, *Bulli, Illawarra, N.S.W. (My Cottage)* in his *Drawings of Sydney and New South Wales*. Page 79 Detail from Hitchen, *Adelaide, South Australia, North Terrace*. Page 81 Martens, *Elswick, the residence of James Norton*. Page 81 Lyttleton, *Panshanger, Tasmania. The seat of Joseph Archer*. Page 81 Atkinson, *Residence of John Sherwin, Macquarie Street, Hobart Town*. Page 83 Lempriere, *(Rural) three-storied cottage beside water*, in a volume of watercolours and pen and ink sketches by Lempriere and others, *Sketches etc., Van Diemen's Land 1836–40*. Page 83 Brierly, *"Mafra"—Maneroo N.S.W.* in his *Sketches made in Australia*. Page 87 Reveley's sketch was sent to a friend in London and included on the back a key to the objects in the landscape. Page 92 Earle, *Mrs Macquarie's Seat, Government Domain, Sydney* in his *Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, London 1830. Page 107 Belcher, *From Life*, in his *Album of Sketches*.

CHAPTER 4. WORK

Page 118 Hoddle, *Pumpkin Cottage, Illawarra, the first family residence of Henry Osborn in New South Wales*. Page 123 Boyes, *Girl*, from his *Sketchbook*. Page 126 Fereday, *Clarendon, Van Diemen's Land. The Seat of James Cox*. Page 127 Earle, *The farmhouse of W. Lawson Esqre. N.S.Wales*. Page 129 Light, *A view of the country and of the temporary erections near the site of the proposed town of Adelaide, in South Australia*, published by Smith Elder and Co., London c1837. Numerous versions of this print exist, with varying titles. An oil painting of this view is held in the Dixson Galleries. The Art Gallery of South Australia holds a watercolour by Light which may be the original after which the prints were made. Page 130 Knight, *A sawyer's hut on the Huon River VDL*. Page 135 Reeve/Evans, *Hobart Town*, published by R. Ackermann, London 1828. Page 136 Govett, *Accident during the building of the road at Victoria Pass*, in his *Notes and sketches of New South Wales*. Page 139 Stanley, *Orontes December 27 1838*, in his *Voyage of HMS Britomart 1837–1843*, vol 1. Page 140 Garling, *Circular Quay*. Although this picture has been dated 1834 by the Mitchell Library, the appearance of St Patrick's Catholic Church on the

left suggests a later date, as the church was not dedicated until 1844. Page 148 Angas, *A Beverstone wood beam plough with an iron wheel*, in the George Fife Angas Papers. Reproduced here by kind permission of Mr R.H. Angas. Page 151 Austin, *Farm house and property, S.A. Lashbrooke, residence of Revd. J.B. Austin*. Page 152 Gill, *Stockman, N.S.W.*, in *The floral album of H.O. Lamb*. Page 153 Gill, *Bullock teams crossing the Dandenong Ranges*, in his *J.T. Doyle's sketches in Australia*.

CHAPTER 5. MARKETS

Page 166 Rae, *George Street looking north, from King Street, Post Office etc.* Page 169 Beale, Anthony Beale's Diary 25 Apr 1840, MS 10751, La Trobe Library. Page 171 Gill, *Camping ground (night)* in *The floral album of H.O. Lamb*. Page 172 Wittenoom, *View from the court house. Arthur's Head. Freemantle*. Page 173 Garling, *Albion Mills, property of J. Terry Hughes. Destroyed by fire, March 2 1841*. Page 173 Chapman, *Mill, Campbelltown, Elizabeth River*. Page 174 Chapman, *Liverpool Street, Hobart Town, from Wellington House*. In *Six views of Hobart Town*, printed by T. Bluett, Hobart 1844. Page 177 *The history of Samuel Terry*, reproduced in *The Penny Satirist*, 13 Oct 1838. Page 179 Angas, *Sheep shearing in the Barossa. Sunset*. Page 185 Fowles, *Light house, South Head of Port Jackson*. In Fowles, *Drawings in Sydney*, also known as *Original sketches*. Page 189 Govett, *Cutter's Inn, Mittagong, Argyle Road, N.S.W.* as it appeared in 1828, in his *Original drawings*. Page 189 Gill, *Wool drays descending Lapstone Hill, from The floral album of H.O. Lamb*. Page 191 Hindmarsh, *South Australian Company's Bank, North Terrace, west of King William Street, looking south from Park Lands near Torrens*. July 21, 1838, B 10504, SA Archives. Page 194 Col William Light, *Australia 1786–1839, The Bank of South Australia, North Terrace, Adelaide, 1839*, watercolour 20 × 32cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Gift of the South Australian Co. 1931. Page 195 Fowles, *Union Bank of Australia*, in his *Drawings in Sydney*, also known as *Original sketches*. Page 213 Martha Berkeley, *Australia 1813–c1899, North Terrace, Adelaide. View taken looking east, south east*, watercolour 32.3 × 43.7cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, SA Government Grant 1935.

CHAPTER 6. PEOPLE MEETING

Page 216 Artist unknown, *St. Thomas's Church, Port Macquarie*. Page 220 J.W. Giles after G.F. Angas, *Australia 1822–1886, Rapid Bay, encampment of Yankalilla Blacks*, handcoloured lithograph 24.7 × 35.2cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, South Australian Government Grant 1953. Page 221 Theresa Snell Walker, *Australia 1807–1876, Aboriginal chief Kertamaroo (King John)*, pre-1842, wax medallion, c 10.5cm diameter, Art Gallery of South Australia, Bequest of Sir Samuel J. Way 1916. Page 221 Theresa Snell Walker, *Australia 1807–1876, Aboriginal woman, probably Mocata wife of Kertamaroo (King John)*, pre-1842, wax medallion, c 10.6cm diameter, Art Gallery of South Australia, Bequest of Sir Samuel J. Way 1916. Page 223 Martha Berkeley, *Australia 1813–c1899, The first dinner given to Aborigines, 1838*, watercolour 37.2 × 50.0cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, Gift of Mr J.P. Tonkin 1922. Page 225 Theresa Snell Walker, *Australia 1807–1876, Rev. Charles Beaumont Howard, M.A., first colonial captain of South Australia*, pre-1842, wax portrait, c 8cm diameter, Art Gallery of South Australia. Page 226 Gliddon, *Part of North Terrace, South Australia*, published by A. Gole, London 1839. Page 228 Russell, in his *Lithographic drawings of Sydney and its environs*, published by J.G. Austin, Sydney 1836. Page 229 Bradridge, *Interior of St. James' Church, Sydney*. Page 229 Fowles, *Dr Lang's church*, in his *Drawings in Sydney*, also known as *Original sketches*. Page 231 Russell, *Catholic Chapel (Hyde Park)*, in his *Lithographic drawings of Sydney and its environs*, published by J.G. Austin, Sydney 1836. Page 236 Robert Lethbridge King, in his *Sketchbook*. Page 242 Earle, *View from the Sydney Hotel*, in his *Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, London 1830. Page 246 Wilson, *Royal Hotel and Commercial Exchange*, advertisement in *Australian almanack and Sydney directory 1834*. Page 251 Harris, *Reverend John Saunders, late Baptist minister. Sydney*. In *The letterbook of the Reverend John Saunders*. Page 253 Rae, *Millers Point from Flagstaff Hill, 1842*. Page 263 Stanley, *Theatre Royal, Victoria*, in his *Voyage of HMS Britomart*, vol 1. Page 268 Unknown artist in *Australasian scrapbook 1777–1866*. Page 271 Beale, *At a picnic*, from Anthony Beale's diary, July 1840. La Trobe Library ms 10751.

CHAPTER 7. PEOPLE CONFINED

Page 272 Unknown artist, *View taken on the Major Mitchell Pass to the Pilgrim Inn Dec 5 1832*. Page 277 Earle, *A female penitentiary, Parramatta, N.S.Wales*. Page 279 Lempriere's painting is almost certainly no longer extant. Page 283 Rodius, untitled plate from a miscellaneous album, ms A2034, ML. Page 284 Prout, *Cascades female factory from Proctor's Quarry*, in his *Tasmania illustrated*, Hobart 1844. Page 286 Russell, *Prisoners' barracks, Hyde Park in Lithographic drawings of Sydney and its environs*, published by J.G. Austin, Sydney 1836. Page 287 Earle, *View from the summit of Mount York, N.S.Wales*. Page 288 Earle, *A government jail gang. Sydney N.S.Wales*, in his *Views in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land*, published London 1830. Page 290 Woodhouse, *Commandant's house Melbourne 1837*. This lithograph was first in *Jubilee history of Victoria and Melbourne*, Melbourne 1888, and is a retrospective view. Page 295 Seller, *Settlement at Norfolk Island, 1835*. Seller was the works overseer on Norfolk Island, 1834–35. Page 296 Port Arthur, lithograph by an unknown French artist, 1839. Page 297 Capt Booth's views were recorded by Capt Laplace, quoted in introduction to D. Heard (ed), *The journal of Charles O'Hara Booth*, Hobart 1981, 28. Page 304 Glover, *The natives that were sent from Hobart Town to Great Island*, in his *Sketchbook: Van Diemen's Land scenes*. Page 309 Unknown artist, *Moreton Bay*.

CHAPTER 8. GOVERNMENT

Page 313 Lithograph of the young Queen, in *The scrapbook of E. Knapp*. Page 323 Berkeley, *Government hut Adelaide. View taken from the bank of a river at a distance*. Page 324 Earle, *Government House and part of the town of Sidney*. Page 325 Lewis/Blore, *Entrance front, Government House, Sydney*. Page 326 Stanley, *Government House Hobart*, from his *Voyage of HMS Britomart*, vol 2, 1837–43. Page 327 Stanley, *Government House, Victoria 1839*, in his *Drawings in Australia*. Page 331 Martens, *Regentville*, in his *Sketches in Australia*. Page 346 Skipper, *Pioneers landing at Port Adelaide*. Page 357 Stanley, in his *Voyage of HMS Rattlesnake*. Page 358 Col William Light, *Australia 1786–1839, Self-portrait*, 1839, oil on canvas 58.1 × 42.2cm, Art Gallery of South Australia. Gift of G.G. Mayo on behalf of his father, the late George Mayo FRS 1905. Page 358 Col William Light, *Australia 1786–1839, Fisher and Handcock's Station near the Gawler Range*, 1839, watercolour 20.6 × 31.1cm, Art Gallery of South Australia, South Australian Government Grant 1935. Page 366 Stanley, *Capt'n. King's farm Dunheved*, in his *Voyage of HMS Britomart*, vol 1.

CHAPTER 9. JUSTICE

Page 370 Hatfull, *The Court House and St. James' Church, Hyde Park. Sidney*. Page 377 Dashwood, in his *Sketchbooks* nos 1 and 3. Page 378 Skipper, *First execution in South Australia, (of Michael Magee for shooting Sheriff Smart)*, 1838. Page 381 Fowles, *Military barracks*, in his *Drawings in Sydney*, also known as *Original sketches*. Page 383 Earle, *Skirmish, bush rangers & constables, Ilawarra*. Page 384 Russell, *Police Office, George Street*, in his *Lithographic drawings of Sydney and its environs*, published by J.G. Austin, Sydney 1836. Page 396 Henshall/Wittenoom, *Sketch in the town of Perth, Western Australia*, printed by J. Henshall, London.

CHAPTER 10. PRESENT AND FUTURE

Page 406 'Map of New Holland otherwise Australia, according to Lieut. Oxley R.N. late Surveyor General as annotated by Benjamin Sullivan', CO 325/38. Page 411 Gill, *Port Adelaide, S.A.* Page 416 Stanley, *Orphan School Hobart*, in his *Voyage of HMS Britomart*, vol 2, 1837–1843. Page 428 Stanley, *St. David's graveyard, Burnett's tomb and other graves*, *ibid*. Page 429 Unknown artist, *Funerary monument at Highfield, Stanley for J.T. Curr*. Removed from an Allport family scrapbook.

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodical titles are followed, as appropriate, by volume or series number, issue number and year of publication.

ADB	<i>Australian Dictionary of Biography</i>	ibid	in the same work
AJCP	Australian Joint Copying Project	J	journal
Anon	Anonymous	J Aust stud	<i>Journal of Australian studies</i>
AONSW	Archives Office of New South Wales	JP	Justice of the Peace
AOTas	Archives Office of Tasmania	J R Aust Hist	<i>Journal of the Royal</i>
app	appendix	Soc	<i>Australian Historical Society</i>
Aust econ hist rev	<i>Australian economic history review</i>	LC	Legislative Council
Bart	Baronet	ML	Mitchell Library
BLitt	Bachelor of Letters	MLitt	Master of Letters
Br	British	ms(s)	manuscript(s)
BrPP	British Parliamentary Papers	nd	no date
Capt(s)	Captain(s)	NLA	National Library of Australia
ch(s)	chapter(s)	no(s)	number(s)
CO (Followed by class and piece number)	Colonial Office records in the Public Record Office, London	PRO	Public Record Office, London
Col	Colonel	Push	<i>Push from the bush</i>
col sec	colonial secretary	RN	Royal Navy
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office	SG	<i>Sydney Gazette</i>
c	circa	SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>	SH	<i>Sydney Herald</i>
Doc	Document	uncat	uncatalogued
ed(s)	editor(s)/edited by	v	versus
esp	especially	V & P	<i>Votes and Proceedings</i>
f(ff)	folio (folios) or following page(s)	VDL	Van Diemen's Land
GG	<i>Government Gazette</i>	vol(s)	volume(s)
H of C	British House of Commons		
Hist Stud	<i>Historical Studies</i>		
HRA	<i>Historical Records of Australia</i>		
HRV	<i>Historical Records of Victoria</i>		

ENDNOTES

In these endnotes, if no year is specified in a date or sequence of dates, the year being referred to is 1838.

1. PAST AND PRESENT

- 1 Information about the arrival of the *Marian Watson* comes from SG, 2 Jan; I.H. Nicholson, *Shipping arrivals and departures*, Sydney 2, Canberra 1964.
The details of Shaw's life are gathered from SG, 4 Jan; NSW *Blue book* 1838; his death certificate (died 27 Aug 1863); and SMH, 28 Aug 1863.
- 1-2 For John Grapes see Vale of Clwydd (Hartley) bench book, 1 Jan 1838, microfilm reel 66a, AONSW. His background appears on his convict indent, ship *Eliza*, arrived 1822, microfilm reel 395, AONSW.
- 3 For the earlier history of the *Marian Watson* see SH, 24, 28 Mar, 11 Apr, 12 May 1836, 20, 27 Apr 1837; *Australian*, 25 Apr 1837; Nicholson, *Shipping arrivals and departures*. Susan Chamberlain supplied information on the crew, from Marine Board arrivals for the port of Hobart, MB 2/33/3, 2/33/4, AOTas. For the cargo see *Hobart Town Courier*, 22 Dec 1837.
The NSW *Statistical register* 1837-53 gives details of imports during the period; see also G.J.R. Linge, *Industrial awakening: a geography of Australian manufacturing, 1788-1890*, Canberra 1979, 124.
- 5 Egan appears in ADB and in the 1828 census of NSW. Information about his ships comes from Nicholson, *Shipping arrivals and departures*; and from a large number of newspaper items, mainly SG. The reference to his health comes from Nicholson, *Shipping arrivals and departures*, 179.
For the Timor episode see references to the brig *William* in SG, 27 Mar, 12, 15, 19, 22 May, 14 Aug; SH, 14 May.
- 6-7 Population figures for WA in 1838 are to be found at CSO 64, Battye Library. For economic life in WA see P. Statham, 'Swan River colony', in C.T. Stannage (ed), *A new history of Western Australia*, Nedlands 1979, 192-7. For Egan and WA see *Australian*, 29 Dec 1837.
- 7-8 The figures for native born in NSW and VDL are calculated from NSW census totals (1841) and VDL census totals (1842), together with figures for births over previous years, taken from the NSW *Statistical register; Statistics of the colony of Tasmania for the year 1890*, Hobart 1891; J. West, *The history of Tasmania*, Sydney 1981 (1852), 374. The 'immigrant observer' was David Burn: see his *A picture of Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart 1973 (first published as newspaper articles 1840-41), 50.
- 8 W.C. Wentworth appears in ADB.
For Anniversary Day 1837 and 1838 see SH, 30 Jan 1837, 29 Jan; *Colonist*, 12 Oct, 21 Dec 1837; *Australian*, 12 Jan; E. Irvin, 'Of importance to strangers: jubilee year entertainment', *Push* 7, 1980.
- 9 K. Fitzpatrick deals with the Franklins in her *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania*, Melbourne 1949, especially ch 7. For the monument to Collins see *Bent's News*, 18 May; list of public works, VDL *Blue book* 1838, 53.
The *Perth Gazette* commented on the celebrations for the ninth anniversary on 2 June.
- 10 The first SA anniversary dinner is described in *SA Gazette*, 6 Jan. The March dinner is mentioned *ibid*, 7, 28 Apr.
- 10-11 For St Patrick's Day in Hobart Town see *Hobart Town Courier*, 23 Mar; and in Sydney, SH, 19 Mar; and SG, 22 Mar.
- 11 The Adelaide lawyers' dinner appears in *SA Gazette*, 1 Dec; the Sydney Emigrants' Ball in SG, 4 Jan; and the Waterloo dinner in SG, 21 June.
- 12 Alfred Stephen compared Sydney and Hobart Town in 1839, and was quoted by Lady Franklin in Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin*, 134.
- 12-13 The passengers on the *Marian Watson* are listed in the shipping reports of various newspapers. See also COD 35, AONSW.
- 13-14 For Hawdon and J.C. Bourke see J. Hawdon, *The journal of a journey from New South Wales to Adelaide (the capital of South Australia) performed in 1838 by Mr Joseph Hawdon*, Melbourne 1952. A.W. Greig, 'The first Victorian mailman', *Victorian historical magazine* 11/4, 1927. The road between Yass and Melbourne is described by 'G.B.S.' in his letter to the editor, SG, 7 Apr.
- 14 For Duval see R.B. Walker, *Old New England*, Sydney 1966, 13.
The robbing of Finch is described in SG, 22 Mar. For Hawthorne see col sec to T. Cowper [Sept or Oct 1838], 4/3659, 107, AONSW. For the tiersmen see D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, London 1957, 285-9; and for Williams' marriage, the Trinity Church register, 25 Dec 1838, SA Archives.

- 14–16 Walker appears in *ADB*. His religious opinions are clear from his close relationship with the Free Churchman, the Rev Archibald McArthur, also in *ADB*. See also *Hobart Town Courier*, 24 Aug, 14 Dec.
- 16 For a more general account see J. Heyer, *The Presbyterian pioneers of Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart 1935, 10–24. The situation in NSW is described in C.A. White, *The challenge of the years: a history of the Presbyterian Church of Australia in the state of New South Wales*, Sydney 1951, 8–13, and in the account of J.D. Lang, *ADB*.
For Walker's mission to Sydney see *SG*, 4 Jan; *Colonist*, 6 Jan. (In neither account is Walker mentioned by name.)
Miss Robertson is probably Elizabeth Robertson, afterwards a schoolmistress. For her arrival in Sydney see A.B. Spark's diary, A4869–70, ML.
For D. Robertson in England see *Hobart Town Courier*, 27 Oct 1837. For the family in general see card index, AOTas. The Port Phillip Association and the Robertsons' part in it is dealt with in A.S. Kenyon, 'The Port Phillip Association', *Victorian historical magazine* 16/1, 1936. For the Rev Mr Forbes see *Australian*, 5 Jan.
- 16–17 The history of the Jacob family has been gathered from A.B. Spark's diary, A4869–70, ML; card index, AOTas; V.C.P. Hodson, *List of the officers of the Bengal army 1758–1834*, London 1928, 542.
- 17–18 The life and death of Boyle are recorded in M. Sadlier to col sec, 7 Mar 1838, 4/2413.3, AONSW.
- 18 For the Powys connection with SA see First annual report of the colonisation commissioners of South Australia, 25 July 1836, *BrPP* 1839, 42/255, 503–4, 511; see *SA Gazette*, 18 June 1836, 3 June, 29 July, 19 Oct 1837; Memorial book 5/10, 11, Lands Department records, Adelaide.
- 18–19 The age of L. Powys is taken from his death certificate (died 10 Aug 1878). *Alumni Cantabrigiensis* vol 2, 5, 179, records his entry to Cambridge. The history of the Powys family is gathered mainly from relevant entries in the *DNB* and records of the British peerage, under the title Lord Lilford.
- 19 For the return of Walker and Miss Robertson see *CSO* 92/3, AOTas; and for the departure of the party by *Portland*, *SG*, 8 Mar.
2. AT THE BOUNDARIES
H. Reynolds, *The other side of the frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia*, Ringwood 1982, traces the process of invasion and reaction; it builds on W.E.H. Stanner, *After the Dreaming*, Melbourne 1969. An overview of the first fifty years of the invasion is given in R. Broome, *Aboriginal Australians: black response to white dominance 1788–1980*, Sydney 1982. N.G. Butlin, *Our original aggression: Aboriginal populations of southeastern Australia 1788–1850*, Sydney 1983, discusses the effects of disease on Aboriginal populations. He has tried to present orders of magnitude rather than precise estimates. For 'estate' and a discussion of Aboriginal landholding and landuse see W.E.H. Stanner, 'Aboriginal territorial organization: estate, range, domain and regime', *Oceania* 36, 1965. The major source for the names and locations of Aboriginal landholding groups is N.B. Tindale, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia*, Canberra 1974. Identification and spelling are taken from this unless other sources suggest a revision.
- 21–2 The destruction of the Tasmanian Aborigines is described in L. Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, Brisbane 1981. K. Willey, *When the sky fell down: the destruction of the tribes of the Sydney region 1783–1850's*, Sydney 1979, chronicles the fate of the Port Jackson people. The census material was gathered by L.E. Threlkeld and published in his Annual report of the mission to the Aborigines New South Wales, 1837, in N. Gunson (ed), *Australian reminiscences and papers of L.E. Threlkeld, missionary to the Aborigines, 1824–1859*, Canberra 1974, 138. The recent estimates are in Butlin, *Our original aggression*, 147.
- 22 The economic base of the advance of the pastoral frontier is discussed in ch 4 of this book.
- ENCOUNTERS
- 24 For a general account of the British invasion of the Port Phillip region see M. Christie, *Aborigines in colonial Victoria 1835–1886*, Sydney 1979. The version of Hawdon's journal used here is published as *The journal of a journey from New South Wales to Adelaide (the capital of South Australia) performed in 1838 by Mr Joseph Hawdon*, Melbourne 1952. The quotations from Hawdon are taken from this book. His journey has been discussed by S. Hemming, 'Conflict between Aborigines and Europeans along the Murray from the Darling to the great south bend, 1830–1841', BA hons thesis 1982, University of Adelaide. J. Penney made available work-in-progress at La Trobe University. S. Hallam, 'A view from the other side of the western frontier: or "I met a man who wasn't there"', *Aboriginal history* 7, 1983, is an introduction to Aboriginal expectations at first meetings; and see G. Hibbins 'Close encounters: a plea to read the overlanders', *Push* 9, 1981.
See *ADB* for the lives of Hawdon and Bonney. For Grey's evocation of the 'overlanders' see his *Journals of two expeditions of discovery in northwest and western Australia during the years 1837, 38, and 39*, 2, London 1841, ch 7.
- 24–5 Grey, *Two expeditions* vol 2, 185, is the source of the quotation romanticising conflict between overlanders and Aborigines.
- 25–9 The journey to visit the 'First North Tribe' is described in Grey, *Two expeditions* vol 1, ch 13. His exploration of the Glenelg River in the northwest is described in *Two expeditions* vol 1, chs 3–10, and also in J.L. Stokes, *Discoveries in Australia* 1, London 1846.
- 30 The history of the Nyungar language group is documented in N. Green, *Nyungar—the people: Aboriginal customs in the southwest of Australia*, Perth 1979, who brings together the researches of Moore, Lyon, Armstrong and other early friends of the Nyungar. Grey's own observations are to be found in *Two expeditions* vol 2. C.T. Stannage, *A new history of Western Australia*, Perth 1981, contains three papers on the prehistory and early contact history of the Swan River area, by I. Crawford, S. Hallam and N. Green. S. Hallam, *Fire and hearth: a study of Aboriginal usage and European usurpation*, Canberra 1975, is a study of landuse, language and rituals of the Nyungar; Hallam, 'A view from the other side', considers Grey's journey in a wider perspective. N. Green, 'Aboriginal and settler conflict in Western Australia, 1826–1852', *Push* 3, 1979, chronicles all deaths and woundings of black and white to 1838 and after.
For the intricacies of Jenna's family relationships and the web of revenge killings see Grey's genealogical appendix to his *Two expeditions* vol 2, 391–4; R.H.W. Reece, '“Laws of the white people”: the frontier of authority in Perth in

- 1838', *Push* 17, 1984; and L. Tindale and S. Hallam (eds), *The dictionary of Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia* (in publication).
- 30-1 Grey describes Warrup's musical sensitivity in *Two expeditions* vol 2, 305. His teleological explanation of Aboriginal society is *ibid*, vol 2, ch 10.
- 34-6 Hallam, 'View from the other side', explains implications of the meeting ceremony that escaped Grey. Hallam, *Fire and hearth*, discusses the European as *djanga*. See ch 5, 'People meeting', for the parallel South Australian belief.
- DISPOSSESSION
- 36-7 The reconstruction of events on the Namoi and Gwydir rivers is drawn from a number of primary sources, including: 'Copies of extracts of despatches relative to the massacre of various Aborigines of "Australia" in the year 1838, and respecting the trial of their murderers', BrPP, 1839, 34/526; Gunson (ed), *Australian reminiscences*; 'Deposition of inquiry re collision between mounted police under J.W. Nunn and aborigines', enclosure A6, to Minute no 20 of 1839 in Gipps to Glenelg, 22 July 1839, HRA 1/19, 250-6; J. Calvert, 'Description of a map of the five northern districts beyond the boundary of location in New South Wales, 1844, 1845 and 1846', CY Reel 373, ML; A. Paterson to col sec, 6 Dec 1837, printed in 'Copies of extracts of despatches'; W. Gardner, 'Productions and resources of the northern and western districts of New South Wales, 1842-54', ms A2176, ML. R.H.W. Reece, *Aborigines and colonists: Aborigines and colonial society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s*, Sydney 1974, is an account of events in the northeast in 1837-38. See also D. Denholm, 'The Myall Creek massacre', *Push* 9, 1981; B. Wilson, 'Edward Denny Day's investigations at Myall Creek', *Push* 20, 1985; N. Townsend, 'Masters and men and the Myall Creek massacre', *ibid*; and R. Millis, 'How the North was won: the Aboriginal wars of 1825-38', *National Times*, 22-8 Mar 1985.
- 38 This reading of the locations and relationships of the Aborigines of the Gwydir and Namoi rivers agrees substantially with that proposed by Tindale, *Aboriginal tribes*, and developed by Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 34-5.
- 38-9 The account of the white invasion of the area in the mid-1830s is drawn from Calvert, 'Description of a map', and Gardner, 'Productions and resources'.
- 40 The incident at Terry Hie Hie is described in Paterson's letter of 6 Dec 1837, printed in 'Copies of extracts of despatches'. Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 43, uses the 'Report of the committee on police and gaols', NSWLC V&P 1839, 2.
- 41 Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 30, cites Scott's and Glennie's letters. Snodgrass's response is as Nunn remembered it, HRA 1/20, 250.
- 41-3 Nunn's campaign' is recounted here mainly from his own and Cobban's depositions given at Merton in Apr and May 1839, and reprinted in 'Copies of extracts of despatches'. For Doherty's burial see the inquiry into Nunn's activities, HRA 1/20, 250.
- 44 Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 33, cites SMH, 2 July 1849, as the source of the 'crows in trees' account. See Millis, 'How the North was won', for the identification of Snodgrass Lagoon.
- 45 Gunson (ed), *Australian reminiscences*, 275, is the source of Nunn's boast at Cobb's.
- 45-6 Names and locations of Aboriginal landowning groups are taken in the first instance from Tindale, *Aboriginal tribes*, qualified here by the research of D. Barwick and M. Fels. See M. Aveling, 'Nanny', in M. Lake and F. Kelly (eds), *Double time: women in Victoria*, Melbourne 1985, for the Waveroo and their connections. For the March meeting on the Yarra see Thomas's detailed account of annual meetings during the 1840s in T.F. Bride, *Letters from Victorian pioneers*, Melbourne 1969. E.S. Parker's diary for 1841 records his refusal to allow 'his people'—the Ngurelban and Jajowrung—to attend the March meeting; see E. Morrison, *Early days in the Loddon valley*, Yandoit 1966, 55-6. G. Langhorne describes the 1839 meeting in his mission report for March 1839, in HRV 2A, 236. Langhorne was too new to the job to know what was happening in March 1838.
- Hepburn's account is in Bride, *Letters*, 67-8. The estimate of flocks and herds on the Goulburn is compiled mainly from *ibid* and from J.O. Randell, *Pastoral settlement in northern Victoria* 1, Melbourne 1979.
- 47 Thomas describes the organisation, conduct and layout of the annual camps in Bride, *Letters*, 429-34.
- The squatter expansion in the Port Phillip district is detailed in R.V. Billis and A.S. Kenyon, *Pastoral pioneers of Port Phillip*, Melbourne 1938, and mapped in J.M. Powell, 'The squatting occupation of Victoria, 1834-60', *Australian geographical studies* 7, 1969. HRV 2A, iv, details 'incidents' between black and white in 1837 and 1838. See also Bride, *Letters*.
- 47-8 This account of the founding of the Vic Native Police draws heavily on work-in-progress by M. Fels. HRV 2A, iii, contains most of the documents relevant to the establishment of the government mission and the native police. For the 'white money' spent at the bakers see HRV 2A, 235-6. For the corps' reported rejection of Aboriginality see Lonsdale to col sec, 28 Oct 1837, HRV 2A, 250.
- 48 Nannymoon's story is told in HRV 2A, 288-9.
- Bride, *Letters*, 217-18, gives a history of the Faithfulls. Townsend, 'Masters and men' draws the connections between the Faithfulls' early experience and their attitude to the Aborigines. See also W.P. Faithfull in ADB.
- 48-9 For the Waveroo and the overlanders see Aveling, 'Nanny'. Randell, *Pastoral settlement*, 105-6, describes Mollison and Jimmy at Bontherambo, and the honesty of the Waveroo, 112.
- 49-50 The statement of Drain, sworn at Yass in June 1838, HRV 2A, 331, reveals that the Faithfull party was accompanied by Aborigines from the Murray. All the details about Crossley's party, its relations with the Aborigines and the attack, are taken from the depositions in HRV 2A, 314-17. T. Walker, *A month in the bush of Australia*, London 1838, 26, describes the Broken River in May 1837.
- 50 McKay's certainty is conveyed in a letter to W. Broughton on 15 May 1838, HRV 2A, 330. His reminiscences in Bride, *Letters*, 211-13, give more detail, and confused dates. Faithfull and White's appeals and the official responses are published in HRV 2A, 319-25. Smyth's account of the reprisal is in HRV 2A, 321. Drain describes the retreat to Yass, McKay tells of his neighbours' flight, and Stewart found the Ovens runs deserted, in HRV 2A, 330-2.
- 50-1 Bowman is described in Randell, *Pastoral settlement*. Hepburn tells his own story in Bride, *Letters*, 59-81.

- 51-2 Bowman's troubles, Lonsdale's comments, and the tale of the sheep-folder natives appear in *HRV* 2A, 335-40.
 - 52-4 E.S. Parker reported the rumour of Bowman's ongoing murders in his journal, 30 June 1839, in Morrison, *Early days*. 'Waterloo Flat or Plains' is quoted from local tradition, *ibid*. G.A. Robinson referred to 'Waterloo plains' in his journal for January 1840, and also reported his meetings with Jajowrung and Ngurelban people in the area, who identified the Taungerong as enemies. Hutton, Bowman's neighbour, told Robinson that his run was claimed by the Taungerong as their country; see 'Journals of George Augustus Robinson, January-March 1840', in G. Presland (ed), *Records of the Victorian archaeological survey* 5, 1977, 7, 23.
 - 54 Some of the sources for the unofficial tour of the native police are published in *HRV* 2A, 291-302. For Langhorne and de Villiers' quarrels see *HRV* 2A, 257-63.

M. Fels, 'A sequence of Aboriginal experiences in 1838, centred on Nairn', *Aboriginal history* 9, 1985, cites the complaint of Lonsdale's trooper. Lonsdale's solution is in his report to the col sec, 11 May 1838, *HRV* 2A, 298.
 - 54-5 The reconstruction of events on the Gwydir in mid-1838 is drawn from some of the primary sources listed above: 'Copies of extracts of despatches'; Gunson (ed), *Australian reminiscences*; Calvert, 'Description of a map' and Gardner, 'Productions and resources'. See also 'Evidence of murder' (evidence taken by Day in his preliminary inquiry into the Myall Creek massacre, 1838), *Push* 20, 1985; and precis of communication from Mr. Mayne, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Protector of the Aborigines, 27 Jan 1839, 4/2438.2, AONSW. Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, remains the central secondary source, with the additions of Denholm, 'Myall Creek', Townsend, 'Masters and men', and Wilson, 'Investigations at Myall Creek'.
 - 55 Townsend, 'Masters and men', gives biographical details on all the white men involved in the Myall Creek massacre. Reid's and Burrows' statements in court are included in 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 42-3.
 - 56 Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 35, describes the discovery of the site of the Kwiambal ceremonial grounds near Myall Creek. Eaton's evidence was given to Day, 'Evidence of murder'.
 - 56-7 The reconstruction of events at Myall Creek before the massacre is taken mainly from the evidence of Hobbs and Anderson, in 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 38-43. Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, gives more details. The term 'naturalized' is Anderson's description of Davy, from his court evidence, 51.

Mace's and Foster's evidence is in 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 43, 37; Murphy's in 'Evidence of murder'.
 - 58 The round-up is described in Anderson's court evidence, 42-3, and with a few additional details, in another report dated 7 Dec 1838, and included in 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 51-2.

Davy's evidence, cited by Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 39, is drawn from Gunson (ed), *Australian reminiscences*. The death by fire is mentioned in the detailed charges made against the defendants in the first trial, and repeated in Burton's report of the trial written on 13 December; 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 49.

Bates remembered Parry's remark, and Mace the talk of horses, both in 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 43.
 - 58-9 Anderson's statement within the report, dated 13 Jan, details the conversations about the gin, the fire to bury them and Fleming's order to Kilmeister, see 'Copies of extracts of despatches', 53. For Eaton's evidence see 'Evidence of murder'.
 - 60 See Hobbs's and Foster's evidence to the court. For Foot's willingness to act see 'Evidence of murder'. Townsend, 'Masters and men', discusses Fleming's escape.
 - 61 For examples of the vilification of the Aborigines see *SH*, 19 and 28 Nov.
- ### 3. FAMILIES
- 69-70 The report of the immigration committee, together with evidence, appendices, and the replies to the committee's circular letter, are published in NSWLC *V&P* in 1838. Warren is *ibid*, 202, Crawford, 148. R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia 1788-1857*, London 1837, has the most complete discussion of immigration policy and debate for this period.
 - 70 Robert Crawford wrote of the undesirable 'boon to posterity' in the immigration committee evidence, 148. The colonial ratios of men, women and children are calculated from estimates arrived at by C. Caldwell in his '1838 research paper' (unpublished).
 - 70-1 The comments on young women come from the report of the immigration committee, 6. The immigration agent was James Lawrence: see evidence, 10.
 - 71 Family emigration is discussed especially in the report, *ibid* 11-12.
- ### INFANCY
- 72 B. Hardy, *Lament for the Barkendji*, Adelaide 1976, describes infancy among them.
 - 72-3 Spencer and his parents, and Hall, are included in P. Statham, *Dictionary of Western Australians 1829-1914*, 1, Perth 1979.
 - 73 A.T. Atkinson has calculated the numbers of white babies born in WA from the registers.

