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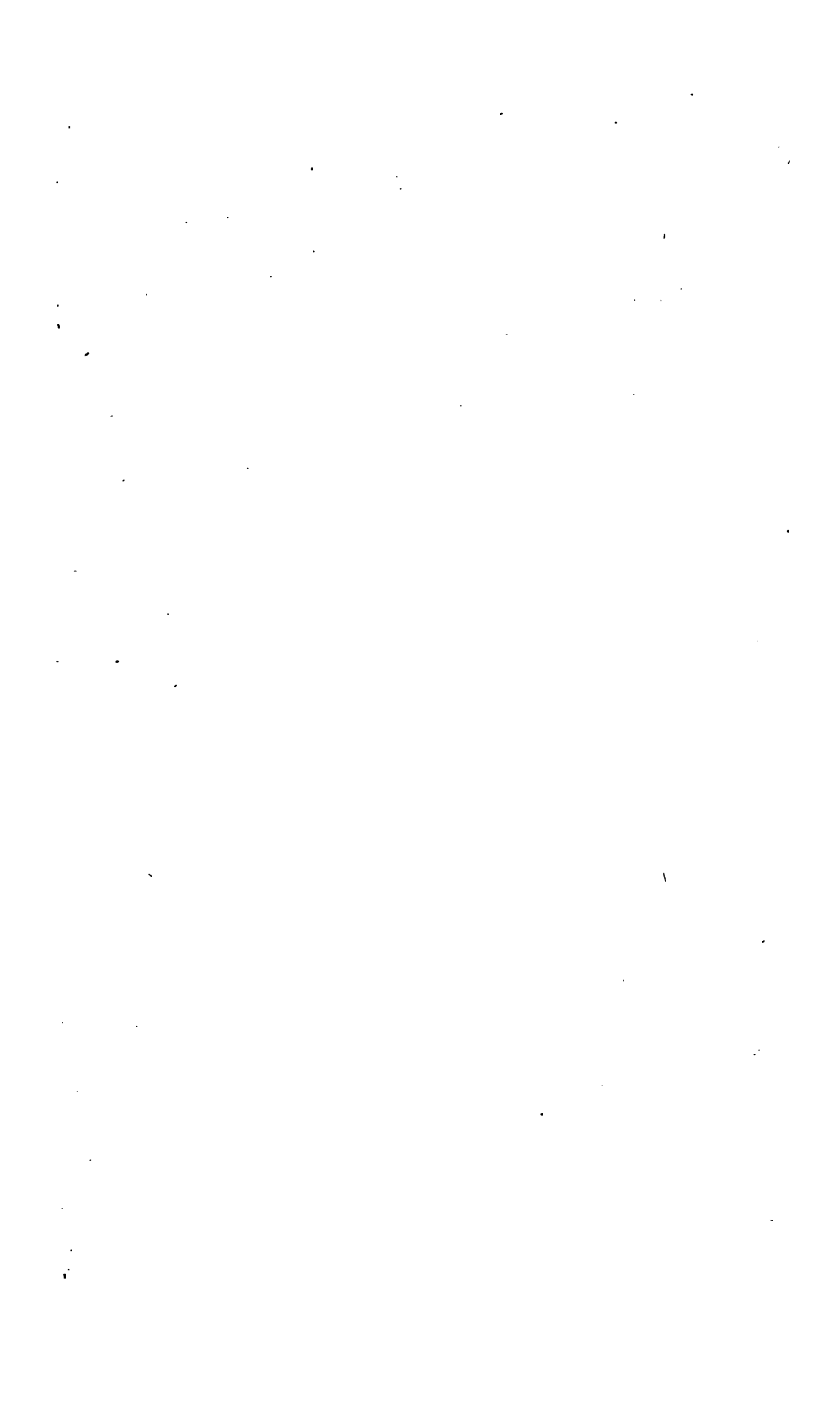
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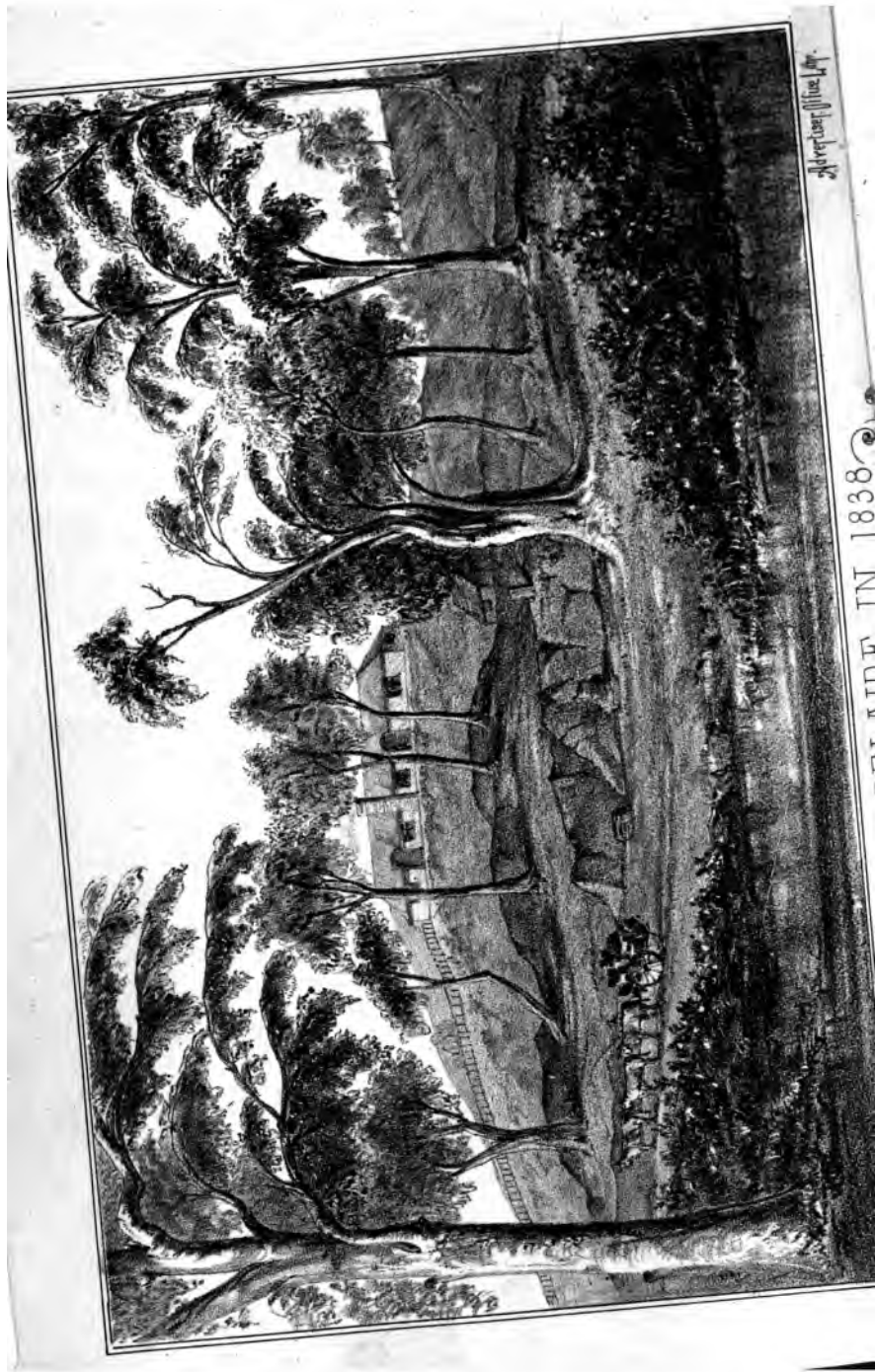
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EARLY EXPERIENCES
OF
COLONIAL LIFE
IN
SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

BY J. W. BULL.

“THO’ MUCH IS TAKEN, MUCH ABIDES.”

ADELAIDE:
PRINTED AT THE ADVERTISER, CHRONICLE, AND EXPRESS OFFICES,
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THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
TO
HIS EXCELLENCY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM
FRANCIS DRUMMOND JERVOIS, C.B., ETC.,
WHO, IN RECOGNITION OF HIS SPLENDID TALENTS
AS A MILITARY ENGINEER,
HAS BEEN APPOINTED TO GOVERN THAT COLONY WHICH
HE PRONOUNCES TO BE
THE "KEY" OF AUSTRALIA.

ADELAIDE, S.A.,
JULY 10TH, 1878.

1-10-55-01-1

PREFACE.

THE following work has already been published in parts in the columns of the *South Australian Chronicle*, and has been read with very great interest by persons of all classes. The chapters are now rearranged, so that those relating to each special subject or class of subjects appear in their more natural order. The author's aim has been to relate striking incidents coming generally under his own observation in the early days of the province ; to describe the struggles of the pioneer settlers, the misfortunes and disasters against which they contended, and the scenes in which they were actors. He has endeavoured to picture South Australia as it was in 1836, and for the next six or seven years, and to do justice to the achievements and character of some men whose merits have not perhaps been at all times sufficiently appreciated.

Many of the adventures Mr. Bull describes have a great element of romance about them, and his bush yarns and the chapters on the encounters of the police and settlers with the blacks and bushrangers cannot fail to be exciting and attractive reading. Respecting the views he holds upon some public questions, and concerning the policy of our rulers in the days long gone by, there may be differences of opinion, but there can be no doubt as to the value of this work as an accurate record of events. Its style is not ambitious, but the writer tells his story in an easy, agreeable way. Old colonists will enjoy the volume for the sake of the memories it will awaken and the associations it will

renew ; colonists of a later date may take pleasure in learning more of the pilgrim fathers and their experiences than they have hitherto known.

The book must always be useful as a work of reference and will supply trustworthy materials to the historian of the future.

The author has honoured me by a request for this preface. To those who have been in South Australia some years Mr. Bull needs no introduction, for he has been well known as a most valuable if not a successful colonist ; and to the knowledge and experience which so eminently qualify him to write such a work as this he has added great industry and a painstaking regard to correctness in matters of fact.

J. P. STOW.

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN this volume, in which are related some of the experiences of the pioneers who planted the colony of South Australia, the author has to ask indulgent readers to excuse the deficiencies in style, arrangement, and other defects which may be apparent. He has to plead at the age of seventy-four that during forty years spent in the colony in occupations involving toil and trouble, and the greater part of the time in country pursuits, he has had little opportunity for studying the elegances of composition, yet hopes he may have succeeded in furnishing, as he has desired, "a truthful, plain, unvarnished tale." The period travelled over includes the administration of the first three Governors, of one Acting-Governor, and the public actions of other Government officials, bringing the history up to the departure of Captain Grey. This work he now commits to his fellow-colonists and to the many friends of the province in the dear old mother country and elsewhere. He begs here thankfully to acknowledge the liberal assistance he has received from Government officials, and other gentlemen in furnishing him with information which he has freely used. Also to the proprietors of the *Register* and *Observer* papers for the use of their files.