F.K. Crowley, 'Master and servant in Western Australia 1829-1851', *Early days* 40/5, 1953, describes indenture to WA and the failure of Peel's venture. See also M. Anderson, 'Social control theory: one perspective on social relationships in Australia in 1838', *Push* 6, 1980.
 - 74 The lives of boatmen and their wives can be reconstructed from Statham, *Dictionary of W.A.* Anderson, 'Marriage and children in Western Australia', in P. Grimshaw *et al* (eds), *Families in colonial Australia*, Sydney 1985, has average ages for marriage and first childbearing for WA in the 1840s. Housing in Fremantle is described in M. Pitt Morison and J. White, 'Builders and building', in C.T. Stannage (ed), *A new history of Western Australia*, Perth 1981.
 - 75 F.B. Smith, *The people's health 1830-1910*, Canberra 1979, chs 1 and 2, describes English ways of giving birth and caring for newborn infants.
 - 75-6 Randell appears in Depositions, no 17, May 1838, Penrith, Box 9/6314, AONSW. The letter of the local coroner, C. King, is enclosed, *ibid*.
 - 76-7 Mrs Barfoot's advertisement appeared in the supplement of *Hobart Town Courier*, 3 Feb 1837.
 - 77-8 Anne Deas Thomson's childbearing history has been reconstructed from Bourke papers, mss 403/5-6, ML. Susan Emmeline's birth is described in E. Deas Thomson to Sir R. Bourke, 25 July 1838, mss 403/6, ML, published

- in *Push* 1, 1978. See also S.G. Foster, *Colonial improver: Edward Deas Thomson 1800–1879*, Melbourne 1978.
- 78 Teats, breast pumps, etc were advertised in *Tasmanian and Austral-Asiatic review*, 19 Oct. M. Belcher, 'The child in New South Wales society: 1820 to 1837', PhD thesis 1982, University of New England, 82–7, discusses breastfeeding and the alternatives, and the fear of moral tainting through breast milk. Anne Deas Thomson told her father about her convict wetnurse on 15 Sept 1838, mss 403/5, ML. Smith, *The people's health*, discusses wetnursing and moral contagion in London, 71–2, and care of the mother after the delivery, 26–7. Dickens' Pip in *Great expectations* was brought up 'by hand' and never allowed to forget it. Mary Phoebe Broughton's diary is mss 756, ML.
- 78–9 The extract from Eliza Malpas's diary is A736 B2, SA Archives.
- 79 Sin and baptism are explained in 'The ministration of public baptism of infants' in the *Book of common prayer*. Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', ch 1, discusses these ideas in NSW.
- 80 A.T. Atkinson has calculated and compared marriages and baptism of firstborn for SA, NSW, VDL and several rural English parishes.
The official total of births in NSW for 1838 is given in R. Mansfield, *Analytical view of the census of New South Wales for the year 1841*, Sydney 1841, 51; the same source gives the official count of immigrant children for that year. Belcher calculates the birth rate in 'The child in NSW society', 338–9.
- 82 Fertility and child mortality rates are discussed in Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', especially appendix A; also in B. Gandevia, *Tears often shed: child health and welfare in Australia from 1788*, Sydney 1977, and J.H. Cumpston 'Public health in Australia: the second period 1830–1850', *Medical J of Australia* 1, 1931. For precocious children see Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', 40, 61.
Belcher's analysis, *ibid*, 339–49 of the colonial child mortality rates, is followed here. He calculates the death rate within colonial families from the 1828 census and from the Mutch index, 1828–41, *ibid*, 330–1. His discussion of weaning is *ibid*, 86–8.
- 82–3 There are three contemporary sources for children on immigrant ships in 1837–38; appendix C of the report of the immigration committee, 1838, which purports to give numbers of all assisted immigrant children arriving between Jan 1837 and June 1838, plus deaths; appendix F of the same report, giving only government ships with the totals per ship of children embarking and dying on the voyage; and a 'Return of immigrants ... in vessels chartered by government ... 30th Sept 1838', published in the NSWLC *V&P* 1839, giving for government ships births and deaths on board and after landing, and other details such as type of disease. The last of these is republished in *Push* 5, 1979, with a commentary by Bryan Gandevia. The figures in these three sources are in some ways inconsistent; appendix F is probably the most reliable.
- 83–4 Details on the Wheelers and the other *Layton* families were gathered by A.T. Atkinson from the records of births, deaths and marriages and papers on emigrants from Bisley to NSW, 1837, pu 7a/ o v 8/1, County Record Office, Gloucester; and agents immigration lists A4/4831, AONSW.
Conditions on the *Layton* are reconstructed from surgeons' accounts of other vessels in 1837–38, given in evidence to the NSWLC immigration committee, 1838.
- 84–5 The death and funeral of Henry Lister is described in Joseph Fowles diary, June 1838, mss b 1310, ML.
- CHILDHOOD
- 85 Macarthur's evidence to the NSWLC immigration committee is at 16–20. He describes there his family's general policy on the employment of immigrants, as well as the specific case of the *Layton* migrants.
- 86 The employment of the Wheelers and the other Bisley families at Camden Park is reconstructed from the Camden Park account books, mss A4187 and A4188, 1838, and from the Camden Park day book 1837, A4178, ML. See also A.T. Atkinson, 'Master and servant at Camden Park, 1838, from the estate papers', *Push* 6, 1980.
For Macarthur's annoyance at the fever see Anne Deas Thomson to Bourke, 18 Mar 1838, mss 403/5, ML.
- 86–7 For the Wheeler wedding see p 415 of this volume.
- 87 Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', ch 4, discusses the reluctance of colonial parents to put their children into paid employment. George Townshend's evidence to the NSWLC immigration committee is at 199, Thomas Hynds' 212, Thomas Cowlshaw's and David Taylor's, the masons, at 64 and 96–7.
- 88 Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', analyses colonial living costs and wages, 215–17. For the size of colonial families see *ibid* 163–4; for the distribution of families by occupation 122 and 146; and for the distribution of large families, 148.
George Brooks told the immigration committee about animal husbandry and children, 124. Alexander Harris, *Settlers and convicts*, London 1847, tells of colonial daughters working in their brothers' clothes.
- 89 For the description of the relations of convict father and free son, *ibid*, 92.
On the discipline of children, Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', 38, cites Eleanor Stephen to her mother, 3 Aug 1840, Stephen family letters, mss 777/6, 35–7, ML; *ibid* 50, Harriet King to her husband, 1827, Letters of Harriet King, mss 3793, 42, ML and *ibid*, 44, Arthur Willmott's 'Copy book'.
- 89–90 William Macarthur described accommodation for tenants at Camden Park to the immigration committee, 20. Evidence given in depositions presented to the supreme court, some of them discussed later in this book, give fragments of information about the sleeping and living habits of the poor.
- 91 For boys' boarding schools see ch 10, 'Present and future', and A.T. Atkinson, 'Some documents and data from the King's School Parramatta', *Push* 4, 1979. B. Earnshaw, 'The colonial children', *Push* 9, 1981 describes the education and entertainment of children, the fate of apprentices in general and of Quinn and his fellows in particular.
- 91–3 Sources for the Quinn story are Male Orphan School admission books, C200 ML; NSW GG 23 July 1834; col sec to crown solicitor, 27 Oct 1838, 4/3745, 389, AONSW; Richard Sadlier to col sec 8 Oct 1838, Male Orphan School letter book, C201 ML; NSW GG 1838, book 2, 854, 881 ML; *Commercial journal*, 24 Oct.
- 93 M. Belcher, 'Children and the law in early New South Wales', *Push* 18, 1984, discusses children's ambivalent legal position.

- 93-4 Evidence on age at marriage comes from M. Anderson, 'Marriage and children in Western Australia, 1842-49', in Grimshaw *et al* (eds), *Families*.
 - 94-5 For Mary Phoebe Broughton and her sister's 'coming out' see, M.P. Broughton diary, part 2, 1837-38, mss 756, ML; W. Burton to Mitchell, 16 Sept 1844, James Mitchell papers, A2026, 188, ML; *Commercial Journal*, 26 May; diary of Sarah Broughton, part 2, G. 909, NLA. The Queen's birthday actually fell on 19 May. The Rev J. McGarvie mentioned Reginald Gipps in his letter to T. Barker, 23 May 1838, mss 3603, 1/1, NLA.
- COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE
- 95 Idalia appeared in *Literary News*, 6 Jan.
 - 96 The Bachelors Ball was featured in *Southern Australian* 18 Aug.
'X.Y.Z.' advertised in *SA Gazette* 10 Mar.
 - 96-7 The description of the SA population in 1838 is drawn from government returns and shipping records.
 - 97 Charles Folland's reminiscences are at 172, SA Archives.
 - 98 The story of John Parker comes from his letter to Henry Wrigley, 9 Jun 1838, GRG 24/1/1838/131, and 'State of Her Majesty's gaol at Adelaide', 5 Aug 1838, GRG 24/1/1838/154 A, SA Archives.
 - 98-9 Rates of marriage, baptism and premarital pregnancy have been calculated from the SA registers of marriage and baptism, and comparable records from Beckley and Cranbourne Chase in England.
 - 99 Attitudes to marriage in the convict colonies are discussed in three articles by S. Wilson, A.T. Atkinson and M. Aveling in *Push* 2, 1978. King's comment is cited in P.F. MacDonald, *Marriage in Australia*, Canberra 1975, 29.
 - 99-100 The observer was J. West, *The history of Tasmania*, 2, Launceston 1862, 141. M. Aveling, 'She only married to be free', *Push* 2, 1978, discusses the benefits to women of open relationships; M.B. Schedvin, 'Further reflections on Cleopatra's nose', *Push* 4, 1979, questions such benefits. Belcher 'The child in NSW society', 173, compares convict and immigrant single mothers.
 - 100 See evidence given to the H of C select committee on transportation, for Lang, *BrPP*, 1837, 19/518, 256-7; for Ullathorne, *BrPP*, 1837-38, 22/669, 35; for Mudie, *BrPP*, 1837, 19/518, 102.
 - 100-1 The discussion of convict attitudes to courtship and marriage is based on A.T. Atkinson, 'Convicts and courtship', in Grimshaw *et al* (eds), *Families*.
 - 101 Mudie tells this story in *The felonry of New South Wales*, London 1837.
 - 101-2 For the case of O'Hare see W. MacPherson to J. McEnroe, 5 Aug 1837, 4/2346, AONSW.
 - 102 Penelope Burke's case can be found in the Muswellbrook bench book, 9 Oct 1832-36, 4/5599, AONSW, and the assistant col sec to the bench at Merton, 21 Dec 1832, 32/895, 4/3833, AONSW; published in Aveling 'She only married to be free'. Joanna Callaghan is to be met with in H. Fulton's two applications on her behalf, 22 Jan and 16 Feb 1838, 4/2443.6, AONSW.
K. McNab and R. Ward first discussed the marrying habits of the native born in 'The nature and nurture of the first generation of native-born Australians', *Hist stud* 10/19, 1962.
 - 102-3 The Wimeswould affair is documented in Joseph Devick's application to marry and accompanying papers, May 1838, 4/2390.992, AONSW.
 - 103 For Murray and Freeman see A. De Metz to gov, 14 Apr 1838, and application papers, 4/2391.2, AONSW.
 - 104 For Mary Davis and Mr Wright see the diary of Mary Phoebe Broughton, mss 756, Feb-Sept, ML.
 - 104-5 James Macarthur's courtship is discussed by the Wilson and Atkinson articles in *Push* 2, 1978, and see the relevant documents published there, 77-86.
 - 105 Beilby's will is held in the records of the NSW Supreme Court, Probate, Series 1:930.
- MAKING A FAMILY
- 106 For the uses of marriage see the first address in the 'Form of the solemnization of matrimony', in the *Book of common prayer*.
 - 106-7 Mary and Richard Davies are called by a pseudonym. The sources of evidence of their lives are mainly contained in the ML and AONSW. For further particulars refer to the editors.
See M. Anderson, 'Women in mid-nineteenth century Western Australia', in P. Crawford (ed), *Exploring women's past*, Melbourne 1983, for a discussion of contraceptive practices and gynaecological complications.
 - 109 The commentary is in C. Wheatly, *A rational illustration of the book of common prayer*, London 1710 (still in print in 1838). The sections concerning marriage are reprinted in Aveling 'She only married to be free'.
Harris, *Settlers and convicts*, 67, describes Nance or Nelly.
 - 110 Michael Power's case was reported in *SG*, 24 Feb. Mary Bowman's account of her marriage was written to James Macarthur after her husband's death, 14 Jan 1847, A4285, ML. It is cited in A.T. Atkinson, 'The moral basis of marriage', *Push* 2, 1978, 111.
 - 110-12 The story of Elizabeth Power is reconstructed from accounts in *SG* 24, 25 Feb, republished with commentary in *Push* 16, 1983 as 'Document: the tale of an errant wife'; and the depositions, no 59, Jan 1838, Windsor, 9/6314, AONSW.
 - 113 Warby's gravestone inscription is from L. Gilbert, *A grave look at history*, Sydney 1980, 86.
Anderson, 'Marriage and children' calculates the chances of a marriage being broken by the death of one partner. Belcher, 'The child in NSW society', ch 3, looks at death rates.
James and Matilda Anlezark are discussed at more length in ch 6 of this book.
 - 113-14 The 1838 diary of Eleanor (Bedford) Stephen is reproduced and discussed in B. Austin, 'A Tasmanian step-mother', *Push* 11, 1981.
 - 114 Research on John and Catherine Montgomery was done by Sandra Blair. Their story is reconstructed from notices in *SG*, 4-15 Sept, from 1837 shipping records, and from Montgomery's gravestone inscription, which is recorded in K.A. Johnson and M.R. Sainty, *Gravestone inscriptions, NSW*, Sydney 1973, 62. The *Southern Australian*, 22 Dec, carried a similar appeal on behalf of 'the Widow and Family of the late Joseph Barnett'.
For Elizabeth Macarthur's widowhood see H. King, 'An upper crust colonial widow: Elizabeth Macarthur, 1834-1850', *Push* 3, 1979.
4. WORK
- THE NEEDS OF WORKING PEOPLE
- 119-20 The story of Mungra and Bruce is told in *SA Gazette*, 22

- Sept. For the arrival of the *Peter Proctor* see its manifest, accession 743, SA Archives. Bruce imported 500 rupees by the *Emerald Isle*, which arrived in July, manifest, accession 743, SA Archives. This would have represented nearly six months' wages for his party. The planter quoted was Mackay, speaking before the committee on immigration, 6 June 1837, NSWLC V&P 1837, 631. The story of early Asian labour in the Australian colonies has been told by C.A. Price, *The great white walls are built: restrictive immigration to North America and Australasia 1836–1888*, Canberra 1974, 38–52; and A. Dwight, 'The use of Indian labourers in New South Wales', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 62, 1976.
- 120 Details of Indian immigration and labour in NSW are to be found in Dwight, 'Indian labourers'; see also *Australian*, 26 and 29 Dec 1837, 6 Nov. Lord's comment appears in his evidence before the committee on immigration, 25 June 1841, NSWLC V&P 1841, minutes of evidence 8–11. The bricklayer is quoted, without date, by M. Bassett, *The Hentys: an Australian colonial tapestry*, Melbourne 1955 (1954), 136.
- 121 For the community established by the Australian Agricultural Society see J.F. Atchison, 'Port Stephens and Goonoo Goonoo—a review of the early period of the Australian Agricultural Company', PhD thesis 1973, Australian National University; and K.G. Laycock, 'Barnes—an Australian Agricultural Company family', MLitt thesis 1984, University of New England. The VDL Company is dealt with by K.R. von Stieglitz, *A short history of Circular Head and its pioneers; also of the Van Diemen's Land Company*, Launceston 1952. For indentured labour in WA see F.K. Crowley, 'Master and servant in Western Australia 1829–1851', *Early days* 4, 1953; T.W. Mazzarol, 'Tradition, environment and the indentured labourer in early Western Australia', *Studies in Western Australian history* 3, 1978; and M. Grellier, 'Social control theory: one perspective on social relations in Australia in 1838', *Push* 6, 1980.
- 122 The Indians at Albany were mentioned by J.G. Collins in his evidence before the committee on immigration, 7 June 1837, NSWLC V&P 1837, 633. See also D.S. Garden, *Albany: a panorama of the Sound from 1827*, Melbourne 1977, 43–4, 55. For Prinsep's scheme see *Perth Gazette*, 10 Feb 1838; A.C. Staples, 'The Prinsep estate in Western Australia', *Early days* 5, 1955. See also T. Walker's evidence before the committee on immigration, 20 Aug 1838, NSWLC V&P 1838, 73–4; and 'An Old Indian' to editor, *SH*, 9 Nov.
- The hopes of landowners in VDL are recorded by G. Best, a carpenter near Launceston, in his draft of a letter to 'My Dear Anderson', written between May 1837 and Jan 1838, ms 8848, La Trobe Library.
- For Davidson's plan to bring in Chinese labourers see the notices in *SH*, 28 June and 4 July; and his book, *Trade and travel in the far east*, London 1846, 47, 203–5. For New Zealanders and Pacific Islanders see *SH*, 25 July.
- 123 The Macarthurs' indentured labour system is described in A.T. Atkinson, 'Camden: the initial arcady', *Time remembered* 2, 1978. Some of the legal aspects of indentures were discussed in a court case reported in *SG*, 25 Dec. For assisted immigration in the 1830s see R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia 1788–1851*, Sydney 1969 (1937), 88–168; and R. Schultz, 'Immigration into eastern Australia', *Hist stud* 14, 1970. See also P. Burroughs, *Britain and Australia 1831–1855: a study in imperial relations and crown lands administration*, Oxford 1967.
- Noonan and Douglass appear at loggerheads in *SH*, 7 June, and *SG*, 9 June. For male apprentices making nuisances of themselves see *SG*, 1 May, and for a particular example of ill-disciplined apprentices see *SH*, 20 July.
- 124 James Macarthur commented on convict labour in his evidence before the H of C select committee on transportation, 19 May 1837, BrPP 1837, 19/518, 164. 9 Geo 4, no 9, passed the NSWLC on 17 July 1828.
- A.T. Atkinson gives a brief account of the Camden Park establishment in 'Master and servant at Camden Park 1838, from the estate papers', *Push* 6, 1980; see also the Camden Park account books for this period, mss, A4178, A4187, A4188, ML. For the comment on Cassilis see the evidence of G.M.C. Bowen before the committee on police and gaols, 1 Oct 1839, NSWLC V&P, 2, 1839, 508.
- The VDL Act 'to consolidate the laws relating to apprentices and servants' was 1 Vic, no 15, passed on 27 Nov 1837. It was disallowed and replaced by a new act of the same title in 1840 (4 Vic, no 12).
- 125 The SA Act 'for the summary determination of all disputes between masters and servants' was 7 Gul 4, no 3. For Nicholls' speech see *SA Gazette*, 16 June. In Dec Lord Glenelg, the secretary of state, notified Gawler that the act had been disallowed. The details are discussed in J. Cashen, 'Masters and servants in early South Australia', *Push* 6, 1980. The attorney-general of VDL made his comment on the severity of the local act in the debate on its second reading, reported in *Hobart Town Courier*, 8 Dec 1837.
- The assault by the German labourers and the subsequent strike among the employees of the SA Company on Kangaroo Island is described by McLaren in his letter to E. Wheeler, 21 Feb, BRG/42/9, SA Archives. The recurring problems of the Company, the account of the young men wanting to leave the island and the talk of mutiny are in McLaren to Wheeler, 4 Oct, BRG/42/9, and W. Giles to McLaren, 8 June and 7 Sept, BRG/42/34, SA Archives. A summary of the situation may be found in the *3rd report of the South Australian Company*, London 1839, 17.
- THE NEEDS OF EMPLOYERS
- 126 The reports for Evandale (Morven) and Westbury are at CSO 49/7, AOTas. Information about individuals listed therein has been gathered by Margaret Glover in the AOTas.
- For Dry and Quamby see A.D. Baker, *The life and times of Sir Richard Dry*, Hobart 1951, 40.
- 127 The *Bussorah Merchant* arrived at Hobart Town in Jan 1838, but it is unclear what happened to the passengers. There is no evidence to link the community at Clarendon with the shipment by the *Bussorah Merchant*, but Cox made a point in later years of settling free immigrant families of this kind on the estate. See W. Henty, *On improvement in cottage husbandry*, Launceston [1851], which dates Cox's scheme to about 1846. For the Camden Park details see Atkinson, 'Camden' and 'Master and servant'.
- 127–8 Glover's establishment at Patterdale is described in a series of letters from John Glover junior to his sister Mary Bowles, written between 20 Feb 1831 and 13 Dec 1840, Ag 35, ML.
- 128 For the discipline of convict domestic servants see T. Rayner, 'Master and servant in the New Norfolk magistrates court', *Push* 6, 1980. For the position of convict women in domestic service see K. Alford, *Production or reproduction? An economic history of women in Australia*,

- 1788–1850, Melbourne 1984, 166–70; and see also A.T. Atkinson, 'Four patterns of convict protest', *Labour history* 37, 1979, 36–7.
- For Camden Park see Atkinson, 'Master and servant'. For the situation in WA see T.W. Mazzarol, 'Tradition, environment and the indentured labourer'; and Grellier, 'Social control theory'.
- WORK IN THE TOWNS
- 129 The preponderance of carpenters and other building workers in the urban workforce can be deduced from immigrant shipping lists. See for instance *Australian*, 2 Feb, and from later tallies of the unemployed, in the report from the select committee on the petition from distressed mechanics and labourers, 1843, NSWLC V&P 1843.
- R. Gouger, *South Australia in 1837*, London 1838, 68–72, describes shelter in Adelaide. A Manning house is described in J.C. Loudon, *An encyclopaedia of cottage, farm and villa architecture*, London 1836, 251–6. Crawford and Co. advertised in *Southern Australian*, 29 Sept.
- 130 R. Ward, *The Australian legend*, Melbourne 1958, 87–8, enumerates the uses of stringybark. T. Dyster, *Pump in the roadway*, Adelaide 1980, 17–31, introduces the tiersmen. Letters from a runaway sailor are printed in E. Richards, 'A voice from below: Benjamin Boyce in South Australia, 1839–1846', *Labour history* 27, 1974. Ships' cargoes are reported regularly in the newspapers of all colonies; the information about tonnage appeared in *Southern Australian*, 23 June.
- 131 Newman wrote his recollections in 1887, D4411, SA Archives.
- 131–2 For Hack's building program see particularly his letters to his mother, 15 July 1838, 30 Dec 1838, Hack correspondence, A3040, ML. Pitman's letters to his family in England are reprinted in D. Packham (ed), *The Australians of a branch of the Pitman family*, London 1954, 144. The long quotation comes from a letter to his sister, 12 Aug 1838, 152. The SA Builders' Trades Union Society advertised in *Southern Australian*, 2 June 1838, 3 Apr 1839, 1 May 1839. The Adelaide newspapers are full of accounts of subdivision; Payneham, the Adelaide New Land Company, Hindmarsh and others are all advertised, for example, in *Southern Australian*, 13 Oct. See also R. Parsons, *Hindmarsh Town*, Adelaide 1974. Pitman describes the emigrant barracks in a letter to his brother Isaac, 10 June 1838, Packham, *Pitman family*, 148–9.
- 132 The demand in Port Phillip for building workers was reported in VDL and NSW papers, for example *Hobart Town Courier*, 19 Jan, 13 Apr, and *SH*, 30 Apr, 29 Oct. See ch 5, 'Markets', for Melbourne land sales.
- 132–3 The Act for regulating buildings and party-walls, and for preventing mischiefs by fire, in the town of Sydney, was printed in the NSW GG 1837, 659–81, and the amending act in the GG 1838, 1040–2. A select committee heard evidence against the first act in June and July, and its report and the evidence is found in NSWLC V&P 1838.
- 133–6 L. Thomas, 'The development of the labour movement in the Sydney district of NSW', MA thesis 1919, University of Sydney; reprinted Labour History Society, Canberra 1962, is a useful source for the formation of trade unions in Sydney, and for an introduction to the Australian Union Benefit Society. Cowlishaw described the society in evidence given to the committee on immigration, 20 Aug 1838, NSWLC V&P 1838, 883. The wood turners' petition, 16 Apr 1838, is 4/2392.4, AONSW. Societies formed by men in the Sydney building trades are mentioned in SG, 16 July 1831, 23 July 1835, 18, 25 Apr 1840, *Australasian Chronicle*, 12 Mar 1840, 12 May 1840. The Hobart Town carpenters' society placed an advertisement in *Hobart Town Courier*, 19 Aug 1836. The Maitland society was reported in *Australian*, 16 Feb. The SG carries material on the compositors, 7 Apr 1836, 10 May, the coachmakers 7 Jan 1837, and the shipwrights 15 June 1839.
- 136–7 The *Hobart Town Courier*, 7, 14, 21 Mar 1834, was sympathetic to the unemployed tailors, but *Colonial Times*, 18 Mar 1834, was hostile. Maelzer's advertisement appeared in *Australian*, 13 Mar.
- For the uses of the Wellington Rivulet see R.J. Solomon, *Urbanisation: the evolution of an Australian capital*, Sydney 1976, 49, and for the water situation in Sydney, SG, 3 Nov.
- 138 Cooke's letter was printed in Gouger, *South Australia in 1837*, 106. Hugh Watson wrote about his wife and himself in a letter to his parents, 9 Sept 1839, D6075(L), SA Archives.
- WORK ON THE SEAS
- 138 Mort described the sailor's lot in his shipboard diary, entry for 6 Dec 1837, A2601, ML.
- 139–42 The mutiny on the *Woodlark* is described in *SH*, 19 Apr, 31 May. The *Hobart Town Chronicle*, 19, 26 Jan, 8 June, 7 Sept, reported seamen punished for protests over their food. The strike on the *Alfred* was reported in *SH*, 8 Jan, the conflict of sailors and wharf labourers against their employers in SG, 14, 16, 18 Mar 1837, and the armed encounter beside the Macleay River in *Australian*, 9, 16 Jan.
- AGRICULTURAL WORK
- 142 The Carthy episode has been put together from notices in the NSW GG 1838, at 408 (23 May), 446 (6 June) and 477 (20 June); from Balcombe's letter to col sec, 27 May 1838, 4/2387.1, AONSW; from copies of depositions taken by the Queanbeyan bench, 8 June 1838, no 52, 9/6315, AONSW.
- 142–3 For Carthy's physical appearance and career see the indents of convicts by the *Governor Ready*, arrived 1829, 4/4014, AONSW. For Balcombe's establishment see his title deed, serial 71, no 192, Registrar of Land Titles Office, Sydney; M.R. Sainty and K.A. Johnson (eds), *Census of New South Wales, November 1828*, Sydney 1980; the general muster of convicts, 1837, HO 10/32; agricultural returns, 1838, 4/7257, AONSW; census of 1841, abstract for the district of Queanbeyan, 4/1247. The Griffiths marriage is recorded among the registrations of births, deaths and marriages at 1838/3109/74, AONSW. There is some comment on rick burning by convicts in A.T. Atkinson, 'Four patterns of convict protest', *Labour history* 37, 1979, 40–3.
- 143 For agriculture in WA see the annual returns of population etc, 1838, CSO 64, Battye Library. J.M.R. Cameron, *Ambition's fire: the agricultural colonization of pre-convict Western Australia*, Nedlands 1981, provides detail for that colony.
- 144 Meares enclosed the details of his harvest in his letter to col sec, 18 Mar, CSO 61, Battye Library. For the soldiers at harvest see W.H. Bland to col sec, 6 Nov 1838, CSO 63, Battye Library, and see also F.C. Irwin to col sec, 25 Jan, with enclosure, CSO 60. A similar request in NSW, but this time for convict gangs currently employed on public works, appeared in *SH*, 6 Aug.
- All the agricultural details for the various districts of NSW during 1838 come from the annual agricultural returns,

- 4/7257, AONSW. Material on types of settlement within the various agricultural districts of NSW also appears among the evidence given before the committee on police and gaols, NSWLC V&P 1839. The evidence on farmers' eating habits comes from Charles Thompson jr, writing anonymously in *SMH*, 17 Nov 1847; and J.B. Martin, *Reminiscences*, Camden 1884, 8, 12.
- 145-6 Davidson described his management methods in his *Trade and travel in the Far East*, London 1846, 135. For William Macarthur see the account books cited previously.
- 146 For the use of the sickle see for example, A.R. Wilkinson, 'The Cox family at Livingstone Gully 1847-1907', MLitt thesis 1984, University of New England, 22-3.
- 146-7 The evidence taken by the committee on immigration is to be found in NSWLC V&P 1838. See also *SH*, 29 Oct; Atkinson, 'Four patterns'; J.B. Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies*, Sydney 1983, 46-50.
- 147-8 Davidson gave his opinion on convicts' eating habits in *Trade and travel*, 192-3. Beach's statement comes from the trial of Charles Davidson, March 1838, LC 83/2, AOTas. The other VDL case, in which seven men combined against their master, George Woodward, was tried on 6 Sept 1838 at Richmond, and is recorded in the Richmond bench book, CY 151, Tas papers 326, ML.
- 148 Reid spoke of the cost of carrying flour in his evidence before the committee on immigration, NSWLC V&P 1838. See also Davidson, *Trade and travel*, 142.
- 148-9 Normal production figures are estimated from the figures for 1840 and 1841 NSW *Statistical register* 1837-53, and see James Macarthur, *New South Wales; its present state and future prospects*, London 1847, 184. Consumption is calculated as 12 pounds of flour a week per head (the convict ration), and it seems that there were probably about 40 pounds of flour in a bushel of colonial wheat (Macarthur, *Future prospects*, 184; evidence of George Bowman, committee on immigration; and compare the prices of wheat, by the bushel, and flour, by the pound, in *SH*, 1838).
- 149 The quantity of grain which one man might reap in a day has been calculated from E.J.T. Collins, 'Harvest technology and labour supply in Britain, 1790-1870', *Economic history review* 22/3, 1969, 460.
- John Douglas's case is recorded in the Campbell Town bench book, 17 Jan 1838, LC 83/2, AOTas. The other VDL convict, Charles Edwards, was also tried at Campbell Town, 8 Dec 1838, LC 83/3.
- WORK WITH CATTLE AND PIGS
- 149-50 The trades union comment on Sydney and London prices comes from an advertisement by the Australian Society of Compositors, *Australasian Chronicle*, 24 Jan 1840. The *Hobart Town Courier*, 9 Mar, noticed the high cost of food for the poor on the island. B. Dyster, 'The port of Launceston before 1851', *The great circle* 3/2, 1981, 103-10, outlines the pattern of trade between northern VDL and the mainland colonies.
- 150 The Adelaide butcher's boy, Newman, wrote his 'Recollections' in 1887, D4411, SA Archives. The *Southern Australian*, 30 June, reprinted official figures of livestock landed, and a further census of horned cattle on 11 Aug (supplement). G. Dutton's biography of Eyre, *The hero as murderer*, Sydney 1967, 30-58, describes overlanding into Melbourne and Adelaide, while J.O. Randell (ed), *An overlanding diary* (1837), Melbourne 1980, gives a daily account of droving from Yass to Port Phillip.
- J.B. Hack's letters and diary and S. Hack's letters record the brothers' various enterprises, as did the *Southern Australian* of which J.B. Hack was one of the proprietors. Letters from an employee of the Joint Stock Cattle Co. appear in T. Scott, *Description of South Australia*, Glasgow, 1839, 30-4.
- 150-1 The editor of the *Southern Australian* published his opinions on Aborigines on 1 Nov. G. Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, Adelaide 1979, deals with the region around the Murray mouth. For the whaling industry see M. Robinson, *Historical highlights: Encounter Bay and Goolwa*, Adelaide 1975, 13-19; and for a comparison of the efficacy of guns and spears, D. Denholm, *The colonial Australians*, Melbourne 1979, 27-45.
- 152 Contemporary assessments of livestock raising can be found in J. Atkinson, *An account of the state of agriculture and grazing in New South Wales*, Sydney 1975 (1826) 60-82; P. Cunningham, *Two years in New South Wales*, Sydney 1966 (1827), 83, 143-7; H. Widowson, *The present state of Van Diemen's Land*, London 1829, 141-69; (Thomas Walker), *A month in the bush of Australia*, London 1838, 10; G.B. Wilkinson, *The working man's handbook to South Australia*, London 1849, 47-9.
- Harris's novel, *The emigrant family*, was published in London in 1849 (reprinted Canberra 1967). He had returned to England by 1841 after about sixteen years in NSW, so that it drew upon experiences of colonial life in the thirties, as did his more documentary work, *Settlers and convicts*, Melbourne 1964 (1847). See *ibid* for cattle management, 27-8, 112-15, 129-30, 139-48, 163-74.
- 153-4 The family connections of the Halls appear in *The 1788-1820 Association's pioneer registers*, Sydney 1981. G. Hall, T.S. Hall and J. Fleming are separately noticed in the *ADB*. For the part played by the family network in the Myall Creek massacre see N. Townsend, 'Masters and men and the Myall Creek massacre', *Push* 20, 1985. The evidence on the daily life of the stockmen comes from the depositions taken by E.D. Day at and around Myall Creek, July-Aug 1838, which appears as 'Evidence of murder', in *Push* 20, 1985.
- 155 Harris mentions cattle stealing in his *Settlers and convicts*. See the page numbers cited previously. Recent explanations about which kind of animal grazed where in NSW are provided in T.M. Perry, *Australia's first frontier*, Melbourne 1963; D.N. Jeans, *An historical geography of New South Wales to 1901*, Sydney 1972; J. Waldersee, *Catholic society in New South Wales, 1788-1860*, Sydney 1974, 123-59.
- 155-6 Evidence given to three select committees of the NSW legislature surveyed current and past practices in butchering in Sydney—Shooting on Sunday Prevention Bill (1841), Slaughtering of Cattle Amendment Bill (1845), Slaughterhouses (1848)—all V&P for these years. For the comparison between draught bullocks and horses see Atkinson, *The state of agriculture*, 34-6, Cunningham, *Two years*, 145-8.
- 156 Pigs (and peaches) received brief attention in the literature: Atkinson, *The state of agriculture*, 39-40, 57-8, 81; Cunningham, *Two years*, 148-50; Widowson, *Van Diemen's Land*, 169; Harris, *Settlers and convicts* 66; select committee on slaughterhouses, NSWLC V&P 1848.
- WORK WITH SHEEP
- 156-8 W.A. Brodribb told his story of these years in his *Recollections of an Australian squatter 1835-1838*, Sydney 1978 (1883), 3-14. The details of Haydon's experiences come from his letter to his brother Bryan, in Ireland, 8 July

1838, Haydon papers, in the possession of Mr J. Haydon, Bloomfield North, Murrurundi. See also A.A. McLellan, 'Thomas Haydon 1814-1855', BLitt thesis 1982, University of New England, 11-13.

- 158 Bourke described the wool industry in a despatch to Glenelg, 1 Jan 1837, *HRA* 1, 18, 633-4. The report of Macqueen's auction may be found in *SG*, 18 Jan.
- 159 For the story of the Everetts see A.V. Cane, 'Ollera, 1838 to 1900—a study of a sheepstation', MA thesis 1949, University of Sydney; and for detail of the journey to Ollera in 1838, John Everett's diary, 3053/10, University of New England Archives. There is an account of the Winters in G.J. Forth, 'An Anglo-Irish family in Australia Felix', PhD thesis 1984, Monash University.
- 159-60 The Australian Agricultural Company records are held in the Archives of Business and Labour, Australian National University. See also Atchison, 'Port Stephens and Goonoo Goonoo'. There is a summary account of the VDL Company in these years in the article on its manager, Edward Curr, *ADB*, and see the references appended. For the activities of the Dumaesq brothers see N. Gray, 'Saumarez station records. Some new light on the establishment of stock stations in New England', *Armidale and district historical society J* 25, 1982.
- 161-3 Oakes's description of New England comes from a letter to col sec, 4/2439.1, AONSW. For Anley's memories see her book, *The prisoners of Australia: a narrative*, London 1841, 71. Margaret Wightman's point of view appears in A.S. Wightman's reminiscences, taken from an account by his granddaughter, Caroline Bell, Haydon papers, Murrurundi. Busby's evidence and the relevant aspects of Tufts' trial appear in *SG*, 22 Feb.

THE UNCERTAINTY OF WORK

- 163-5 The Murrumbidgee squatter made his complaint in a letter to the editor of *SH*, signed 'X' and published 19 Oct. A copy appears in *Push* 15, 1983, under the title 'Elisha on the Murrumbidgee'. Brownell told his story in his letter to his brother William, in England, 21 Oct 1838, NS 921/1, AOTas. For Sutherland's experiences see the evidence he gave before the select committee on the petition from distressed mechanics and labourers, 13 Nov 1843, NSWLC *V&P* 1843, 725-31. Most of the detail for Lancaster's story comes from his petition to Sir John Franklin, not dated but probably written early in 1838, CSO 5/115/93-5, AOTas. For the press report of his trial see *Hobart Town Courier*, 8 Dec 1837.

5. MARKETS

- 167 The diarist was Thomas Walker, *A month in the bush of Australia*, London 1838. The quotation is 27-8.
- 168 See Walker's evidence to the select committee on immigration, 20 Aug 1838, NSWLC *V&P* 1838.

CONSUMER GOODS

- Consumption and the consumer have been neglected by Australian historians. In this field no equivalent exists for British studies like J. Burnett, *Plenty and want: a social history of diet in England from 1815 to the present day*, London 1966, and *A history of the cost of living*, London 1969, or P. Pullar, *Consuming passions*, London 1970. As a result this chapter is a foray into virtually unknown territory, in which newspapers have been a major guide. The same applies to distribution, retailing and shopping. Statistics have been taken from the colonial 'Blue books'.
- 169 G. Bolton, *Spoils and spoilers*, Sydney 1981, 25-7, agrees

how little English immigrants adapted to the Australian climate. On colonial beer see T. G. Parsons, 'The limits of technology or why didn't Australians drink colonial beer in 1838?', *Push* 4, 1979, 22-39. Price lists for a vast range of foods, including imported beers, were published in many newspapers; the figures quoted here come from *Sydney general trade list*, and *Perth Gazette*, 29 Sept, 6 Oct. Porter's remark is in his 'Goods suited to the Sydney market', B-390, 99, ML. Generally on drinking in NSW, see A.E. Dingle, 'The truly magnificent thirst', *Hist stud* 75, 1980, 227-49.

- 170-1 The list of wines is taken from *Cornwall Chronicle*, 7 July. Our convict's indulgence was reported in *SH*, 13 Aug. N.G. Butlin has attempted to demonstrate that alcohol consumption in early Australia was considerably less than in Britain: 'Yo, ho, ho, and how many bottles of rum?', *Aust econ hist rev* 23/1, 1983. But even if his contention holds for the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it is very doubtful for 1838. Most contemporary observers agreed that Australian society was the most drunken they had ever seen. See L.A. Meredith, *Notes and sketches of New South Wales, during a residence in the colony from 1839 to 1842*, London 1844, 54, 76-8, or J.A. Backhouse, *A narrative of a visit to the Australian colonies*, London 1843, 536.
- 171 On smoking see R.B. Walker, 'Tobacco smoking in Australia, 1788-1914', *Hist stud* 75, 1980, 267-85. Extra rations are documented in F. O'Donoghue, 'Brisbane in 1838', *Push* 13, 1982, 23-4.
- 171-2 The ample provisioning of convicts is shown in *SH*, 1 Feb, and see ch 4, 'Work'. *Hobart Town Courier*, 9 Mar, refers to the inability of the poor to buy meat.
- 172 For the activities of the Launceston Horticultural Society see *Cornwall Chronicle*, 2 Dec. The offerings on the Sydney market are taken from the regular market reports in *SH*. The report on bananas appears in *Perth Gazette*, 27 Oct.
- 172-3 The extent of wheat trade is best documented by the shipping reports in colonial newspapers. For the article on millers see *SG*, 25 Sept; and see the evidence of J.R. Mayo before the committee on immigration, 22 June 1837, NSWLC *V&P* 1837, 640. See also E.P. Thompson, 'The moral economy of the English crowd in the eighteenth century', *Past and present* 50, 1971, for a discussion of the position of millers in a society similar to the colonial one.
- 173-4 Marshall's advertisement is in *Murray's Review*, 10 Apr; that of Blythe's *ibid* 9 Jan. Bossley and Dole advertised in *SH*, 4 Jan. On pubs and inns see T. Tuckfield, 'Early colonial inns and taverns', *Early days* 7/3, 1971, 65-83; C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth*, Perth 1979, 68-9; K. Green, 'Friendship among publicans: social organisation in Hobart', *Push* 4, 1979, 4-18; and A.T. Atkinson, 'Women publicans in 1838', *Push* 8, 1980, 88-106. For the Kent 'Soup Room' see *Cornwall Chronicle*, 7 July. Hedger's advertisement is in *Austral-Asiatic Review*, 5 Jan.
- 174-5 Goodridge's opinion is in his *Narrative of a voyage to the South Seas*, London 1832, 176. Porter, 'Goods suited', 95-6, confirms that convicts received a good quantity of clothes and shoes. The 1838 turnover figure of Bourne & Co. is an estimate based on Brooks' correspondence with Dacre, his agent at Sydney. Advertisements from the Sydney press have been used to identify individual firms.
- 175 Relevant advertisements of general stores are, for example, in *Perth Gazette*, 6 Jan, *SH*, 4 Jan, 1 Feb, *Murray's Review*, 2 Jan, and *Southern Australian*, 15 Dec. Lyons' fountain appeared in *SH*, 15 Feb.

- 175-6 B. Rubinstein, 'The top wealth-holders in New South Wales in 1830-44', *Push* 8, 1980, 44; A.B. Spark reckoned Terry was worth £35 000 per year, and that his property amounted to £500 000, diary, 22 Feb 1838, A4869, ML.
- 176 The reference to Polack is in a letter from S.A. Donaldson to his father Stuart Donaldson, 18 May 1838, Donaldson papers, A728, ML. This letterbook contains the correspondence of S.A. Donaldson for 1838 and some later years; all Donaldson's letters referred to in the following are from this collection. A brief sketch of Donaldson's life is in *ADB*. A 'most singular man': S.A.D. to S. Donaldson, 18 May 1838. £350 000: S.A.D. to J. Lambert, 20 July 1838. Sales of £50 000: S.A.D. to S. Donaldson, 16 Dec 1838. Speculations with Mauritius: S.A.D. to J. Lambert, 25 June 1838; and Java: S.A.D. to T. Macquoid, 30 Oct 1838. S.A.D.'s comments on his prospects are taken from S.A.D. to S. Donaldson, 26 March and 28 Apr 1838, and S.A.D. to Capt Vitch, 8 Feb 1838. His view on the Australian market: S.A.D. to Donaldson and Lambert, 18 Jan 1839. Margin of 17½ per cent: S.A.D. to S. Donaldson, 23 June 1838. A very similar opinion is expressed by Porter, 'Goods suited', B-390, ML.
- 177 The file on the revision of SA public servant's salaries is GRG 24/90/326, SA Archives.
- 176-8 The leading work on immigration remains R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia, 1788-1851*, Sydney 1969 (1937), esp chs 7 and 8. Walker's views and the editorial are in *SH*, 17 Aug. The address to Bremer is in *SH*, 24 Aug. Gipps's comments are in a letter to Glenelg, 22 Sept 1838, *HRA* 1/19, 591. Walker's argument is in *SH*, 17 Aug. For the argument on the importance of private enterprise see F.J.A. Broeze, 'Private enterprise and the peopling of Australasia, 1831-50', *Economic history review* 35/2, 1982, 235-53. The *True Colonist* was quoted in *Perth Gazette*, 28 Apr.
- WOOL
- 178-9 The wool industry forms such an important and integral part of colonial Australian life that all general and economic works dealing with that period provide overviews. A specific study is G.J. Abbott, *The pastoral age: a re-examination*, Melbourne 1971. His conclusion that profits were made by selling sheep to other growers rather than by woolgrowing itself, is not generally accepted. The marketing of wool is not discussed in depth in Abbott's book, and the main analysis in A. Barnard, *The Australian wool market 1840-1900*, Melbourne 1958, is devoted to the period after 1850. Auction sale reports of the wool in England were printed in most colonial newspapers. Often these included comments by woolbrokers, and occasionally private business information, handed to the newspaper editor by merchant houses in the Australian port cities. For *SH* circulation see A.T. Atkinson, 'Postage in the south-east', *Push* 5, 1979.
- 180 The reference to Connolly's new methods and success is from a letter written by R. Dacre to R. Brooks, dated Launceston 11 Jan 1834, Dacre's letterbook, 1831-34, uncat mss 309, ML.
- 181 Donaldson's observations can be found in letters to J. Lambert, 5 Sept 1839, and Stuart Donaldson, 1 May 1838. See also many other letters in his letterbook 1836-41, A728, ML.
- Information on the marketing methods of Wentworth and Bisdee has been taken from scattered references in the papers of R. Brooks, their London connection, in NLA.
- Direct consignments by the Henty family are indicated by the cargo lists of wool ships in *Cornwall Chronicle*.
- 182 Rivalry between shipping agencies and wool ships can be traced in the colonial press; see also the section 'Transport' in this ch.
- On the London docks see J. Pudney, *London's docks*, London 1975, and R.D. Brown, *The port of London*, Lavenham 1978. Specific information on the London Dock Company has been taken from the minute book of its board of directors, held by the Port of London Authority.
- 182-3 The information on the NSW and VDL Commercial Association is contained in a file of papers relating to the association that belonged to the late Mr Ronald Brooks of London. Thanks to Mr Brooks who kindly made these papers available and allowed copying.
- 183-4 The letter from J. White to Dacre & Wilks is in the Towns papers, uncat mss 307, box 92, ML.
- TRANSPORT
- Any study of transport in 1838 must be preliminary and sketchy. Starting points are provided by G. Blainey, *The tyranny of distance*, Melbourne 1982 (1966), and R.V. Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, Canberra 1977, but both works offer no more than cursory overviews. Land transport has been particularly neglected for the earlier colonial period, but see L. Braden, *Bullockies*, Adelaide 1968. For sea transport see J. Bach, *A maritime history of Australia*, Sydney 1982 (1976), while two articles by F. Broeze deal with the development and management of Australia's overseas shipping: 'The cost of distance: shipping and the early Australian economy, 1788-1850', *Economic history review* 28, 1975, 582-97, and 'British intercontinental shipping and Australia 1813-1840', *J of transport history* 4, 1978, 189-207.
- 184-5 The shipping movements of most major Australian ports can be reconstructed from their newspapers and extant harbourmaster's reports. The overseas and intercolonial traffic is covered, but the small coasters often escaped notice. I.H. Nicholson has compiled the *Shipping arrivals and departures Sydney, 1826-1840*, Canberra 1977. The shipping registers that contain information on the ships' owners, are Kew, Board of Trade, 107, Vic Public Record Office. A picture of the bustling life of one of Australia's most active port-cities is given in B. Dyster, 'The Port of Launceston until 1850', *The great circle* 3, 1981, 103-24.
- 185 The reminiscences of Miller are contained in a manuscript in the possession of Robin Craig, of St Margaret's Bay, near Dover, England, who kindly made this narrative available. Several accounts are available of the white sails that populated the Port Phillip district with people, sheep and other livestock; see, for example, H. Fysh, *Henry Reed, Van Diemen's Land pioneer*, Hobart 1973, 62-7, and H.G. Turner, *A history of the colony of Victoria*, London 1904, ch 5.
- 186 The movements of the *Joshua Carroll* are traced through the colonial newspapers; relevant advertisements are in *Colonial Times*, 23 Jan and 6 Mar, *SH*, 26 Mar, and *Perth Gazette*, 6 Oct. The colonists' hopes are expressed in the latter paper, 8 Dec.
- 186-7 For information on ships' agencies see *Sydney General Trade List*, the Hobart Town *Colonial Times* and the Launceston *Cornwall Chronicle*. A.B. Spark's diary contains several references to his own agency business—which, it appears, he conducted with great reluctance. Passengers' letters can be found in the VDL papers mentioned, as well as

- Australian* and *SH*. The references to Capts Deloitte and Goodwin, Flint and Mollison are taken from *SH*, 28 June, 6 Aug and 12 Dec.
- 187-8 The development of early steam shipping in Australia can be traced largely from Bach, *A maritime history*, ch 4, and N. McKellar, *From Derby round to Burketown*, St Lucia 1977, ch 1. Much useful information is contained in the Sydney newspapers of the day. See also Polding's diary, 5 Aug 1838, Downside Abbey Archives, UK. The comparison of Melbourne with Cincinnati is in *SH*, 3 Oct. The ambitions of 1838 appear clearly in the prospectus of the Australasian Steam Navigation Company, *Australian*, 29 Feb 1840. On the Indian Steam Ship Company see *Colonial Times*, 7 Aug, and *SH* of 19 and 21 Sept 1838. Other projects discussed included a steam link across the Pacific, *SH*, 14 May.
- 188-9 For recollections of pioneer and later overlanders see, for example, John Hepburn in T.F. Bride (ed), *Letters from Victorian pioneers*, Melbourne 1969 (1898), 57-83; George Somerville and Mary Jane Docker in the La Trobe Library. Excerpts relevant to this ch are quoted in Bladen, *Bullockies*, 11-15; and see Joseph Hawdon, in *SA Gazette*, 28 Apr. On the pleasures of driving to the capital see the example of the Suttors of Bruceedale, referred to in R.M. Teale, 'The Bathurst Land Conveyance Company, 1836-1838', in A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan (eds), *Wealth and progress*, Sydney 1967, 30. The building of the Great North and Great South roads is recounted in J. Jervis, 'The Great North Road', *J of R Aust Hist Soc* 16/2, 1930, 102-12, and by the same, 'The Great South Road', *ibid* 25/5, 1939, 412-33. The problems of travel from Fremantle to Perth are referred to in C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth*, Perth 1979, 55-6. The adverse opinion about the Bathurst road is that of Louisa Meredith recorded in her *Notes and sketches of NSW during a residence in that colony from 1839 to 1844*, London 1849, 70.
- 189-90 The account of the Cox coach is based on J. West, *The history of Tasmania*, Sydney 1971, 102; L.S. Bethell, *The story of Port Dalrymple*, Hobart 1980 (1957), 126-8; and notices in *Hobart Town Courier*, 17 Nov, 8 Dec 1851. A useful article is D. Baker, 'Early mail communication in Victoria', *Victorian historical magazine* 44, 1973, 108-16. A brief topographical description of the Yass-Melbourne track is given in *SH*, 9 Apr. The account of the Bathurst Land Conveyance Company is based on Teale, 'Bathurst Land', 23-50, the quotation is 36.
- 190-1 Jones's advertisement is in *SH*, 27 Apr. Donaldson's views are contained in a letter to his father, Stuart Donaldson, 18 May 1838, in Donaldson papers, A728, ML. Kelly's carriage is described by Lady Franklin in a letter quoted in K.M. Bowden, *Captain James Kelly of Hobart Town*, Melbourne 1964, 88. Stannage, *People of Perth*, 56-8, discusses the state of St George's Terrace. Blackman's advertisement is from *SH*, 12 Sept. An overview of the carriage scene at Sydney is given by Meredith, *Notes and sketches*, 38-9.
- FINANCE
No account of the money market in Australia in 1838 can start other than from S.J. Butlin, *Foundations of the Australian monetary system 1788-1851*, Sydney 1968 (1955). Much of the information contained in this section is based on Butlin's work, and in acknowledging our general indebtedness here, specific references will only be given where they are required to identify the sources of statistics, etc. For a wider perspective see also R.V. Jackson, *Australian economic development in the nineteenth century*, Canberra 1977, ch 7. As many of the statements made in the text are general in character and based on the collective interpretation of a vast array of newspaper information, a similar approach has been taken in respect to this type of documentation.
- 192-3 The case of Herring is based on the letter from Gipps to Glenelg, 1 May 1838, *HRA* 1/19, 402-5.
- 193 Iredale's financial arrangements and his lack of punctuality is evidenced by a series of letters between him and his London supplier, Robert Brooks, and between Brooks and his Sydney agent, R. Dacre, in the Robert Towns papers, uncat mss 307, ML; see esp Brooks to Iredale, 28 Aug 1837, and Brooks to Dacre & Wills, same date, in box 90. The customary terms of three months are confirmed in a letter from Robert Brooks to one of his Sydney connections, Mrs Staples, 13 Apr 1841, of which a copy is in the copybook outward correspondence, 1841-43, in the Brooks papers, NLA.
- 193-4 The quotation from S.A. Donaldson is in a letter to Stuart Donaldson, 28 Apr 1838, A728, ML. The question of mercantile capital v investment is often overlooked in the literature (see, for example, the misleading discussion in W.A. Sinclair, *The process of economic development in Australia*, Melbourne 1976). A beginning for a new approach is offered by P. McMichael, 'Crisis in pastoral capital accumulation: a re-interpretation of the 1840s depression in colonial Australia', in E.L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley (eds), *Essays in the political economy of Australian capitalism*, 4, Sydney 1980, 17-40.
- 194-5 The financing of the catch of the whaler *Clarkstone* is mentioned in the letter by Donaldson last cited. Other letters used here were written to Donaldson and Lambert, 19 and 22 Aug, and 28 Dec 1838, and to John Lambert, 28 Nov 1838, and 5 Sept 1839; from the last the quotation has been taken. For the affairs of Montefiore Brothers several of Brooks' letters are useful, but see esp that to James Cain, 13 Mar 1841 in the copybook outward correspondence, Brooks papers. The issue of *Colonial Times* quoted is that of 2 Jan.
- 195 Histories of most of the surviving Australian banks have been written. See, for example, R.F. Holder, *Bank of New South Wales: a history* 1, Sydney 1970, and S.J. Butlin, *Australia and New Zealand Bank: The Bank of Australasia and the Union Bank of Australia Limited 1828-1951*, London 1961.
- The figures of outstanding loans in NSW and VDL have been calculated on the basis of the extensive tables in Butlin, *Foundations*.
- 195-6 The concern of the Union Bank about the location of its headquarters appears from the board minutes, 18 Jan, 19 Apr 1838. Illustrations of various bank buildings are contained in Holder's and Butlin's bank histories. The information and quotation relative to the Bathurst Bank comes from B. Greaves (ed), *The story of Bathurst*, Sydney 1976, 22. A useful overview of imperial banks founded in London in the 1830s and 1840s (of which the Australasia and Union were such outstanding examples) is proffered in A.S.J. Bastin, *The imperial banks*, London 1928.
- 196 Swanston's letterbooks have been preserved, and his remarkable career is chronicled in S.J. Butlin, 'Charles Swanston and the Derwent Bank, 1827-1850', *Hist stud* 2/7, 1943, 161-85. The opinion on the directors of the Australasia was voiced by Bastin, *Imperial banks*, 120; that on the shareholders of the Union in a letter from M.

- Mason to G.F. Angas, 21 Feb 1838, in the Angas papers, in the possession of Rob Linn, Adelaide.
- 197 The arrival of £12 000 in gold at Sydney was noted in *SH*, 5 Sept. Kinnear's opinion was quoted in Butlin, *ANZ Bank*, 66–7. The Union Bank's considerations on expansion into WA and New Zealand are documented in the board minutes, 4 July, 22 Aug 1839. The opinion of the directors of the Bathurst Bank is quoted in Greaves, *Bathurst*, 23.
- 197–8 The passage on the savings bank in WA is based on Stannage, *People of Perth*; the quotation is from *Perth Gazette*, 17 Oct 1840. See also E.A. Beever, *Launceston Bank for Savings 1835–1970*, Melbourne 1972. The figures for the NSW Savings Bank are taken from Butlin, *Foundations*, 632–3.
- 198 The second stage of Herring's financial affairs and Glenelg's response are contained in the latter's despatch to Gipps, 2 Jan 1839, *HRA* 1/19, 729. On the investment of savings bank funds see S. Wotherspoon, 'Savings banks and social policy in NSW 1832–71', *Aust econ hist rev* 18/2, 1978, 151.
- NEWSPAPERS
- There is no comprehensive history of the colonial newspaper press. The works used most frequently here are as follows: J. Bonwick, *Early struggles of the Australian press*, London 1890; E.M. Miller, *Pressmen and governors: Australian editors and writers in early Tasmania*, Sydney 1952; R.B. Walker, *The newspaper press in New South Wales 1803–1920*, Sydney 1976; Garryowen (E. Finn), *The chronicles of early Melbourne* 2, Melbourne 1888; G.H. Pitt, *The press in South Australia 1836–1850*, Adelaide 1946; Stannage, *People of Perth*.
- 198 For biographical details of the Fairfax family see J.F. Fairfax, *The story of John Fairfax*, Sydney 1941, 47–53; J. Fairfax & Sons Ltd, *A century of journalism. The Sydney Morning Herald and its record of Australian life 1831–1931*, Sydney 1931, 53–75; G. Souter, *Company of Heralds*, Melbourne 1981, 3–14.
- 198–9 Lang published these estimates in *Colonist*, 18 Aug. For details about *Government Gazette* and *Hobart Town Courier* see Fitzgerald (ed), *Australasian printer's keepsake*, Melbourne 1885, 3. For an account of the Howe family and SG see J.A. Ferguson, *The Howes and their press*, Sydney 1936. *Australian*, 26 Sept 1837, printed an extract from a British newspaper, *Morning Chronicle*, describing the working of a printing office. Colonial newspaper offices replicated these technologies and skills.
- 199 For details of wages paid to free and assigned workers in SG office see SG wages books and account books, 14, 33, ML; the muster for 1837 lists convicts assigned to the Howe estate.
- The severe shortage of compositors in Sydney was reported in SG, 17 May. This claim was contradicted by the recently formed Society of Compositors, which addressed a letter to the compositors of Great Britain and Ireland alleging that there was already unemployment among compositors in Sydney and that employers were attempting to force wages down by flooding the labour market with newly arrived immigrants. This letter appeared in SG, 10 May.
- The proprietor of SG pointed out, 25 Jan 1834, that equal wages were paid to convict and free workers in the *Gazette* office, though it was alleged in the issue for 24 Sept 1835 that 'Monitor' Hall paid differential rates. Shortage of labour delayed the expansion of *Australian*, see editorial 27 Feb.
- 200 Bent made this offer to his subscribers in *Bent's News*, 21 Dec. See Walker, *Newspaper press*, 23, for details of the partnership between Nichols and Cohen. The allegations against Richard Jones were contained in a letter from Anne Salmon (previously Howe) to *SH*, published 25 July 1842. Lang advertised shares for sale, *Colonist*, 18 Aug. The change in price is noted by SG, 6 Sept. Bent's fortunes were noted by *Cornwall Chronicle*, extract from *Colonial Times*, 19 May. Robertson advertised his copyright for sale in *Austral-Asiatic Review*, 11 Sept.
- A.J. Hopton discusses Fawcner's contribution to the early press in 'A pioneer of two colonies: John Pascoe Fawcner, 1792–1869', *Victorian historical magazine* 30/1, 1960, 3–63; 30/2, 1960, 67–99; 30/4, 1960, 175–250. See also H. Anderson, *Out of the shadow: the career of John Pascoe Fawcner*, Melbourne 1962. For a discussion of Fawcner's differences with the government over the licensing of his newspaper see M. Colligan, 'Culture and the Port Phillip newspapers', *Push* 10, 1981, 58–71. See also Fawcner's notice in *Port Phillip Gazette*, 2 Feb 1839.
- For details about Arden and Strode see J. Gartner, *Victorian printing history*, Melbourne 1935, 4–6; also Garryowen, *Reminiscences*, 823.
- The rivalry in Port Phillip between settlers from Sydney and VDL is explored by T.L. Work, 'Early printers of Melbourne', *Australasian typographical j.*, Aug 1897.
- For an account of Clark's *Swan River Guardian* see M. Anderson and A. Gill 'Death of the free press in Western Australia', *Push* 10, 1981, 4–30.
- 201 A.T. Atkinson discusses the setting up of new country agencies in 'A slice of the Sydney press', *Push* 1, 1978, 85–6. T.L. Mitchell made this remark in a letter to J. Mitchell, a relative in England, 30 Mar 1835, papers of Sir T.L. Mitchell, 1830–1839, ms A292, ML. See also editorial comment about readership of colonial newspapers in *Australian*, 6 Oct 1837. See also Murray's comments on readership, 'The press', *Austral-Asiatic Review*, Feb 1828. Murray in *Austral-Asiatic Review* satirically discusses the concept of respectability, Feb 1828.
- 201–2 It is difficult to assess the extent and degree of literacy in the Australian colonies. B.M. Penglas introduces some of the conceptual and statistical problems in 'An enquiry into literacy in early colonial New South Wales' *Push* 16, 1983. We have adopted a rough estimation based on E.A. Webby, 'Literature and the reading public in Australia 1800–1850', PhD thesis 1971, University of Sydney, 2, 269–71, 299.
- 202 For Hall's career see J.A. Ferguson, 'Edward Smith Hall and the *Monitor*', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 17, 1931. See also Hall's letter to Viscount Goderich, 1832, including case studies alleging mistreatment of convicts and free subjects by Governor Darling, CO, NSW 1832, miscellaneous letters, 201–20, A2146, ML.
- 202–3 For an analysis of the involvement of the newspaper press in politics see Pitt, *The press*, 14–17. Atkinson, 'Slice of the Sydney press', analyses the contents of *Australian* and *SH* during 1838. The *Commercial Journal* announced its intention to serialise Dickens' novel, 29 Dec. The letter in *Colonist* appeared 8 June 1837.
- 203 The 'Prospectus' for the *Port Phillip Gazette* was published in *Australian*, 25 Sept. E. Walker *et al* trace the changing locations of SG office in 'Old Sydney town in the forties', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 14, 1930, 292–321.

- By 1838, all colonies except South Australia had their own government gazette, though most newspaper offices also reprinted government notices. A writer in *Southern Australian*, 24 Nov, noted the difficulties where the government was identified with a particular newspaper office.
- 203-4 Walker outlines the setting up of *Commerical Journal* in *Newspaper press*, 25, 32.
- 204 The quotation from *Colonist* appears under the heading 'Ourselves', 3 Jan. There is an extended discussion in *Australian* about the power of the press. See, for example, editorials for 12 Sept, 19 Sept, 6 Oct 1837. There is also a discussion in *Australian magazine*, headed 'Freedom of the press', Feb. Murray devotes a lead article to the subject in *Austral-Asiatic Review*, 13 Jan.
- For a description of the takeover of SG see S. Blair 'Patronage and prejudice: educated convicts and the New South Wales press', *Push* 8, 1980, 75-87.
- Jones's influence is apparent in a lead article published in SG by Cavenagh entitled 'Political distinctions', 21 July. To get the flavour of these campaigns read the editorials in the following issues of *SH*: 'Colonial politics', 1 Jan; about Aborigines, 26 Nov; about Asian labour, 23 Apr and compare these with *Australian*: about the massacre at Myall creek, 20 Nov, 23 Oct, 18 Dec; on Asian labour, 27 Oct, 1 Nov.
- Lang's style may be sampled from the following lead articles in *Colonist*: 'The year past and the year to come', 28 Dec 1837, and 'The colonial press', 6 Jan.
- 205 See SG, 23 July 1835, for the attack on the style of journalism used by the editor of *Australian*.
- For biographical details about Nichols and Cohen see J.S. Levi and G.F.J. Bergman, *Australian genesis: Jewish convicts and settlers 1788-1850*, Adelaide 1974, 95-107.
- LAND**
- The workings of the colonial real estate market have never been studied in detail. Although outdated in several respects, for rural Australia S.H. Roberts, *History of Australian land settlement*, Sydney 1968 (1924), remains the starting point. See also his *The squatting age in Australia, 1835-1847*, Melbourne 1964 (1935) and P. Burroughs, *Britain and Australia 1831-1855: a study in imperial relations and crown lands administration*, Oxford 1967. No comparable work is as yet available for urban and suburban land. A multitude of colonial and local studies has appeared, many of the latter useful in their restricted sphere. See K. and T. Henderson, *Early Illawarra: People, houses, life*, Canberra 1983. See also D.N. Jeans, 'Crown land sales and the accommodation of the small settler in New South Wales, 1825-1842', *Hist stud*, 12/46, 1966.
- 206 The controversy over Franklin's land policy in VDL is referred to in *Cornwall Chronicle*, 30 June, 7 July.
- 206-7 Gipps's powerful restatement of the advantages and necessity of the auction system of land sales is in his letter to Glenelg, 2 June 1838, *HRA* 1/19, 432. The details of land to be auctioned and upset prices were published in the NSW GG. The results of these public sales are in the registers of land grants and leases, AONSW. All specific references to public land sales have been taken from these registers, except where otherwise indicated.
- 207-8 Transactions on the private real estate market were recorded at the registrar-general's departments of the various colonies; they can still be consulted in the state capitals. Often a considerable time lapsed between the transaction and its recording, so that it is virtually impossible to make a complete reconstruction of all transactions. Spark's purchases can be found in vol N, 574, 975, at the registrar-general's department, Sydney.
- 208 The result of the Port Phillip land sale was reported in *Cornwall Chronicle*, 29 Sept. Gipps's comment is in his letter to Glenelg, 1 Oct 1838, *HRA* 1/19, 599-600.
- For land sale details from the Liberty Plains district see vols M, N, O, registrar-general's department, Sydney.
- 208-9 All major VDL newspapers abounded with advertisements: those of *Murray's Review*, 10 July, included no fewer than seven country estates. Campbellford Cottage appeared in *Murray's Review*, 7 Aug. Archer's Panshanger is described in E.G. Robertson and E.N. Craig, *Early houses in Northern Tasmania*, Melbourne 1964, 157. The data on Clarke's purchase are from *Murray's Review*, 11 Dec. Criticism of the big landowners was voiced in *Hobart Town Courier*, 9 Mar, 8 June.
- 209 *Murray's Review* speculated on steam power on 17 July.
- 210 The land market of WA is documented through reports and advertisements in *Perth Gazette*, WA Lands and Surveys department, 40/1, Battye Library; crown land sales raised only £27 in 1838. For Stirling's selections in 1838 see 336/219, 431-2, 435, 439-40 and 451-2, WA Lands and Surveys department.
- Criticism on the system of land sales in SA was general. For an introduction see D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, Melbourne 1967, 174-8, and J.W. Bull, *Early experiences of colonial life in South Australia*, Adelaide 1878, 200. Because of the planned nature of SA land settlement maps of both Adelaide and its district, with indication of the original buyers, were appended to the second and third annual reports of the SA Colonisation Commissioners, BrPP 1838, 1839. A detailed analysis has not yet been made of them.
- 210-11 Sturt is quoted in the third annual report of the SA Colonisation Commissioners. On the holdings of the SA Company see E. Hodder, *The history of South Australia* 1, London 1893, 76. Hindmarsh's operations have been reconstructed from the maps referred to earlier, and *Southern Australian*, 2 June. That newspaper and *SA Gazette* for 1838 are the main sources of all information on the Adelaide and suburban real estate market.
- 212 For Bremer's views on the desirability of selling land at Port Essington see his letter to the Admiralty, 16 Sept 1838, referred to in P.G. Spillett, *Forsaken settlement*, Sydney 1979, 22-3.
- The details of the auction of Melbourne and Williamstown blocks have been taken from the register of land grants and leases, 7/350-1, AONSW. A map of the inner city of Melbourne, with the names of original buyers, is in the back of H.G. Turner, *A history of the colony of Victoria* 1, London 1904, but not all names have been transcribed correctly. Thus one of Robert Bourne's blocks appears to have been bought by (the non-existent) Robert Browne. Black's speculation is recounted in A. Sutherland, *Victoria and its metropolis: past and present* 1, Melbourne 1888, 170-1. *SH*, 17 Sept, showed that prices were much higher than had been expected.
- 212-13 The Adelaide real estate market has been followed through the files of its two newspapers. Hughes's and Hoskins' Pitt Street purchases were recorded in *SH*, 8 Aug, all other NSW data from the registrar-general's volumes.