The fact that the remaining pioneers are rapidly passing away to

"That undiscovered country from whose bourne
No traveller returns,"

and that a very few more years will see a small remnant if any left of those adults who arrived on these shores before the year 1840, has induced him to add his budget of occurrences to the more solid and regular records extant of the history of the province. He ventures to think that the incidents recounted of every-day life in the bush and in the embryo metropolis will secure for his book many readers amongst the rising generation of colonists; those who under so much more favourable circumstances begin

the battle of life, will here become acquainted with some of the hardships and dangers, against which the early settlers contended, as well as the troubles met with and overcome by the Governors and their officers.

When the Author commenced the series he has to confess he had not a single note, nor did he originally contemplate their publication in a volume, thus the want of cohesion in the work is explained. The public having manifested a considerable interest in the numbers as they successively appeared in the *Chronicle*, he was induced to listen to the suggestions of several kind friends, and republish them in a more connected form, revised and with considerable additions. In giving a simple and truthful record of real occurrences, he has been necessarily confined to brief and natural language and launches his work, trusting that it may meet with a favourable reception. He desires in this place to return especial thanks to Admiral Pullen and his correspondent and fellow-worker, Mr. A. Barker, for the interesting matter which he was under the necessity of placing in the Appendix in consequence of its late arrival. He regrets he was not able to give the first part of the same a place in the opening chapter of the work.

The large quotations he has made from Colonel Light's diary (scarce and out of print) have been placed to precede the account of Mr. Pullen's performances in the discovery of Port Adelaide, and of his other achievements in the colony. The Author may have unintentionally omitted to mention the names and actions of other honourable early workers with whom he has not been recently in communication.

He cannot close this preface without acknowledging the assistance he has received from Mr. Thomas Gill, Chief Clerk, Treasury Department, for information freely furnished by him, and especially as to the table of the comparative progress of the colony placed at the head of the Appendix.

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Early Recollections and Experiences

OF

COLONIAL LIFE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

BEFORE the record of the early experiences of colonial life in South Australia is commenced it will be well to give a brief notice of the earliest accounts we have of the country. From the time the colonising staffs arrived, in 1836, to take possession of the large slice from the Province of New South Wales granted to the new colony under the Act of the Imperial Parliament (passed the 15th August, 1834), it will be a proper introduction to that history to go back a few years and quote from the published voyages of Captains Flinders and Sutherland. The reports also of the French navigators, Baudin and Freycinet, and their descriptions of Kangaroo Island, will be interesting. This island is so placed as to shelter the Gulf of St. Vincent, and leaving two clear inlets—a wide entrance to the west and a narrower passage to the east of the island, was named by Captain Flinders “Kangaroo Island.”

In the year 1802 Captain Flinders in His Majesty's ship Investigator, after he had explored the coast of New Holland, west of Encounter Bay, there fell in with the French Expedition under Captains Baudin and Freycinet, and to commemorate the friendly encounter gave to that part of the coast the appropriate name of “Encounter Bay.” By a few days only he was the original discoverer of those magnificent inlets, Spencer's and St. Vincent's Gulfs, which were also named by the British voyager.

The account Captain Flinders gives of his visit to Kangaroo Island in 1802, as to the animals he found on it, is confirmed by the French

navigators who landed there in the same year, and also by Captain Sutherland, who remained at the island some months in the year 1819.

On the morning after casting anchor in Nepean Bay, Captain Flinders says—"On going towards the shore a number of dark brown kangaroos were seen feeding upon a grass plat by the side of the wood, and our landing gave them no disturbance. I had with me a double-barrelled gun, fitted with a bayonet, and the gentlemen (my companions) had muskets. It would be difficult to guess how many kangaroos were seen, but I killed ten, and the rest of my party made up the number to thirty-one taken on board in the course of the day. The least of them weighed sixty-nine, and the largest one hundred and twenty-five pounds. These kangaroos had much resemblance to the large species found in the forest lands of New South Wales, except that their colour is darker, and they were not wholly destitute of fat. The whole ship's company were engaged in the afternoon in skinning and cleaning the kangaroos, and a delightful regale they afforded after four months' privation from almost any fresh provisions. In gratitude for so seasonable a supply I named this southern land 'Kangaroo Island.'

"These poor animals suffered themselves to be shot in the eyes with small shot, and in some cases to be knocked on the head with sticks. I scrambled through the brushwood and over fallen trees to reach the higher land with the surveying instruments, but the thickness and height of the wood prevented anything else being distinguished. There was little doubt, however, that this extensive piece of land was separated from the main, and accounted for the extraordinary tameness of the kangaroos and the presence of seals upon the shore, thus also proving the absence of human inhabitants, of whom no traces were found.

"On a day following, the scientific gentlemen landed, and in the evening eleven more kangaroos were brought on board, but most of these were smaller, and seemed to be of a different species. Some of the party saw large running birds, supposed according to description to be the emu or cassowary.

"A thick wood covered almost all that part of the island visible from the ship, but the trees in a vegetating state were not equal in size to the generality of those lying on the ground, nor to the dead trees which were still standing. Those on the ground were so abundant that in ascending the higher land a considerable part of the walk was made on these fallen trunks. They lay in all directions, and were nearly of

the same size and in the same progress of decay; whence it would seem that they had not fallen from age, nor yet been thrown down in a gale of wind, but had succumbed before a general conflagration.

“The soil of that part of Kangaroo Island examined by us was judged to be much superior to any before seen either upon the South coast or upon the islands.”

The above quotation is confirmed by the reports of the French navigators and Captain Sutherland, as they all agree in the descriptions they give, which represent such an extraordinarily different condition of the island, both as to the size of timber and the animals they found on their visits from what was found when our first ships arrived in Nepean Bay, to form the first settlement there, under the directions of the Board of Commissioners in London. Remarkable changes like these can only be accounted for by such an overwhelming conflagration, as in the opinion of Captain Flinders must have happened before his visit.

The the French navigators also give an account of the vast number and large size of the kangaroos which they found on the island. They took full advantage of the opportunity to secure a number, and “took on board twenty-seven alive, besides numerous carcasses.” They found no traces of man.

Report of a voyage from Sydney to Kangaroo Island by Captain Sutherland, when employed by some merchants of Sydney in a vessel of 140 tons, to obtain a cargo of salt and seal skins from the Island:—

“On the 8th January, 1819, we arrived at Kangaroo Island from Sydney after a pleasant voyage of 14 days, and anchored in Lagoon Bay (part of Nepean Bay) in about four fathoms of water close in shore. Two boats were dispatched with five men in each to discover the salt lagoon, and to ascertain on what part of the bays seals most resorted. Another boat with three men also started to seek from whence a supply of water could be obtained. During our ramble from this boat a shallow well with a small supply of fresh water was found, with a flatstone near it with writing cut upon it, giving the names of the captains of the French Expedition, and the date of their visit. Not far from this spot, and close to Point Marsden, Nepean Bay, we dug a well, behind the sand bank, about four feet deep, which immediately filled with fresh water. The period during which I stayed on and near the Island was from the 8th of January to the 12th of August in the before mentioned year.

The soil was thickly covered with timber and brushwood. Some of my men landed at several different places on the main. I never saw or heard of any native dogs on Kangaroo Island, and from the very great number of Kangaroos I do not believe there are any. Some of the kangaroos I killed weighed one hundred and twenty pounds. I have known our men to have taken as many as fifteen in one morning. We never made use of any part of them but the hind quarters."

He also says he travelled across the Island in company with two sealers who had been living on the Island some years, but he does not give their names.

The writer remarks on the concurrent testimony in the reports from which he has quoted that they should remove all doubts which may have been entertained as to the number of kangaroos said to have been originally found there, and also as to their tameness. The excessive timidity of these marsupials in all other parts of Australia is universally known; in those localities, however, they had been joint occupiers with native aboriginal hunters.

As to the timber which the discoverers report to have found on the Island, differing so greatly from the saplings found by our first arrivals, to cover the country, it may be remarked that an explanation will occur to those colonists who have had experience in heavily timbered, or close scrubby districts. To such persons it is well known that when a strong bush fire occurs, and is extinguished by rain before it has quite consumed the trees or scrub, the vitality of which it has destroyed, after a sufficient time has elapsed to allow fresh saplings or strong scrub to make considerable growth, a succeeding fire, aided by the dry material left, will make a clean sweep of the country, and the subsequent state of the locality will be either open ground or a close eucalyptus scrub. A few scattered ancient trees, which were perhaps always detached, may possibly survive, and this is considered to be an explanation of the state of the Island as to timber when our colonists arrived, and that the kangaroos had been nearly exterminated by the overwhelming fire.

As to the future fruitfulness of the Island it is a reasonable expectation that as clearing progresses it will become a prosperous agricultural district, but at a great cost to the farmer.

CHAPTER I.

KANGAROO ISLAND.

IN the construction of the series of Colonial Experiences which have appeared in the *Adelaide Chronicle*, and have reached a length not originally contemplated, it did not occur to the writer to commence with the first occupation of Kangaroo Island, indeed to do so was not then a possibility to him, as he had no personal experience on that part of the province, and he has had subsequently to wait for reliable information from such of the actual primitive settlers as he could meet with.

He has been enabled to correct one erroneous impression early extant, that they were principally runaway convicts, the fact being that the majority of the early inhabitants were men who had left whaling and sealing vessels or surveying ships.

George Bates arrived on the island in the year 1824, and has been engaged since that time in sealing and hunting, and occasionally in making visits to search the beach of Encounter Bay for the bones of stranded whales. On one occasion shortly after the whaling stations were formed at the Nob and what is now called Victor Harbour, he and some mates had collected whale-bone on the beach near the mouth of the River Murray, which they estimated to be worth over £200. This was taken from them by the authorities and sent by Captain Hart and sold in Sydney, and yet no salvage was given to them, which they deemed a great hardship.

When he forwarded the above information he stated his age to be seventy-eight years.

THOMPSON'S STATEMENTS.

In the year 1835 William Thompson, a seaman, landed on Kangaroo Island from the cutter *William*, Captain Wright, after he had fulfilled his engagement in a sealing voyage with him. He then joined Wm. Walker, who had been some time on the island. At the time he (Thompson) landed there were about seven male white settlers, engaged in sealing and catching wallaby, and in preparing the skins for export. The first settler was Waller, who was said to have been on the island fourteen or fifteen years before Thompson became a resident. He had assumed the title of Governor of the island, and to his rule the others yielded such obedience as was necessary in so primitive a state of society as then obtained. Several of the men had colored women living with them, some obtained from Tasmania and the others from the tribes occupying the Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay districts. One of these women, not satisfied with her promotion from slavery to one of her own race to that of a help to a white man, took to the salt water and swam across the straits, nine miles wide at the narrowest part, crossing the powerful currents, and passing in safety through the multitudes of sharks, for which this passage (now called Backstairs Passage) is notorious, and landed

safely in her own country on the mainland. Shortly after the writer's own arrival, about four or five years after this extraordinary swim was made, this woman was pointed out to him, and she was then a fine specimen of her race.