- 213 For the Hobart Town subdivisions see *Murray's Review*, 27 Nov. For Launceston and the country towns near it, *Cornwall Chronicle*, 13 Jan, 10 Feb, 17 Mar, 14 July. The Maitland auction was advertised in *SH*, 13 Aug.
- 214 Wentworth's Vaucluse subdivision was advertised by Polack in *SH*, 12 Feb, and the Chippendale grant, 13 Aug. Four days later the paper printed a complete list of buyers and prices paid. On Macquoid and Wilson see the issue of 17 Dec.
- Adelaide real estate agents advertised widely in both local newspapers. For Light Finnis and Co. see the *SA Gazette*, 21 July. Berkeley advertised himself in *Southern Australian*, 28 July. Cock dominated the advertising columns; for major highlights see *Southern Australian*, 21 July, 4 Aug, 10 Nov.
- 215 Wilson's appeal was in *SH*, 17 Dec. References to Cock's grant to the Aborigines, with Stephen's comment in his letter to Glenelg, 5 Oct 1838, are GRG 2/6/1, 38–41, and GRG 24/1/1838/197 A3, SA Archives.
- Donaldson's letter to J. Lambert, 20 July 1838, Donaldson papers, is quoted by B. Dyster in A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan, *Wealth and progress*, Sydney 1967, 51.
- ## 6. PEOPLE MEETING
- 217 The expedition to Cook's River was reported widely in the Sydney press; the longest accounts are to be found in *SG*, 14 July, and *SH*, 13 July. A.B. Spark recorded it in his diary, see G. Abbott and G. Little (eds), *The respectable Sydney merchant, A.B. Spark of Tempe*, Sydney 1976, 94–5, and probably also wrote the account in *SH*. For a comparison of these accounts see M. Aveling, 'Notes on decoding a ritual', *Push* 4, 1979. The weather must have been delightful; even the laconic Mary Phoebe Broughton noted in her diary 'Beautiful Day', mss 756, ML. Gipps's speech is most fully reported in *SG*.
- 217–18 Broughton's hopes in 1829 are mentioned in G.P. Shaw, *Patriarch and patriot, William Grant Broughton, 1788–1853*, Melbourne 1978, 20. His 1838 comment was reported in *SH*, 13 July 1838.
- COLONEL GAWLER HOSTS A DINNER FOR THE ABORIGINES
The research for this section was carried out by Bernard O'Neil.
- 219 Secondary works on the Kurna are N. Edwards, *The Kurna people of the Adelaide plains*, Adelaide nd; and R.W. Ellis, 'The Aboriginal inhabitants and their environment', in C.R. Twidale et al (eds), *Natural history of the Adelaide region*, Adelaide 1976.
- There are a number of collections of words and phrases from the Kurna language. The earliest, by W. Williams, *A vocabulary of the language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide district and other friendly tribes of the province of South Australia*, Adelaide 1939, gives a version of *Tarndarna* as the name for the Adelaide area, and calls the river Torrens *Tarndarnaparri*. C.G. Teichelmann and C.W. Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar, vocabulary, and phraseology, of the Aboriginal language of South Australia*, Adelaide 1840, calls the river *Karrawirraparri*, or the red-gum-forest river, 75. See also J.M. Black, 'Vocabularies of four South Australian languages', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 45, 1920, 76–93.
- For details of the erection and usage of the location see W. Wyatt's official correspondence in the SA Archives, especially letters GRG 35/211/1: 39–40, 29 Jan 1838; GRG 35/211/1: 267, 27 June 1838; also his weekly returns as protector of the Aborigines, GRG 24/1/1838/310 A8; also his quarterly reports, GRG 24/1/1838/69; GRG 24/1/1838/142; GRG 24/1/1838/197 A3.
- For the promises of the SA colonists to the CO see the *First annual report of the colonization commissioners of South Australia, 1836* in H of C Papers, 1837; the issues are discussed in R. Gibb, 'Relations between the Aboriginal inhabitants and the first South Australian colonists', *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian branch)* 31, 1959–60, 61–78, and in ch 8.
- 220 Williams' encounter is described in Gouger, *South Australia in 1837*, London 1838, 47, and also in Gouger's letter to Williams, GRG 24/4/1B/1837/3, SA Archives. Gouger's book also contains Cronk's account of his journey in search of the Aborigines. J. Adams' reminiscences, 'My early days in the colony', *Glenelg centenary commemoration day souvenir booklet and programme*, Glenelg 1936, recall Aboriginal visits to the camp at Glenelg. G. Stevenson, 'Extracts from his journal' in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian branch)* 30, 1930, describes Utinai's adventure.
- Pinde meyu* is explained by Teichelmann and Schürmann, *Outlines of a grammar*, who gloss *pinde* as 'the grave or habitation of souls before birth and after death', 39; the phrase appears in the records firstly as *peende mayoo*, translated as 'English men', in Wyatt's translation of Gawler's speech to the Kurna on 1 Nov 1838, as transliterated in *SA Gazette*, 3 Nov. See ch 2 of this book for a parallel belief in Western Australia.
- 220–1 The one administrative act taken by George Stevenson as protector of the Aborigines seems to have been to order clothes for them from a local tailor; see W. Pearce's letter home cited in C. Kerr, *A excellent colony: the practical idealists of 1836–1846*, Adelaide 1978, 78. For a discussion of Aboriginal landowning see ch 2. W. Mann, *Six years residence in the Australian colonies*, London 1839, tells of meeting 'King John' in the parklands, 285. The order forbidding woodcutting is reported in Wyatt's quarterly report, 1 Oct 1838, GRG 24/1/1838/197 A3, SA Archives.
- 221 Acting Gov G.M. Stephen urged compensation for territory usurped in despatch no 16, 5 Oct 1838, GRG 2/6/1, 38–41, SA Archives. The committee debated Aboriginal land rights in June 1838; see W. Nation to Fisher, 11 June 1838, GRG 35/211/1, 242–3, SA Archives. Wyatt's sense of obligation is expressed in his Jan and Oct reports. The *Southern Australian*, 27 Oct, denied the Aborigines any *exclusive* land rights so long as they did not labour to make the wilderness blossom. The *Southern Australian*, May 1839, carries an extensive debate about Aboriginal land rights.
- The correspondent wrote on 16 June 1838. C.G. Teichelmann reported the Kurna belief in due compensation for the use of their land in *Aborigines of South Australia: illustrative and explanatory notes of the manners, customs, habits, and superstitions of the natives of South Australia*, Adelaide 1841, 6, making it clear that his account was retrospective. It also reported their desire for independence. A.A. Lendon's notes on the early protectors of the Aborigines, PRG 128/12/11, SA Archives, shows the Kurna 'stealing' from the early protectors. Wyatt's failure to bribe the Kurna to work is described in his July report, GRG 24/1/1838/142, SA Archives.

- 221-2 Wyatt's report for July 1838 also calls for missionaries. The story of Teichelmann and Schürmann is told in great detail in a series of articles published in *Australian Lutheran* between Feb 1947 and Mar 1948 by F.J.H. Blaess. The articles draw extensively on primary material in German and English, including journals written by the missionaries. Our thanks to Howard Groom for help in finding this valuable source.
- 222 Teichelmann and Schürmann's philological ideas were picked up in an article by J.P. Gell, 'The vocabulary of the Adelaide tribe', in the first issue of the *Tasmanian j of natural science* in 1842; it is Gell's statement of the function of 'a well-ordered grammar' that is cited here. The 'divine promise' concludes Teichelmann's pamphlet on *Aborigines of South Australia*.
The missionaries describe the dressing up at the location; see Blaess in *Australian Lutheran*. The best account of traditional adornment is in W.A. Cawthorne, 'Rough notes on the manners and customs of the natives', in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian branch)* 27, 1925.
J. Hawker describes the first government 'hut' in his *Early experiences in South Australia*, Adelaide 1899, 7. The 'gentlemen capitalists' were addressed as such in an 1836 advertisement for seeds and seedlings, cited in R.F.G. Swinbourne, *Years of endeavour*, Adelaide 1982. J.W. Bull, amongst others, gave currency to the term 'Cockatoo Gubbernor' in his *Early experiences of colonial life in South Australia*, Adelaide 1878, 42-3. Mrs Gawler's letter to her sister is at PRG 50/19/10, Nov 1838, SA Archives.
Gawler's first speech to the Aborigines is reported in full in *SA Gazette*, 20 Oct. The blank faces are noted in Bull, *Early experiences*, 42, and Cronk's complaint in *Southern Australian* of the same date.
- 223-4 The account of the day's proceedings is drawn from the reports of both newspapers on 3 Nov, from Mrs Gawler's letter home, from Bull, *Early experiences* and from Hawker, *Early experiences*. Hawker's account of the viceregal party retreating from Mulla Wirraburka's nakedness, 9, is slightly malicious—as Gawler's ward he suffered the governor's puritanism none too gladly—but probably accurate.
- 224 The *Southern Australian* report of the feast predicts trouble from regaling the Aborigines with fine fresh beef, and then exercising them in the art of spearthrowing. The *SA Gazette* reports the cattlespearing a week later. Blaess documents the missionaries' attempts to teach the Aborigines cleanliness in *Australian Lutheran*, 3 Mar 1948.
PROTESTANTS APPROACH THEIR GOD
- 224-5 D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent, South Australia 1829-1857*, Melbourne 1967, tells of the mixed motives of the founders of SA. R. Linn, 'First settlers' perceptions of the physical and social environment of South Australia', *Push* 12, 1982, looks at the context of their thought.
- 225 The laying of Trinity Church's foundation stone by Hindmarsh is described by a correspondent to *SA Gazette*, 17 Feb.
The subscription records and statements of the SA Church Society come from a circular letter in the Angas papers, PGR 174/13/515-17, SA Archives. The society's hopes are reflected in a circular in the same series of Angas papers published by the SA District Committee of the Incorporated Society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. The role of this and similar bodies in supporting the export of Christianity to Australia is explained in J.D. Bollen, 'English missionary societies and the Australian Aborigines', *J of religious history* 9/3, 1977.
Details of the failure of the transported wooden church come from L.J. Ewens, *The establishment of Trinity Church, Adelaide*, Adelaide 1953.
Fisher's daughter's baptism in the unfinished church appears in Eliza Malpas's diary, as cited *ibid*.
- 225-6 The missionaries' comment is from Schürmann's journal, quoted by Blaess in *Australian Lutheran*. A study of the various forms of Methodism in colonial SA is being conducted by the Uniting Church in SA Historical Society, and especially by Dr Arnold Hunt. The source for the opening of the first Wesleyan chapel was J. Haslam, *The history of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia from its commencement to its jubilee*, Adelaide 1886, 20.
- 226 A description of the interior of St John's Parramatta in the 1830s is reprinted in H.M. Arrowsmith, *The cradle church of Australia, the history of St. John's Parramatta* 1, Sydney 1975, 50.
For Gipps at Cook's River see the introduction to this ch. Cock's confessions to Backhouse are recounted in J. Backhouse, *Extracts from the letters of James Backhouse when engaged in a religious visit in Australia accompanied by George Washington Walker* 5, London 1839, 16.
The extracts from the *Book of common prayer* come from the order for morning prayer, daily throughout the year, the general confession and a prayer for the Queen's majesty.
- 227 Backhouse describes Howard in *Extracts from the letters*. Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, gives biographical details on Stow. The sermon extracts are from T.Q. Stow, *A sermon preached at the opening of the Wesleyan chapel, Adelaide, South Australia, on Sunday evening, March 18, 1838*, Adelaide 1838, and T.Q. Stow, *A sermon preached at the Congregational Church, Adelaide, South Australia, on Sunday morning, July 1, 1838*, Adelaide 1838, in SA State Library.
- 227-8 The Protestant literature cited is H. Blair, *Sermons* 2, Edinburgh 1814, and J.A. James, *The christian professor addressed in a series of counsels and cautions*, London 1838.
- 228 The ML miscellaneous pamphlets contain the form of prayer distributed by Bishop Broughton for those observing a day of prayer and fasting on Friday 2 Nov, O42P591, ML; prayers were offered in churches on Sunday 4 Nov. Stow's reference to providence and the Methodist is from his sermon of 18 Mar, in Stow, *A sermon*.
- 228-9 An old Swan River Methodist remembered the class meeting in T. Farmer, 'A short history of the rise and progress of Methodism in Western Australia', ms, Batty Library.
- 229 Backhouse, *Extracts from the letters*, describes the kindness of the Adelaide Christians, and Blaess quotes extensively from Schürmann's journals in the 'History of the Evangelical Lutheran Leipzig mission' in *Australian Lutheran*, Feb 1947-Mar 1948.
Lang's arguments are recorded in D.W.A. Baker (ed), *Reminiscences of my life and times*, Melbourne 1972.
- 229-30 The Lutheran emigrants and their doctrinal problems were called 'a travesty of worship' by Blaess in his article on Captain Hahn's diary in *Australian Lutheran*, 17 Mar 1965.
- 230 Stow's letter was printed in *South Australian record* 13, 10 Oct 1838.

- THE MUSIC OF CATHOLIC PIETY
The description of St Mary's as a 'lofty pile' is from J. Fowles, *Sydney, 1848*, Sydney 1962 (1848), 71. For several accounts of the history of the old cathedral see P. O'Farrell (ed), *St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney, 1821–1971*, Sydney 1971. R.W. Harden's 'Old St Mary's, 1821–1865', *ibid*, 1–23, identifies Therry as its designer and chronicles its erection. The place of Catholics in NSW society is described in P. O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and community in Australia, a history*, Melbourne 1977, and J. Waldersee, *Catholic society in New South Wales, 1788–1860*, Sydney 1974.
- 230–1 Harden, 'Old St Mary's', cites an 1828 description of the unfinished building likening it to an ancient abbey, and also refers to Polding's recollection of its desolate state in 1835, 7.
- 231 W.B. Ullathorne, *The Catholic mission in Australasia*, London 1838, describes the 'retreats' for newly arrived convicts and their effects.
- 231–2 The dimensions of St Mary's are given in Polding's letter to Father Heptonstall, 26 June 1838, published in O'Farrell, *St Mary's Cathedral*, 176–7. The same letter refers to the 'Bench Rents of the Cathedral'. Gipps's comment is discussed in the introduction of this ch.
- 232 The context of the anti-Willis meeting at St Mary's is discussed in F. O'Donoghue, *The bishop of Botany Bay*, Sydney 1982, 49–50.
The Catholic laymen are identified in Waldersee, *Catholic society*; in E.L. Scarlett, *Queanbeyan*, Sydney 1968, and in the ADB. O'Donoghue, *The bishop*, discusses the cosmopolitan training of the clergy.
- 232–3 Ullathorne's address at St Mary's is cited in J. Kenny, *A history of the commencement and progress of Catholicity in Australia*, Sydney 1886, 149–61.
- 233 O'Donoghue, *The bishop*, 34, explores the religious aesthetic of Polding. The 'oratorios' are described in Harden, 'Old St Mary's', 78. Polding ordered his organ and sheet music in his letter to Heptonstall in O'Farrell, *St Mary's Cathedral*.
The description of St Mary's early in 1839 is by Kenny, *Commencement and progress*, 149.
- 234 O'Donoghue, *The bishop*, 40, explores the reasons for Ullathorne's decision to leave Australia.
- MRS BROUGHTON GOES VISITING
- 234–5 The diary of Mary Phoebe Broughton, mss 756, ML, provided much of the basis of this section, sometimes supplemented with details from the diary of her mother, Sarah Broughton, G909, NLA. The Broughtons called on Mary Bowman on 25 Apr 1838, returning a call on 5 Feb. Genealogical data on the Kings and the Lethbridges is to be found in the King family papers A 1977/2, ML, the King–Lethbridge collection A 3599, ML, and the ADB. For the Broughtons see Shaw, *Patriarch and patriot*; Broughton's outrage at being ranked fourth in the colonial order of precedence is *ibid*, 56; his return to third is *ibid*, 123. For Anna Josepha King see M. Bassett, *The governor's lady: Mrs. Philip Gidley King*, Melbourne 1940.
- 235 The description of Lyndhurst has been constructed from the inventory among the Bowman papers, A4262: 271, ML; catalogued by the ML as 'probably Lyndhurst', but a comparison with Dr Bowman's account book A4291, ML, shows that many items on the inventory were in fact for use at Lyndhurst. The floorplan is a reconstruction in J. Broadbent et al, *The golden decade of Australian architecture*, Sydney 1978, 55. See the ADB on Bowman's early career. On the unfashionableness of chiffoniers see J. Durdik et al, *The pictorial encyclopedia of antiques*, London 1970, 286.
- 236 The rules of etiquette are described in 'Agogos', *Hints on etiquette and the usages of society, with a glance at bad habits*, published in London in 1836 and reprinted in Hobart Town in 1838. It is discussed in E. Windschuttle, 'The new science of etiquette', *Push* 7, 1980. For a comparison with the English system see L. Davidoff, *The best circles*, London 1973.
P. Cunningham, *Two years in New South Wales* 2, London 1827, 123, describes the misfortunes of the visiting ship's captain, cited in Windschuttle, 'The new science', 67.
- 236–7 For the SA Club see *Southern Australian*, 22 Sept and 17 Nov. The founding of the Melbourne Club is noted in Paul de Serville, *Port Phillip gentlemen*, Melbourne 1980, 63–6. The SH noted the founding of the Australian Club on 28 May, 18 June and 20 Aug, and the details of membership are from the Australian Club collection A1836, ML, as are members of temporary committee, first committee and list of original members. Gipps's levee was reported in *Australian*, 27 Feb.
- 237 Synot's grammatical lapse is to be found in her letter of 6 Mar 1838, DOC 1418, ML.
'Agogos', *Hints on etiquette*, is cited in Windschuttle, 'The new science', 63. Henry Cavendish Butler wrote to John Butler Danvers on 20 Aug 1838, ML; Synot's letter is Doc 1418, ML.
- 238 Mann's complaint is to be found in his papers, 16 Sept 1836, A2495/1, ML.
Jane Franklin wrote to her sister Mrs Simpkinson 22 Feb 1838, 248/174/3, ML. See Sandra Blair, 'The felonry and the free', *Labour history* 45, 1983, for a full discussion of the subtle social distinctions involved here.
- 238–9 Franklin's complaint is cited in F. Woodward, *Portrait of Jane*, London 1951, 204. The topics of conversation all derive from Mary Phoebe Broughton's diary, mss 756, ML.
- 239 J. Fowles described Woolloomooloo as the West End of Sydney on his arrival on 31 Aug 1838; see his diary B1310, ML. Broadbent et al, *Golden decade*, 21, describe the 'villa conditions'. The hurried construction of Tusculum is described in the introduction to Abbott and Little (eds), *A respectable Sydney merchant*. R. Boldrewood, *In bad company*, London 1901, remembered the 'dress circle', 328.
- 239–40 The residential addresses of Mrs Broughton's friends and acquaintances were compiled from the following sources: 'Plan shewing allotments for sale at Darlinghurst, Elizabeth Bay, the property of Alexr Mcleay Esquire 1841', 1198, the Verge collection, ML; N. Selfe and A. Dowling, 'Pott's Point and Darling Point with original crown grants and early historic mansions', 2906, M2 811.18112/1906/1, ML; J.A. Dowling, 'Pott's Point and Darling Point, and neighbourhood', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 13, 1927; 'Leitrim, property of D. Chambers', mss 1194, map 52, Verge collection, ML; 'Riley Estate', *ibid* map 48; and 'The Forest Lodge', *ibid* map 49. The 1837 *Sydney Directory* is a good base for research, but needs checking for 1838; thus the Broughton diaries comment on 3 Jan 1838 that when the Ryders moved out of Lambert Lodge the Riddells moved in. Current position and salaries of government officials are from the '1838 civil list' in the NSW *Blue book*.
- 240 Mann distinguishes the 'settlers' as 'the very nice families' of Sydney, 16 Sept 1836, A2495, ML.

- JAMES ANLEZARK FOMENTS A RIOT
- 240-1 The depositions of the Supreme Court trials that took place in NSW during 1838 are to be found in four boxes, 9/6312-5, Clerk of the peace, Supreme Court and Circuits, Depositions 1838, AONSW. Anlezark's case is Liverpool no. 79, 8 June 1838, Clerk of the peace 9/6313, AONSW. Further details about the Liverpool public houses come from the butts of licences issued in 1838, 4/68, AONSW.
- 243 There is a very useful literature linking pubs, popular culture, police and middle-class movements of reform and containment in nineteenth-century England. See especially R.D. Storch's three papers in the *International review of social history* 20, 1975, 61-90; the *J of social history* 9/4, June 1976; and A.P. Donajgradzki (ed), *Social control in nineteenth century Britain*, London 1977.
- The introduction to J.M. Freeland, *The Australian pub*, Melbourne 1966, looks at social life in the early pubs. J.W.C. Cumes, *Their chastity was not too rigid*, Sydney 1979, gives some incidental detail linking public houses and leisure, and 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne*, Melbourne 1888, shows pubs as the spawning grounds for everything organised except the Port Phillip Temperance Association and the Melbourne Club.
- 244 Two articles discuss the economic and social context of publicans in 1838: K. Green, 'Friendship among publicans, social organisation in Hobart', *Push* 4, 1979, and A.T. Atkinson, 'Women publicans in 1838', *Push* 8, 1980. Details about the Anlezark family come from the 1828 NSW Census. The description of the native-born publican is that given by A. Harris of one Tommy Parnell, in his *Settlers and convicts*, Melbourne 1953 (1847), 71.
- The unfortunate Lewis's modern-sounding protest and the forged cheques are to be found in Bathurst no 55, 4 Apr 1838, Regina v John Lewis, 9/6312, AONSW.
- 244-5 Harris, who called himself 'An emigrant mechanic', and whose accounts of 'fleecing' publicans have been a major source for later historians, himself describes the function of 'honest' publicans as bankers and finders of employment, Harris, *Settlers and convicts*, 130-1, for 'fleecing'; and *ibid*, 51 for banking. Harris had personal reasons for exaggerating the evils of drink in NSW; see ADB. For alcohol consumption in early NSW and Port Phillip, and British comparisons see ch 5, 'Markets'.
- 245 E.M. Curr (*Recollections of squatting in Victoria*, Melbourne 1883) ventured into the Port Phillip public house in 1839. B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, London 1971, 54, discusses the development of English public houses as 'houses of call'.
- The instructions to Port Phillip are in Letters inward, 11 June 1838, Box 4, 38/120, Vic PRO; Mrs Dillon's delights are described in Atkinson, 'Women publicans'. The residential requirements are laid down in 2 Vic 18, 37.
- 245-6 G. Arden thus remembered Melbourne in 1838 in his *Latest information with regard to Australia Felix*, Melbourne 1977 (1840), 55. The flattering visitor was Captain Gill, praising Melbourne's virtues by reference to Adelaide's vices in *Port Phillip Gazette*, 18 Dec. Details of the Melbourne pubs are reconstructed from two articles in *Victorian historical magazine*, 1919 and 1950, by T. O'Callaghan and R.H. Cole respectively, and from 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne*, all of which contradict each other extensively. Fawknor's library and sleeping quarters are described by the Rev William Waterfield, *Victorian historical magazine* 3, 1914, 107; his hotel's roof and his table manners by 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne*, 541-4. For Fawknor's career and cultural ambitions see ADB, and M. Colligan, 'Culture in the "embryo kingdom"', *Push* 10, 1981. The comparative prices are to be found in P.L. Brown, *Clyde Company papers* 2, London 1952, 79, 95. See J.M. Freeland, *The Australian pub*, Melbourne 1966, for the superior virtues of Sydney and VDL pubs; see *ibid* for his discussion of the Port Phillip pubs. We differ about the timing of the extensions to the Lamb Inn.
- 246 Details of the founding of the Melbourne Club are taken from 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne*, 735-6, 417, and De Serville, *Port Phillip gentlemen*, 63-6.
- 247 See Harris, *Settlers and convicts*, 47, for the Sydney grog shops and their special relationship with the constabulary; see 4/3659, AONSW, for some seventeen country shanties 'proceeded against' by commissioners of crown lands in 1838 on the complaints of landowners. Licensing details were consolidated in 1838 in 2 Vic, no 18. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, and R.W. Malcolmson, *Popular recreations in English society 1700-1850*, Cambridge 1973, both give extensive treatment to the changing role of the English pub as a support to popular leisure and recreation in the nineteenth century.
- Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, 46, makes—and then qualifies—the comparison of male and female living standards. Harris, *Settlers and convicts*, 5, comments on the sober women drinkers; the only drunken ones he finds are prostitutes in unlicensed grog shops. Gipps is quoted in *Temperance advocate*, 21 Apr 1841; the speech is reproduced, and set in context, in E. Windschuttle, 'Women, class and temperance, moral reform in eastern Australia, 1832-57', *Push* 3, 1979.
- 247-8 The case of the declining women publicans is presented in Atkinson, 'Women publicans'.
- 248 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne*, 544, is the source for the licensing reminiscences and for Mrs Pender's labours. See Brown, *Clyde Company papers* vol 2, 95 for Bulger.
- SIR GEORGE GIPPS SIGNS THE PLEDGE
- 248-9 The report of the temperance meeting is taken from *Australian*, 12 June and *Australian temperance magazine* 2/1, 1 July 1838, 1-16.
- 249 For Backhouse and Walker in Tasmania see Backhouse, *Extracts*.
- 249-50 For the international background to temperance see Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*. The founding of the Port Phillip Temperance Society is described in Garryowen, *Chronicles of early Melbourne*.
- 251 The early Australian philanthropic movement is described in E. Windschuttle, 'Evangelicalism and philanthropy: the public role of ruling class women in colonial Australia 1788-1850', in E. Windschuttle (ed), *Women, class and history: feminist perspectives on Australia*, Sydney 1980. Mary Phoebe Broughton's diary gives the Broughton program for 9 June 1838, mss 756, ML.
- 252 For Backhouse, Walker and the ladies' seats see Backhouse, *Extracts*.
- 252-3 See Backhouse, *Extracts*, 83; the journal of George Walker also records details of these case histories.
- 253-4 The 'fallen woman' was depicted by *Temperance advocate*, 2 Dec 1840.

- The 'influence of the female sex' was recommended in *SH*, 8 Jan 1835.
- DR CROWTHER LECTURES AT THE HOBART TOWN MECHANICS' INSTITUTION
- Stefan Petrow kindly supplied information on the early history of the Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution; Tony Rayner and Geoffrey Stillwell helped to identify the 1838 members. For the history of the mechanics' institute movement in Britain see J.F.C. Harrison, *Learning and living 1790–1960: a study in the history of the English adult education movement*, London 1961, and T. Kelly, *A history of adult education in Great Britain*, Liverpool 1970.
- 254 Crowther's lecture was reported in *Hobart Town Courier* and *Tasmanian*, both 11 May. In 1836 D. Buckland published *Geology and mineralogy, considered with reference to natural theology*, London 1836, the sixth of the *Bridgewater treatises on the power, wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in the creation*—so Innes was up to date. For Buckland and the *Bridgewater treatises* see C.C. Gillespie, *Genesis and geology: the impact of scientific discoveries upon religious beliefs in the decades before Darwin*, New York 1959, 209–16.
- The quotations come from F.M. Innes, *A lecture delivered before the members of the Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution; on the advantages of the general dissemination of knowledge, especially by mechanic and kindred institutions*, Hobart 1838, 14–15, 25.
- 255 The attack on the 'gentlemen' who had taken control of the Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution was made in a letter from 'Numskull', *Colonial Times*, 20 July 1827. A response from 'Opifex', *Tasmanian*, 26 July 1827, gives details of the founding of the institution. For further information on its progress during the 1820s see E.A. Webby, 'Literature and the reading public in Australia, 1788–1850', PhD thesis 1971, University of Sydney, 84–90. Arthur's promise of a land grant was reported in *Hobart Town Courier*, 1 Dec 1827.
- The aims of the institution were outlined in *Hobart Town Courier*, 1 Dec 1827, and in *Rules and orders of the mechanics' institution, Hobart Town, Van Diemen's Land*, Hobart 1828.
- The books and their donors were listed in *A catalogue of the library of the Van Diemen's Land Mechanics' Institution*, Hobart 1839. A list of donations of money, maps, specimens, models, pictures and apparatus was included in the *Report of the Van Diemen's Land Mechanics' Institution, for the year 1838, and for the year 1839*, Hobart 1839.
- For Ross see *ADB*. His lectures and classes were advertised in *Hobart Town Courier*, 26 Apr 1833. A list of lectures given 1827–38, appended to the *Report for 1838–1839*, attributes fifteen to Ross.
- For Maconochie see *ADB*, and p 303 of this volume. The quotation comes from *True Colonist*, 7 Apr 1837.
- For the emphasis on the value of the institute for the young, see *Report for 1838–1839*, 5–7.
- 256 The reviews of Woolls' and Martin's books appeared in *True Colonist*, 11 Aug, 19 Sept.
- 256–7 For Franklin's college see L.L. Robson, *A history of Tasmania* 1, Melbourne 1983, 339–42 and ch 1, 'Past and present', of this book. Innes's editorials appeared in *Tasmanian*, 2 Feb, 16 Mar, 13, 20, 27 Apr, 11 May, 18 June; his lecture was reported in the same paper, 20 July.
- Innes expressed his regret in a report of J.P. Rowe's lecture on chemistry, *Tasmanian*, 22 June. The revised rules of the institution were printed in Hobart Town in 1839.
- 257 For the use of Watt as a role model see Harrison, *Learning and living*, 205. The archetypal ignorant criminal Sikes appeared in Dicken's *Oliver Twist*, first published in 1837–38.
- The objects of the Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts were set out in its *Laws*, Sydney 1833. For Wills see *ADB*. The quotation comes from his *Currency Lad*, 27 Oct 1832.
- 257–8 For Hipkiss see *ADB*. His advertisement appeared in *Currency Lad*, 16 Mar 1833. Details of the 1838 Hobart committee come from *Hobart Town Courier*, 13 Apr and the *Report for 1838–1839*.
- 258 The contributions of Bourke and Carmichael to the founding of the Sydney School of Arts are discussed in G. Nadel, *Australia's colonial culture: ideas, men and institutions in mid-nineteenth century eastern Australia*, Massachusetts 1957, 111–24. An address to Franklin, requesting funds, was passed at the 1838 Hobart Town annual general meeting and printed in *Tasmanian*, 30 Mar. Subsequent events are recorded in the *Report for 1838–1839*, 10–11.
- A brief description of the Sydney building may be found in J. Maclehole, *The picture of Sydney: and strangers' guide in New South Wales, for 1838*, Sydney 1838, 127. Details of Carmichael's 1833 lecture and of annual membership and library holdings of the school of arts come from Nadel, *Australia's colonial culture*, 120–1, 283.
- The pronouncement in the *Sydney Monitor* was made on 15 July 1834. In *Third annual report of the Sydney Mechanics' Institution, for the year 1835*, Sydney 1836, 14, the committee also regretted that so few mechanics had yet joined. The defence of novel reading appeared in the *Fourth annual report*, Sydney 1837, 12; that of lectures on literature in the *Fifth annual report*, Sydney 1838, 12.
- A'Beckett's lectures were defended in the *Sixth annual report*, Sydney 1838, 11, and reported by SG, 26 June. They were printed as *Lectures on the poets and poetry of Great Britain, with an introductory lecture on poetry in general*, Sydney 1839.
- 258–9 For C.P.N. Wilton see *ADB*. He had edited four numbers of the 1828 *Australian quarterly j of theology, literature and science*, and published scientific articles in other local newspapers and magazines. The progress of the Newcastle institution was reported in SG, 22 June 1837. On the SA societies see *Laws of the South Australian literary and scientific association*, London 1834, and reports in *Southern Australian*, 7 and 14 July; *SA Gazette*, 8 Dec.
- 259 For further details of literary and scientific societies established in Australia during the 1820s and 1830s see Webby, 'Literature and the reading public', vol 1, 46–65; 258–313. Criticism of the Hobart Town Book Society appeared in *Hobart Town Courier*, 6 May 1836. The letter from 'A Parramatta subscriber' attacking the Parramatta library was printed in *Commercial Journal*, 16 May.
- 259–60 An earlier satirical attack on the exclusiveness of the VDL Society appeared in *Colonial Times*, 3 Dec 1830. 'The Philosophers' appeared in *Tasmanian*, 17 July 1835 and 'Natural Society' in *Bent's News*, 4 May.
- 260 The 1838 annual general meeting approved the printing of 'a corrected list of its officers and members'. The list was appended to the *Report of 1838–1839*, 29–36. For Thomson see *ADB*. Details on Piguénit come from the entry for his son, W. Piguénit, *ADB*.
- Turnbull's challenge to Stephen was reported in *Bent's News*, 7 Apr. The report in the *Hobart Town Courier* of the annual general meeting, 30 Mar, does not mention this

incident but notes that Stephen praised mechanics' institutions as 'a spot of mutual ground upon which men of all parties may meet together for the common benefit'. The committee's resolution was reported in *Tasmanian*, 18 May.

Reports of Beazley, Richards, Coverdale and Lewis's lectures appeared in *Tasmanian*, 20 July, 5 Oct, 1 June and 25 May respectively.

A BENEFIT PERFORMANCE AT THE ROYAL VICTORIA
Beverley Earnshaw provided information from the NSW Masonic Archives.

260-1 A detailed discussion of the struggle to establish theatre in Sydney may be found in E. Irvin, *Theatre comes to Australia*, Brisbane 1971. The claim that excessive theatregoing led to prostitution was made in the Hobart Town *True Colonist*, 21 Aug 1835.

261 The comment in the SG about disreputable persons was made on 29 Mar in an account of the opening of the Royal Victoria Theatre.

Mrs Levey's order to her doorkeepers was reported in *Sydney Monitor*, 26 Jan.

For further information about Wyatt see ADB and R. Thorne, *Theatre buildings in Australia to 1905* 1, Sydney 1971, 108-10. Wyatt's advertisement appeared in *Australian*, 23 Mar.

261-2 Details of the Sydney Royal Victoria Theatre come from R. Thorne, *Theatres in Australia*, Sydney 1977, 3-5. The reference to the function of the side-slips was made by *Sydney Monitor*, 21 Feb.

The SG for 13 Sept praised Mrs Cameron's 'unsullied reputation'. For a discussion of the popularity of *The stranger* see E. Irvin, 'Tears for Mrs Haller', *Quadrant* 22/6, 1977, 55-60. Comments on the Camerons' first performance come from *Hobart Town Courier*, 27 Dec 1833; details of the theatre subscription fund from *Colonial Times*, 8 Apr 1834, and *Tasmanian*, 11 Apr 1834. See also M. Roe, *A history of the Theatre Royal, Hobart, from 1834*, Hobart 1965, 3-6.

262-3 The *Tasmanian*, 25 Sept 1835, reported that both Deane and Cameron had been imprisoned for debt and commented generally on the folly of theatrical speculation.

264 For comments on the 1837 seasons in Hobart see *Hobart Town Courier*, 10 Mar, 7 Apr 1837; *True Colonist*, 14 July 1837; *Tasmanian*, 29 Sept 1837. The decline of the Theatre Royal during 1838 may be traced in *Colonial Times*, 17 Apr, 1 May, 12 June, 4 Sept.

264-5 Description of *The massacre of Jerusalem*, from the playbill for the Camerons' benefit, was quoted in the review in *SH*, 19 Sept. Other reviews appeared in *SG*, 15 Sept, and *Commercial Journal*, 19 Sept.

265 Faucit's performance was condemned in *SG*, 11 Sept. For a discussion of the benefit system and criticism of Wyatt's 1838 arrangements see *SG*, 11 Aug. The SG's major attack on Lazar appeared on 12 July; his reply was printed, with further editorial comment, on 19 July.

266 Cameron advertised a performance under 'the patronage of the Master, Warden, and Brethren of the Tasmanian Lodge of the Free Masons, No 313', *Colonial Times*, 4 Mar 1834. Levey's benefit for the Masons was advertised in *SG*, 11 May 1837.

On the rise of the negro melody see R.C. Toll, *Blackening up: the minstrel show in nineteenth-century America*, New York

1974. The American entertainer Thomas D. Rice had first 'jumped Jim Crow' early in the 1830s; in 1836 he had caused a sensation in London, presumably the source of the Sydney performance.

HOBART TOWN ENJOYS A REGATTA

266-7 See J. Goodrick, *Life in old Van Diemen's Land*, Adelaide 1977, 151, and R. Brasch, *How did sports begin?*, Victoria 1971, 217, for early regattas in Hobart Town.

267 Cricket, leapfrog, pitch-and-toss are all mentioned in Goodrick, *Life in old Van Diemen's Land*, 173. The marble playing incident is referred to in *Colonial Times*, 6 Nov. Lady Franklin's journal noted the attempt to reform the boys by recommending them to the schoolmaster at the National School, 4 Nov, AOTas.

In her journal, Lady Franklin discussed the rivalries and disagreements engendered by the regatta proposal, 31 Oct 1838, 250, to 19 Nov 1838, 289. G. Frankland's anonymous article about the regatta, *Hobart Town Courier*, 28 Dec, written at her instigation, argues that a sense of unity among the settlers was the way to achieve free institutions. See also Lady Franklin's letters to her father and sister, University of Tasmania Archives, and her letters to Eliza Gould, A174, ML.

268 That it was Lady Franklin's idea to have a floral emblem consisting of the wattle blossom in conjunction with blue ribbons and the English oak is clear from her journal, 19 Nov 1838.

269 Eleanor Franklin (later Gell) was the governor's daughter by a previous marriage. Her diary is held with the Gell Family papers in England and is reproduced in the AJCP. The details of the regatta were obtained from *Colonial Times*, 4 Dec; *Hobart Town Courier*, 7 Dec, and (Frankland's article) 28 Dec; *True Colonist*, 7 Dec.

270 The pro-government *Hobart Town Courier*, 7 Dec, estimated the regatta attendance at between five and six thousand. Franklin who, as one of the organisers was pro-regatta, estimated five thousand, *Hobart Town Courier*, 18 Dec. G. Robertson, the strongest opponent of the regatta estimated there were twelve thousand present, *True Colonist*, 7 Dec. The *Colonial Times* and *Bent's News*, each fairly neutral over the regatta controversy described the crowd as '10 000 at least' and 'nearly 10 000' respectively. Eleanor Franklin's diary, 1 Dec 1838 says: 'There were 10 000 there very quiet'.

The thundering denunciation of the 'devil's work' by Sutch was recorded in *Colonial Times*, 4 Dec.

7. PEOPLE CONFINED

This account of the convict system draws mainly on A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the colonies: a study in penal transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire*, London 1966; and J.B. Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies: a history of early New South Wales*, Sydney 1983.

273 Hirst, *Convict society*, 199-204, describes Sydney's consternation; for the VDL response see *Hobart Town Courier*, 1, 8 June; *Launceston Advertiser*, 24 May, 7 June. Shaw, *Convicts*, 258, documents the arrival of the bad news in Nov 1837. The resolutions of the NSWLC are in C.M.H. Clark, *Select documents in Australian history 1788-1850*, Melbourne 1950, 154.

273-4 The argument about varieties of punishment is in S. McConville, *A history of English prison administration* 1,

- London 1981, and applied to the foundation and development of NSW in Hirst, *Convict society*.
- 274 Hirst, *Convict society*, 208–10, places Bland in the 1838 debate. Biographical details are given in *ADB*, and A.M. McIntosh, *The life and times of William Bland*, Sydney 1954. The Australian Patriotic Association is discussed in A.T. Atkinson, 'The parliament in the Jerusalem warehouse', *Push* 12, 1982, and in ch 8, 'Government'.
- 274–5 Bland's letter to England was published in *Letter, from Australian Patriotic Association, to C. Buller, Jun., Esq., M.P.*, Sydney 1843.
- 275 The sources for the estimates of convict statistics are Shaw, *Convicts*, 257, and S.G. Foster, 'Convict assignment in New South Wales in the 1830s', *Push* 15, 1983, adjusted for 1838 by C. Caldwell in an unpublished 1838 research paper. If convicts with tickets of leave are excluded from the total, the figure for those in assignment is higher than three in four. Hirst, *Convict society*, 58, categorises 'the convict offences'.
- 276–7 Macquarie's opening of the Hyde Park Barracks is *ibid*, 41–2. The increasing severity of the system and the roles of the various governors are described in Shaw, *Convicts*, ch 9. The Colonial Office hope to make transportation 'a real punishment' is *ibid*, 250–1.
- THE PARRAMATTA FEMALE FACTORY
- 277 Gipps's first despatch to the CO, 13 Mar 1838, is in *HRA* 1/19, 318–19.
- 278 The evil relations between the sexes allegedly caused by transportation are described in the report of the select committee on transportation, in M. Clark, *Sources of Australian history*, London 1957, 196–7.
- For colonial society's use of convict women see A. Summers, *Damned whores and God's police*, Melbourne 1975. M. Sturma, 'The eye of the beholder: the stereotype of women convicts, 1788–1852', *Labour history* 34, 1978, relates the women's self-understanding to their English background. See also H. Heney, *Australia's founding mothers*, Sydney 1978.
- 278–9 The history of the Parramatta factory is described in L. Heath, 'The female factories in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land', MA thesis 1978, Australian National University; H. Weatherburn, 'The female factory' in J. Mackinolty and H. Radi (eds), *In pursuit of justice*, Sydney 1979; and A. Salt, *These outcast women*, Sydney 1984.
- 280 For Gipps and the female factory see L. Heath, 'A safe and salutary discipline: the dark cells at the Parramatta female factory, 1838', *Push* 9, 1981. For Gipps and Fry see Gipps to Glenelg, 9 Oct 1837, *HRA* 1/19, 114. Gipps's condemnation of drunken women is cited in E. Windschuttle, 'Women, class and temperance', *Push* 3, 1979.
- SH reported the weather on 2 Mar and thereafter. Fry's involvement can be reconstructed from her correspondence with the CO later in the year, discussed below.
- 280–1 Gipps's despatch, 13 Mar 1838, describes the factory as he found it, and his proposed improvements. Leach's request for means of employment for the third-class women is 19 Feb 1838, 4/4201.1, 38/1796 AONSW. Weatherburn, 'Female factory', 25, and Salt, *Outcast women*, 104–19, discuss the success of the factory as a manufactory. Gipps's comments on the sleeping rooms and his reference to authorised alterations are in his despatch of 13 Mar.
- 281 This despatch also included his report of Leach and Clapham's 'mortifying' quarrel. Their accusations and justifications are to be found in Clapham to Gipps, 5 Mar 1838, 4/2401.1, 38/6232, and 21 May 1838, 4/2401.1, 38/5051, AONSW; and in letters forwarded by Fry to Glenelg, 18 July 1838, CO 201/281, and 19 Dec 1838, CO 202/38–9. Replies to Clapham's charges by Bell and the visiting magistrate P.L. Campbell are in letters 38/4860 and 38/5291, 4/2401.1 AONSW.
- 281–2 Clapham accused Leach of corruption, among other things, in his letters of 14, 17 May 1838, enclosed in CO 202/38–9. Leach's complaint against the turnkeys and their Catholic confidant is in her letter to Fry, 10 Apr 1838, in CO 201/281. Gipps's letter, 9 May 1838, asking Leach to resign is Doc 672, ML.
- 282–3 Weatherburn, 'Female factory', 20, gives a useful diagram comparing numbers in the factory with numbers undergoing colonial sentence during the 1830s and 1840s. The claim that the women liked the factory was made by, among others, J.F. Staff in a letter to Fry, 17 May 1838, in CO 202/38. Lynch's exploits are described in Clapham's letter to Gipps, 21 May 1838, and Clapham's reaction in Campbell's comments on his charges, 4/2401.1, AONSW.
- 283 Anne Deas Thomson's letter to her father, 16 Aug 1838, is at mss 403, ML. Gipps's plan is shown on the building plan 'Transverse section through a range of cells' submitted to the col sec, 20 Feb 1840, when the cells were completed. The presence of male prisoners in the factory is deplored in Clapham's letter, 21 May 1838, 4/2401.1, 38/5051, AONSW.
- The failure of the 'adult school' is described by Clapham in his letter, 26 Mar 1838, CO 201/281. Salt, *Outcast women*, 106–7, describes Gipps's other attempts to give the women employment.
- CASCADES FACTORY, HOBART TOWN
- 283–4 For the history of the Cascades female factory see T. Rayner, 'The female factory at Cascades, Hobart', in *National parks and wildlife service, Tasmania* 3, 1981; and L. Heath, 'The female factories'. Arthur's demand for rigidity is cited in Rayner, 'Cascades', 8. In Mar 1838 the coroner's jury reported the regular use of the dark cells, CS05/114/2608, 203–4, AOTas. The coroner's report is at CS05/114/2608, 186–8, AOTas. Rayner, 'Cascades', discusses the Franklins' relations with Fry, 29, and the movement of the nursery out of the factory, 18.
- HYDE PARK BARRACKS
- 285 For the architectural design and building construction of the barracks see W. Thorp, *Archival report Hyde Park Barracks Macquarie Street*, Sydney 1980.
- For the daily routine of the barracks see SG, 1 May 1819. For details of the building see J.T. Bigge, 'The convict barracks at Hyde Park, 1820', in Clark, *Select documents*, 124–5.
- 285–6 For the arrangements about new arrivals see Gipps to Marquess of Normanby, 11 Jan 1840, and Gipps to Glenelg, 8 July 1839, *HRA* 1/20. For the clerk's error see MacLean to col sec, 14, 27 Sept 1838, 4/2396, 38/9654 and 38/10 233, AONSW. For Ullathorne's comment, see W. Ullathorne, *The Catholic mission in Australasia*, Liverpool 1837, iv. Ullathorne also refers to conditions for new arrivals, 16–18.
- 286–8 For Gipps's comments about the designation of the barracks and its inmates see Gipps to Stanley, 28 Nov 1844, *HRA* 1/24, 85. The employment of scourgers is in 'Return

- of the department of the principal superintendent of convicts, 1 Jan–31 Dec 1838', col sec correspondence, 4/2394, AONSW. The number of lashes is an approximation taken from figures in *HRA* 1/19, 653–4. For the details about the 'cat' and the infliction of punishment see 'Return of corporal punishment 1833', col sec correspondence, 4/2189.1 and particularly returns from police magistrate, Bathurst, 33/6681; superintendent of police, Windsor, 33/6605; police office, Maitland, 33/7587; police magistrate, Lake Macquarie, 33/6602; resident magistrate at Stonequarry, 34/230; S. Wright JP, Parramatta, 33/6737; police magistrate, Wollongong, 33/6653, AONSW; and Gipps to Russell, 19 Jan 1841, *HRA* 1/21, 191.
- 288 For the dress regulations see superintendent of Hyde Park Barracks to principal superintendent of convicts, 10 Jan 1838, col sec correspondence, 4/2394, 38/469, AONSW, and particularly the comment signed 'KS' (Kenneth Snodgrass, Acting Gov). For Ullathorne's comment see his *Catholic mission*, 16.
- 289 Hirst, *Convict society*, 57–69, discusses the relationship between flogging, work and freedom.
- PORT PHILLIP WORK GANGS
For details about the convict workforce in Melbourne or Geelong see police magistrate Port Phillip, 1, 2 and 4, Vic PRO, and col sec correspondence, 4/2510 and 4/2471, AONSW.
- NORFOLK ISLAND PENAL SETTLEMENT
This section is largely based on the diary kept on Norfolk Island, 1837–1840, by the Rev Thomas Sharpe, B217218, ML. All quotations from Sharpe are from this diary.
- 293 For the geographical features see Department of Home Affairs and Environment, *Norfolk Island Kingston and Arthur's Vale historic area management plan*, Canberra 1981. For 'a year whose days are long', see Oscar Wilde, 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol', in J.H. Buckley and G.B. Woods (eds), *Poetry of the Victorian period*, Glenview (Ill) 1955, 830.
- 294 Reference to the new gaol is in Bourke to Glenelg, 5 Nov 1837, *HRA* 1/19, 152. For Anderson's appointment see Bourke to Stanley, 29 June 1834, *HRA* 1/17, 456.
Bourke comments on the orderliness of Norfolk Island in his despatch to Glenelg, 5 Nov 1837, *HRA* 1/19, 152.
- 295 For the prohibition of implements other than hoes and spades see Bourke to Stanley, 15 Jan 1834, *HRA* 1/17, 319.
- 300 For the appointment of the Catholic clergy see Gipps to Glenelg, 28 Nov 1838, *HRA* 1/17, 686–7.
- FLINDERS ISLAND ABORIGINAL ESTABLISHMENT
- 301–2 The Franklins' visit and Robinson's concern for the removal of the Aborigines are found in papers of George Augustus Robinson, Flinders Island journal, 25–6 Jan 1838, A7033/12, ML. Numbers of whites and blacks at the establishment in Jan 1838 and the appearance of Wybalenna are detailed in the Report of the Aboriginal establishment, 31 Dec 1837, Flinders Island papers, A573, ML.
- 303 For Maconochie see ADB.J.V. Barry, *Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island*, Melbourne 1958; S.C. McCulloch, 'Sir George Gipps and Captain Alexander Maconochie', *Hist stud* 7, 387–405. *Ibid.*, 390, cites Maconochie on 'mere authority' and 'means of persuasion'. Maconochie's proposals for a native police are outlined in letters to Bourke, 10 June 1837, and to Glenelg, 23 June 1837, app L, M, BrPP 1845, 32/372, 131–2; see also Aborigines and native police, 1835–44, 4/1135.1, AONSW.
- 303–4 The exhortations of the Aborigines are found in *Flinders Island Chronicle*, 17 Nov 1837, in the papers of William Thomas, uncat mss 214/1, ML. Robinson reported the name changes on 30 Apr 1836, Flinders Island papers, A573, ML.
- 305–6 Robinson's program of 'moral reformation' is set out in many entries in his journal 1835–39, A7032–4/11–13, ML. See for example, 7, 18 Nov and 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 16, 28 Dec 1835, 21, 25 Sept, 26 Oct and 18 Nov 1836 and 10 Feb 1837.
- 306 The Doves arrived with Franklin on 25 Jan 1838. Their reports are found in the Flinders Island papers, A573, ML.
- 306–7 Hickling's and Atkinson's cases are found in Robinson's journal, 5, 9, 13, 22 Jan 1838.
- 307 For Robinson and the sealing women see his journal Aug and Sept 1837.
Robinson's problems with the mission Aborigines are detailed in his journal in Dec 1835, Mar 1836 and July 1837.
- 308 The comparison of the Aborigines' condition as slaves is derived from O. Patterson, *Slavery and social-death*, Cambridge 1982.
Robinson's concern about removal is found in his journal for 11, 19, 28 June 1838.
Arrival of the *Isabella* is in Robinson's journal, 25 July 1838. The despatch announcing Robinson's appointment had been sent by Glenelg to Gipps on 31 Jan 1838, BrPP 1839, 34/526, 4–5. A copy was sent to Franklin in Hobart Town. The letter from col sec in VDL to col sec in NSW, 22 Aug 1838 is found in the correspondence and other papers, both official and private, Flinders Island, G.A. Robinson papers, A7069/48, ML.
Robinson appeared before the committee on 10, 17 Sept 1838. See Report from the committee on the Aborigines question, 12 Oct 1838, NSWLC V&P, 1838. See also Robinson's journal, 10 and 17 Sept 1838. Robinson's dilemma about his appointment is described in his journal, 20, 21, 27 Oct 1838. See also Gipps to Glenelg, 10 Oct and 10 Nov 1838, 1219, 450–1, 611–16, 619–20, ML.
- 308–10 Franklin's plan for dispersal of the Flinders Island Aborigines is found in Robinson's journal of 18 and 20 Nov 1838. The first board of inquiry reported on 25 Mar 1839 and recommended a drastic reduction in the cost of maintaining the Aboriginal establishment. This was largely achieved by cutting the numbers of white support staff and reducing the salary of the commandant who succeeded Robinson. See Robinson papers, A7071/50, ML, and Flinders Island papers, A573, ML.
- 311 Maconochie described his goals in his book *Norfolk Island*, London 1847, quoted in Clark, *Select documents*, 142–4.
Bland's comments are in *Letter, from the Australian Patriotic Association*, 39.
8. GOVERNMENT
- THE QUEEN'S COMMISSION
- 313–15 The description of Gipps's arrival comes from several newspaper reports: SG, 24, 27 Feb, SH, 26 Feb, *Sydney Monitor*, 26, 28 Feb, *Australian*, 27 Feb, and *Colonist*, 28 Feb. Col R. Gillespie kindly provided information re viceregal uniform. Lady Franklin's comment on Gipps is quoted in K. Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, 1837–1843*, Melbourne 1949, 43.

- 315 For Wood's illuminations see SG, 8 Dec 1831, 3 Mar 1838. *Sydney Monitor* offered Gipps its advice on 28 Feb. Gawler's arrival was reported in *SA Gazette*, 13, 20 Oct. Thomson's verdict is in a letter to his parents, 25 Dec 1838, in J.G. Johnston, *The truth: consisting of letters just received from emigrants to the Australian colonies*, Edinburgh 1839, 34–5.
- 315–16 Gipps's commission (5 Oct 1837) is printed in *HRA* 1/19, 295–301. The instructions (10 Oct) that accompanied the commission may be found at CO380/104, ff52–94. Gawler's address to the Aborigines is reported in *SA Gazette*, 20 Oct.
- 316–17 G. Martin sums up the critical views of Glenelg and offers a partial defence in his review article 'Two cheers for Lord Glenelg', *J of Imperial and Commonwealth history* 7/2, 1979. Much has been written about the CO in the 1830s: a good starting point is A.G.L. Shaw, 'Orders from Downing Street', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 54/2, 1968. The discussion here is based chiefly on the CO records. Molesworth's attack on Glenelg is in *Br Parliamentary debates*, 41/3, H of C, 6 Mar 1838.
- SERVANTS OF THE CROWN
- 317 Gawler's complaint about the SA departments was relayed by his wife, Maria, to her sister, 7 Dec 1838 (copy), PRG 50/19/10, SA Archives. The analysis of the NSW public service is taken from the 1838 estimates, NSWLC V&P, 1837.
- 318–19 For Thomson's career see S.G. Foster, *Colonial improver: Edward Deas Thomson and New South Wales*, Melbourne 1978. His 'old dad's' encouragement, in a letter of 3 Aug [1837], is quoted on 51. Gipps commented on patronage in the LC, quoted in *SH*, 27 Mar 1839; and in a private letter to C.J. LaTrobe, [May] 1840, 650–2, La Trobe Library. Glenelg's letter of 13 Mar introducing Durlacher to Stirling is in CSO 61, Battye Library. Anne Deas Thomson told Richard Bourke jr of Glenelg's 'cargoes' in a letter of 5 Sept [1837], Bourke papers ms A1738, ML. The letters about Patrick Grant are Glenelg to Bourke, 10 May 1837, and Sir John Macdonald to Bourke, Bourke papers, mss 403, ML.
- 319 T.H. James commented adversely on SA's civil officers in his *Six months in South Australia*, London 1838. D.S. Garden outlines Spencer's career in *Albany: a panorama of the Sound from 1827*, Melbourne 1977, 49–51, 103–9. The board's assessment is quoted at 108. On Arthur's connections see A.G.L. Shaw, *Sir George Arthur*, Melbourne 1980, 160–1.
- 319–20 The 'accident' of G.M. Stephen's appointment is mentioned in *ADB*. Frankland courted Franklin in his letter of 3 Mar 1837, CSO/19/1, AOTas. Mitchell's declaration is quoted by H. King, 'Pulling strings at the Colonial Office', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 61/3, 1975, 158. Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin*, tells the story of the Clapperton case, 138–48.
- 320 The dual system of government in SA is described in D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent: South Australia 1829–1857*, Melbourne 1957. On Fisher see *ibid*, 105–6, 222–30, and *ADB*. Thomson's crisis of loyalty towards Gipps is discussed, from Thomson's viewpoint, in Foster, *Colonial improver*, 52–7.
- LAW MAKERS
- 321 The *Hobart Town Courier*, 14 July 1837, welcomed the opening of the LC. Gipps was praised for opening the NSWLC in SG, 17 May and *Australian*, 20 July. Seating arrangements in the NSWLC were described in SG, 9 June. The contretemps over who sat where took place on 3 July and was reported in *SH*, 6 July. Close's letter of resignation, sent to the col sec on 8 Sept 1838, is in *HRA* 1/19, 605–6. The *Hobart Town Courier* commented on 21 July 1837 on the lack of interest in LC debates, and on 4 Aug on their low quality. Therry told Sir R. Bourke, 29 Dec 1838, about Gipps's conduct in the LC, Bourke papers mss 403, ML.
- 322 Gipps's comments on 'small government' are in his reply to an address by the president and committee of the Sydney Dispensary, printed in NSW GG, 25 Apr 1838. His objection to appointing a health officer is quoted in Foster, *Colonial improver*, 54. The debate on catarrh is discussed in J.M.R. Cameron, 'The Catarrh Act of 1838', *Push* 18, 1984.
- 322–3 The Police Act referred to is the act of council 2 Vic no 2.
- 323 Clark's frustration at being unable to get a divorce in WA is expressed in his letter to Glenelg, 1 Dec 1838, CO18/20, ff333–4; an accompanying minute and draft letter by James Stephen explain the prohibition on colonial divorces. Stevenson is quoted from *SA Gazette* in J. Cashen, 'Masters and servants in early South Australia', *Push* 6, 1980, 24. Hindmarsh is quoted in R.M. Hague, *Sir John Jeffcott: portrait of a colonial judge*, Melbourne 1963, 67.
- THE APPEARANCE OF POWER
- 323–4 Information on the government house, or hut, in Adelaide, comes from the report of T. Gilbert and W. Nation on the state of government house, 28 Sept 1838, GRG 24/1/1838/197, SA Archives. For other detail on the current and proposed government houses see J.A. Dibdin, 'George Strickland Kingston and the provision of a "permanent outfit" for South Australia', BA hon's thesis 1965, University of Adelaide, 6, 31–8.
- 324–5 For the old and new government houses in Sydney see R. Gillespie, *Viceroyal quarters, an account of the various residences of the governors of New South Wales from 1788 until the present day*, Sydney 1975; and A. Bickford et al, *First government house site, Sydney, Australia: statement of cultural significance*, Sydney 1983. The report in the *SH*, on 28 May, of the 1838 Queen's Birthday ball, gives an interesting account of the use of the various rooms of the old Sydney government house on that occasion.
- 326 The policies of the Franklins, and their results, have been gathered from Lady Franklin's diary for Jan 1838, in G. Mackaness (ed), *Some private correspondence of Sir John and Lady Jane Franklin* 1, Sydney 1977 (1947), 23, and Fitzpatrick, *Sir John Franklin*, 166–7. The McDermott episode is detailed in *SH*, 4 June, where it also appears that Gipps assured McDermott afterwards that it was not his former military rank that had led to his expulsion. However this was certainly the reason given to McDermott at the time.
- 327 For an excellent account of the way the rules of etiquette made for one-way traffic between ranks see L. Davidoff, *The best circles: society, etiquette and the season*, London 1973, 41–6. See also E. Windschuttle, 'The new science of etiquette', *Push* 7, 1980. Lady Gipps's visits to Sydney infant schools were noticed by *SH*, 15 Sept.
- 328 The addresses of welcome to Gipps and his replies were published in the NSW GG, 21 Mar, 11, 18 Apr 1838.
- 328–9 Most of the detail of the Franklins' 1838 tour comes from Sir John's despatch to the sec of state, Glenelg, 12 Feb 1838,

CO 280/93; and from Lady Franklin's diary, in Mackaness (ed), *Private correspondence* vol 1. See also *Hobart Town Courier*, 29 Dec 1837; *Murray's Review*, 23 Jan, 6 Feb; *Launceston Advertiser* 18, 25 Jan.

DEMANDS FOR CHANGE

- 330 W.C. Wentworth and all the others mentioned with him appear in *ADB*.

This account of freemasonry in NSW comes mainly from K.R. Cramp and G. Mackaness, *A history of the United Grand Lodge of New South Wales* 1, Sydney 1983, 1–61. For Terry's connection with freemasonry see G. Dow, *Samuel Terry, the Botany Bay Rothschild*, Sydney 1974, 215–16, 225–6; *Australian*, 27 Feb. The account of masonic funeral ritual comes from R.G. Hay, *Freemasonry in Parramatta 1836–1936* [no place or date of publication].

Nichols' attitude to women is deduced mainly from his remarkable speech on the question of rape, in the NSWLC in 1855, *SMH*, 15 Aug 1855.

For Melville, Murray and Horne see Cramp and Mackaness, *History of the United Grand Lodge* vol 1, 46; relevant articles in *ADB*; C.M.H. Clark, *A history of Australia* 2, Melbourne 1968, 300, 301.

- 331 *Murray's Review* commented on Broughton in its issue of 26 June.

- 333 The history of the Patriotic Association is dealt with in A.T. Atkinson, 'The parliament in the Jerusalem Warehouse', *Push* 12, 1982.

The quotation comes from *Australian*, 2 June 1835. Similar idealism appears in G. Allen's diary, 18 Sept 1835, mss 477, ML.

- 333–4 For the Political Association see Clark, *History of Australia* vol 2, 301–3. For Kemp see *ADB*, and for his ties with freemasonry, Cramp and Mackaness, *History of the United Grand Lodge* vol 1, 2–4. The June meeting is described in *Murray's Review*, 26 June.

- 335 The quotation about insults comes from *Australian*, 2 Feb.

- 336 For the 'perfect revolution' see *Australian*, 19 Jan.

The *Australian* announced 'the approaching Australian Revolution' on 17 July, and Lord Glenelg's final decision on 20 Oct.

For radicalism in the Sydney press at this period see D.W.L. Webster, 'Radicalism and the Sydney Press c.1838–1846', MA thesis 1978, University of Melbourne. Webster refers to the Owenites, 56.

- 336–7 For W.N. Clark and *Swan River Guardian* see M. Anderson and A. Gill, 'The history of the *Swan River Guardian*, or, the death of the free press in Western Australia', *Push* 10, 1981. All quotations appear therein.

THE PROPER MANAGEMENT OF CONVICTS

This section draws substantially on S.G. Foster, 'Convict assignment in New South Wales in the 1830s', *Push* 15, 1983. See also A.G.L. Shaw, *Convicts and the colonies*, London 1966, 217–48.

- 339–40 The Bucknell case, elaborated upon shortly, is in col sec in-letters 4/2387.1, AONSW. C. Caldwell calculated the number of convicts in assigned service from Returns of the colony and other sources. Shaw, *Convicts and the colonies*, 233, quotes Darling's comment on assignment to John Macarthur, 4 July 1831. F.A. Hely expressed frustration over the conduct of assignees in an undated memorandum at col sec special bundle 4/1116, AONSW. The 1835 regulations were published in the GG. Documents relating

to their preparation are at 4/1116, AONSW. Bourke justified the regulations in a despatch to the sec of state, 26 June 1835, HRA 1/17, 750. Complaints about abuses of the regulations in 1838 include SG, 5 July, SH, 23 Jan, 4 July. Gipps's additional regulations are in GG, 15 Aug 1838.

- 341 The 1837 list of assignments revoked is in Gipps to Glenelg, 23 May 1838, CO201/273, ff 154–6; the 1838 list is in Gipps to Glenelg, 18 Mar 1839, CO201/285, ff 224–30. For British views of the transportation system see J.B. Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies: a history of early New South Wales*, Sydney 1983, 9–27.

The select committee on transportation presented two reports to the H of C, each accompanied by minutes of oral evidence and documents. The brief interim report, tabled on 14 July 1837, is in BrPP, 1837, 19/518, the final report, tabled on 3 Aug 1838, is in BrPP, 1837–38, 22/669. The political background of the committee and details of its hearings are in J. Ritchie, 'Towards ending an unclean thing: the Molesworth committee and the abolition of transportation to NSW, 1837–40', *Hist stud* 17/67, 1976.

N. Townsend, 'The Molesworth enquiry: does the report fit the evidence?', *J. Aust stud* 1, 1977, argues that it does not. Hirst, *Convict society*, 26–7, 99–200, sets the Committee and its report in a wider context.

- 341–2 There were numerous newspaper comments on Molesworth's final report. See also the petition to Gipps from magistrates, landholders and other colonists, June 1838, and the LC resolutions, 17 July, in NSWLC V&P. Anne Deas Thomson attested to Gipps's concern with 'matters of mere convict discipline', in her letter to Sir R. Bourke, 16 Aug 1838, Bourke papers, mss 403, ML.

- 342 The table is extracted from the list at CO201/285, ff224–30. Harington refers to a 'vicious softness' in an undated minute, probably 1838, at 4/1116, AONSW.

- 342–4 Each revocation case mentioned here has been pieced together from various documents in AONSW: for detailed references see Foster 'Convict assignment'.

- 344 The analogy between slavery and assignment is disputed in Hirst, *Convict society*, 77, 207–10. Thomson mentioned the 'privilege of withdrawal' in his minute on P.L. Campbell PM to superintendent of convicts, 17 Dec 1838, 38/13661, col sec in letters 4/2419.3, AONSW.

IMMIGRATION

- 345 The information on Brown, Pytchley parish and the assistance for the Flavels' emigration comes from J. Camm, 'Emigration on the parish: from Pytchley and poverty to the Australian colonies 1838 to 1850', *Push* 17, 1984.

- 346 The material on the Flavels' boarding ship and setting off to sea is from, Flavel Family History Association, *Far called: the Flavel and associated families in Australia 1838–1982*, Adelaide 1982, 17. See also *ibid* for a description of the Flavels' settlement in South Australia, 17–18.

Glenelg's letter to Bourke, 29 Apr 1837, is in BrPP, 1837, 43/358.

- 347 There is a great deal of work published on Wakefield, including: R. Garnett, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: the colonization of South Australia and New Zealand*, London 1898; R.C. Mills, *The colonization of Australia, 1829–1842*, London 1915; J. Philipp, *A great view of things*, Melbourne 1971; and A.G. Price, *Founders and pioneers of South Australia*, Adelaide 1929.

R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia 1788–1851*, Sydney 1969 (1937), has an interesting section

- on Elliot beginning 126. See also R.J. Schultz's review article on Madgwick in *Hist stud* 14/54, 1970, 273. Portman's letter to George Fife Angas, 7 Dec 1838, is among Angas family papers in the possession of Rob Linn, Adelaide. The bounty system is described in detail by Madgwick, *Immigration*, 150–68.
- Lang's views on emigration appeared in his, *An historical and statistical account of New South Wales*, London 1837. The statement about empire is vol 1, ix and the scripture quotation is vol 2, 164, 166. The idea about the improving state of NSW society is vol 2, 171–3, 192.
- 347–8 The SA condemnation of fellow Australian colonies is from Anon, *The great south land: four papers on emigration designed to exhibit the principals and progress of the new colony of South Australia*, London 1838, 24. The quotation praising South Australia is at 23.
- 348 For Ashton see J. Knott, 'A Chartist's view of Australia, 1838', *Push* 13, 1982.
- 349 For Parkes see his *An emigrant's home letters*, Sydney 1896, 28–9.
- For Macarthur at Bristol see his evidence before the select committee on transportation, 5 Feb 1838, BrPP, 1837–38, 22/669, 6. For the *Layton* see *Push* 5, 1979, 78–9.
- 349–50 Many shipboard diaries were consulted at the SA Archives. The impressions gained from them were overwhelmingly similar. The most vivid and decipherable account was Henry Ward's shipboard diary, D6357(L), SA Archives.
- FATHERS OF THE PEOPLE
- 350 B. Dickey discusses welfare in nineteenth century Australia in his *No charity there: a short history of social welfare in Australia*, Melbourne 1980, quoting Macquarie on 19. For a comparison of principles applied in Britain and the colonies see J.B. Hirst, 'Keeping colonial history colonial: the Hartz theory revisited', *Hist stud* 21, 1984, 86–96.
- 350–1 The note about Hudson was written by W.H. Mackie, 1 Oct 1838, CSO63, Battye Library. Dickey refers to Governor Arthur's methods in *No charity there*, 28.
- 351 For the views of John Arthur see executive council minutes, no 73, 21 May 1838, EC 4/6, AOTas. See also minute no 143, 4 Apr 1838, *ibid*.
- Thompson explained his past policies in his letter to Sir James McGregor (rightly McGrigor), 23 July 1840, HRA 1/21, 363–5. The letter is a useful summary of events since Thompson's arrival in 1836.
- The British government's orders about the maintenance of free paupers are contained in CO408/14, 6 Oct 1837 for VDL and CO202/37, 29 Sept 1837 for NSW.
- The Parramatta hospital account book is to be found at 4/7071, AONSW. The accounts for 1838 do not distinguish paupers from other 'free persons' (in fact the method of categorisation makes all free persons into employees, which cannot be accurate), but those for 1843 do so, and some projection backwards is possible. The proportion throughout NSW has been estimated from a combination of sources. Thompson, in his letter cited above, explained that the colonial treasury paid the commissariat each year for the paupers treated in the hospitals. The *Blue book* for 1838 shows the number of such paupers and the number of assigned convicts treated, both represented merely as items of expense. How many of the remaining patients were convicts in government employment is hard to say, but at Parramatta hospital there were three times as many government as assigned convicts.
- If this was typical then 6 per cent of patients throughout the colony were paupers.
- 352 The story of Laurentitz comes from a memorandum by R. Robertson, Sydney Hospital, 7 Apr 1838, and official minutes thereon, 4/2402.2, AONSW.
- The statement by Hill comes from his letter to John Thompson, 28 Apr 1838, 4/2402/2, AONSW. The traditional system of free medicine is described by W. Nichol, 'Medicine and the labour movement in New South Wales before 1850', *Labour history* 49, 1985.
- Copies of Cotter's reports on the Adelaide Infirmary, all letters addressed to col sec, 20 Jan, 9 Apr, 25 July 1838, are to be found in *Southern Australian*, 1 Sept. The original of the last (GRG 24/1/1838/151a, SA Archives) shows that the correct date was 26 July. Useful detail also appears in the report of the board appointed to inquire into the Infirmary, 17 Sept 1838, GRG 24/90/369, SA Archives.
- 352–3 For Cotter's views on government welfare see his letter to col sec, 25 Jan 1838, GRG 24/1/1838/1692, SA Archives. His letter 'To the Working Classes of South Australia', appeared in *Southern Australian*, 2 June. For the scheme for a new hospital see *Southern Australian*, 2, 9 June, 1 Sept. The reform of the Infirmary is detailed in the SA GG (extraordinary), 5 Dec 1838.
- 354 Dickey gives a summary of the history of the NSW Benevolent Society in his *No charity there*, 20–6. See also C.J. Cummins, *The development of the Benevolent Asylum, Sydney 1788–1855*, Sydney 1971; and the records of the Benevolent Society in the ML, especially A7154, A7170, A7185, A7254–1.
- 355–6 The story of the Tobin family has been assembled from various sources; trial depositions, Windsor, no 8 (R v Michael Tobin), 9/6311, AONSW; minutes of the acting committee of the Benevolent Society, 5 Sept 1837, 27 Dec 1838, A7170, ML; convictions for 1837–39, X67, AONSW; G. Allen to col sec, 5 Feb 1838, 4/2388.3, AONSW; Minutes of house committee of the Benevolent Society 23 Feb 1838, A7185 Book 4, ML.
- MASTERS OF THE SOIL
- 356–7 The method of distributing crown land in this period is dealt with in P. Burroughs, *Britain and Australia 1831–1855*, Oxford 1967.
- 357 For the problem of title in VDL see J. West, *The history of Tasmania*, Sydney 1981 (1852), 109–14.
- 358 The story of P. Wicks is told in 'Diary and proceedings', Lands and surveys department, no 239, 25 Sept 1838, Battye Library. See also *Perth Gazette*, 29 Sept, 27 Oct. Perry's comment on his department come from his letter to col sec, 10 Jan 1838, 2/2202, 129, AONSW.
- 359 Early applications for grazing leases in SA including that of the Cattle Company, are at GRG 35/211/2, SA Archives. The history of squatting in NSW appears in S.H. Roberts, *The squatting age in Australia 1835–1847*, Melbourne 1964 (1935).
- For Skate see J. Larmer to surveyor-general, 27 April 1838, 2/1550, AONSW; and for Green see T.S. Townsend to surveyor-general, 12 Nov 1838, 2/1583, AONSW.
- 360 For O'Donnell see col sec to J. Lambie, 7 June 1838, 4/3659 AONSW; for Driscoll see Lambie to col sec, 22 Mar 1838, 4/2438.2, AONSW.
- James Macarthur told Bundle's story in a speech at Campbelltown, 1843, *Australian*, 18 Jan 1843.