The inhabitants of the little settlement had cleared small patches of land from the scrub, which they cultivated or worked with strong hoes, growing vegetables and wheat, which latter was ground between two flat stones, and from the meal produced they made their unleavened bread or dampers, baked in wood ashes. The late Captain Hart, when in the employment of Mr. Griffiths, of Launceston, was in the habit of visiting the island to trade with the islanders for their seal and wallaby skins, and salt, gathered from various lagoons in that part of the island, and to furnish them with goods in exchange. The settlers had pigs and fowls, and varied their diet with the flesh of wallaby, wild fowl, and fish. One of the earliest islanders was a young man of the name of G. Meredith, whose father was an inhabitant of Tasmania, in a large way of business. His son had been dispatched by him in a small vessel amongst the islands to catch seals. Young Meredith had the misfortune to wreck his vessel on Howe's Island, and escaped in a boat with a Dutchman, who was known afterwards as Jacob Seaman. They had with them, on landing on the island, a Tasmanian black woman, called Sal, who had lost half of one of her feet when young by sleeping with them too near the fire. She was owned by Meredith. He took up his residence at Western River on the coast of the island opposite the Althorpes. He had also with him two native boys whom he had procured from the mainland, and whom he was training to be of great use to him in his sealing trips. In one of his boat voyages with the black woman and the two boys he landed on the part of the coast now known as Yankalilla. Whilst they were encamped Meredith was killed by his two black boys, of which sad occurrence the black woman afterwards gave the following account to the islanders:—"Whilst their unsuspecting master was sitting near the camp fire partaking of porridge, the boys stole behind him, and with a small hatchet split his skull open, causing instantaneous death. It was supposed that they had been instigated to commit this act of treachery by some blackfellows, who afterwards took possession of the black woman, the boat, and all its contents, with which they made their way to Encounter Bay. In the then unsettled state of the country no steps were taken in the matter, as this occurred before the first colonists from England arrived. The boat, as reported by the islanders, was for some time used by the Encounter Bay natives in sealing and fishing, and was ultimately lost by getting adrift from their careless fastenings. Sal eventually managed to escape to the island, and joined a settler (who was an American black) named Geo. Brown. He had been engaged as headsmen in one of the whaling companies. After the colonists arrived with the Government staffs Geo. Brown left the island, and was engaged at the first occupation of Holdfast Bay. He had become acquainted with an emigrant girl who was in the service of Captain Lipson, our first Harbour Master, who was, I may mention, officially and privately held in universal esteem and respect. Brown was legally married to this young woman, and they left a family who are now in respectable positions. Sal, after parting from Brown, joined Wm. Cooper, one of the sealers, who acted as interpreter to Colonel Light.

It was more than twelve months after William Thompson became a resident on the Island that the first South Australian ships arrived from London, whence they had been dispatched by the Board of Commissioners and the South Australian Company.

Information from a paper.—“The Duke of York, a barque, arrived on July 27th, 1836, and dropped anchor in Nepean Bay at noon. This was the first vessel which arrived with colonists. Passengers—Mr. Samuel Stephens, first Manager of the South Australian Company in the colony; Mr. Thomas Hudson Beare, second in command under the Company; Mrs. Beare and four children; with Miss C. H. Beare (afterwards Mrs. Samuel Stephens), Mr. D. H. Schryvogle, clerk; Hy. Mitchell butcher; C. Powell, gardener; — Neale, carpenter; Wm. West labourer,—the last four emigrants.

The Board of Commissioners in London granted to the Management of the South Australian Company a most extraordinary, not to say questionable favour, in accepting and passing the entire crew of the Duke of York, as well as those of the John Pirie, Lady Mary Pelham, Sarah and Elizabeth, and the South Australian as emigrants; so that the lists which were published (and have lately been re-published) as to the number of emigrants arriving by those ships were really incorrect. The party from whom this information comes was a passenger in the Duke of York, and adds—“Hardly one of these men remained here. A few of them returned years afterwards, and settled in the colony.”

Information was not further given whether those who returned succeeded in getting passed as emigrants a second time, but that they were paid for as emigrants the first time by the Commissioners was positively stated.

“All on board the barque were ready to go ashore as soon as the vessel was made snug, and landed in a little bay, at the spot where the Rapid Bay and Cape Borda submarine cable has been since brought ashore. The time the passengers set their feet on the land was 2 p.m. The first duty then performed was the reading of the Church of England service in which all joined; Captain Morgan concluded the service by an extemporary prayer or thanksgiving for the prosperous voyage which had been granted to them. They left Torbay, on the coast of England, on the 17th or 18th of April, and arrived in the new colony on the 27th of July. Just before the party left the Duke of York a magnificent rainbow appeared in the heavens, and the Captain remarked it was a good omen. The rambling and weary party returned late on board, still sleep was not obtained, owing to the excitement of their new position. Between 12 and 1 o'clock the vessel heeled over, and commotion was general. All were rushing to the boats; but the Captain allayed the universal alarm by explaining that he had anchored in too shallow water, and the ship had swung round and grounded on a muddy bottom in an ebbing tide, of the rise and fall of which he had been ignorant.

The following day tents were pitched, and that night passengers remained on land, and felt the chill of a very severe froet. On the morrow guns and ammunition were the order of the day. The new arrivals early in the morning had been greatly astonished by the clamour of a number of laughing jackasses, as those birds (a variety of the king-fisher) are called. At first some of the people believed the blacks were

laughing at them, and had arrived to make an attack. A few days after they landed, some of the sealers living on the island paid them a visit, and brought a splendid supply of vegetables, including a quantity of water melons very fine, though not quite ripe. These were quickly disposed of.

It was not long before patches of land were cleared by the settlers of the tall scrub which abounded on all sides. The seeds of vegetables were sown, and soon "green feed" was indulged in.

On the 4th August two large boats with twenty men started on a trip across Backstairs Passage, and a landing was made at Rapid Bay, afterwards so-named by Colonel Light. From thence they sailed to Encounter Bay, next Port Lincoln was visited, and then the head of St. Vincent's Gulf. On the way back they fell in with the John Pirie Captain Martin, who was on the lookout for a whaling station.

The statement of Wm. Thompson continued :—

At a meeting of the few scattered inhabitants Mr. S. Stephens called on the self-elected primitive Governor Waller to abdicate, which he did magnanimously. The manager purchased all his stock and crops on his small squatting farm, situated about ten miles from Nepean Bay, since known as "the Farm." I may here mention that Mr. S. Stephens married a lady passenger on the voyage out, and she was subsequently long known and respected as his widow. I shall later in this history relate the fatal accident by which Mr. S. Stephens lost his life.

The first selections of land were made at Kingscote, and unfortunately so for the Company and some private individuals, who at once commenced to work and build houses, &c., which were shortly abandoned after the landing of the Surveyor-General, Colonel Light, with his staff. He arrived in the brig Rapid, on the 18th August, 1836, bringing with him Lieut. Field, R.N., Mr. J. S. Pullen (now Rear-Admiral), Messrs. W. Hill, Wm. Jacob, and G. Claughton, surveyors, Dr. Woodford, Mr. Alfred Barker, mate, and other survey hands.

Of the above are surviving at the time of publishing this work Messrs. Wm. Jacob, Alfred Barker, Hiram Mildred, William Hodges, and John Thorne. There are also now residing in England, Rear-Admiral Pullen, who has risen by his extraordinary merits, and by his services on one of the expeditions to the North Pole in search of Sir John Franklin, also in Besika Bay, and other parts of the world.

Colonel Light, after sufficient examination of the island, as a first place of settlement, pronounced it to be unsuitable, although it possessed in Nepean Bay a grand harbour scarcely surpassed in any known country. In a short time most of the officers, servants, goods, and plant were removed to Port Adelaide or Holdfast Bay. The buildings, gardens, &c., were left to be generally occupied by the original islanders. Colonel Light promised them that they should not be disturbed in their original squatting holdings, but this promise he was not able to fulfil. When the Government settlers arrived no kangaroos were to be seen on the island, the first sealers, however, reported that when they became residents a few remained, but were soon killed off. At this time, however, the appellation of Kangaroo Island is a misnomer. But Thompson says that he saw bones of kangaroos at Hog Bay and several other places. Hog Bay was reported to be so-called from pigs found there by the sealers, *supposed to have been left by the French navigators, as at that place*

there was writing in French, cut in a rock near a spot where they obtained fresh water.

Mr. C. W. Stuart has kindly furnished me from his notes with the account of his landing at the island, which is interesting as mentioning the arrival of a cargo of goods which had been shipped to find a market in Swan River settlement, but which were purchased by Mr. S. Stephens, and formed the first and opportune opening of trade between the infant colony of South Australia and the much older sister-colony of New South Wales.

Mr. C. W. Stuart says:—

“In September, 1833, I left London in the barque Atwick, 500 tons, Capt. Hugh McKay, bound for Hobart Town and Sydney. The latter place we reached after a fortnight's detention at Hobart Town, in a little less than five months from Gravesend. I left the ship in Sydney with little less grief than I had felt at leaving home. The captain was a fine fellow and a gentleman. There were only eight of us and the doctor cabin passengers: among them had been the newly-appointed Sheriff of Van Diemen's Land, Mr. Sand, and his two daughters. We made a most happy party. The ship was well found in everything, and the living first-rate; a thing not usual in those days. After recruiting for a few weeks at a friend's house in Sydney, to whom I had letters, I took a passage in the Lambton cutter to Port Stephens, about 180 miles to the north of Port Jackson. I had letters to Captain Caswell, R.N., a relative who had settled in Port Stephens, and to Admiral Sir E. Parry, of Polar exploration celebrity, who was at that time manager of the Australian Agricultural Company, which Company held at Port Stephens a free grant of one million acres of land. Here I remained about two years, my attention chiefly directed to cattle, the country near the coast being well adapted for cattle and horses. While still living at Port Stephens, early in 1836 I received from London a land order for a preliminary section of land, and a town acre, in a new colony to be called ‘South Australia.’ My determination was soon made to start to Sydney and to find my way to Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, as directed, where the first ships were to rendezvous. My friends did all they could to persuade me to remain in New South Wales, hinting that the new colony must be a failure—land at £1 an acre and free labour against land at 5s. an acre, as it was in Sydney, and convict labor available.

“On arriving in Sydney I found that South Australia was scarcely known there; and as to communication with Kangaroo Island there was none. The late Mr. Emanuel Solomon had at that time a place of business in George-street, on which was posted a notice that the schooner Truelove was to sail for Swan River on a day mentioned, and would take passengers from Sydney to that place. I went into the office and asked Mr. Solomon if the Truelove would put into Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island. He was astonished at my question, and said he did not know, and asked my object in inquiring. On my telling him I wanted a passage there and information about the new colony, he seemed to think that I had been duped, and advised me not on any account to go to Kangaroo Island till I knew positively that some vessels had arrived there from England. He told me to see the captain of the Truelove, which vessel had been chartered, who would give me more information on the subject than he could. I saw the captain of the Truelove, Colton; he was a nice

gentlemanly man. His advice to me was much the same as Mr. Solomon's, but at the same time for a certain sum he would take me to Nepean Bay, and, wind and weather permitting, he would remain there twenty-four hours; and if no ships from London had arrived, and I did not like to remain, he would take me on to Swan River and back to Sydney for the same money. It was a liberal offer, and I accepted it. A few days after I went on board the *Truelove*, with about one ton of stores and two kangaroo dogs. After a pleasant run of fourteen days we were caught in a heavy S.W. gale, and, being near the island, the vessel was hove-to for the night. Next morning at daylight a brig was descried several miles ahead, evidently steering for Nepean Bay. We followed her, and a few hours later let go our anchor near to her in Nepean Bay. She proved to be the *John Pirie*, belonging to the S.A. Company, and had just returned from Hobart Town. There were then lying in Nepean Bay the ships *Cygnets* and *Africaine*, and the brig *Rapid*. I went on shore immediately in the ship's boat, and on landing was surprised to see the to me strange appearance of the people just come from England, many of them clad in smock-frocks, with gaiters, &c. On asking where the Governor was to be seen I learnt that he had not yet arrived, but I was introduced to the manager of the South Australian Company, Mr. Samuel Stephens. Mr. Stephens was very courteous, and on my telling him my name, and informing him that I had land orders, he warmly welcomed me, asked me to his tent to lunch, and introduced me to Mrs. Stephens. The *Truelove* was the first vessel that had arrived in Nepean Bay from Sydney, and being laden with stores and provisions on a trading venture for Swan River, Mr. Stephens asked me to take him on board and to introduce him to the captain. The consequence of this introduction was that Mr. Stephens bought the cargo of the *Truelove*, and sent her back to Sydney for more necessaries.

"The late Mr. Emanuel Solomon by this means was speedily informed of the prospects of the place, and soon afterwards established a branch of his business in Adelaide, where he became a resident until his death. Thus I was instrumental in bringing the first vessel from Sydney to South Australia, and the means indirectly of introducing a pushing and enterprising colonist in Mr. Emanuel Solomon.

"It was on the 13th of November, 1836, that the *Truelove* anchored in Nepean Bay, and on that or the following day, Mr. Stephens introduced me to the following colonists:—Mr. J. Hallett, Captain Duff, Matthew Smith and his son, also to Mr. Thomas Hudson Beare, all since deceased, and to his son Mr. W. L. Beare, also to Mr. C. S. Hare, and a number of first arrivals.

"Mr. Stephens kindly told me to make his tent my home till I got one myself. The stores I brought from Sydney for my own use I sold to the South Australian Company at a profit, and Mr. Stephens, pleased with the knowledge I had acquired of bush life in New South Wales, offered me an appointment for two years in the Company's service, which I accepted. Mr. Stephens was my good and kind friend until his unfortunate and untimely death."

This place will not be an inappropriate one in which to give an account of the fatal accident by which Mr. Samuel Stephens lost his life. It occurred soon after the Company abandoned Kangaroo Island, and the Manager had only time allowed him to make for his Company the first

selection on the mainland of their town and country lands. He also made a few preliminary arrangements for the settlement (which duties he had the good fortune to carry out most successfully), thus it may not be out of place here to give the account of him on the last day of his existence, as follows: The writer and his wife on that day were returning from the cattle station on the sources of the Finniss on horseback, and after a long ride through the Mount Barker district called at Hahndorf, at the coffee shop kept by old ex-Sergeant Lubasch, where he ordered coffee, ham, and eggs. Whilst this meal was preparing, the horses tied to a fence feeding on cut grass, a turn was taken in the recently-formed gardens in the centre of the newly-established village. As they were returning to the cottage four men on horseback galloped up to the house of call, and three of them without ceremony rushed into the small day-room, and in defiance of remonstrances from old Lubasch took possession of the table and the ordered lunch, the fourth gentleman (Mr. S. Stephens) left his company, and mounting his horse galloped off towards Adelaide. The writer and his wife also, displeased at the action, quickly did the same, and followed at a good pace, but not sufficient to overtake him. In passing they called, and, without dismounting, took slight refreshment at Crafer's Hotel, at Mount Lofty, and then kept on. Sometimes coming within sound of the horse's feet in advance of them, they yet did not catch a sight of Mr. Stephens. They passed down to the plains by one of the Glen Osmond spurs of the outside tiers; whilst Mr. Stephens rode down the main Beaumont spur—the one most in use—on which about half-way down he was found in a short time quite dead. His horse had fallen heels over head, and the rider was thrown on his head, by which his neck was broken. They did not hear of the fatal accident until the next morning, when in the midst of their grief they felt thankful they had been led to adopt a more unused and inconvenient line, by which they had been saved from the shock of finding the lifeless corpse of one for whom they, in common with the whole of the inhabitants of the province, felt so much respect.

CHAPTER II.

FIRST TRIPS IN THE BUSH.

After a time the removal of the establishments of the Government and of the South Australian Company from Kangaroo Island was made to a temporary encampment at Holdfast Bay and to Port Adelaide in the early part of 1837. There were at this time only two horses in the colony—one belonging to the Company and one to Mr. John Morphett (now Sir John). No stable had yet been built nor any fences put up, and the horses were kept on tether-ropes to feed on the luxuriant kangaroo grass growing about the lagoons at the termination of the River Sturt.

One morning these valuable animals were discovered to have got away from their tether-ropes. An immediate search was made around the neighbourhood by several men, some going south and towards the hills, and others northerly to the Reedbeds and near the spot whereon the City of Adelaide now stands. Success not having attended the search, Mr. C. W. Stuart (who held the position of overseer of stock under Mr. S. Stephens, manager of the South Australian Company) determined to start the next day to seek for traces of the lost horses. He was accompanied by Mr. Allen, who desired to have such an opportunity to botanise; H. Alford, an employé of the Company; and Nat, a sealer from the Island. (Mr. Allen was afterwards the manager of the first Botanical Gardens, which were commenced on ground between the present slaughter-house and Thebarton Bridge.) An early start was made on foot by the horse hunters, each carrying three days' rations and two bottles of water. The leader had a fowling-piece by Reily, the other men had military carbines from the Government store. Mr. Stuart's fine kangaroo dog Hector also accompanied them. They travelled south, in sight of the Gulf. The weather was hot, and their water was expended before the day was far spent, and the bottles were cast away—the first tokens of civilization left in that part of the country.

About 4 o'clock Nat said—"When we get to the top of that rise we shall see the outlet of a river, but the water is salt, but there are native wells under the sandhills." (He had landed there when sealing.) They had travelled in a zigzag manner, hoping to cross horse tracks, but found none. On arriving at the summit of the gentle mound, and whilst enjoying the charming prospect of the river meandering in a serpentine course through natural meadows, smokes were seen to arise from a clump of honeysuckle trees, or *Banksias*, and a native camp was soon perceived, with the smoke of fires rising upwards towards the deep-blue sky.

All doubts were soon dissipated and fears aroused by the sudden appearance of a considerable number of natives of all ages and sexes. Their first impulse was to retire, but the natives had early seen their

and in a short time men, women, and children rushed towards them to indulge their curiosity with the sight of white men. The native men set up a great shout, and, coming to the front, brandished their spears, and appeared to invite or dare the whites to approach and engage them.

Mr. Allen and H. Alford were in great alarm on this their first sight of natives; and they exhibiting threatening actions, Nat also seemed disconcerted, and muttered, "Full moon, come down to fish and hold a corroboree; they must be Onkaparinga and Encounter Bay blacks." Mr. Stuart had been much among aboriginals in New South Wales, and was well acquainted with their habits; he was therefore calm and collected. Nat now explained to him that the black woman whom he had on the island belonged to one of these tribes, and he was aware that they were not pleased at her absence. He understood a few of their words, but thought it better for him to keep as much out of sight as possible. Mr. Stuart kept in front, with his fowling-piece in hand. On one side of him H. Alford was placed, Mr. Allen behind, and Nat on the other side, as much out of sight as possible. Mr. Allen was in a most excited state, and kept saying they must be prepared to die like men. At length eight warriors came forward with spears in their hands. Hector was parading to and fro, growling most angrily, with his tail and bristles erect. Fearing he might precipitate a collision, he was chained to a small tree. The blacks came on in single file, but in such an open manner that it was felt they were not bent on mischief. A tall fellow was ahead of the others, who was afterwards known as Tam o' Shanter. On their approaching within six paces of the leader of the English force (Mr. Stuart), he commenced an address in his unknown tongue, the others viewing the whites with intense astonishment. Tam, as he spoke, pointed to the sea. In answer to him, signs were made that the party required water to drink; and the word "cowie, cowie" was repeated. For some time Mr. Allen addressed the black leader, repeating that they had landed to introduce Mr. Wakefield's principles of colonization, and that they begged to apologise for the intrusion on their country, &c., &c. Tam o' Shanter, not understanding Mr. Allen's polite speech, got impatient and stepped up to Mr. Stuart, and first took from his head his cabbage-tree hat and touched up his hair, and then opened his waistcoat and shirt-front to examine his skin; then lifted up one of his feet and, like a vet., examined his boot. The others also had to submit to a similar examination—at which Mr. Allen afterwards expressed great anger, saying he had never been treated in such a manner before. They did not attempt to take anything until they discovered the sugar and salt pork; of the first they partook, also of the fat of the pork, which they devoured greedily. They were much frightened of Hector. They next examined the guns, and when satisfied handed them back to the owners of them. Mr. Stuart, wishing to show them the use of guns, placed his to his shoulder and fired high in the air. Tam then seized it, and placed it to his own shoulder in the same manner, and there held it, seemingly expecting it to go off as it had done before, and after a short time cast it down in disgust. Having now satisfied their curiosity, one of them said, "Cowie," and led the party to one of their native wells, and then left them. As the place was well adapted for a camp it was adopted, and by the time the sun was getting low a bush tent was made—a shelter being necessary as the party had no blankets. Pots of