- For Brodribb see his book, *Recollections of an Australian squatter 1835–1883*, Sydney 1978 (1883), 3–16.
- 360–1 The complaint about Lawson appears in A.T. Atkinson, 'The government of time and space in 1838', *Push* 9, 1981, 7.
- 361 The petition of the residents of the Parkland, 1 June 1838, is to be found at GRG 1838/124, SA Archives.
- For the quarrel over the Guildford School Meadows see R.G. Meares to col sec, 18 Mar, 17 Apr 1838, CSO 61, ff44, 139, Battye Library.
- THE IMPENDING CATASTROPHE
- 361–2 The discussion of Exeter Hall is based chiefly on 'One of the Protestant Party', *Random collections of Exeter Hall, in 1834–1837*, London 1837, 1–20. The 'May meetings' in fact began in April and lasted for six weeks. The report, resolutions and list of the committee of the Aborigines Protection Society are in *The first annual report of the Aborigines Protection Society, presented at the meeting in Exeter Hall, May 16th, 1838*, London 1838 (copy kindly supplied by Dr J. Woolmington, Armidale, NSW). A brief account of the society's formation is in H.R.F. Bourne, *The Aborigines Protection Society: chapters in its history*, London 1899. For Buxton's career see *DNB* 3, 559–61, and R.H. Mottram, *Buxton the liberator*, London 1946.
- 362 The H of C motion, 1 July 1834, is in *Br Parliamentary debates*, 24/3, 1061–2. The final report of the Select committee on Aborigines (British settlements) is in *BrPP*, 1837, 7/425. For a discussion of the committee's recommendations see R.H.W. Reece, *Aborigines and colonists: Aborigines and colonial society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s*, Sydney 1974, 132–4. Buxton's hopes for the report are mentioned in C. Buxton (ed), *Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Baronet*, London 1848, 415, while Grey's contribution to drafting the report is mentioned *ibid*, 417. Stephen's religious outlook and his attitude to indigenous peoples are discussed by many authors, including M. Hennell, *Sons of the prophets: evangelical leaders of the Victorian church*, London 1979, 91–103, and T.J. Barron, 'James Stephen, the "Black Race" and British colonial administration, 1813–47', *J of Imperial and Commonwealth history* 5/2, 1977, 131–50.
- The instructions to Hindmarsh, of which the eighth paragraph is relevant, are at CO 381/6, 47. The governor sent his proclamation, dated 28 Dec 1836, to Glenelg on 6 Jan 1837, CO 13/6, f7. The background to the appointment of a protector in SA is outlined in R. Gibbs, 'Relations between the Aboriginal inhabitants and the first South Australian colonists', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australia (SA Branch)* 61, 1959–60, 63–6. The *Southern Australian* is quoted in Gibbs, 'Relations', 72.
- 362–3 The conflicts of March 1838 are reported in Wyatt to col sec, 1 Apr, GRG 24/1/3, 69, SA Archives. Hindmarsh sent a copy of his proclamation, dated 10 Mar, to Glenelg on 16 Mar, CO 13/10, ff 160–3.
- 363 Gawler's proclamation is published in *SA Gazette*, 10 Nov. The settlers' warning of an impending struggle for the soil was conveyed in Wyatt to col sec, 10 Jan 1838, GRG 24/1, SA Archives. Stephen's anxieties are shown in his despatch to Glenelg, 5 Oct, CO 13/11, f333.
- For an account of race relations during Western Australia's first decade see N. Green, 'Aborigines and white settlers in the nineteenth century', in C.T. Stannage (ed), *A new history of Western Australia*, Nedlands 1981, 78–89. Fifteen was the official estimate of Aborigines killed at the battle of Pinjarra; the actual number may have been far greater. N. Green, 'Aboriginal and settler conflict in Western Australia 1826–1852', *Push* 3, 1979, 70–94, lists various estimates of the number of dead at this encounter and in other recorded conflicts to 1852.
- Aboriginal numbers in the Swan region are discussed by S.J. Hallam, 'The first Western Australians', in Stannage (ed), *A new history*, 66–7. Armstrong's inadequacy emerges clearly enough from his letters to col sec, 9 Jan 1838, CSO letters received 60, and 15 Oct, enclosing a report, CSO 63, Battye Library. More information about him is in P. Hasluck, *Black Australians: a survey of native policy in Western Australia, 1829–1897*, Melbourne 1942, 69–71. His complaining neighbour was J. Purkis, who wrote to col sec on 12 Oct, CSO 63.
- 363–4 Armstrong appealed for help in his letter to col sec, 15 Oct, *ibid*. The Trigg memorial, with 32 signatories, and Trigg's covering letter, 13 Oct, are also *ibid*; the letter is quoted at length in C.T. Stannage, *The people of Perth: a social history of Western Australia's capital city*, Perth 1979, 43. Stirling agreed with the views of the memorial, as indicated in col sec to Trigg, 19 Oct, CSO letters forwarded 11, 44. The col sec informed Armstrong of his new situation and duties on 19 Oct, in CSO letters received 12, 9–10.
- 364 The Guildford resident, F. Whitfield, expressed his anxieties to col sec on 24 Apr, CSO letters received 61. The fracas at Peeltown is described at length in Peel to Stirling, 7 Aug, CSO 62. J.R. Phillips, the government resident, passed on the complaints of the Canning settlers in letters to col sec, 11 Apr, CSO 61; 4 July, 14 Sept (with W. Nairn), 17 Sept, 18 Sept, CSO 62. The views of the *Perth Gazette* are taken from the issue of 14 Apr. Phillips' appeal for decisive measures is in his letter of 18 Sept, CSO 62.
- The preference of the LC for protecting the whites is in 'Remarks and reasons' in support of amended estimates for 1838, 26 June 1837, CSO 61. Moore's revealing account of his address in May to the Aborigines ('Anthony's oration over Cæsar was nothing to it') is in his *Diary of ten years eventful life of an early settler in Western Australia*, London 1884, 343.
- 364–5 The settlement at Rottneest and the escape are the subjects of Stirling to Glenelg, 29 Nov, CO 18/20, ff277–8. The remission of Daricap, from the northern district, was authorised by chief clerk, CSO, to the resident at York, 17 May, CSO letters forwarded 8, 352–3. The col sec's request to the interpreter, 10 July, is located *ibid*, 358. One of several warnings to the magistrates about adhering to the law is col sec to L. Bussell, 1 Aug 1837, *ibid*, 199–201; this letter also warns that whenever whites are obliged to go into the bush, 'they go prepared for self defence, and in sufficient Numbers to overcome the Natives'. Glenelg's despatch critical of Stirling's 1834 proceedings is quoted and discussed in F.G. Clarke, *The land of contraries: British attitudes to the Australian colonies 1828–1855*, Melbourne 1977, 111.
- 365 On Giustiniani see Green, 'Aborigines and white settlers', 86–7. His letters to Glenelg, 16 July (two letters) and 21 July, are at CO 18/21, ff307–18. The report of the Aborigines Protection Society subcommittee was sent to Glenelg by J.J. Freeman and J.H. Tredgold, 12 Oct, *ibid*, ff263–5; the draft reply, ff266–7, indicates what action Glenelg intended to take.
- The events at York were initially described in the monthly

- report of the resident R.H. Bland, dated 1 Dec, CSO letters received 63. Bland sought to avoid a formal enquiry in his letter to col sec, 15 Dec, *ibid.* An 1839 collision which involved the same family of settlers is described in R. Erickson, *The Dempsters*, Nedlands 1978, 32–3.
- Early contacts between Aborigines and colonists in NSW are discussed in C.D. Rowley, *The destruction of Aboriginal society*, Canberra 1970, 27–39, which mentions Macquarie's 'native institution', 89–92. Earl Bathurst, who instructed Governor Darling 'to oppose force by force', is quoted in Reece, *Aborigines and colonists*, 112–13. Reece mentions the incident involving Mitchell on 119–20.
- 365–6 Glenelg's despatch to Bourke, 26 July 1837, is in *HRA* 1/19, 47–50. Testimonies to Gipps's humanitarian leanings are his later performance in NSW, as well as his concern a decade earlier, when engaged as a Royal Engineer in the West Indies, for the black workers in his charge: see his Proposal for the settlement of free blacks in the upper part of the River Berbice, enc in H. Beard to Sir G. Murray, 26 July 1838, CO 111/106.
- 366 J. Wright outlines the Nunn affair in *The cry for the dead*, Melbourne 1981, 45. The relevant executive council minute is in 4/1520, AONSW. The proclamation was eventually published in the NSW GG, 21 May 1839—almost fourteen months after it was first mooted in the executive council.
- 366–7 The story of the proclamation is told in greater detail in S.G. Foster, 'Aboriginal rights and official morality', *Push* 11, 1981, 68–98. The various drafts of the proclamation, and related minutes, are at M4279, col sec minutes and memoranda 4/1013, AONSW. Items relating to the Aborigines' status and legal rights are cited in Foster, 'Aboriginal rights', 86–7. Gipps's despatch to Glenelg, 27 Apr 1838, (no 68), announcing that he was about to publish the proclamation and then explaining delay, is in *HRA* 1/19, 397–8. The version of the proclamation which Gipps approved at this stage is an enclosure to the original of this despatch, at CO 201/272.
- 367 The King memorial, 8 June, is at 4/1013, AONSW; it was published in *Australian*, 22 June. Gipps's reply, through col sec, is in *Australian*, 29 June. The quality of the mounted police is mentioned in ch 9 and in P. Stanley, '“Oh, the sufferings of my men”: the 80th Regiment in New South Wales in 1838', *Push* 11, 1981, 16–17.
- The events at Myall Creek and the subsequent trials are discussed in chs 2 and 9. Gipps told Glenelg of his decision to withhold the proclamation again in his despatch of 21 July in *HRA* 1/19, 508–11.
- Stephen's pessimistic comment is in a minute for Sir G. Grey, 1 Nov 1838, on Gipps to Glenelg, 25 Apr, CO 201/272, f 397.
9. JUSTICE
- THE THEATRE OF THE COURTS
- A valuable introduction to the early Australian legal system is A.C. Castles, *An Australian legal history*, Sydney 1982. On broader issues, D. Hay, 'Property, authority and the criminal law', in D. Hay et al (eds), *Albion's fatal tree: crime and society in eighteenth-century England*, London 1975, and his critics, provided inspiration.
- 369–70 The sheriff in Perth complained to the col sec, 8 Mar 1838, about having to share the courthouse with children: CSO 61, Batty Library. The rejection of elaborate argument is mentioned by P. Chapman, 'Juror and judge: Mr Boyes's experiences in Van Diemen's Land 1838 and 1840', *Push* 5, 1979. On Jickling see Castles, *An Australian legal history*, 317–19. T.H. James, *Six months in South Australia*, London 1838, 67, likened the SA courtroom to a bear garden.
- 370 For Pedder and Montagu see *ADB*. For Montagu's character see P.A. Howell, 'Of ships and sealing wax: the Montagus, the navy and the law', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: papers and proceedings* 13/4, 1966, 114–20.
- 370–2 Parts of Boyes's diary are reproduced in Chapman, 'Juror and judge'; the extracts are dated 13 June 1838. For Allott see *SG*, 7 Apr 1838, 28 Mar 1839.
- 372 The analysis of crimes and criminals is based on Return of prisoners tried before the supreme court of NSW ... 1838, X67, AONSW..
- The conviction of Boyong (also rendered Bongyong and Boyon) is recorded in no 1 Criminal Record Book 1830–1887, Supreme Court of W.A. His case was discussed in the executive council on 23 and 26 Jan 1838, CO20/2, ff241–8.
- 373 This account of the Lyons case has been pieced together from various sources. Newspaper reports of the alleged rape and trial are in *SH*, 18 Jan, 7 Feb, and *SG*, 20 Jan, 10 Feb, and *Australian*, 9 Feb. Although the depositions in the case are missing, an account of the evidence is in Burton's notebook for 1838, 2/2434, AONSW. The assessment of his address to the prisoner is in *Australian*, 9 Feb.
- 373–4 Smith's letter, with Burton's comment on it, is in the judge's notebook at 61–2. His approach to Gipps is recorded in executive council minute no 21, 19 Mar, 4/1520, AONSW. Smith and Cowper are examined in an enclosure to this minute, 4/1445. Gipps gave instructions for the initial reprieve of Lyons in a memorandum dated 18 Mar, M4209, col sec minutes and memoranda 4/1013. The subsequent instructions are T.C. Harington to sheriff, 4/3900, 330, 339. Papers relating to the crown solicitor's enquiries are enclosures to executive council minute no 39, 22 Sept, 4/1445. The instruction to free Lyons is T.C. Harington to sheriff, 28 Sept, 38/223, 4/3901, 28.
- 375 Lyons's record is attached to page 60 of Burton's letterbook, 2/2434, AONSW. Riddell's dissent accompanies minute no 21, 4/1520.
- 376 Samuel North described flogging in his letter to col sec, 2 Oct 1833, which appears in L. Evans and P. Nichols (eds), *Convicts and colonial society 1788–1853*, Sydney 1976, 68–9.
- 377 Harris's account of a flogging comes from his *Settlers and convicts: recollections of sixteen years' labour in the Australian backwoods*, Melbourne 1964 (1847), 69. See also J.B. Hirst, *Convict society and its enemies*, Sydney 1983, 57–69.
- 377–8 The account of the stocks in Melbourne comes from 'Garryowen' [Edmund Finn], *The chronicles of early Melbourne 1835 to 1852* 1, Melbourne 1888, 97–8. For the old woman in the Sydney stocks see *SG*, 8 May.
- 378 The figures for convictions and executions in NSW and VDL are compiled from the minutes of the executive councils in each colony.
- 378–9 The execution of Magee is described in *SA Gazette*, 19 May, and in James, *Six months in South Australia*, 55–61. The murder of Hoskins is reported in *SG*, 6 Feb. A brief account of Moore's trial is in *SG*, 22 Feb. The journey to Sydney Cove is described in *SG*, 24 Feb. Instructions from T.C. Harington to the sheriff, 19 Feb, regarding the

- conduct of the execution are at 4/3900, AONSW. This volume also includes, at 335, 366, accounts for services rendered. Moore's speech from the scaffold is mentioned in *Sydney Monitor*, 2 Mar.
- 379-80 On English precedents see P. Linebaugh, 'The Tyburn riot against the surgeons', in Hay *et al* (eds), *Albion's fatal tree*. See also M. Sturma, 'Public executions and the ritual of death, 1838', *Push* 15, 1983. *Australian*, 27 Feb describes Moore as 'the hero of the scene' and argues against public hangings. See also M. Roe, *Quest for authority in eastern Australia, 1835-1851*, Melbourne 1965, 198.
- LAW AND ORDER
- 380-3 The WA col sec lectured J.R. Phillips, the Canning magistrate, on his responsibilities, on 21 Sept 1838, CSO 8, 403, Battye Library. The annoyance of the local commandant is mentioned in col sec's circular to government residents, 12 Sept 1838, *ibid*. The military in NSW are discussed in P. Stanley, "'Oh!, the sufferings of my men": the 80th Regiment in New South Wales in 1838', *Push* 11, 1981, from which the quotations are taken.
- 383-4 SA's colonisation commissioners are quoted in D. Pike, *Paradise of dissent*, Melbourne 1957, 283-4. Hindmarsh told Glenelg about the need for a police force and the difficulty of creating one in his despatch, 1 Nov 1837, CO 13/7, f293. Stories about the unruly marines appear in J.W. Bull, *Early experiences of life in South Australia*, Adelaide 1884, 26-8. Hindmarsh signalled his intention of drawing £1000 in a despatch to Glenelg, 2 Apr 1838, CO 13/10, ff 177-8. Gawler's changes are recorded in his minute on H. Inman to col sec, 13 Dec, GRG 24/1/301, SA Archives; and in G.M. Stephen to R. Bernard, 3 Nov, GRG 24/4/3, 10. Inman's proposals for a uniform are in a letter to Stephen, 24 Aug, GRG 24/1/163. For a more detailed account of the formation of SA's police force see J. Mayo, 'The South Australian police force 1838-1857', BA hon's thesis 1963, University of Adelaide, 1-14.
- 384 Two articles by H. King introduce the police force in NSW: 'Some aspects of police administration in New South Wales, 1825-1851' and 'Some problems of police administration in New South Wales, 1825-1851', *J R Aust Hist Soc* 42/5, 1956 and 44/2, 1958. William Wright, 'the Tulip', is described in 'Garryowen', *Chronicles of early Melbourne* vol 1, 1, 51.
- 384-5 The job prospects of ticket of leave holders in VDL are mentioned in SH[?] Butcher and J. Morgan to A. Maconochie, 9 Mar 1837, CSO 19/5, 20-1, AOTas. G.M. Stephen's unsuccessful efforts to purify the SA police are recorded in P.A. Nation to H. Inman, 20 Aug, 1838, and R. Bernard to sheriff, 1 Oct, GRG 24/4/2, 93, 116-7, SA Archives. The cheeky runaways are mentioned in the Campbell Town Bench Record Book, 23 Mar 1838, LC83/2, 509-10, AOTas. The constables sent into solitary confinement are recorded *ibid*, 26 Feb 1838, 465. Appointments and dismissals of constables are listed in the GG of NSW and VDL.
- 386 Hindmarsh proposed in the council the appointment of magistrates, 20 July 1838, CO 15/1. Therry used his phrase when presenting evidence to the select committee on the state of the magistracy, 1 June 1858, NSW Legislative Assembly *V&P*, 1858, 6.
- Roberts's application to become a magistrate, 28 Dec 1837, and M. Forster's minute explaining his reasons, are at CSO 5/99/2192, 76-83. Mudie gave evidence to the select committee on transportation, 21 Apr 1837, BrPP, 1837, 19/518, 37-8.
- S. North, Windsor, and six other police magistrates appealed through col sec for a pay rise, May 1838, 38/5282, 4/2470.5, AONSW.
- 387-9 The meeting at Mrs Burnip's public house was announced in *Hobart Town Courier*, 4 Aug 1837. Voluminous papers on the Grover-Roper altercation are collected together at CSO 5/116/2632, AOTas. Grover's complaint to the chief police magistrate is dated 12 Mar 1838.
- 389 Plunkett's *Australian magistrate* was published in Sydney in 1835. Papers relating to the troubles at Hamilton are collected at CSO5/103/2333, AOTas: Macdowell's opinion is in a letter to col sec, 27 Feb 1838. The illegalities at Butterwick are referred to in papers at 4/2417/4, AONSW: Gipps's comments are in a minute for col sec, 5 Nov [1838].
- 389-92 B. Wilson gives an account of Day's exploits in 'Investigations at Myall Creek', *Push* 20, 1985.
- BEYOND THE LAW
- 392 Burton's summing up in the case of Long Jack was reported in *SH*, 7 May. The discussion of his views is based chiefly on his judgments and on his *The state of religion and education in New South Wales*, London 1840. Pedder's doubts are mentioned by Castles, *An Australian legal history*, 267. Gunther's reflections are in his Journal for 16 May 1838, B504, ML.
- 392-3 The injustice of forcing Aborigines to be British subjects was remarked on by James Macarthur in two speeches to the NSWLC reported in *SMH*, 20, 24 Aug 1842.
- 394 The views of Harington and Gipps on murders committed by Aborigines *inter se* are discussed in S.G. Foster, 'Aboriginal rights and official morality', *Push* 11, 1981, 76; see also Gipps's undated comment on depositions in the case of R v Franky, Wellington no 1, 14 May 1838, Clerk of the peace, 9/6316, AONSW.
- 394-5 The Aborigine whose evidence was ruled inadmissible is mentioned in W.O. Raymond to attorney-general, 18 May 1838, 9/6316, AONSW. The trial of Long Jack is discussed in S.G. Foster, "'The purposes, duties and arts of life": Judge Burton's plan for black villages', *Push* 9, 1981. Burton's private thoughts are revealed in his letterbook vol 35, 103-14, Supreme Court 2/2435, AONSW. Boyong's case was discussed in WA executive council, 23, 26 Jan 1838, CO 20/2, ff 241-8.
- 395-7 Depositions in the case of Helia, no 182, are in the WA Supreme Court Archives. W.H. Mackie's report on the case is in CSO 62, Battye Library. Backhouse's comments on vengeance killings are in his *A narrative of a visit to the Australian colonies*, London 1843, 539. Grey's remarks are in his *Journals of two expeditions of discovery in the north-west of Western Australia during the years 1837-38 and 39*, 2, London 1841, 239-40. The executive council's deliberations on the case, 31 July 1838, are at CO 20/2, ff 271-4. The *Perth Gazette* issued its advice on 1 Sept. Bob Reece discusses the incident in "'Laws of the white people": the frontier of authority in Perth in 1838', *Push* 17, 1984.
- 397-9 For E.S. Hall's comments on the Indians see *Sydney Monitor*, 14 June 1837, 28 Feb, 12 Mar 1838.
- THE PURPOSE OF JUSTICE
- 400-1 The executive council in Hobart Town discussed the four bushrangers on 19 June 1838, EC4/6, 181-5, AOTas. On 22 June *Hobart Town Courier* approved their hanging. The

- case is mentioned in R.P. Davis, *The Tasmanian gallows: a study of capital punishment*, Hobart 1974, 35–8.
- 401 For a discussion of changes in this area of criminal liability see W.S. Holdsworth, *A history of English law* 8, London 1937, 433–46. Henry Hammond's case was reported in SG, 8 Feb; *Australian*, 9 Feb.
- 402 Arthur gave his evidence to the Molesworth committee on 30 June 1837, BrPP, 1837, 19/518.
- 402–3 Healy's appeal to Grant, 25 Aug 1838, is at 4/2417.4, AONSW.
10. PRESENT AND FUTURE
- 405 Most of the facts of Henry Fulton's life are gathered from the account of him in ADB. His library is described in the catalogue issued for its sale after his death, *A catalogue of the valuable library of the late Rev Henry Fulton*, Sydney 1842, ML.
- 405–6 Tompson's poem, 'Retrospect; or, a review of my scholastic days', appeared in his *Wild notes, from the lyre of a native minstrel*, Sydney 1973 (1826). We assume that Fulton's school had closed by 1838 mainly from its not appearing in W.W. Burton, *The state of religion and education in New South Wales*, London 1840.
- 406–7 For John French see SG, 10 Nov; B. Earnshaw, 'The colonial children', *Push* 9, 1981. Ellen Harper's words are recorded in SG, 12 May.
- MAKING SENSE OF THE WORLD
- 408–10 This account of schools in the convict colonies comes from various sources; for NSW: the *Blue book* 1838; and Burton, *State of religion and education*. For VDL: A. Biggs to W. Biggs, 3 Apr 1837, 24 Aug 1838, NS 761/1, AOTas, (quoted with kind permission of Mrs D.G. Sutton, Burwood, Vic); *Blue book* 1838; and J. West, *The history of Tasmania*, Sydney 1971 (1852), 166–7.
- 410–11 For the balloon in Pitt Street see SG, 26 June. Edward Dumaresq complained about the Launceston clock in his diary, 10 Dec 1838, Dumaresq papers, Allport collection, Tasmanian State Library. The *Perth Gazette* complained about the military bugle on 28 July.
- 411 Attendance records are calculated from figures given in the NSW *Blue book*.
The story of J.B. Shepherdson appears in ADB.
- 412 The opening of Wittenoom's school is detailed in *Perth Gazette*, 3, 10, 17 Feb. He gives an account of its numbers and curriculum in a memorandum [c Aug 1838], CSO 62/202, Battye Library. The sheriff, G.F. Stone, complained to col sec, 8 Mar 1838 and 3 May 1838, CSO 60/20, and CSO 62/3. Wittenoom himself appears in ADB. For the numbers of children in the colony, see population returns, CSO 64. Mary Helms wrote to col sec describing her proposed school on 30 July 1838, CSO 62/140–1. See also R.E. Cranfield, *The Wittenoom family in Western Australia*, Perth [1963?], 11. She and Wittenoom married on 3 Jan 1839.
- A general account of schools in WA at the end of the year appears in *Perth Gazette*, 24 Nov; and in col sec's minute on T.N. Yule to col sec, 20 Dec 1838, CSO 63/260–1.
- The story of Mrs Bateman and L.T. Cooke comes from col sec to M.A. Bateman, 30 Oct 1837, CSO 63/193; Cooke to col sec, 11 Jan 1838, CSO 60/45; Cooke to Sir J. Stirling, 17 Oct 1838, CSO 63/50. See also John Bateman, ADB.
- 412–13 Much of the argument in this part of the ch has been inspired by N. Postman, *The disappearance of childhood*, New York 1982. We are indebted to Miriam Dixson for reference to this book.
- 413 The quotations appear in R. Ward, *The Australian legend*, Melbourne 1966 (1958), 17.
- 414 For the quotation from Boyes see P. Chapman, 'G.T.W.B. Boyes and Australia: the pursuit of a vision?', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: papers and proceedings* 23/3, 1976, 71–2.
- Details on habits of prayer among children appear in the English *J of the Royal Statistical Society* 1, 1838, 482–3; I. and P. Opie (eds), *The Oxford dictionary of nursery rhymes*, Oxford 1951, 303–5. We assume that the same applies to colonial children. The second verse also comes from *ibid*.
- B.M. Penglase deals with standards of literacy in 'An enquiry into literacy in early nineteenth century New South Wales', *Push* 16, 1983. The figures for attendance come from the NSW *Blue book*.
- 415–16 For the constitution, daily program and aims of the orphan schools at New Town see Order of the day, 1837, CSO 5/79/1728, 5–10, AOTas; *Report of the committee of inquiry ... into the state of the King's orphan schools ...*, Hobart 1837; col sec to Rev T.B. Naylor, 30 Aug 1838, CSO 5/60/1837; *Blue book* 1838.
- 417–18 Offor's views are to be found in his application for the position of master, 1837, CSO 5/79/1728; and in his letter to col sec, 31 Oct 1838, CSO 5/182/4324. For Naylor see his letter to col sec, 10 Aug 1838, CSO 5/137/3298.
- 418 Secondary schools in Adelaide are briefly described in *The royal South Australian almanack for 1839*, Adelaide [1839], 25–6, from which the quotation comes.
- 419–20 W.W. Burton deals with secondary schools in his *State of religion and education*. The judgment about the quality of Sydney girls' schools relies on Major T.L. Mitchell's evidence to the H of C select committee on transportation (the Molesworth committee). Elizabeth Windschuttle provides more detailed evidence in her 'Educating the daughters of the ruling class in colonial New South Wales 1788–1850', *Melbourne studies in education* 1980, Melbourne 1980. For the school in the Hunter valley see A.T. Atkinson, 'The origins of The Armidale School', forthcoming in *Armidale and district historical society J*; and for King's, A.T. Atkinson, 'Some documents and data from the King's School, Parramatta', *Push* 4, 1979. For the scheme for a boys' school in Hobart Town, see O. Heyward, '“A stronghold of learning and a school of Christian gentlemen”: Christ College, Tasmania—from its beginnings until its first closure in 1856', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: papers and proceedings* 20/1, 1973.
- 420–21 The story of Ellinthorp Hall is told in E.N. Butler, *V.D.L. a hundred years ago*, Hobart [c 1935], 11–16; and G.T. Stillwell, 'Mr and Mrs George Carr Clark of “Ellinthorp Hall”', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association: papers and proceedings* 11/3, 1963.
- 421–2 For Martin's teacher see 'A visit to the scenes of youth', 23–4.
- MAKING SENSE OF THE WORLD TO COME
- 422 J.W. Fulton's authorship of 'The Drummer' has been deduced from internal evidence and from the fact that he was certainly connected with *The Australian* magazine. For this and something of his personality see *Australian*, 16 Mar

- 1839; SG, 23 Mar 1839; J. Normington-Rawling, *Charles Harpur, an Australian*, Sydney 1962, 23.
- 423 Patricia Crawford deals with bogeys in her 'Children's beliefs', *Push* 11, 1981.
- 424 The 'flaming pit of Hell' sermon is mentioned in T. Farmer, 'A short history of the rise and progress of Methodism in Western Australia', unpublished ms, Battye Library. Thomas Hassall's sermon is A1677-1, 8198, ML.
- 424-5 The story of William Sherwin comes from the records of the Congregational church in Hobart Town: minutes of church meetings, 22 June, 3 Aug 1832, 31 May 1833, 4 Mar 1836, 29 Jan 1838, NS 477/1, AOTas; Sherwin to F. Miller [Jan 1838?], NS 663/13.
- 425 For W.N. Clark's scepticism see *Perth Gazette*, 17 Mar.
- 425-6 Poems about the deaths of children appeared in *Colonist*, 31 Jan, 21 Feb. The two line quotation is taken from the second, by Henry Halloran. Harpur's poem, 'On the death of an infant relative', comes from *Literary news*, 3 Feb. Its provenance is discussed in Normington-Rawling, *Charles Harpur*, 49. See also E. Webby, 'Bibliography of original poetry in Australian newspapers and magazines: 1836-1840', *Push* 1, 1978.
- 427 Fullerton's letter was published in the *Colonist*, 24 Jan. For the governor's proclamation see NSW GG, 31 Oct 1838.
- 427-8 Fulton's strictures appear in his *A sermon; preached at Castlereagh and Penrith, on Friday, the 2nd day of November, 1838*, Sydney 1838.
- 429 Neville Green found the account of Weiup-wert's funeral, in *Perth Gazette*, 4 May. His 'Aborigines and white settlers in the nineteenth century' in C.T. Stannage (ed), *A new history of Western Australia*, Perth 1979, gives the most complete account of black-white relations in early WA. A detailed account of the interaction of Aboriginal economics, myth and ritual is given in S. Hallam, *Fire and hearth: a study of Aboriginal usages and European usurpation in south-western Australia*, Canberra 1975. George Grey's contemporary account of Aboriginal life is contained in vol 2 of his *Journals of two expeditions of discovery in north-west and western Australia during the years 1837, 38 and 39*, London 1841; the quotation here is *ibid*, 238.
- 430-1 Bishop Polding told the 1845 NSWLC select committee on the condition of the Aborigines that men denied the Aborigines their souls. He is cited in J. Woolmington, *Aborigines in colonial society 1788-1850*, Sydney 1973, 63-4. The documentary evidence left by George Moore, Robert Menli and Francis Armstrong has been brought together in N. Green (ed), *Nyungar—the people*, Perth 1979; Moore's translation is 124, Menli's 165-6, and Armstrong's 186, 206.



Convention Adopted in Quotations

Throughout this series quotations have been transcribed literally from the original documents. The use of 'sic' to refer to errors has generally been avoided.

INDEX

Illustrations and caption material appear in italics.

- abattoirs, 150, 152, 155–6
 Abbott, Edward, 208
 a'Beckett, William, 258, 372
 Abercrombie and Co, 120
 Aborigines, 66–7, 404; alcohol and, 64–5, 151, 247;
 birth and infancy, 71–2, 74; British justice and, 45,
 60, 362–7, 390, 392–7, 402, 407, 430; burials, 46,
 429–31; ceremonies and beliefs, 20, 25, 32–6, 40,
 40–1, 45–7, 56, 62, 205, 220–4, 303–4, 307,
 429–31; charity, 21, 215; Christianity and moral
 improvements, 219, 221–2, 301–8, 310–11;
 cohabitation with white men, 25–6, 40, 49, 56,
 289, 307; contact/conflict with whites, 9, 21–63
 passim, 43–4, 51, 53, 57, 62–3, 72, 153–4, 205,
 219–24, 223, 339, 362–7, 380, 390, 392–5,
 429–31; education, 307; European diseases, 21, 65,
 72, 431; exchange, 21, 36, 431; fighting among,
 30–2, 35, 395–6; fishing, 21, 31–2, 61, 308;
 housing and camps, 21, 61, 221;
 hunting–gathering, 25, 32, 40, 44, 49, 56, 61,
 150–1, 308; kinship, 30, 34, 45, 61, 305, 431; land
 ownership/dispossession of, 21–62 *passim*, 29–30,
 36, 72, 205, 215, 219–24, 289–90, 339, 360, 366,
 428, 431; languages, 25, 45, 56, 221–2, 306–7, 364,
 430; laws and customs, 25–6, 28, 49, 61, 392,
 394–7; material culture, 21, 25, 32, 48, 150, 222;
 mortality, 302, 306–8; physical characteristics, 26,
 65–6; population, 21–2, 39, 301–2; reproduction,
 71–2; smoking, 64, 171; wages/rations, 21, 40, 47,
 56, 128, 145–6, 151, 158, 167, 171, 220–1, 305–8;
 white men living among, 31–6, 47, 51, 289; *see also*
 Flinders Island; Myall Creek massacre; under
 group names; places and specific subjects
 Aborigines' Protection Society, 362, 362, 365, 365
 Adelaide, 6, 10, 11, 13, 61, 134, 138, 150, 174–5,
 177, 213, 315
 Adelaide Mechanics' Institution, 259
 Adelaide New Land Co, 132
 adultery, 323, 330
 advertising, 76–7, 86, 94, 168, 173–6, 175, 187, 199,
 203–5, 209, 212–15, 252, 264
 agriculture, *see* grazing and farming
 Albany (WA), 6, 122
 Albion Mills (NSW), 173
 Albury (NSW), 48
 Allen, J., 8
 Allott, Joseph, 371–2
 Alston, George, 132
 Amies, T.R., 188
 Anderson, George, 56–61, 390
 Anderson, Joseph, 294–5, 300
 Angas, George Fife, 148, 221, 224
 Angas, George French, 179, 220
 Anley, Charlotte, 161–2
 Anlezark, Elizabeth, 113, 247
 Anlezark, James, 113, 241, 243–4, 247, 249
 Anlezark, Matilda, 113, 247
 Anniversary Day, 8, 427–8
 anthropological investigations, 23, 30–6, 38
 anti-clericalism, 203
 architecture, 235, 239, 325–6
 Arden, George, 200, 203
 Ardgowan Plains (NSW), 40
 Argyle Theatre (Hobart Town), 264
 Armstrong, Francis, 30, 34, 363–5, 430–1
 Arnold, Thomas, 420
 arson, 142–3, 148, 364, 395
 art: newspaper illustrations, 203; portrait painting,
 63–6; rock painting, 33, 205; *see also* under names
 of artists and specific paintings
 Arthur, John, 351–2
 Arthur, Sir George, 9, 238, 255, 258, 264, 276, 283,
 292, 319–20, 351, 357, 402
 Arthur, Walter George, 305
 Ashton, William, 348
 Association for the Detection and Suppression of
 Felonies and Misdemeanours, 387, 389
 atheism, 394, 425
 Atkinson, Charles, 382
 Atkinson, John, 81, 317
 Atkinson, Thomas, 306
 auctions, 203, 206, 208–10, 212–15
 Auger, Corp, 31
 Augusta (WA), 6
 Austin, J.B., 151
 Australian (Syd), 199–205, 330, 336, 380
 Australian Aborigines' Protection Society, 362; *see also*
 Aborigines' Protection Society
 Australian Agricultural Co, 39, 45, 121, 158–61
 Australian Club, 176, 181, 236–7
 Australian College (Syd), 418
 Australian Magazine, 261, 422
 Australian Patriotic Association, 274, 333–6, 341
 Australian Subscription Library, 259
 Australian Temperance Magazine, 248–9, 252
 Australian Union Benefit Society, 134
 Backhouse, James, 226–7, 229, 249–50, 252, 396
 Bacon, Francis, 254
 Bailey, John, 342
 Bakendji people, 72, 74
 Balcombe, Thomas, 67
 Balcombe, William, 142–3, 148
 balloons, 410
 balls and levees, 9, 11, 94–6, 237, 239, 300, 326
 Bank of Australasia, 195–7
 Bank of Australia, 195–6
 Bank of New South Wales, 195–6
 Bank of South Australia, 194
 Bank of Van Diemen's Land, 195
 Bank of Western Australia, 195, 197
 bankruptcy, 164
 Banks, Anthony, 400
 banks and banking, 180, 192, 195–8, 252; *see also*
 under names of banks
 baptism, *see* christening
 Baptist Church, 224, 251, 424
 Barfoot, Mrs, 76–7
 bark cutting, 56–7, 129–30
 Barker, Susanna, 100, 343–5
 barley, 128, 143, 163
 Barney, George, 258
 Barraba (NSW), 39, 43–4
 Barwon River (NSW–Vic), 38, 47
 Bass Strait islands, 21
 Bateman family, 412
 Bates, John, 58
 Bather, George, 313
 bathing, *see* swimming
 Bathurst (NSW), 147
 Bathurst Bank, 195–7
 Bathurst Land Conveyance Co, 190
 Batman, John, 16, 289–90
 Bawny, Mr, 314
 Beach, Henry, 147–8
 Beale, Anthony, 169, 236
 Beazley, Mr, 260
 Bedford, Eleanor *see* Stephen, Eleanor
 beer, 156, 169–71, 249, 270
 Beilby, Charles Frederick, 105
 Belcher, E.W., 107
 Bell, Sarah, 280, 282–3
 Bell, Thomas, 280, 282–3
 Bell family, 43–4, 55, 153, 208–9
 Ben Lomond people, 303, 307–8
 Benalla (Vic), 48
 Benedictine Order, 230, 233–4
 benefit and benevolent societies, 135, 164, 322, 353;
 see also under names of societies
 Benevolent Asylum (Syd), 355
 Benevolent Society of New South Wales, 354–6
 Bengari (NSW), 55, 58
 Benson, Robert, 126
 Bent, Andrew, 200
 Bentham, Jeremy, 273–4, 303
 Bent's News and Tasmanian Register (Hobart Town),
 200
 Berkeley, Charles, 214
 Berkeley, Martha, 213, 223, 323
 Berryman, Thomas, 154
 bestiality, 115–16
 Bickford, Mr, 328
 Bickley, Wallace, 6