tea having been made, as they were discussing their diminished provisions two old women appeared, bearing on small sheets of bark a supply of fried fish, which was a most acceptable addition to their fare, but created regret that they had nothing to give in return. Although the rest of the travellers were satisfied of the friendly dispositions of the blacks, Mr. Allen alone continued to express his fear that none of the party would be allowed to depart, or ever reach the camp at Holdfast Bay, as he believed they were in the midst of cannibals. All being tired an early coil was adopted, but before sleep closed their eyes musical sticks were beaten in time, and a blaze of fire shot up in the natives' camp, and a grand corroboree was commenced. Mr. Allen and H. Alford, never having heard such a performance, were somewhat alarmed, but Mr. Stuart and Nat by their laughter reassured them that no injury was intended. There was a large concourse of performers. The men, as usual on such festivities, were adorned with white stripes on their faces and breasts and down the arm and leg bones. Hector was chained at his owner's feet and kept quiet, and sleep soon closed all eyes. In the morning Mr. S. rose early, and looking on the serpentine channel of the river, at a short distance from the camp, to his surprise saw a numerous concourse of wild fowl on the bosom of the quiet water. Hector was unchained and accompanied his master, armed with his fowling-piece. A swan was soon shot, which Hector brought to land, and this was hung on a tree out of reach of the black-fellows' dogs. Other swans were followed by the sportsman. At this time by growls Hector gave notice that some one was approaching, and two young black men joined company, intimating they had heard the gun and wished to join in the sport. They had throwing-sticks with them. In a short time two more swans were approached, and, on rising, a shot was fired, and one dropped into the water with its wing broken. One of the black youths jumped into the river at the same time Hector did, and gave chase. but the dog reached the wounded bird first. The black endeavoured to intercept him, and a contest took place; but the boy had to dive to escape Hector's fangs, who landed with his prize in triumph. This little display of strife did not break up the friendly relations of those engaged in the sport, but after this occurrence the blacks did not interfere with Hector's department, but were satisfied to carry the game. The water birds were so abundant, and had not before been scared by gunners, that six ducks were soon bagged, with which a return was made to the camp. There was a duck for each of the party and to spare. Tam o' Shanter was presented with one of the swans, and the old women who had so kindly improved their previous supper had the other bestowed upon them. Mr. Stuart was soundly rated by Mr. Allen for running such a risk in going out alone without rousing any of his companions, who had been exceedingly anxious about him when they awoke and found him absent.

After breakfast the men, two at a time, indulged in a swim in the river, and then followed up the same to seek a place where the horses, if they had travelled south, might have crossed. A large number of the blacks accompanied them. In the afternoon Mr. Stuart shot a fine wild turkey, which was retained for their own use for that day and until they reached home. On their arriving near the part of the river now called the Horseshoe they first saw the footprints of the horses, and on pointing

such out to a young blackfellow he went down all-fours and endeavoured to imitate the galloping of a horse, and then pointed over the range, intimating by signs that the horses were feeding there. On the ground being further examined it was perceived that the horses had been feeding in that bend of the river for a day or two, and, if they had not been disturbed, might have been easily shut in by bushes and caught ; but as they had got out of such a favorable place, and were now out in the clear, it was considered to be useless for men on foot to pursue them further, and as more horses were expected by the next ship from Launceston it was decided to return, as traces to be followed had been met with. After passing a miserable night, with occasional showers of rain, without shelter or blankets, an early start was made in the morning for Holdfast Bay, distant about twenty-one miles. Many of the natives kept with them. On reaching the high land near what is now known as O'Halloran Hill the Buffalo and other ships lying at anchor in Holdfast Bay were visible. The blacks who were in company expressed their astonishment by yells and dancing. After half-an-hour's rest Tam o' hanter and five or six of the men of the tribe kept up with the returning party, the remainder keeping in the rear as if they were in doubt as to the treatment their men would meet with. On the double party reaching the tents they were met by Governor Hindmarsh. There had been some anxiety about their fate. His Excellency expressed himself shocked that Mr. Stuart should have brought the naked black men amongst the tents of the numerous immigrants, and immediately called on Mr. Gilbert, the Government storekeeper, to supply the men with clothing, which being brought forth, some of the sailors, who were ashore from the Buffalo, took the natives in hand to dress and pet, pressing on them pipes and grog, which at the time the blacks declined, preferring sugar and fat pork ; but alas how soon they acquired a taste for the indulgences offered. The dressed-up black men displayed anything but comfort or content in their unaccustomed array, which on becoming apparent the Governor, on advice, was considerate enough to order blankets to be exchanged for the unpopular garments, and the men soon retired greatly pleased with the blankets enveloping them, and rejoined their anxious and doubting families. Before they left, although they were fashionable enough not to express surprise at any of the unaccustomed sights which met their eyes, yet at the appearance of a wax doll with moving eyes they could not contain their admiration. The doll was in the hands of a little girl just landed. The first expedition attempted or entered upon by officials was in the same year (1837), when the Commissioner of Crown Lands (Mr. J. H. Fisher) and the Surveyor-General (Colonel Light) attempted to reach Encounter Bay overland. Mr. Stephen Hack started with them to tender his assistance as an incipient bushman ; a corporal's guard of marines was obtained from the Buffalo to act against any hostile natives whom they might encounter. Tents and swag were conveyed in a Government bullock-dray. There was a horse-dray and saddle horses for the officials, who had also the attendance of their own servants and some other men ; our old friend Jeff, as groom to the Commissioner. The first day they made the Messrs. Hack's sheep station, near the coast, and distant on a direct course from Glenelg about twelve miles. The ground was found to be soft from recent rains. It was now discovered that the outfit of the party was too ponderous for the cattle, and on the following morning

Mr. S. Hack was sent back to secure the services of Mr. John Chambers to bring out drays and some additional requirements, and to convey the marines with their outfit back to their ship.

On the following day Mr. John Chambers arrived with his drays at the encampment. He did not set out on the starting tracks of the Government drays, but hit them on the top of what is now known as Tapley's Hill. He also found the ground heavy enough to try his cattle. At sundown the bullocks, which had been put on good feed, were placed under the charge of a night watchman (one of the drivers) fully armed, who was to be relieved in the usual manner. All other hands having turned in, in their first sleep the watchman rushed in, giving the alarm that a number of natives were coming down the hill, uttering their war cries. All hands quickly turned out, and the sounds which had alarmed the watchman were soon heard approaching nearer and nearer. The marines under the corporal had soon their muskets loaded, and were drawn up ready to receive the advancing foe. Colonel Light charged the men to be steady and not to fire at random, but only at the word of command, and to take good aim. The yells were continuously kept up, none of the party had previously heard such piercing cries, but as the numerous throats from which they proceeded approached nearer, doubts from some of the most courageous of the party began to be entertained as to the kind of animals keeping up such an unusual concert, it also being known that the largest carnivorous brutes found in Australia were dingoes. It was soon decided that a false alarm had been given, and a general return was made to the blankets; but the guard declined to return to his duty unless he had the protection of an armed marine with him. The drays and cattle belonging to Mr. J. Chambers remained at the camp one day to recruit for the return journey of twelve miles. During the night a sheep which had been obtained from Mr. Hack's flock was dressed, and placed for safety in Col. Light's own tent, provided for the advancing exploring party.

On the following morning the carcass was missing, supposed to have been used up by the marines, to whom a taste of fresh meat was at that time a rarity; the officials were therefore well pleased when their guards started on their return march, with their tents, &c., in Mr. Chambers' drays. The exploring party continued to push southwards, and after passing Aldinga made the foot of the ranges, where the town of Willunga has been since erected. Here they decided to return to the settlement, feeling it imprudent in their weakened state to encounter the perils of the untracked and difficult country before them, and the wild blacks of the coast districts. Mr. Chambers had returned the marines to their ship, at anchor in Holdfast Bay, and thus ended the first Government exploring trip.

CHAPTER III.

AUTHOR'S ARRIVAL. — CAPITAL PUNISHMENT. — FIRST GOVERNOR,
CAPTAIN J. HINDMARSH, R.N.—GOVERNMENT BALL.

IN the first quarter of the second year after the proclamation of the colony I landed in South Australia. Our good ship on arrival cast anchor a short distance to the south of the present site of the Semaphore Jetty. At this time Captain John Hindmarsh, R.N., held the rather ambiguous reins of Government. In addition to my wife and two children, and a brother and sister, I had three young men under my charge, and one maid servant. The captain, with consideration for passengers who had a large party on board, invited me and three male passengers to accompany him in the first and only boat going to land that day. Although the tide was high, our boat grounded half a mile from the beach. The captain then ordered out of the boat five of the sailors, on one of whom we had each to mount pick-a-back. The captain being heavy, selected the stoutest jack tar. I had a very lively young fellow under me, who made good headway. I looked back when we had made about half-way, and perceived that the captain's carrier was allowing him to sink nearer and nearer the water, and that he would soon be dropped (as I was afterwards told, intentionally). With my usual impetuosity, I ordered my bearer to drop me with my feet downwards and return to the skipper's assistance, forgetting I had on a tight pair of Wellington boots. I, nevertheless, felt pretty comfortable whilst wading the remainder of the distance to shore. Then came the climb over the sand hummocks, not solidified as now by many feet; then the drag of three-quarters of a mile through sandy scrub and flaggy plants, and occasionally bog.

At length we made the side of the creek, and discovered on the opposite bank a bush shanty and a few wurleys, these erections constituting the Old Port Town. On crossing what was then, with some propriety, called Port Misery, to our great joy we found we could get good beer at the moderate price of 2s. 6d. a bottle, of which we partook freely. A gig, then, I think, the only one in the colony, was waiting for the captain, but we, to our grief, had to tramp the seven miles, and now something like the skinning of my feet commenced. The country appeared most charming, as we walked over a plain which had been swept clean by a bush fire a few weeks before we landed. The fire had been followed by copious rains, and the surface over which we travelled had the appearance of carrying a fine early wheat crop, presenting a prospect so cheering, that my discomforts were nearly lost sight of.

On approaching the North Adelaide hill my attention was drawn to a crowd of say 200 people surrounding a large gum-tree. I could not at first observe what had attracted them, until a sudden stampede took place, many rushing away in all directions with yells and cries, and then I saw an unfortunate man suspended by the neck from an outstretching limb,

with, as it appeared, one or two men hanging on to his legs. By one of the stampedeers I was coolly told that it was a *regular and legal affair*, that the hangman had only bungled his business and bolted, followed by the execrations of the spectators, and that the Sheriff, in mercy, was finishing the poor wretch. This was the explanation given me at the time, but on further enquiry I was informed that the constables quickly caught the escaping hangman, who was brought back to complete his revolting task, and that so far as Sheriff Smart was concerned, he was horror-struck and completely unnerved. With this explanation I was satisfied I had adopted a country where *civilisation* was known and *practised*.

I crossed the River Torrens, at that time a tiny stream, neither so wide nor deep as now, and the bed generally green with grass and reeds, under which surface I believe the main part of the stream was then percolating out of sight through gravel. In London I had seen a plan with a fine sheet of water, with vessels at anchor, under Government House. I was limping sorely, and soon got my boots off by unseaming one side of each, in one of the primitive refreshment booths in a small canvas town on the ground now occupied by the present Railway Station.

We heard before we left the Old Port that the ship was ordered to return and anchor in Holdfast Bay, and then knew that we had no chance of getting on board that night. The accommodation and comforts I was able to procure on this my first night in the colony were not cheering or pleasant. My bed was formed of a couple of bags stretched across two side poles, lodged on four corner forks fixed in the ground, without blankets or pillows, in an outer canvas shed. I sought out and found an old friend who had landed some eight months earlier, and he kindly chartered for me a bullock dray to take me the next day to the beach at Holdfast Bay, to bring up my living charge and baggage.