- Big River people, 303, 307-8
 Bigge, John Thomas, 9
 Biggs family, 410
 Billy (Kwimunga), 56-7, 59-60
 Bilyang, 30
 Bingara (NSW), 55, 57
 Biniguy (NSW), 56
 Bird, Thomas, 164
 Bisdee, Edward, 181
 Black, Thomas, 212
 Blackheath (NSW), 2
 Blackman, William, 208
 Blackwattle Swamp Creek (NSW), 155-6
 Blair, Hugh, 227-8
 Blake, John, 56, 60
 Bland, William, 274-5, 274, 280, 303, 311, 330, 333
 Bligh, William, 405
 Blore, Edward, 325
 Blue Mountains (NSW), 2-3, 189, 190, 275
 Blythe's Confectionary Establishment, 173-4
 Boardman of Lake Macquarie tribe, 66
 Bock, T., 94
 Bonney, Charles, 24-9
 Bontherambo, 49
 booms, 70, 178, 180-2, 193-5, 198, 208-9; *see also* depression
 Booth, Charles O'Hara, *see* 297 (gatefold)
 Booth, Elizabeth, *see* 297 (gatefold)
 Bossley, J.B., 174
 Bourke, John Conway, 13-14
 Bourke, Sir Richard, 329; Aborigines and, 48, 365; administration, 11, 158, 204, 230, 258, 313, 318, 329-30, 333, 346, 386; convicts and, 294, 340; immigration, 347; land policy, 291, 359
 Bourne, Robert, & Co, 175
 Bowman, Isabel, 238
 Bowman, James, 110, 114, 235
 Bowman, Mary, 110, 114, 235, 237-9
 Bowman, William, 45, 50-2
 Bowmen, George, 40
 Boyes, G.T.W.B., 75, 86, 123, 370-1, 380, 414
 Boyle, Jane, 401
 Boyle, Judith, 17-18
 Boyle, Michael, 17-18
 Boyong, 372, 395
 Boys' Barracks (Point Puer, VDL), *see* 297 (gatefold)
 Bradridge, William, 229
 Brady, John, 232
 Bremer, Sir James John Gordon, 176-7, 212
 breweries, 156, 169; *see also* beer, and under names of breweries
 Bridgewater (VDL), 163
 Brierly, O.W., 83
 Brighton (VDL), 387, 389
 Brisbane, 212, 309
 Brisbane, Sir Thomas, 64, 276
 Brodribb, William Adams, 156-8, 360
 Broken River (Vic), 48-9, 55, 62
 Brooks, Robert, 175, 182
 brothels, 387; *see also* prostitution
 Broughton, William Grant, 94, 217-18, 217, 232, 235, 251, 321, 331
 Broughton, Emily, 94, 235, 238, 251
 Broughton, Mary Phoebe, 78, 94-5, 104, 235, 238-9, 251
 Broughton, Sarah, 94-5, 104, 235-40, 251
 Brown, Abner, 345-6
 Brown, Ann, 108
 Brown, John, 355
 Brownell, Thomas Coke, 163-4
 Bruce, Charles, 289
 Bruce, Joseph, 119-20
 Bruny, Davy, 303, 305
 Bruny Island people, 303
 Bryan brothers, 158-9
 Buckland, William, 254
 Buckley, Mr, 359
 Buckley, William, 289
 Bucknell, William Wentworth, 100, 339, 343-5
 buggery, *see* bestiality; sodomy
 building, 130, 135; materials, 129-33, 131; rules and regulations, 132-3; wages and conditions, 131, 134; workforce, 120, 129, 131-5, 291-2; *see also* housing
 building societies, 252
 Bulger, Catherine, 248
 Bulwer, Henry Lytton, 333
 Bunbury (WA), 122
 Bundle, 360
 Bunerong people, 45, 47-8
 Bungaree, 64, 64
 Bungonia (NSW), 149
 Buninyong (Vic), 48
 Burke, Penelope, 102
 burning off, by Aborigines, 22, 36, 221
 Burnip, Mrs, 387
 Burrows, Andrew, 55
 Burton, W.W., 373-5, 379-80, 392-5, 392, 401, 409, 420
 Burton family, 94
 Busby, Alexander, 162
 Busby, George, 196
 bushranging, 14, 130, 372, 380, 383, 384, 387, 389, 400-1, 422
 Butler, Henry Cavendish, 237
 Butler, James, 86
 Butler, William, 40
 Butt family, 84, 86
 Buxton, Thomas Fowell, 362, 365, 365
 Byron Plains (NSW), 56
 Callaghan, Joanna, 102
 Cambo, 38
 Camden Park (NSW), 85-6, 89, 123-4, 127-8, 144, 145, 159
 Cameron family, 260, 262-6
 Campaspe River (Vic), 38, 45, 51, 62
 Campbell family, 95, 149, 194, 208, 212
 Campbell Town (VDL), 328, 400
 Campbell, William, & Co, 172
 candles, 156
 Cape York, 315
 capital investments, 22, 158
 Carmichael, Henry, 258
 Carmichael, John, 66, 67, 170, 227, 329, 421
 Carr, Michael, 246, 248
 Carthy, Charles, 142-3, 148-9
 Cascades Female Factory, *see* Female Factory (Cascades, Hobart Town)
 Cassidy, Esther, 410
 Catholic Church, 100, 204, 226, 229-34, 251, 281-2, 300, 317, 356, 410-13, 424, 428
 cattle, 24, 27-8, 152, 154; breeding, 153; fodder, 128, 150, 152, 155, 159; number of, 126 160; overlanding, 13, 22-9, 39, 45, 48-50, 55, 152, 188; sea freight, 150; spearing and stealing, 39-40, 42-3, 108, 155, 224, 363-4, 380; trade, 111, 149-52, 155-6, 160; *see also* grazing and farming; meat
 Cawthorne, William Anderson, 62-3
 Chadd, Benjamin, 292
 Chapman, Thomas, 99, 173-5
 charity, 21, 251, 253, 350-6
 Charley, 56, 60
 Charlie, 49-50
 Chartists, 336
 chastity, premarital, 98-9
 children, 86, 411; apprenticeships, 91, 93, 109, 123, 126, 128, 136-7, 146, 416; birth and infancy, 71-80, 82-5, 106-7, 283-4, 349-50; childhood, 85-91, 93-4, 138, 145-6, 251, 256, 407, 410, 414; illegitimate children, 75-6, 91, 106, 278; legal age, 93; number of, 70, 70, 80, 82; parental authority, 89; wages, 85-6, 88, 91, 138, 146; *see also* diseases; education
 christening, 78-80, 83, 98-100, 106, 174, 225
 Christian, Friederike, 98
 Church Act, 1836 (NSW), 232
 Church of England, 79, 97, 109, 224-7, 229, 231-2, 251, 317-18, 331, 354, 361, 406, 408, 410-13, 418-19, 422, 424
 churches, 217-19, 224-30, 234; *see also* under names of churches
 Clapham, John, 280-3
 Clapperton, Mr, 319-20
 Clarendon (VDL), 127, 159-60, 328
 Clark, Const, 389
 Clark, Hannah Maria, 420-1, 420
 Clark, James, 218
 Clark, Mr, 94
 Clark, Robert, 303, 305
 Clark, William Nairne, 323, 330, 336-7, 365, 425
 Close, Edward, 321
 clothing and dress, 75, 79, 84, 94, 97, 100, 104, 137, 174-5, 235, 237, 237, 239
 clover, *see* grasses
 Clyde Co, 16, 158
 coal, 159
 Cobban, Lieut, 45
 Cobbett, William, 202, 348
 Cobb's run, 40-1, 44-5, 55-6
 Cock, Robert, 214-15, 226
 Cock & Ferguson, 188, 214
 coffee, 138, 167
 Coffy, Mr, 111-12
 cohabitation, 99-100, 103-4, 106, 108, 110, 142, 278, 339, 343-4, 373
 Cohen, Abraham, 200, 205
 Cole, Thomas, 126
 Coliban River (Vic), 52
 Colion, Mrs, 328
 College, Charles, 292
 Collins, David, 9
 Colonial Times (Hobart Town), 195, 198, 268, 330
 Colonist (Syd), 198, 200, 202-4, 427
 Commercial Bank, 195
 Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, 195
 Commercial Journal (Syd), 94, 201-4, 265-6
 Commissariat, 178
 concerts, 262, 264
 Congregational Church, 224, 227, 251, 424
 Connolly, James, 153
 Connolly, Michael, 180
 Connolly, Nathaniel, 244
 conservatism, in law, 331-2, 380; in politics, 401
 constitutional issues, 329, 333-4, 336-7
 contraception, 106
 convict system, 317-18, 428; assigned labour, 38, 48-56 *passim*, 78, 100, 103, 108, 121-64 *passim*, 199, 238, 267, 273-9, 285, 290, 322, 338-45, 401-3, 413-14; assignment system, plans to end, 70, 273-7, 285, 335-6, 341-2; females, 7, 75-6, 78, 82, 101-3, 106, 109, 128, 138, 149, 162, 275, 277-85, 283, 289, 301, 339, 343-5, 402-3, 413-14; government gangs and services, 163, 178, 272, 275-7, 279, 285-92, 287-9, 294-5, 301; hours of work, 285, 288, 295; marriages, 69, 80, 99-104, 142; mortality, 284; number of, 275, 294, 339; nursing mothers and children, 279-80, 283-4; objectives and effectiveness, 273-85; penal settlements, 22, 275-6, 285, *see also* Norfolk Island, Moreton Bay, Port Macquarie, Port Arthur; punishments, 142, 149, 161-2, 275-6, 279, 283-9, 292, 300-1, 376-7, 376, 379, 402-3; rations and clothing, 119, 142, 147-9, 147, 161-2, 171, 279, 282-4, 286-8, 295, 300, 306, 322, 341; second offences, 142, 164, 275-6, 278-9, 292, 374, 379; select committee on transportation, 273, 277-8, 303, 341-2, 345, 386, 402; skilled men, 136-7, 199, 275, 285, 289, 291-2, 295, 340; *see also* subjects pertaining to convicts
 Cook, county of (NSW), 144
 Cook tablet at Cape Solander (NSW), 4
 Cooke, Lancelot Taylor, 412
 Cook's River (NSW), 217-18
 Cooper's Brisbane Distillery, 156
 Cornwall Bank, 180, 195-6
 Cornwall Chronicle (Launceston), 170, 199, 203, 206, 208, 261
 Cosgrove, Thomas, 292
 cost and standard of living, 88, 132, 138, 141, 177
 Cotter, Thomas Young, 352-4, 356
 Count Alpha of the Bruny Island people, 303-4

- country shows, 267
 courts, *see* law and justice, administration of
 courtship, 96-105, 99, 109
 Coverdale, Dr, 260
 Cowandilla people, 316
 Cowandillah Brick Co, 132
 Cowley, Albion, 119-20
 Cowlshaw, Thomas, 134-5
 Cowper, William, 1, 354, 374-5
 Cox, James, 127, 159, 328
 Cox, Mary Ann, 189
 Cranky Tom, 100
 Crawford, John, 40
 Crawford, Robert, 70
 Crawford, John, and Co, 129, 131
 cricket, 91, 167, 243, 246, 267, 306
 crime, 108-9, 112, 139, 240-4, 307, 334, 372-4, 377, 380; *see also* arson; bushranging; convict system; murder; thefts
 Crofts, J., 207
 Cronk, James, 220, 222-3
 Crossley, James, 49-50
 Crouch, Sarah, 252-3
 Crowley family, 407, 411
 Crowther, William, 254
 Cumberland, county of (NSW), 144, 155
Currency Lad (Syd), 257
- Dacre & Wilks, 183-4
 Daddy, 58
 Dainty family, 345, 349
 damper, 171
 dancing, 8, 80, 94-5, 243
 Dangar, Henry, 54-6, 390
 Dangar family, 158
 Dangle, Thomas, 108
 Darbyshire, Thomas, 242
 Darling, Sir Ralph, 107, 264, 276, 293, 318, 340
 Darling Harbour (NSW), 3, 152, 155-6
 Darling River (NSW), 72
 Dashwood, George Frederick, 74, 377
 Davidson, G.F., 122, 145, 147
 Davies, Mary, 106-9, 115-16
 Davies, Mrs, 175
 Davies, Richard, 106-9, 112, 115-17
 Davis, George, 400-1
 Davis, Mary, 104
 Davy (Yintayintin), 56-8, 60
 Dawes Point Battery (Syd), 286
 Day, Edward Denny, 60, 389-90, 392
 de Mestre, Prosper, 194
 de Metz family, 103
 Deane, J.P., 262, 264
 death rates, 82
 debt, 199-200, 203, 264
 Deloitte, W.S., 187
 Dennis, Joseph, 368
 depressions, 179, 195, 264; *see also* booms
 Derwent and Tamar Fire and Life and Marine Assurance Co, 141-2
 Derwent Bank, 195-6
 Derwent River (VDL), 267
 destitution, *see* poverty
 Dickens, Charles, 202
 Dickinson, Mr, 303
 Dilberree, 100
 Dillon, Mrs, 245
 dingoes, 161, 362
 diseases, 431; death from, 21, 72-3, 82, 84-6, 349, 426, 428; dysentery, 73, 300; fever, 84-6, 349; influenza, 82, 426, 428; measles, 72, 82, 84; scarlet fever, 322; scurvy, 73, 300; smallpox, 21, 26, 72, 322; typhus fever, 322; whooping cough, 82, 84
 divorce, 110, 323, 330; *see also* marriage
 Docker, Joseph, 189
 Dodding, Christopher, 342
 Doherty, 43
 Dole, D., 174
 Domain (Hobart Town), 267, 270
 Donaldson, Stuart Alexander, 175-6, 180-1, 190, 194-5, 212, 215, 237
 Donaldson Wilkinson & Co, 175
 Donnelly, Margaret, 109
 Dorcas societies, 251
 Dove, Thomas, 306
 Dower, 30, 32
 Dowling, Robert Hawker, 387
 Dowling, Sir James, 249, 368, 371, 401
 Dresden (Lutheran) Missionary Society, 221
 dressmaking, 94, 123
 drinking: Aborigines and, 64-5, 151, 247, 395; convicts and, 109, 247-8, 270, 279, 281-2, 292, 343; drunkenness, 10, 76, 111-12, 116, 119, 240, 244, 249, 252, 279, 292, 373-4, 377, 387, 395, 401, 407; women and, 76, 111-12, 170, 247, 279, 281-2, 373-4, 407
 Driscoll, Daniel, 360
 Driscoll, Timothy, 288
 drought, 40, 47, 54, 144, 148, 152, 159-60, 228, 360, 427, 429
 Dry, Richard, 126, 252
 Duffy, Michael, 292
 Duke, Robert, 122
 Dumaesq family, 14, 123, 160-1, 237, 240
 Duncan, Edward, 186
 Dunlop, Daniel, 407
 Durlacher, Alfred, 318
 Duterau, Benjamin, 303
 Dutton, Samuel, 402
 Dutton, William Hampton, 210
 Duval, John, 14
 Dwyer, Dennis, 111
- Eagar, Edward, 330
 Eagle Hawk Neck (VDL), *see* 297 (gatefold)
 Earle, Augustus, 15, 64, 64, 66, 92, 127, 190, 242, 277, 288, 324
 Eaton, Andrew, 40, 56, 58-9
 Eddis, Eden Upton, 314
 education: Aborigines and, 307; adult schools, 283, 411; Catholic Church and, 356, 410-13; Church of England and, 225, 251, 331, 406, 408, 410-13, 418-19, 422; girls and, 91, 103, 349-50, 409, 410-12, 414-18, 420-2; number of schools, 408, 410; orphan schools, 17-18, 91, 93, 123, 251, 269, 285, 307, 349-50, 355-6, 411, 415-18, 416-17; Presbyterian Church and, 410, 418; primary and infant schools, 9, 91, 163, 251, 327, 406-8, 408-9, 410-12, 414, 416, 418, 420; religious instructions, 406-8, 412-13, 416, 422; school finance, 163, 410-12; school lessons and routines, 408, 409, 410-12, 416-17, 420-2; secondary schools, 9, 256, 405, 418-22; tutors, 91, 413; *see also* Australian College; Ellinthorp Hall school; King's School; Normal Institution; Sydney College; teachers
 Egan, Daniel, 3, 5-9, 185
 Elizabeth Farm (NSW), 114
 Ellinthorp Hall school, 420-2
 Elliot, Gilbert, 313
 Elliot, Henry, 328
 Elliot, Thomas Frederick, 347
 Elyard, S., 93
 embezzlements, 334
 Emily Bay (Norfolk Island), 300
 employment: indentured workers, 119-25, 137, 146, 397-9; job work, 124; labour shortage, 122, 124-5, 146, 192, 199, 347; payment in alcohol, 250; piece work, 85, 124, 126; skilled workers, 70, 85-8, 120, 132-7, 271; uncertainty of work, 163-4; wages, 85-8; *see also* children; convict system; immigration and immigrants; women; under occupations
 Encounter Bay (SA), 5, 151
 Evandale (VDL), 126, 143-6
 Evans, G.W., 135
 Everett brothers, 159
 ex-convicts: constitutional issues and, 333-4; freemasonry, 330; material success, 7-8, 51, 419; reputation, 14, 326; tickets of leave, 101-3, 142, 163-4, 192-3, 198, 402-3
- executive councils, 395; NSW, 316, 367, 374-5, 378, 389, 399; VDL, 308, 378, 400; WA, 372, 378, 396, 399
 Exeter Hall (Lond), 361, 361, 362
 exploration, 150, 186
 exports, 3, 168, 178-84, 186-7, 194
 Eyre, Edward John, 29, 150
 Eyre, Gladstone, 397
- Fagan, Peter, 343
 Fairfax, John, 71, 71, 198, 200-1
 Fairfax, Richard Pope, 71
 Fairfax, Sarah, 71, 71
 Faithfull family, 48-50, 52, 55
 Faithfull massacre, 48
 Falwasser, William, 342-3
 Farley, Joseph, 292
 farming, *see* grazing and farming
 Faucit, Charles, 265
 Fawcner, John Pascoe, 200, 200, 246
 Female Factory (Cascades, Hobart Town), 138, 251, 283-4, 284
 Female Factory (Launceston), 138, 307
 Female Factory (Newcastle), 101
 Female Factory (Parramatta), 78, 103, 138, 251, 277-84, 277, 286, 288, 310-11, 349, 406
 Female Refuge (Syd), 251
 Female School of Industry, 239, 251
 Fereday, J., 126
 Fernyhough, William, 66, 66
 fertility, 71, 82, 106-7
 Finch, George, 14
 Fisher family, 80, 212, 225, 320
 Flavel family, 345-6, 349
 Fleming, John Henry, 40, 55-61, 153-4
 Fleming, Joseph, 55, 153
 Flinders Island, 301-8, 302, 305, 307, 310-11, 328-9
Flinders Island Chronicle, 306
 Flinn, John, 241
 Flint, John, 187
 Flood, Edward, 133
 flour and flour milling, 172-3, 173, 306, 341
 Flower, William, 197
 Fogg, G., 30, 38
 Foley, Ned, 55, 57-60
 Folland, Charles French, 97-9
 food, 80, 84, 144, 169, 171-2; *see also* under specific foods
 Foote, Frederick, 60, 390
 Forbes, James, 16
 Forrest, Robert, 420
 Forster, Matthew, 319-20, 389, 400
 Fort Macquarie (Syd), 286
 Foster, Thomas, 56-8, 60, 390
 Fowles, Joseph, 185, 195, 229, 262, 381
 Fox, Mary, 102
 Frankland, George, 269, 319
 Franklin, Eleanor, 267, 269-70, 302
 Franklin, Lady Jane, 9, 238, 255, 267, 269-70, 301-3, 314-15, 326, 328
 Franklin, Mary, 328
 Franklin, Sir John, 328; administration, 9, 319-21, 326, 328, 351, 378, 400-1, 420; anniversary regatta and, 267-9; convicts and, 164, 284, 342; Flinders Island Aborigines and, 301-5, 307-8, 310, 329; land policy, 206; mechanics' institutions and, 255-6, 258-9; temperance movement and, 249
 Freeman, Mary, 103
 Freemasonry, 11, 260, 262, 265-6, 330-1, 334, 354
 Fremantle (WA), 6, 6, 72-4, 172
 French, John, 406-7, 410-11
 Friendly Operative Society of Carpenters and Joiners, 135
 fruit, 3, 116, 172, 300
 Fry, Elizabeth, 280-2, 284, 311
 Fullerton James, 427-8
 Fulton, Henry, 405-7, 418, 420-2, 427-9
 Fulton family, 405, 422-3, 430
 funerals, 84-6, 114, 306, 423, 430; *see also* Aborigines

Furlong, Richard Tasker, 380
furniture and furniture trade, 135-6, 164, 235, 245

gaols, 399-401; *see also* convict system
Garling, Frederick, xviii, 140, 173
Gawler, George, 315; Aborigines and, 221-4, 270, 363-4; administration, 10, 313, 315, 317, 319-20, 324, 328, 353, 384
Gawler, Maria, 222, 224
Geelong (Vic), 16, 22, 291
Geoghegan, Patrick Bonaventure, 232
Gilchrist, John, 175
Giles, J.W., 73, 220
Gill, S.T., 53, 153, 171, 189, 411
Gineroi (NSW), 55-6
Gipps, Sir George, 314; Aborigines and, 45, 308, 365-7, 390, 394; administration, 11, 94-5, 103, 136, 176, 316-18, 320-2, 328, 374, 389, 402-3; characteristics, 313-15, 318, 320; convicts and, 192-3, 277, 280-2, 285-8, 292, 310, 340, 342, 344-5; land policy and, 206-8, 359; religion and, 217-18, 226, 232; temperance movement and, 248-50, 270-1
Gipps family, 11, 94-5, 110, 235, 237, 239, 313, 318, 327
Gippsland (Vic), 36
Giustiniani, Louis, 365
Glenelg, Lord, 291, 316, 390, 402; Aborigines and, 305, 308, 362-3, 365-7; constitutional issues, 336; convict issues, 198, 277, 280-1, 336; emigration, 346; opposition to, 316-17, 341; patronage, 318-19
Glenelg (SA), 362
Glennie, James, 41, 55
Glidden, Anne, 226
Glover, John, x, 121, 127-8, 304
Glover family, 128
goats, 106-7
God and man, understanding of, 105, 217-18, 226-8, 413, 424-5, 427-9
Goderich, Lord, 347
Godfrey, J., 108
Goodridge, Charles Medyett, 174
Goodwin, William Lushington, 203
Goold, James Alipius, 232
Gore, John, 182
Gore, John, & Co, 180
Goulburn (NSW), 147
Goulburn River (NSW), 147
Goulburn River (Vic), 45-52
Government Gazette (Syd), 93, 136
governors, duties and authority of, 315-18, 320, 322-3, 327-9; *see also* under names of governors
Govett, William Romaine, 22, 46, 61, 136, 189
Graham, George, 244
Graham, James, 215
grain, 341; *see also* wheat
Grant, Patrick, 318-19, 390, 402-3
Grapes, John, 1-2
grasses, 128
Gravesend (NSW), 41
gravestones, 113, 423, 424, 424-6, 428-30
grazing and farming, 37, 39, 121, 358, 366; Aborigines and, 38-52, 54-62, 128, 145-6, 153-4, 157-9, 204; agricultural implements, 146, 148, 295, 345; labour, 38-52, 54-62, 85, 119-22, 124-8, 142-9, 156-63, 290; NSW, 22, 36, 38-9, 45, 55-60, 69, 106-11, 123-4, 127-8, 142-9, 153-4, 156-63, 339, 342-5; outstations, 43, 160-2, 160; stores, 86, 159-61, 194-5, 343; VDL, 126-8, 143-7, 149, 159, 163; Vic, 13-14, 22, 24, 38, 45-52, 54, 62, 289-90; WA, 128, 143-4; wages and rations, 25, 119-20, 127-8, 142-3, 145, 147-9, 155, 160-2; workforce, status and ranks, 152-5; *see also* cattle; sheep
Great Dividing Range, 36
Great Swan Port (VDL), 328
Green, Edward, 14, 359
Green Hatches station (NSW), 41, 43
Greenway, Francis, 285
Gregory, Henry Gregory, 300

Grey, Sir Henry George, (Earl Grey), 316, 362
Grey, Sir George (explorer), 24, 30-6, 47, 396, 429, 431
Griffiths, Mary, 100
Griffiths family, 142
Grimaldi, Joseph, 292
Gritton, Henry 226
Grogan, Paddy, 111
Grove, Mr, 265
Grover, William, 387, 389
Guildford (WA), 6, 361, 364
Gundagai (NSW), 167
Gunditchmara people, 38
Gunther, James, 394
Gwydir people, 39-45
Gwydir River (NSW), 23, 38-41, 43-5, 54-6, 62, 366
Habgood, W., 31
Hack, John Barton, 131-2, 150-1, 172, 212, 359, 411
Halhed brothers, 159
Hall, Edward Smith, 202, 204, 397-9, 397
Hall, Henry Edward, 73
Hall family, 39, 42, 45, 55, 57, 153, 159
Hamilton, George, 24, 26, 28, 39, 152
Hammond (Fleming), Henry, 401
hanging, 60, 164, 294, 372, 376, 378-9, 378, 392-3, 396, 399-400, 402, 410
Harding, Susan, 373
Harington, Thomas C., 17, 342, 394
Harper, Ellen, 407
Harpur, Charles, 95-6, 105, 426, 429
Harris, Alexander, 130, 152-3, 377
Harris, Thomas, 342
Harris, W., 251
Hartley (NSW), 2, 147
Hassall, Thomas, 424
Hatfull, T.S., 370
Hawdon, John, 14
Hawdon, Joseph, 13, 24-9, 25, 32, 35, 45, 98, 150
Hawkesbury River (NSW), 48, 55
Hawkesbury valley (NSW), 361
Hawkins, James, 55, 60
Hawthorn, Matilda, *see* Anlezark, Matilda
Hawthorne, Mary Ann, 14
hay, 142-3
Haydon, Thomas, 157-9
Healy, Maria, 402-3
Hedger, J., 174
Helia, 30, 395-7
Helms, Mary, 412, 418
Hely, F.A., 240
Henshall, J., 10, 396
Henty family, 127, 181, 206
Hepburn, John, 45-6, 50-1
Herring, Henry, 192-3, 198, 215
Hewitt, Thomas, 180
Hewitt Gore & Co, 172, 175, 180
Hext, C.S., *see* 297 (gatefold)
Hickling, Mr, 306
Hill, George, 133
Hill, Patrick, 352
Hindmarsh, John: Aborigines and, 362-3; as governor, 221, 225, 230, 320, 323, 383, 386; land speculation, 210-11, 213, 215; temperance movement and, 249
Hindmarsh, Mary, 191
Hippkiss, Richard, 257
Hitchen, J., 79
Hobart Town, 1, 6, 7, 10-11, 16, 134, 173-5, 174-5, 187, 244-5, 270, 317
Hobart Town Book Society, 259
Hobart Town Carpenters' and Joiners' Society, 133-4
Hobart Town Courier, 76, 198, 254-5, 269, 321, 400
Hobart Town Mechanics' Institution, 254-8, 260
Hobart Town Public Library, 259
Hobart Town regatta, 9, 266-71, 268
Hobbs, Arthur, 288
Hobbs, William, 54-6, 60, 154
Hoddle, Robert, 118, 240

Hodgken, Benjamin, 108, 112
Hodgkinson, Clement, 29, 40-1, 100
Holdfast Bay, *see* Glenelg
Holl, B., 347
Holland, Mary, 115
Holland, Richard, 108, 115-16
Hoppner, John, 332
hops, 169
Horne, Thomas, 330
horseracing, 9, 243, 256, 267
horses, 5, 128, 164-5, 188-90, 238
Hosking, John, 208
Hoskins, John, 379
Hoskisson, John, 108
hospital system, 279, 350-4
House of Commons select committees, 100, 273, 277-8, 303, 341-2, 345, 362, 386, 402
housing: cities and towns, 74, 74, 81, 83, 131-4, 211, 291; country estates, 81, 126-7; early shelters, 129, 129, 131-2, 211; farms and stations, 83, 87, 89-90, 108, 111, 142-3, 151, 156-7; government houses, 95, 134, 222, 323-8, 323-7; mansions, 81, 235, 239, 331, 332; rent and fuel, 87-8, 132; *see also* building
Howard, Charles Beaumont, 225, 225, 227
Howe, Anne, 200
Howe, George, 198-200
Howe, Robert Charles, 199-200
Howlong (NSW), 13-14, 150
Hudson, Maria, 350-1
Huggins, W.J., 186
Hughes, John Terry, 208
Hughes & Hosking, 187, 212-13
Hunter River (NSW), 38, 147
Hunter valley (NSW), 41, 69, 160
hunting, 18-19, 167, 267, 387; *see also* Aborigines
Hurst, Mr, 359
Huskisson, William, 318
Hutchins, C., *see* 297 (gatefold)
Hutt, John, 365
Hyde Park Barracks (Syd), 276, 285-9, 286
Hyndes, Thomas, 87
immigration and immigrants: assisted, 69-71, 82-7, 96-8, 132, 135, 137, 146, 168, 176-8, 230, 337-9, 345-50; bounty system, 122-3, 145, 347; committee on assisted immigration (NSW), 69-70, 85-8, 146; free, 11, 122, 127; indenture system, 73-4, 119-25, 137, 146, 397-9; non-British, 98, 119-23, 125, 145-6, 211, 229; single women, 70-1, 96-8, 101, 122; well-to-do, 22, 38, 73; *see also* systematic colonisation scheme
Impeta, 56, 58
imports, 5, 137, 169, 172, 175-6, 186, 194
Infirmary (Adel), 352-3
inflation, 177
Inkpen, Mrs, 395
Inman, Henry, 384
Innes, Frederick Maitland, 254, 256-8, 260
insanity, 114, 401
insurance industry, 141-2, 181
interest rates, 194
Invermein (NSW), 60
Iredale, Lancelot, 193
Jacob family, 16-17, 19
Jajowrung people, 45, 47, 51
James, John Angell, 228
Jamison, Sir John, 100, 330, 333-4, 336
Jeffcott, Sir John, 369
Jenna, 30-2, 34-5
Jennings, Henry, 213
Jickling, Henry, 370
Jimmy, 49
Joey, 58
Johnstone, John, 55, 60
Joint Stock Cattle Co, 150-1, 359, 411
Jones, David, 175
Jones, George, 190
Jones, John, 162-3
Jones, Louisa Alexandrina, 93

- Jones, Mary Australia, 93
 Jones, Richard, 200, 204-5, 354
 Jones, R. & Co, 176
 Jones, William (newspaper owner), 201, 203-4
 Jones, William (shepherd), 51-2
- Kamilaroi people, 38-40, 56, 62
 Kangaroo Island (SA), 6, 125
 Kauria people, 73, 150-1, 219-24, 220, 224, 270
 Kay, William, 292
 Keera (NSW), 40, 57
 Kelly, Mr, 413
 Kemp, Anthony Fenn, 334
 Kennedy family, 407, 410
 Kent, Duchess of, 318
 Kentish, Nathaniel, 199-200, 202
 Keriengobeldie (NSW), 56, 58, 60
 Kermodie, William, 149
 Kertamaroo (King John), 221, 221, 224
 Kiewa River (Vic), 48
 Killiecrankie (Flinders Island), 308
 Kilmeister, Charles, 56-60, 390
 King Alfred of the Big River people, 303
 King, Anna Josepha, 235, 235
 King George of the Ben Lomond people, 303
 King, Philip Gidley, 99, 405
 King, Phillip Parker, 366, 367
 King, Robert Lethbridge, 236
 King Sandy, 56, 59
 King Teapot of Bogen tribe, 67
 King George Sound (WA), 6-7, 122, 143
 King's School (Parramatta), 418, 420-1, 420
 Kingston (Norfolk Island), 294, 295, 300, 300
 Kinnear, George, 196-7
 Kite, Thomas, 149
 Kleeman, Friederich, 98
 Knight, William, 130, 404
 Kukuruk people, 47
 Kwiambal people, 38-40, 56-9
 Kwimunga, *see* Billy
- La Pérouse column at Botany Bay, 5
 Lake family, 12
 Lake Macquarie (NSW), 307
 Lalla Rookh, *see* Truganini
 Lamb, James, 40, 44-5, 55-7, 60
 Lambell family, 12
 Lambie, John, 360
 Lancaster, William, 164-5
 land agents, 206
 land policies, 339; customary rights, 359-61;
 freehold land movement, 252; grants, 69, 74;
 limits of location, 21-2, 25, 38, 147, 161, 206, 359,
 390; no man's land theory, 205, 219, 289, 356;
 NSW, 69, 206, 359-61; SA, 206, 210, 357, 361;
 surveying of land, 210-11, 357-9, 357; VDL, 206,
 357; Vic, 289-90; WA, 206, 358, 361; *see also*
 Aborigines; squatting; systematic colonisation
 scheme
 land sales, 209; towns, 10, 24, 132, 168, 208, 210-14;
 emigration and, 347; prices, 132, 138, 168,
 208-14; rural land and country towns, 168,
 206-14; speculation, 193-4, 206-15
 Lang, John Dunmore, 16, 19, 100, 198, 200, 204,
 229, 347, 373, 375
 Langhorne, George, 54
 Larkins, Mary, 373-5
 Larmer, Mr, 359
 Launceston (VDL), 6, 16, 164, 172, 237, 328
 Launceston Horticultural Society, 172
 Laurentitz, Francis, 352
 law and justice, administration of, 178, 317; courts,
 115-16, 162, 369-76, 370-1, 376, 378, 390, 392,
 395-8; inequality before the law, 120, 397-403,
 407; judges, 318, 369-75, 389, 392, 400-1;
 magistrates and, 60, 75-6, 93, 102-3, 108, 112,
 116, 128, 143, 241-3, 248-9, 282, 286-7, 290,
 290, 318-19, 342-5, 364-5, 377, 380, 384-7, 389,
 392, 395, 402-3, 405; reforms, 337, 380; *see also*
 Aborigines; convict system
- Lawrence, Samuel, 315
 Lawson, William, 360-1
 Lazar, John, 265
 Leach, Julia, 280-2, 311
 Leake, George, 186
 Learmouth, Mr, 54
 leather, *see* skins and leather
 legislative councils NSW, 69, 308, 316, 321-2, 328,
 333, 398; SA, 322-3; VDL, 321; WA, 321, 337,
 364
 Lempriere, Thomas James, 83, 279, *see* 297
 (gatefold)
 Lethbridge family, 235-6, 240, 236
 Levey family, 214, 261, 264, 266
 Lewis, Mr, 260
 Lewis, John, 244
 Lewis, Mortimer, 191, 325
 Lhotsky, John, 4
 liberalism, 331, 333-4, 336-7
 Liberty Plains (NSW), 144
 libraries, 252, 255, 257-9; *see also* under names of
 libraries
 Light, William, 129, 194, 210, 214, 358
 Light Finnis & Co, 214
 lighthouses, 185
 Lillie, John, 260
 Lincoln, Abraham, 2-3, 18-19, 23, 154, 157, 160
 Lindsay, E.F., 186
 Liscombe, J.H., 214
 Lister family, 84-5
 literacy and illiteracy, 2, 82, 84, 89, 91, 107, 110-11,
 201, 413-15, 415, 417, 420
 Literary News (Syd), 95
 literature, 202-3
 Littleton, Sir Thomas, 19
 Liverpool (NSW), 144, 240
 Liverpool Plains (NSW), 39, 41, 61, 63, 153, 159,
 390
 Liverpool Range (NSW), 38
 Loane, M.R., 126
 Lockett family, 240-1, 247
 Loddon River (Vic), 45, 51
 London docks, 181
 Long Jack, 392, 394-5
 Longbottom, William, 228
 Longridge (Norfolk Island), 300
 Longway, W.H., 11
 Lonsdale, William, 48, 51-2, 54, 249, 291-2
 Lord, Emma, 94
 Lord, John, 120
 Loughan & Hughes, 183
 lucerne, 128
 Luke, Mrs John, 420
 Lutheran Church, 98, 229-30
 Lynch, Grace, 282-3, 289
 Lyons, James, 373-5, 378, 392, 399
 Lyons, A. & S., 175
 Lyttleton, W., 81
- Macarthur, Edward, 114
 Macarthur, Elizabeth, 114, 115, 235
 Macarthur, Hannibal Hawkins, 235, 387
 Macarthur, James, 85, 104-5, 110, 115, 123, 349,
 360
 Macarthur, John, 114, 235, 333
 Macarthur, Mary, *see* Bowman, Mary
 Macarthur, William, 85-7, 89-90, 104, 110, 123,
 128, 145-6
 Macarthur family, 94, 110, 116, 123-4, 127, 146,
 158-9, 235
 MacDonald River (NSW), 55, 60
 Macdowell, Edward, 389
 Mace, William, 56
 MacIntosh, Ann, 75-6
 Macintyre River, 39-40, 56, 58-9
 Mackay, John, 120, 397-9
 Mackenzie, Robert, 95
 Mackie, William Henry, 369, 369
 Macleay family, 95, 123, 240, 332, 332, 354
 Maconochie, Alexander, 255-6, 303, 305, 311
 Macpherson, William, 102
- Macquarie, Lachlan, 8, 64, 276, 278, 285, 325, 350,
 365, 405
 Macquarie Point (Hobart Town), 267
 Macqueen, Thomas Potter, 158
 Macquoid family, 94-5, 214, 238-9
 Madeley, G.E., 4
 Maelzer, J.G., 137
 Magee, Michael, 378-9, 378
 Maguire, Patrick, 11
 Maitland (NSW), 379, 402
 Maitland Trades Union Society, 134
 maize, 128, 144, 146, 149, 286, 295
 Maloney, Thomas, 111
 Malpas, Eliza, 78, 80
 Manilla River (NSW), 43
 Mann family, 238, 240
 manufacturing, 156
Marian Watson (ship), xviii, 1, 3, 5, 11-14, 16, 18-19
 Marion (SA), 211
 market gardening, 172
 marriage, 7, 69, 71, 73-4, 80, 93-4, 96-106, 109-17,
 123, 238, 240, 252, 254, 278, 406; *see also* divorce
 Marsden, Samuel, 106, 351
 Marsh & Edenborough, 183
 Marshall, George, 173
 Martens, Conrad, 81, 165, 331
 Martin, James, 256, 421-2
 Mary of Five Island Tribe, 23
 masters and servants, 116, 124-5, 139-40, 147,
 161-2, 334, 336-7, 353
 mateship, 170
 McArthur, John, 4-5
 McAulay family, 349
 McDermott, Henry, 326
 McDonald family, 350
 McDonald family (assigned servants), 343-4
 McDonald family (from Brackadale), 349-50
 McEncroe, John, 232, 300
 McKay, George, 50
 McKay family, 350
 McKinnon family, 350
 McKnight, Corp, 390
 McLaren, David, 125, 353
 McLaren, John Cunningham, 196
 McMannis, Terence, 48, 63
 McRoberts, Edward, 410, 414
 Meares, Richard Goldsmith, 144, 361
 meat beef and veal, 40, 128, 148, 150, 152, 155, 160,
 167, 171-2; game and poultry, 167, 171, 306;
 lamb and mutton, 148-50, 152, 155, 167, 171,
 306; pork, 138, 156, 167, 172; prices, 150; rations,
 147-8, 160, 341; salted, 149, 151, 156, 295, 306;
 staple diet, 128, 138, 155, 169;
 mechanics' institutes, 252, 254-60, 413, 421; *see also*
 under names of institutes
 Mechanics Land Co, 213
 medical profession, 75, 77-8, 84, 126, 163, 351-2
 Melbourne, 17, 22, 61, 244-6, 248, 290-2, 307, 311,
 404
 Melbourne Club, 236
 Melville & Andrews, 175
 Melville Water (WA), 31
 Meredith, John, 264
 Merton (NSW), 147-8
 Methodist Church, 18, 97, 224, 226-30, 251, 424
 M'Gill, 394-5
 midwives, 72, 74-8
 milk, 144, 172
 Miller, Frederick, 425
 Miller, John, 185
 missions, 47, 221-2, 307, 311, 361, 365, 394, 396
 Mitchell, Francis, 3
 Mitchell, Houston, 101-2
 Mitchell, James, 77
 Mitchell, Thomas Livingstone, 24, 36, 44, 72, 167,
 319, 359, 365
 Mitchell family, 94
 Mocata (wife of Kertamaroo), 221
 Molesworth, Sir William, 317, 341, 341, 344; *see also*
 House of Commons select committees
 Mollison, Alexander, 49, 51

- Molonglo Plains (NSW), 142
 Monaro (NSW), 22, 156
 money market, 180-1, 191-8; *see also* banks and banking
 Montagu, Algernon Sidney, 370-1, 380
 Montagu, John, 319-20, 400
 Montefiore, Jacob, 196
 Montefiores Breillat and Co, 3, 187, 194
 Montgomery family, 114
 Moorabool River (Vic), 47
 Moore, George Fletcher, 30, 250, 250, 364-6, 429-30
 Moore, William, 379-80, 392, 402
 morality, 71, 100, 103, 204, 217-18, 249, 251, 254, 257-8, 274, 278, 341-3, 345, 354, 413
 Moree (NSW), 40
 Moreton Bay (Qld), 5, 22, 36, 276, 293, 310, 395, 413
 Morirang of Shoalhaven tribe, 65, 65
 Morley, J.L., 122
 Morphet, John, 18
 Mort, Thomas, 138
 Mount Aitkin (Vic), 52
 Mount Lofy Ranges (SA), 130
 Mount Macedon (Vic), 54
 Moyengully, 22
 Mudie, James, 100-2, 386
 Mundy, Henry, 421
 Mungie Bundie station (NSW), 55
 murder, 30, 60, 162, 374, 378-9, 390, 392-6, 400; *see also* Aborigines; Myall Creek massacre; under names of individuals
 Murphy, John, 57
 Murray, Cornelius, 103
 Murray, R.L., 202, 330-1
 Murray, Sir George, 319
 Murray-Darling basin, 21
 Murray River (NSW-SA), 150
Murray's Review (Hobart Town), 209, 330
 Murrumbidgee River (NSW), 48, 163
 museums, 255, 258
 music, 80, 233-4, 267, 421
 muttombirding, 289, 307-8
 Myall Creek massacre, 59, 63, 158, 308, 310, 391; chronicle of crime, 55-61, 390, 393; defenders of, 60, 204, 393-4; Gipps and, 367, 390; investigation and trial, 60, 154, 338, 390, 392-4; punishments, 164, 392-3
 Myall Creek station (NSW), 55-6, 58, 60

 Namoi people, 39-43
 Namoi River (NSW), 38-42
 Nandewar Range (NSW), 38-9
 Nannymoon, 48, 54, 63
 Nansell, F., 262
 nationalism, *see* patriotism
 native-born, 8, 91, 98-100, 102; material success, 3, 5, 7, 38, 156-7; praised, 273; prejudice against, 238, 240; reproduction, 71, 80, 106
 Naylor, Thomas Beagly, 416, 418
 New England (NSW), 22, 159, 161
 New South Wales, 11-12, 19; Aborigines, 22, 38-45, 54-62, 128, 145-6, 365-7, 390, 392-5; boundaries, 315-16; convicts, 2, 7-8, 38, 48-50, 55-61, 75-6, 80, 100-3, 106, 121-5, 136, 138, 142-7, 159, 178, 161-3, 199, 275, 338-9; education, 225, 283, 327, 405-8, 410-11, 414-15, 418-22; grazing and farming, 22, 36, 38-9, 45, 55-60, 69, 106-11, 123-4, 127-8, 142-9, 153-4, 156-63, 339, 342-5; national cohesiveness, 234, 427; politics and government, 69, 274, 308, 316, 321-2, 328, 333, 367, 374-5, 378, 389, 398-9; population, 8, 22, 70, 70, 339; public finance, 177-8, 207, 212; trade and commerce, 5; wheat industry, 142-9, 427
 New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land Commercial Association, 182-3
 New Town Bay (VDL), 267
 New Zealand, 5-6
 New Zealand Co, 177
 Newman, Charles, 131, 150

 newspapers, 198-205; *see also* under names of newspapers
 Newton, Dr, 390
 Ngarrindjeri people, 151
 Ngen-mar, 31
 Ngurelban people, 45, 47, 52
 Nichols, George Robert, 200, 205, 330, 336, 372, 380
 Nicol, George, 240-1, 244, 247
 Nixon, F.R., 217
 Noonan, Mary, 123
 Norcope family, 73-4; *see also* Spencer family
 Norfolk Island, 6, 116, 142, 164, 275, 285, 292-5, 300-1, 315-16
 Normal Institution (Syd), 421
 North, Samuel, 108, 112, 116, 117, 377
 noxious industries, 156
 Noyce, E., 404
 Nundah, 307
 Nunn, James, 41-5, 55, 57, 59, 61, 366
 Nyungar people, 30-1, 301, 431

 Oakden, Philip, 197
 Oates, John, 57, 60
 oats, 128, 143-4, 163
 O'Connell, Sir Maurice, 232
 Oddfellows Lodge (Syd), 135
 O'Donnell, Michael, 360
 Offor, John, 417-18
 Ogilvie, William, 147
 O'Hare, James, 101-2
 oligarchy, 8
 Onions, Samuel, 91, 93
 Onkaparinga people, 316
 Onslow family, 240
 orchards, 107, 116
 orphans and orphanages, *see* education
 Orr, Alexander, 208
 outlaws, *see* bushranging
 Owens River (Vic), 48-51
 overlanding, *see* cattle; sheep
 Owen, Robert, 336

 Pack, George, 390, 392
 Palliser, George, 55, 60
 Pangerang people, 25
 Parker, Henry Watson, 313
 Parker, John, 98, 103
 Parkes, Henry, 349, 349
 parklands (Adel), 211, 361
 Parramatta (NSW), 144
 Parramatta Book Society, 259
 Parramatta Temperance Society, 252
 Parry, James, 56, 58, 60
 Parsons family, 84, 86
 Partridge, John, 320
 pastoral industry, *see* grazing and farming
 Paterson, Alexander, 41, 42
 Paterson River (NSW), 122, 144-5
 patriotism, 8-9, 267
 patronage system, 318-20, 337
 Patterdale (VDL), 127-8
 Payneham (SA), 211
 Pedder, Sir John Lewes, 370, 394, 400-1
 Pedrana, Lewis, 291
 Peel, Thomas, 73-4, 364
 Peel River (NSW), 56, 60, 159
 Peeltown (WA), 364
 Pender, Mrs, 248
 penology, 273-4, 276, 280-1, 283, 285, 294, 303, 311, 338, 401
 Perry, Frederick, 95
 Perry, Samuel Augustus, 357, 359
 Perth, 6, 9, 61, 175, 396
Perth Gazette, 9, 200, 364, 397, 429
 Peter, Thomas, 305
 Petrie, Thomas, 413
 philanthropy, *see* charity
 Phillip, Arthur, 3, 8
 Phillips, Morris, 265-6
 Philosophical Society (Syd), 257

 phrenology, 65-6, 422
 Picken, A., 36
 picnics, 167, 268-70, 271
 pig industry, 88-9, 106-7, 109, 115-16, 144, 150, 155-6; *see also* meat
 Pignuit, Frederick, 260
 Pinjarra people, 30
 Pinjarra (WA), 363-4
 Piper, John, 64
 Pitman family, 131-2
pituri plants, 171
 plays, 261-6, 263
 Plunkett, John Hubert, 232, 389, 392, 394, 407
 poetry, 95-6, 105, 426, 429
 Point Hunter (Norfolk Island), 300
 Polack, Abraham, 175, 214-15, 214
 Polding, John Bede, 188, 230-4, 251
 police, 109, 112, 317, 383-6; early growth and development, 383-5, 387, 389; mounted, 2, 11, 39, 41, 50, 52, 291, 366-7, 381, 383-4, 390; Native Police, 48, 54, 290-1, 303, 307, 311; *see also* soldiers
 Police Act (NSW), 322-3
 Political Association, 333-4
 Ponds Creek (NSW), 55, 60
 Poor Law (England), 352
 poor, the, *see* poverty
 population: Aborigines, 21-2, 39; Albany, 6; growth of, 70, 152; Hobart Town, 270; NSW, 8, 22, 70, 70, 339; Perth, 6; SA, 70, 96, 315, 363, 411; Vic, 22; VDL, 7, 9, 21, 70, 71, 126; WA, 22, 70, 73
 Port Adelaide (SA), 346
 Port Arthur (VDL), 275-6, 285, *see* 296 (gatefold)
 Port Essington (NT), 4-5, 6, 176-7
 Port Macquarie (NSW), 22, 184, 276, 293, 311
Port Phillip Advertiser (Melb), 200
 Port Phillip Association, 16
 Port Phillip district: Aborigines, 46-52, 54, 61-2, 289-90, 367; early settlement, 6, 16, 22, 289-92; grazing and farming, 13-14, 22, 24, 38, 45-52, 54, 62, 289-90; population, 22; *see also* under names pertaining to Vic
Port Phillip Gazette (Melb), 200, 203
 Port Stephens (NSW), 21
 Porter, George, 169
 Portland (Vic), 6, 16, 22, 36, 38
 Portland Head (NSW), 153
 Portman, Lord, 347
 postal service, 13-14, 178, 189-90, 201, 317
 potatoes, 86-128, 143-4, 146, 163, 167
 pottery, 170
 poultry, 88
 poverty, 163, 202, 249-53, 327, 337-8, 345, 347-54, 410, 413-15, 417
 Power, Elizabeth, 110-12, 117
 Power, Michael, 110-12
 Power family, 406-7
 Powys family, 18-19
 Powys, Littleton, 18-19
 Preece, Henry, 40
 Presbyterian Church, 16, 227, 229, 317, 424
 Prinsep, Charles, 122
 printing, 136, 198-201, 201
 Prospect (SA), 211
 prostitution, 70, 253, 261, 278; *see also* brothels
 Protestant churches, 100, 204; *see also* under individual churches
 Prout, John Skinner, 108, 217, 284
 public celebrations, 8-11; *see also* under specific days and celebrations
 public dinners, 8, 10-11, 13, 222-4, 270
 public finance, 177-8, 207, 212, 347, 351
 public houses and inns, 243; Adelaide, 10, 134, 174; country areas and towns, 108-9, 111, 113, 126, 174, 189, 245, 328, 360, 387, 389; Hobart Town, 134, 171, 174, 244-5; Melbourne, 244-6, 248; social activities, 134, 174, 243-7, 270, 330, 336, 387, 389; Sydney, 11, 94-5, 240-5, 241, 246, 247, 253, 407
 public service (NSW), 317-18, 320

- Quakers, *see* Society of Friends
 Queanbeyan (NSW), 147
 Queen's Birthday, 10, 94-5, 326
 Quinn, Martin, 91, 93
- radicalism, 202, 204, 251-2, 315, 326, 333-4, 336-7
 Rae, John, 253
 Randell, Susan, 75-6
 Read, J., 351
 Read, Richard, 329
 Ready, Martin, 14
 Reeve, R.G., 135
 reform movement, 203, 329-38
 regattas, 8-9, 11, 94, 243; *see also* Hobart Town regatta
 Reiby, Mary, 254
 Reid, Charles, 55
 Reid, David, 148
 Reinagle, George Philip, 7
 religion, *see* God and man, understanding of; under specific denominations
 Reveley, Henry, 87
 rice, 186
 Richards, Thomas, 260
 Richmond (VDL), 400, *see* 298 (gatefold)
 Rickards, John, 175
 Riddell, Campbell Drummond, 320, 373
 Rix, Charles, 291
 road transport: bivouacs, 15, 22, 26, 171;
 bullock-driving, 153, 188-9; carts and drays, 107, 159, 161, 188-9, 189; coach services, 14, 189-90;
 freight and passenger charges, 188-9; horses and carriages, 188-91, 191
 roads: main roads, 188-9; in NSW, 188-9;
 roadbuilding, 136, 188, 272, 275-6, 275, 287;
 routes and tracks, 188; in-VDL, 188; in WA, 188
 Roberts, Peter, 386
 Robertson family, 16, 19
 Robinson, George Augustus, 301-8, 303, 310-11
 Rodius, Charles, 22, 65-6, 65, 275, 283, 349
 Roper, Frederick, 387, 389
 Ross, James, 255
 Ross Point (Norfolk Island), 293
 Rottneat Island (WA), 30, 301, 364, 378
 Royal Victoria Theatre (Syd), 11, 132, 260-2, 262, 264-5, 327
 Rum Rebellion, 405
 Russell, George, 56-8, 60, 246
 Russell, John (murderer), 55, 153-4, 390
 Russell, John (Adel merchant), 175
 Russell, Robert (artist), 5, 76, 228, 231, 286, 384
 Russell, Robert (clerk), 291
 Ryan, Maj, 328
- Sabatier, Mr, 14
 Sabbath, observance of, 161, 253, 267, 294-5, 356, 402
 Sadlier, Richard, 93
 St Andrew's Day, 10
 St Aubins (NSW), 160-1
 St David's Church (Hobart Town), 226, 226
 St George's Day, 10
 St Heliers (NSW), 160-2
 St James' Church (Syd), 228-9, 285, 286
 St John's Church (New Town, VDL), 417
 St John's Church (Parramatta), 226
 St Mary's Catholic cathedral (Syd), 226, 230-4, 231
 St Patrick's Day, 10-11, 10, 420
 St Thomas's Church (Port Macquarie, NSW), 216
 Salt Water River (Vic), 52
 Salting, Severin Kanute, 197
 Samson, L. & W., 175
 Sand Hills (NSW), 157
 Saumarez (NSW), 14, 160-1
 Saunders, John, 251, 252
 Saunson, Mrs, 12
 Saville, Benjamin, 343
 Savings Bank of New South Wales, 192, 197-8
 schools, *see* education
 Schuermann, Clamor Wilhelm, 221, 224-5, 229
 Scots Church (Syd), 229
- Scott, Robert, 41
 Scott, Sir Walter, 258, 265
 sealing, 125, 289, 306-7
 Seller, Thomas, 295
 sex and sexuality, 96, 117, 278-80, 283; *see also* marriage; prostitution
 Sharpe, Thomas, 293-5, 300-1
 Shaw, Benjamin, 1-2
 sheep, 39; diseases, 322; fodder, 152; number of, 107, 126, 157, 160; overlanding, 22, 39, 45-6, 49-51, 152, 159, 188; price, 106, 158, 195; sea freight, 150, 185, 289; shearing, 146, 157, 159, 162-3, 179, 179; stealing and spearing, 49, 52, 54, 224, 363-4; *see also* grazing and farming; meat; wool
 Sheldrake, Samuel, 291
 Shepherdson, John Banks, 411
 Sheridan, Ann, 75-6
 Sheridan, James, 342-3
 Sherwin, William, 424-5
 ships and shipping, 139-40, 186, 345, 348, 350;
 agents and brokers, 186-7; Asia/Pacific routes, 184, 186-7; British trade, 182, 184, 186-8;
 desertions and strikes, 98, 103, 130, 140; freight charges and insurance, 141-2, 189; legislation, 140-1; passage time, 1, 3, 141, 182, 187; price of ships, 3, 5, 139; river traffic and coastal runs, 1, 3, 5-6, 130, 141, 184-8; shipwrecks, 5, 150; steam ships, 187-8, 188; working conditions and pay, 138-41;
 shops, 16, 150, 155-6, 173-5, 174
 Simes, Thomas, 265-6
 Simes, J.T., & Co, 183
 Simmons, Isaac, 214
 Simmons, James, 3
 Simmons, Joseph, 265
 Simpkinson de Wesselow, F.G., 303, 305, 307
 Simpson, James, 291-2
 Skate, William, 359
 skins and leather, 3, 156
 Skipper, Frances Amelia, 13
 Skipper, John Michael, 20, 346, 378
 slavery, movement against, 274, 341, 362, 428
 sly-grogging, 14, 169, 355
 Smart, T.W., 214
 Smith, Charles, 373-5
 Smith, Eliza, 410
 Smith, Frederick, 31
 Smith Raven & Co, 172
 smoking, 80, 171, 282; *see also* tobacco
 Smyth, George, 50
 Snape, Mrs, 282
 Snodgrass, Augustus, 319, 321
 Snodgrass, Kenneth, 41
 Snodgrass, lagoon (NSW), 44, 57
 soap, 156, 306, 341
 social classes: lower, 9, 11-13, 17-18, 74-6, 75-6, 78, 80, 89-91, 93-4, 99, 236, 326, 331, 417; new respectable class, 271, 331; rank and status, 9, 12, 17-19, 129, 215, 219, 236-8, 261-3, 266, 269-71, 326-7, 338-9, 386, 418; upper, 10-13, 18, 75, 77-80, 77, 89-91, 92, 93-4, 104-5, 236-7, 354, 380
 social life, *see* balls and levees; picnics; public houses and inns; sport; visits, formal
 Society of Compositors, 136
 Society of Friends, 227, 251-2
 sodomy, 115-16, 286
 soldiers, 79, 94, 237, 242, 246, 267, 301, 422-3, 430;
 Aborigines and, 41-4, 57, 366, 380-1;
 accommodation, 90, 241-2, 294, 381-2; convicts, work with, 293-4, 300, 302-3, 306, 381, 383;
 farm work, 128, 144, 380-1; marines, 383, 385;
 police work, 381, 383; unpopularity, 240-4, 383
 Sorell, William, 208
 South Australia: Aborigines, 22, 150-1, 215, 219-24, 316, 362-3; early settlement, 6, 10, 18-19, 177, 211, 219, 320, 345; education, 411, 414, 418;
 politics and government, 322-3; population, 70, 96, 315, 363, 411; public finance, 178; trade and commerce, 150-1; *see also* systematic colonisation scheme
 South Australian Builders' Trades Union Society, 132-4
 South Australian Church Society, 225
 South Australian Club, 236
 South Australian Co, 121, 125, 131, 151, 191, 195-6, 210-11, 353
 South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register (Adel), 200, 201, 203, 323
 South Australian Literary and Scientific Association, 258-9
 Southern Australian (Adel), 96, 109, 150, 200, 203, 210, 258-9, 353, 362
 Spark, Alexander Brodie, 187, 208, 212, 237, 239
 speculation: commercial, 176, 186; land, 193-4, 206-15
 Spencer, Sir Richard, 319, 319
 Spencer family, 72-4
 spirits, 111-12, 151, 156, 162, 169-71, 249
 sport, 9, 91, 94, 108-9, 243, 267; *see also* cricket; regattas; Hobart Town regatta; horseracing
 Spring Bay (VDL), 328
 squatting: licences, 206-7, 359-60; NSW, 143, 156-8, 206, 359-61; SA, 206, 359; VDL, 206; Vic, 206, 289-91; WA, 206
 Stanley, Owen, 131, 139, 145, 263, 326-7, 357, 366, 416, 428
 Stapleton, Thomas, 343
 Starling, J.M., 181
 Stephen, Alfred, 113-14, 260, 319-20
 Stephen, Eleanor, 113-14
 Stephen, George Milner, 211, 215, 315, 319, 319, 363, 385
 Stephen, James (jr), 316, 317, 319, 362, 367
 Stephen, James (sen), 362
 Stephen, John, 330, 333
 Stephen, Virginia (Possy), 113-14
 Stephens, Ward, 204
 Stevenson, George, 323
 Stewart, James, 288
 Stewart, William, 2
 Stiggers, John, 288
 Stiles, Henry, 227
 Stirling, Sir James, 318-19, 337, 363-5, 372, 378, 396-7, 412
 stocks, 377-8, 377
 Stokes, James, 169
 Stone, Emily, 104-5
 Stow, Thomas Quinton, 227-30, 233, 418
 strikes, 125, 137
 Strode, Thomas, 200, 203
 Strutt, William, 200
 Stuart de Rothesay, Lord, 213
 Sturt, Charles, 13-14, 24, 29, 210
 sugar, 161-2, 169, 172, 176, 186, 194, 306, 356, 413
 Sullivan, Benjamin, 389, 402-3, 406
 Sullivan's Cove (VDL), 267
 Sunday schools, 91, 413, 424
 Sutch, Mr, 270
 Sutherland, Benjamin, 164
 Swan Hill people, 28
 Swan River (WA), 6, 10, 143
 Swan River Guardian (Perth), 200, 250, 336-7, 365
 Swan River settlement, *see* Western Australia
 Swanston, Charles, 196
 swimming, 91, 300
 Sydney, 12, early settlement, 1, 3, 8, 10-11; public houses, 11, 94-5, 240-5, 241, 246, 247, 253, 407; sewerage and drainage, 156; trade and commerce, 3, 155-6, 168, 173-5
 Sydney College, 418-21, 419
 Sydney Cove (NSW), 1, 3, 8
 Sydney Gazette, 114, 198-200, 202-4, 257, 261, 265-6, 373
 Sydney Harbour (NSW), 14
 Sydney Herald, 11, 136, 176, 179, 198, 198, 200, 202-4, 266, 373
 Sydney Mechanics' School of Arts, 256, 257
 Sydney Monitor, 200, 202-4, 258, 315, 397
 Sydney Times, 199-200, 202, 336
 Sylke, Ann, 420, 422
 Synot, Jane, 237

- systematic colonisation scheme, 337-8, 347, 357, 384; *see also* immigration and immigrants; South Australia; Wakefield, Edward Gibbon
- Tahlee (NSW), 161
tailoring, 136-7
Tainoga (NSW), 56-8, 60
tallow, 156
Tamar Bank, 195, 197
Tamworth (NSW), 39, 45
tanneries, 156
Tasman, Abel, 9, 267
Tasmania, *see* Van Diemen's Land
Tasmanian (Hobart Town), 254, 256
Tasmanian Chronicle, 200
Tasmanian Natural History Society, 9, 259
Taungarong people, 45-7, 52
Taylor, David, 88
Taylor, Robert, 133
tea, 161-2, 167, 169, 172, 186, 306, 356, 413
teachers, 126, 163, 401, 405-7, 410-16, 418, 420-2; *see also* education
Teichelmann, Christian Gottlieb, 221, 224-5, 229
Tempe (NSW), 218
temperance movement, 247-54, 270-1
Temperance Society of New South Wales, 248
Temple, Sgt. 39
Terry family, 7-8, 175, 177, 208, 330
Terry Hie Hie (NSW), 40
Theatre Royal (Hobart Town), 264, 327
Theatre Royal (Syd), 261-2, 264, 266
theatre, 260-6, 327; *see also* plays and under names of theatres
theft, 125, 261, 292, 306, 344; *see also* cattle; horses; sheep
Therry, John Joseph, 230, 400
Therry, Roger, 321, 386
Thomas, Robert, 200
Thompson, John, 351
Thompson, T.C., 316
Thomson, Alexander, 260, 315
Thomson, Anne Deas, 77-8, 283, 318
Thomson, Edward Deas, 77-8, 312, 318, 320-2
Thomson, Elizabeth, 77-8
Thomson, Susan Emmeline, 77-8
Threlkeld, Lancelot, 394-5
thrift, 197, 252
Tilbuster (NSW), 160
timber, *see* building
Timor, 5
tobacco, 3, 86, 144-6, 306, 356, 413; *see also* smoking
Tobin family, 355-6
Tommy, 58
Tompson, Charles, 405
Toodyay (WA), 6
Tooth's Kent Brewery, 156, 169
Torlesse, Mr, 389
Torrens River (SA), 219
Toulouse, Charles, 55, 60
Towns, Robert, 350
Townsend, Mr, 359
trade and commerce: British interests, 24, 176-80, 182-4, 194-7; intercolonial trade, 1, 3, 5-6, 130, 141, 150, 152, 172; *see also* under places; banks and banking; exports; imports; money market; shops
trade unions, 133-7, 164; *see also* under names of unions
Tress, William, 175
Trigg, Henry, 364
Trinity Church (Adel), 78-80, 79, 225-6, 226, 230
Trousers Point (Flinders Island), 308
True Colonist (Hobart Town), 177, 255, 269, 326
Truganini, 303, 304
Turnbull, Adam, 260
Turner, C., 316
Turner, William, 292
Twofold Bay (NSW), 21
Tyrer, W.H., 164
Ugat, 32
Ullathorne, William, 100, 230, 232-4, 286, 294
Underwood, J.C., 213
Union Bank of Australia, 195-7, 195-6
Union Club (Hobart Town), 236
Union Club (Perth), 236
United Australians, 8
Upton, Lucy, 108
Van Diemen's Land, 388; Aborigines, 21, 38, 301-8, 304, 307, 310-11, 329; convicts, 2, 7, 9, 80, 101, 126-8, 137-8, 147-9, 159, 163-5, 267, 270, 306-7, 319-20, 338; education, 9, 163, 225, 256, 408, 410, 414-18, 420-2; grazing and farming, 126-8, 143-7, 149, 159, 163; politics and government, 267, 308, 321, 378, 400; population, 7, 9, 21, 70, 71, 126; public finance, 178; statistical returns, 126, 128; trade and commerce, 3, 16, 130, 149-50; wheat industry, 126, 128, 143, 145, 163
Van Diemen's Land Asylum for the Protection of Destitute and Unfortunate Females, 253
Van Diemen's Land Co, 121, 158-9
Van Diemen's Land Society, 259
Vasse (WA), 6
vegetables, 128, 143, 172, 295, 300, 306; *see also* potatoes
Verge, John, 235
Vickery, Charlotte, 97-8
Victor Harbour (SA), 151
Victoria, *see* Port Phillip district
Victoria, Queen, 18, 94-5, 313, 313
Villiers, Christian de, 47-8, 54
Vineyard, The (NSW), 165
vineyards, *see* wine industry
visits, formal, 78, 110, 235-8, 236, 270
Wainwright, Mr, 126, 252
Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 337-8, 347, 347, 357, 384; *see also* systematic colonisation scheme
Walker, Charles, 126
Walker, George Washington, 229, 249-50, 252-3
Walker, John, 14, 16, 19
Walker, Theresa Snell, 221, 225
Walker, Thomas, 167-8, 176, 194, 208, 212
Walker Brothers & Co, 168, 187
Walkerville (SA), 211
Walsh, Dr, 303
Wandil, 30
Wannon River (Vic), 159
Warren, Alexander, 69-71, 85, 87, 116, 147
Warrup, 30-2
water supply, 137
Waterloo, 45, 52
Wathaurung people, 45, 47-8
Watson, Daniel, 344-5
Watson, Mary, 138
Watson-Gordon, Sir J., 341
Waveroo people, 48-50, 52
Waworong people, 45, 47-8
Wechinger, Mrs, 94
Weiup-wert, 429, 431
Weller, Thomas, 244
Wellington Valley (NSW), 307, 311, 394
Wells, Charlotte, 410
Welsh, Biddy, 110-11
Welsh, Mrs, 12
Welsh, P.W., 185
Wentworth, William Charles, 8, 8, 181, 214, 330-1, 333-4, 336
Weraera people, 38-40, 43-4, 56, 62
Werribee River (Vic), 47, 52, 54
Wesley, John, 228-9
Westbury (VDL), 126, 143, 252
Western Australia: Aborigines, 9, 22, 30-6, 61, 128, 301, 363-5, 395-7, 429-31; early settlement, 6-7, 9, 30, 72-4, 177; education, 412, 414, 418; grazing and farming, 128, 143-4; politics and government, 321, 337, 364, 372, 378, 396, 399; population, 22, 70, 73; public finance, 178; trade and commerce, 186; wheat industry, 128, 143-4
Western people (VDL), 303, 307-8
Western Port settlement (Vic), 289
whaling, 6, 125, 151, 168, 178, 267, 289
wheat industry, 106, 126, 128, 142-9, 145, 163, 427
Wheeler family, 83-7, 116
White, Col, 50
White, James, 183-4
Wicks, Peter, 358
widowhood, 98, 113-14, 235, 247, 349, 405
Wightman family, 160-2
Wilberforce, William, 362
Wilgup, 30, 396
Williams, John, 14
Williams, Mary, *see* Davies, Mary
Williams, William, 220, 222-3
Willis, John Walpole, 232, 234, 372, 407
Willis Garrett & Co, 175
Wills, Horatio, 257
Wilshire brothers, 156
Wilson, J.T., 214-15
Wilson, W., 246
Wilson, William, 244
Wilson brothers, 208
Wilson's Promontory (Vic), 315
Wilton, C.P.N., 258
Windsor (NSW), 144
wine industry, 69, 86, 146, 170-1, 170, 194, 249
Wingell (NSW), 149
Winter, Samuel Pratt, 159, 431
Winter, Trevor, 159
Wiseman brothers, 40, 57, 154
Wittenoom, Charles, 10, 172, 396
Wittenoom, John Burdett, 412, 412, 418, 421
Wittenoom, Mary, *see* Helms, Mary
Wivell, A., 347
women, 86; domestic servants, 78, 85, 98, 110, 124, 138, 238, 251, 413-14, 416; garment industry, 137-8, 146; as laundresses, 137-8, 146; number of, 70, 80; as publicans, 247-8; rural sector, 85-6, 118, 123, 124, 126-8, 142, 145-7, 149, 160-2, 278, 402-3, 413-14; as teachers, 163, 407, 410, 412, 418, 420-2; temperance movement and, 251-4; wages, 85-6, 137-8, 145
Wood, Thomas, 164, 315
Woodhouse, C., 290
wool: demand for, 22, 128, 178-9; exports, 3, 168, 178-84, 186-7; prices, 152, 158, 179, 195; quality, 179, 183-4; quantity of wool clip, 178; seasonal cycle of wool industry, 159, 161, 166, 179-84, 181; *see also* sheep
Wools, William, 256, 421
Wooraddy, *see* Count Alpha
Wright, Mr, 104
Wright, William, 384
Wyatt, Joseph, 132, 261-2, 264-5
Wyatt, William, 221, 223, 362
Wybalenna (Flinders Island), 301-2, 308
Yaldwyn, William, 51-2
Yass (NSW), 14, 147
Yatoobong, 30, 395-6
Yen-mar, 31
Yintayintin, *see* Davy
York (WA), 128, 143-4, 364-5
youth, *see* children