By noon next day I found all safely landed at the mouth of the Bay creek, on the corner sand-hill near a native well of fresh water, from which we took copious draughts and were thankful. A few reed huts had been erected, but the township was not laid out. The authorities had decided to reserve at this landing-place a section to be at a future time formed into a township. Before this was done a land order was tendered at the Land Office, and a claim put in for the section; after some hesitation on the part of the Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Surveyor-General the grant was made. The following are the names of the fortunate speculators:—Messrs. O. Gilles, Mat Smith, W. R. Wigley, and W. Finke.

I was told that my wife, sister, and children, had been carried as I had been from the boats to shore by the sailors. The fact was we were a very jolly party, and the roughness of things we took to be amusing. A pleasant ride across the plains, in defiance of many heavy jolts over wombat holes and logs, and we at length reached what is now known as South-terrace, and found our friends' encampment near the spot where now stands St. John's Church. Our tents pitched, we were invited to a sumptuous repast consisting of kangaroo stew and parrot pie, relieved with ship pork and biscuits, and colonial damper; of course no vegetables were procurable. The freshness of the atmosphere, the brilliancy of the sky, and the extreme verdure of the plains and hills satisfied us, and with grateful hearts we passed our first night in our adopted country under canvas.

In the early days of the colony grumblers were ashamed to open their mouths. On rambling about one curious feature for a new country was discovered around the tents and shanties, and in spots a few miles away in the bush, viz., congregations of empty bottles here and there, and plentiful too in their emptiness. Perhaps these might be fairly taken to account for the general jovialty of the people; nevertheless, I am persuaded that much of the life and animation so universally exhibited, by the ladies as well as the stouter sex, was genuine, for we all felt we had come to a fine country as pioneers to found a new kingdom, but then, like the young donkey frisking about, all our trials had yet to come. I should mention that on one of the first acres which was taken possession of and occupied, two brick pillars, imposing by their ugliness, had been erected to form a gateway, through which to approach a wooden shanty of two or three rooms, and on one of the pillars was a board giving notice that "any person found trespassing on these grounds (*i.e.*, a bare acre) will be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law." This, also, was comforting, as a forward step in civilisation.

As in this journal one object of the writer is to relate occurrences as much in their order as possible, and as an account has been given of the shocking execution which so early greeted his eyes and horrified him, it is necessary to relate the crime for which the convict was condemned and hung, and also to describe other outrages which had been previously committed. Strangers, and many even of the late arrivals in the colony will be ignorant as to the characters who had so early, and in such comparative numbers, made their way to the new colony, and who were escaped convicts from Van Dieman's Land and Sydney.

Shortly after our arrival our gracious Queen's birthday was commemorated by a ball at Government House, to which we had the honour to be invited. We were still under canvas; the ladies were in distress; trunks had to be unpacked, &c., &c.; and, worse than all, no conveyances for hire had yet been introduced, and the line we had to travel to Government House was diagonally across the then forest city, with no clearings or even direct tracks. The pressing difficulty was overcome by a kind neighbour offering us a ride in a waggon drawn by three horses in chain-harness, and driven by a real waggoner, with his long whalebone whip, all just imported from Tasmania. Well, the ladies soon got over the difficulties of such a conveyance, that is to say, such as the want of seats, steps to get in and out with, and such usual carriage belongings as were absolutely indispensable, by suggesting that the side rails should be clothed with railway rugs strapped on, a carpet on the bottom, and a high chair for steps. The ladies being young, lively, and energetic, the ascent was delightfully accomplished with our assistance, and without accident or ruffle. Our pace was necessarily slow, as our driver walked by the side of his team, driving with a "gee-up," and stopping with a loud "whoa" at the Government porch. We arrived late, and unfortunately had left the chair behind, while the seats at Government House were fully occupied. Servants were not numerous, and those who were about were otherwise engaged, and the ladies had to alight by springing into the arms of the gentlemen from the back of the unusually high waggon. In the party were three officials high in the service. Two of the company had been in the home yeomanry cavalry—one as a commissioned and one as a non-commissioned officer. These appearing in

uniform added to the imposing appearance of our party, which consisted of six ladies and six gentlemen. On entering the ballroom our eyes were dazzled by the brilliancy of the scene, to which we formed a striking addition, thanks to our military friends. Such a display of fine and elegantly-dressed ladies could hardly have been expected to have passed from such confined and temporary dwellings as all those in existence were at that time. Dancing was kept up without flagging, although the guests were chiefly married people, who were endowed with spirit and energy necessary for early colonists. The entertainment was in all respects a success, and kind and hospitable Governor Hindmarsh and his charming family everything that could be desired. The pleasure experienced by the guests was equal to any they had ever met with under any other and more advanced state of society.

We departed early, and did not see any other vehicle, although there must have been some half-dozen or so coming and going at other times during the evening. We were afterwards kept in countenance by hearing that one lady, a special beauty and highly connected, had been conveyed from her home to the vicinity of the vice-regal residence in a bullock dray. The inconveniences and trifling deprivations now experienced, and of which we hear such grave complaints, rather amuse the old settlers, and remind them of such scenes as the above. Before chimneys were built, and cooking was performed out of doors, it was not an unusual thing to see in showery or even in sunny weather a lady watching the kettle, camp-oven, &c., under an umbrella at a log fire.

The relation of circumstances which occurred before I landed will generally be given in the words of witnesses. The first account I thus give is from an individual who was actively engaged for the Government, originally as a special constable, and afterwards in a much higher post. He arrived as an articulated servant to the South Australian Company, and landed in August, 1836. The free settlers as well as Government officials were glad to employ banished men (not asking if they were ex-convicts or runaways) who had been well trained to work as convicts, and were skilful splitters, sawyers, fencers, and builders of huts. Great wages were paid to them. The Port being free at first, drinkables abundant, and licences granted indiscriminately, even to bush huts, the usual consequences of this state of things followed amongst such a class of men as ex-convicts, free from restraint, with plenty of money at their command, who had only to take an occasional rest to spend their earnings in debauchery, and then resume work for a fresh supply. Captain Hindmarsh, our first Governor, had a small party of marines left with him from Her Majesty's ship *Buffalo*, some ten or twelve in number, with a corporal. Up to this time no police force had been organised. A serious riot having occurred, got up by the drunken old lags (as they were called, from having carried irons on their legs), the Governor ordered out the marines with loaded muskets; the Riot Act was read by the Attorney-General, but this producing no effect, the marines were ordered to load and fire with ball cartridges. Some of the rioters were wounded, and a few taken into custody and sentenced to short terms of imprisonment in the colony.

Shortly after this the Government Store was broken into, and firearms and ammunition, besides other goods, were stolen. The Governor had appointed S. Smart, Esq., a legal gentleman from Tasmania, as Sheriff. This gentleman entered on his duties with commendable zeal,

and as he knew most of the Vandemonians, as they were called, was also well known by them, and spotted for death. His hut was attacked after dark by three men; he was alone with Mrs. S. It was no difficulty to make an entry into tents or even the temporary huts then in use without giving previous alarm, and as such dwellings were very small, a pistol presented from the door would be but a yard or two—or, at most, three or four yards—from the person aimed at. One of the ruffians instantly fired, the ball missing Mr. Smart's head, but the powder singeing his ear. As he did not fall, the intruders immediately bolted, as he had firearms at hand, which, however, they did not give him time to use. The alarm was given, but the men escaped; and it may well be supposed what fear was experienced by the few surrounding inhabitants that night. The next day no time was lost. The Governor called for volunteers to come forward to be sworn in as special constables. A few loyally responded to the call, and very shortly two of the men who had made the attack on the Sheriff were taken and committed, the one who fired the ball (*viz.*, Magee) was afterwards found guilty and sentenced to death, and was hung as already described. The third man, Morgan, escaped, and was afterwards reported to be lurking in the neighbourhood of the whaling stations at Encounter Bay. The Governor, on receiving this information, requested three of the special constables to go and execute a warrant, and bring in Morgan dead or alive, and they undertook the task. Their names were Henry Alford (afterwards Inspector of Police, and one of the smartest and pluckiest men that ever joined the force), Anderson, and Hately.

A description of their extraordinary journey in pursuit of Morgan is given in Mr. Alford's words, but must be reserved for another chapter. But before this paper is closed it is necessary to relate that about this time three suspicious strangers suddenly appeared, no one knowing at first from whence they came or by what means they had made the settlement. A few days after their arrival a report was brought in that a strange horse was lying in the forest to the south of the settlement, dead, with its throat cut. A great cry being raised, the strangers vanished. They were subsequently ascertained to be runaway lifers from Sydney, named Foley, Stone, and Stanley. More of these men in a future number, including an extraordinary encounter the writer subsequently had with Stone, and which was, as he believed Stone's last interview with a white fellow-creature. Of Foley I shall be able to give, at a future time, an account of his extraordinary career, from information supplied to me by members of the police force, and from a settler who was his employer. In the many instances in which I was afterwards connected with men who had been sentenced to imprisonment for life or shorter terms—having been an employer of many of these outcasts—I feel bound to say that on the whole I have never been better served, and I do not remember an instance of breach of trust, or where kind and considerate treatment on my part did not meet with a grateful return. My life has been frequently at the mercy of men who had suffered the just retribution of broken laws. In one remarkable case I was served most faithfully by a lifer, who shot his previous master and escaped from Sydney.

CHAPTER IV.

CAPTAIN HINDMARSH.

MY intention is to avoid a relation of the little political squabbles which disturbed the harmony of the first few months of the colony, but it is necessary to record something of the causes which produced the disagreements. Governor Hindmarsh, R.N., our first Governor, as an experienced nautical man, was strongly impressed with the importance of the grand waterway of the Murray and its tributaries, and pressed his views perhaps too warmly on the Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Surveyor-General. He also objected to the site chosen for the city, and desired to have it placed nearer the Port, but Colonel Light, after careful examination of the country nearer the landing-place, adhered to his first choice. Thus arose two parties in the colony, and much excitement was caused. The Governor had no official voice in the matter, but nevertheless, it must be admitted that he put a correct value on the importance of utilising the grand stream which, coming from the heart of Australia, finds its mouth at Encounter Bay. In this matter, however, Captain Hindmarsh was in advance of the times, for as far as this colony is concerned, the Murray flows mostly through poor country, and in 1838 we knew little or nothing of the value of the pasture lands about the Upper Murray and its tributaries, and the Riverina trade was then altogether a thing of the future. Yet the value of the River Murray as a navigable watercourse, with its far-stretching tributaries, having been proved by Captain Sturt in his successful boat trip down the Murray and back, all that was required in the first place was to remove snags in its channel and provide harbour accommodation through or near its *embouchure*. Lieut. Pullen, R.N., was, early after his arrival with the Surveyor-General, by him detached to explore and survey the Mouth of the Murray with a small boat's crew and a whaleboat under his command.

I was, as far as I know, the only individual who rode down to meet Mr. Pullen (now Admiral Pullen) after he entered the river mouth in an open boat, and I spent a night with him when he was engaged in surveying the channel past Goolwa, as it was subsequently named. He had expressed his confidence that he would be able to succeed in entering the mouth with a sailing craft, and this feat he did subsequently accomplish, as is recorded in our history. It will be hardly believed by strangers that after doing this he was coldly received in Adelaide, and left us in disgust. I must mention that before he left the colony he accompanied Captain Hart in assisting to bring overland a herd of cattle from Portland Bay, which had been purchased by the brothers Hack from Dr. Imley, of Twofold Bay—employment very different from the high and honourable professional services he has subsequently fulfilled to the nation, to his own great renown, and leading to well-merited honours.

Having alluded to the marines, who were a sort of bodyguard to the Governor, and to their indulgence in drink, I may here give some accounts of them under such influences even when on duty.

Of these men one had been told off to act as guard over the Treasury. I furnish this instance as related to me by the Treasurer himself. He had spent the evening with a few convivial friends (a not unusual occurrence in those early days), and on leaving the company for his own dwelling he had to pass near the tent then used as the Treasury, and in which was a large safe his own private property, lent to the Government. As the moon was shining brightly, he could see the tent but not the sentinel. Feeling that something was out of place, he approached the tent, and found the guard lying down, with his musket beside him; so, although he was not on his legs, he could not be said to have deserted his post. The marine was addressed thus, in a loud voice, "Brown, what the d— are you doing?" and received a sharp kick in addition; but this only producing a grunt, some further and more violent kicks were applied. On this the sleeper was aroused so far as to sit up and rub his eyes. He was then asked what he was about—did he know where he was? "Yes, sir; yes, sir." "Well, then, where are you?" To this he blurted out, "Aboard the Buffalo, sure, sir; but who are you, sir, kicking me?" Oh, Lord, what shall I do—it's the Treasurer himself! Oh, sir, do not report me; good sir, I shall be ruined!" "Well, then, get up and attend to your duty, you drunken rascal; in the morning I will let you know what I shall do." The Treasurer added, after relating the above, with sundry strong words which I have omitted, "The truth is, as there was only one shilling and sixpence in the safe, a guard might have been spared." The Government were aground at this time as to cash, but immediately afterwards a supply was obtained through the Treasurer's private means.

I will add one more example of the way in which these marine guards sometimes performed their duties during the short time they were so employed, which came under my own observation. I was returning home late one day after sunset, having taken a long ride to the north of the city, and desired to make the north-east corner of South Adelaide as laid out. The night was dark, and on crossing the Torrens near where the Company's Bridge now stands, I was attracted by a log fire, and also could see a tent. As I got near I became aware I had arrived at the encampment where a few prisoners, chained by the legs, were kept under charge of marines. This was about the centre of the ground now occupied by our charming Botanic Gardens. When I got sufficiently near I found no one about, but on closer inspection discovered guards, as well as prisoners all in a sound sleep; the sentinel who ought to have been patrolling around the spot, was lying on his back cuddling his brown bear, and with an empty black bottle beside him. I conjectured that he had not taken his final and finishing drop until he had seen his comrades and prisoners safe in a helpless state of drunkenness. I did not consider it politic or necessary under the circumstances to disturb the slumbers of the guard, and I suppose that on the change of guards in the morning all matters were found to be in due form, as no prisoners escaped. The services of the marines were not retained after the retirement of Captian Hindmarsh. From one of the original Government officers I had the following information:—The Governor, wishing to

review and inspect his guards, ordered the corporal to bring them up for that purpose. After due notice and some trouble their non-commissioned officer could only muster in a presentable state about half the squad for the Vice-Admiral's inspection. On this disgraceful display, as a matter of course, His Excellency's remarks were more warm than complimentary. I do not think his reproof of the absent delinquents had more effect on those present than the remarks from the pulpit so often heard by the regular attendants at church have upon the stray sheep that are missed from the ecclesiastical fold.

I believe that nearly the whole of the marines, after spending a jolly time in the colony, were taken away by Captain Hindmarsh when he left Adelaide for Sydney in the month of July, 1838, in the Alligator, gun brig. I think the corporal or sergeant was the only one left; he was a respectable man, and resided at Glenelg until his death. As to his rowdy men, they were soon put under discipline calculated to produce reformation after having been placed in a false position on shore under insufficient restraint.

Before concluding this chapter I must not omit to do justice to Colonel Light, the first Surveyor-General, who early retired from his duties. As Colonel Light vacated his office before my arrival, I have little to say as to the causes of this step, further than that the Commissioners in London desired to introduce some radical changes in the principle of surveying the lands, and were much dissatisfied on account of the delays which appeared to them uncalled for, at the same time they were in a great measure occasioned by their own injudicious arrangements. It is but justice to add that, Colonel Light, at the time of his arrival, was suffering from serious indisposition. The Surveyor-General and some of the best surveyors on his staff resigned. Of Colonel Light's zeal and efficiency in the service there can be but one opinion, and his bearing was always that of an officer and a gentleman. The manner in which he performed his first and critical duties in selecting the site of the city and first port cannot be too highly spoken of, especially as, although he had some good and well-qualified officers under him, they were all new to the work of laying out and surveying a new country, and amongst them were a large proportion of men of little or no experience as surveyors. Then he was hurried and pestered by the arrival of immigrants and settlers before he had time even to examine the country as he must have desired to do. If all these circumstances are properly weighed how much must he have suffered in mind when he had to surrender the work, on which his heart was so deeply set, before his choice of sites were fully proved to be the best possible to have been made; even had the circumstances been more favourable as to the time and means he had at his command. It is also a matter to be regretted that his name is not associated with more pleasing localities than Light-square and the "Dirty Light" (a watercourse so called). After his lamented death, which occurred in 1839, about one year after his resignation, when the proposal to raise funds to erect the monument to his memory was broached, to be placed in its present position, there were several objections urged, and a suggestion was made to substitute some useful work, such as a bridge or jetty, especially as up to that time no such works had been erected in the colony. I had not the pleasure of being intimately known to him, and yet as an old

colonist I desire that our obligations to him should be exhibited in some more worthy memorial than has yet been raised in his honour.

The misunderstandings and bickerings which had been stirred up between the Governor, Captain Hindmarsh, and officers over whom he had no control, soon led the Home Government to recall him. He had experienced a most harrassing time, and on being recalled by Lord Glenelg had the consolation of being informed by him "that it was without censure, and to avoid the removal of responsibility from the South Australian Commissioners in London as to the peaceable government of South Australia, and that his confidence in Captain Hindmarsh was such as to enable him to give him without delay another appointment," which he soon got with honors added.

The Governor was recalled, much to the regret of a large portion of the colonists. He was a warm-hearted bluff sailor, whom to know was to esteem and to respect.

Of Captain Hindmarsh, who had so short a time afforded him in his first appointment as a colonial Governor in this colony, in which he was placed in such an ambiguous position, with a divided authority, the writer has great pleasure in referring to his previous career in the service of his country in the Royal Navy, under Nelson, of glorious renown, from whose hands he had the honor to receive a presentation sword, accompanied with high compliments on his gallant conduct and the uniform discharge of his professional duties. Captain Hindmarsh obtained his various steps of promotion by merit.

He finished his career in the public service after receiving knighthood from her Majesty as Governor of Heligoland, one of England's important stations in time of war.

Captain Hindmarsh, on vacating his Government, appointed G. M. Stephen, Esq., the Attorney-General, as Acting-Governor. Mr. Stephen during his short reign, conducted the Government in a very efficient style, but as to private matters he did not escape censure. He embarked in a private land transaction, which brought him into great trouble. Out of this land speculation, or job, two criminal charges were brought against him, from which, however, he got clear. Respecting this matter, he brought a libel action against the late Mr. George Stevenson, who had been Private Secretary to Captain Hindmarsh, but the Jury found a verdict for the defendant. This is the affair concerning which Mr. Stephen also brought an action for libel against the *Argus*, and lost it—that journal having commented upon his South Australian career, and republished an account of the trial in the case of Stephen v. Stevenson, as reported in the *South Australian Register*.

It is not necessary to go into particulars, excepting so far as to relate circumstances to his credit in this transaction, in a matter on which I can speak, as having been involved with him, but without any pecuniary advantage. On his taking up the Port Gawler Special Survey he applied to me for pecuniary assistance, stating that he was short of £500 of the necessary amount of the purchase-money. He told me the locality in which he had made his selection. As I had seen the country a few days before, I was quite satisfied he had secured a good thing for himself, and that there would be small risk, if any, in assisting him. It was not convenient for me to lend him the amount. On my telling him this, he proposed that I should draw upon him for the sum he required. To

this I consented, and afterwards procured the discount of the acceptance for him. After he had obtained the land he negotiated the sale of it with two wealthy gentlemen, recent arrivals from India. On these parties becoming dissatisfied with their bargain (I had reason at the time to think through had advice)—they were persuaded they had paid too dear for their whistle—and finding they could under the land regulations obtain for themselves direct from the Government land at £1 per acre, desired to back out of the arrangement; but on finding they could not do this, they instituted criminal proceedings against the seller, charging him with giving a false description of the land, and of altering a figure in one of the documents. He was brought up to the Supreme Court, and charged with fraud and forgery. The bill for £500 on which I was liable was current at the time of these trials. The general opinion was that Mr. Stephen would be cast, and I felt sure of losing the amount in which I had become liable. However, to the defendant's credit, on the morning of the second trial (*i.e.*, on the charge of forgery) I met him entering the Court, and, although I endeavoured to avoid him, he came towards me, and produced his acceptance cancelled, saying, "I have taken up your draft, and here it is." I further mention that at the time Mr. G. M. Stephens presented me with the cancelled draft, Mr. George Stevenson saw the action, and immediately afterwards told me I should be required as a witness for the prosecution; but I was not called on, as I answered I knew nothing personally of the transactions except what would redound to the defendant's credit. Now, it was almost universally expected that on this charge he would have been found guilty. Although by the verdicts of the Juries he got clear of the charges brought against him, he was generally blamed that he should have gone into land speculations; and at any rate was chargeable with conduct unbecoming the high position he held in acting as a land shark. It must be admitted that his action in releasing me from liability, whilst his own position appeared so doubtful, was honourable in the extreme. It is but justice to him to add that the land, which he had so soon resold for a good profit, is now I may say worth ten times the amount he realised for it. For myself, I may add that I made no charge to him for the accommodation, nor did I ever receive anything, directly or indirectly, as a return for it. I was satisfied with my escape at the time, and think it only justice to state of one who held the position of Acting-Governor circumstances to his credit.

I should mention that Colonel Gawler had arrived and displaced him before the trials took place. At that time the following highly complimentary remarks appeared in the *Register* of February 21st, 1839:—"We do not think it possible for the most inveterate opponent of the system of government adopted in South Australia to deny to Mr. G. M. Stephen the praise of having borne his honours meekly, &c. Our own favorable opinion of his acts have been too distinctly expressed to need repetition, &c., &c."

CHAPTER V.

REVS. C. B. HOWARD AND T. Q. STOW.

WHEN our Charter was obtained by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, which was granted in a most grudging spirit, and but for the encouragement afforded by His Grace the Duke of Wellington might have been much longer withheld, it was provided that a Colonial Chaplain should be appointed, and an income of £300 a year be set apart out of the colonial funds for his support. This was the only special privilege given to the branch of the Episcopal Church of England designed for the new colony, and so far was an approach to a connection of religion with the State. But some time afterwards, in addition to this, and against the wish of a majority of the colonists, grants-in-aid of public worship and sites for churches and glebes were given by our Colonial Government to such of the various bodies, in proportion to numbers belonging severally to each, as would accept the money or land. This grant-in-aid was, within a few years, withdrawn by a vote of the Legislative Council, of which there were eighteen members, two-thirds elected, and the remainder nominees of the Governor. I may here mention that previous to the grants-in-aid a correspondence appeared in the paper of the day, the *Gazette and Register*, on the principle of Church and State union, and this was carried on in a very moderate tone and spirit, and, indeed, in a community where such a principle had been introduced to so small an extent it would hardly lead to much acrimony in discussing the question. The Rev. C. B. Howard's letters, I can remember, were expressed in firm and moderate language. Here churchmen are now, at any rate, content with the condition of equality in which their church has been placed with other Christian communions. Although in this young State there have not arisen any evils from the separation of Church and State, and the withdrawal of State grants-in-aid of religion, it may be presumed that there would be greater difficulties in applying the experiment to the old country, where vested interests are to be encountered, and deep-rooted prejudices to be overcome.

At the death of our second Colonial Chaplain that office was not again filled. Our first Colonial Chaplain, the Rev. C. B. Howard, was specially adapted for the important post he had to fill as a missionary priest. No sooner was the site of the city fixed by the Surveyor-General, and the small population somewhat concentrated, than Mr. Howard, who had arrived with Captain Hindmarsh in the Buffalo, desired to commence his ministerial duties on dry land. To carry this out conveniently, in the absence of any building in which services could be held, he borrowed a large sail from a captain in Port, to be used until a temporary room could be provided. Having progressed so far, the next difficulty to be overcome was how to get the sail conveyed to the proposed city. All other means failing, he applied to his friend and fellow

passenger, Mr. Osmond Gilles, the Colonial Treasurer, who had a truck at the Old Port, for the use of it. This was at once granted; but then came the obstacle of a want of hands to drag the load seven miles along the dusty track, in blazing hot weather. This difficulty seemed to be insurmountable, as all hands were fully occupied in landing baggage and cargo, and in various other occupations. Saturday had arrived, and so there was no other alternative for the two enthusiasts, who had already and alone commenced the arrangements, but to put themselves in harness to drag the load. Let those who knew the stout Treasurer imagine him in the pole and the rev. Chaplain in the lead, with a rope over his shoulder, and then fancy them, having toiled so far, crossing the gullies as they were then at Hindmarsh, before that township was laid out, and they will be able to realise the figure they cut at the bottom of the first gully, with the stout Treasurer sprawling on the ground, overpowered in his fruitless endeavours to hold back and steady the pace. As neither peler nor leader was hurt, they sat down and had a hearty laugh while the fallen one dusted himself. How they managed to cross the Torrens I do not know. I have no doubt they had assistance there from a few people who were busily engaged in erecting tents and huts on the encampment between North-terrace and the river. The sail having been rigged to the best of their ability, the services of the church were held beneath it the next day, and until a temporary wooden building was ready.

Members of the Church of England next had the use of a room situated in the Arcade in Currie-street, rented by the Government, and which was used on week days as a Court House. This was so small that many of the congregation had to remain outside, and here I and my family had the privilege of attending the ministrations of the Colonial Chaplain until the present Trinity Church was completed. The broad and truly catholic principles exhibited by our dearly-beloved first clergyman cannot be too highly spoken of. His zeal and that of the Treasurer in their desire to erect a substantial church, in place of the flimsy wooden-framed one sent out from England, led them to become responsible in the sum of £1,000 to the contractor for the stone structure now in use. How this liability was met, and the sad effect produced on the Rev. Chaplain, I will narrate before I conclude this chapter. As the last ministerial duty the Rev. Mr. Howard performed was over the remains of one of my family, I may be permitted to give an account of it as a doubly bitter experience. Some months after I with my family had settled in the bush, *i.e.*, nearly three years after landing, we were called upon to suffer the loss of a dear child under two years of age. No place of worship had at that time been erected out of the City, nor had any other than the West-terrace Cemetery been set apart by the Government. The Rev. Mr. Howard, although at the time in a weak state of health, came to us in our distress to perform the funeral service over the remains of our boy. The Treasurer had sections in my neighbourhood, on one of which he had promised to give several acres as a graveyard, but it had not been conveyed or consecrated. One adult had already been buried there; it was in the open and wild bush. After the service had been impressively delivered, and we were returning from the grave, reflecting on the unprotected place in which I was leaving the earthly remains of my child, I became almost overwhelmed, and paused

in the bed of the creek we were crossing, and there I received from my dear pastor a long, kind, consolatory address. Sad to say, they were the last words I was to be favoured with from his lips.

On mounting his horse, he departed from the wild and unfenced spot, and I saw him no more. On reaching his parsonage, weary and faint, he retired to his bed. Soon after, as I was informed, a person who said he required to see him on pressing business, was allowed an interview, and prostrate as he was, there and then served him with a writ for the amount in which he had become responsible jointly with the Treasurer, on account of the contract with the builder of the church. Melancholy to relate, his death followed within a few days, hastened as it was feared, by the shock he received from the service of the writ. The lamentation and grief at his loss was universal, and he was followed to the grave by the inhabitants *en masse*. I should here explain that the claim for the debt on the church was principally met afterwards by the Treasurer, who surrendered one of his best sections, and so our modest first church was cleared from liability; but our pastor's life had passed away before he was permitted to see the work completed on which he had exercised such untiring exertions, and he had sunk under the weight of them. Of the Rev. C. B. Howard I can only repeat what has been so often said of him, that he abounded in Christian charity, and consequently was beloved and respected by those of the colonists outside our communion. He was a Broad Churchman in the highest sense, and rejoiced, as all true Churchmen do, in the comprehensiveness of our Church and history. Such a clergyman occupying the post he filled, by his example did very much to produce the harmony which prevailed in the colony in his day, and since, as to religious matters, especially exhibited in the pleasing actions of Christians of all denominations contributing to the building funds for the erection of places of worship under whatever name they might be called. I would say, as to non-essential differences, let them continue to prevail, if Christians of all denominations join in loyal and united support of good government, and work together in harmony for real liberty without licence. When we old colonists, after many hard struggles in our own private affairs, at this time now turn our eyes from Trinity Church, across the river and Park Lands, and see on the opposite rise the beautiful and imposing Cathedral, which our venerable and respected Bishop has been able to complete so far, and know also that he has been aided in funds by the liberality of members of other religious bodies, we cannot but rejoice thereat, and feel that the good examples set in the early days of the colony have been followed. It is also a source of gratification to see the many beautiful and characteristic sacred buildings which have been erected at so large a cost, and with so much taste, by other communions.

In calling to mind the difficulties which beset us in opening this now prosperous colony, and in founding the City of Adelaide, pioneers have the advantage of feeling pride and satisfaction that each one of us has been more or less a worker in accomplishing so far so great a work, adding to the renown of our glorious Empire. This feeling is experienced to an extent which fresh arrivals can hardly appreciate. To such I would say, as you have arrived after so much has been accomplished by those who have preceded you, do not slacken your hands; there remains plenty for you to do by crowning the edifice, in extending improve-

ments over our vast, and yet unconquered regions, larger in extent than some European kingdoms, and also in perfecting the institutions which have been inaugurated to elevate the great populations this province is competent to maintain in peace and plenty. We old ones are fast passing away, and we may justly claim that we have left our marks on the land; and we do not forget the sanguine expectations, which were published by our second and energetic Governor (Colonel Gawler). He was here in office a little too early; but his reports and anticipations are not merely already accomplished, but have been greatly exceeded. I cannot leave this part of these narrations without advising my younger fellow-colonists, especially those native-born, to take a wise and proper advantage of the great political privileges they have inherited, by selecting as their representatives in Parliament, men of good moral character, and who by their previous actions have proved that, with them, self is not the predominant passion.

Having devoted so much space to our first Colonial Chaplain, I now desire to do justice to another eminent fellow-worker with him in pastoral duties, who, although not of the same communion, was already in harness, and in a high degree successful in gathering a flock under the banner of the same Spiritual Master—I mean the Rev. T. Q. Stow—I was a witness to the praiseworthy manner in which he devoted himself to the task he had undertaken. I then, as I have often since, wondered how a minister of his high talents and popularity could have been induced to leave England, where he could have commanded a first-class position in the Congregational Church, to undergo the toils and privations of pastoral life in a new and wild country. Though he had the support of the Colonial Missionary Society to depend upon, in addition to the free-will offerings of his flock in South Australia, he drew upon the funds of the Society as little as possible, and for this reason for some years educated a few private pupils, and afterwards engaged in farming until the times of struggling and depression in the colony had passed away, and the pioneer Independent Church and congregation became self-supporting. It will be seen from this that the privations Mr. Stow endured were voluntary, and were borne in the true missionary spirit. It is also to be recorded that he assisted with his own hands in building the first Congregational Church, which was constructed of pines and reeds, and was situated on North-terrace, a little to the west of Morphett-street. A pleasing contrast to all this is exhibited in the present large and influential body of Independents. The esteem in which the father of the Congregational Church in South Australia was held is marked by the beautiful Stow Memorial Church, which loving members of his communion and the public have erected to his memory, and by the monument over his grave in West-terrace Cemetery. He was spared to his people until the colony greatly increased in population and prosperity.

To the late Rev. Mr. Stow may also be justly applied the remarks I extract from the *South Australian Magazine* of January, 1842, which are there applied to the Rev. C. B. Howard, the first Colonial Chaplain—“To him is doubtless to be attributed much of that cordiality and good feeling which has existed among all denominations of Christians from the establishment of the province up to this hour.” This may be again repeated at the end of 39 years.

CHAPTER VI.

CAPTURE OF MORGAN.

IN giving the promised account of the journey of the three special constables in pursuit of and to arrest young Morgan (who was one of the three men who entered the dwelling of Mr. Sheriff Smart with a murderous intent), an account of Morgan's origin and family should be first given. The occurrences related in this chapter took place prior to the author's arrival, but being a matter of recent notoriety the account of them may properly be introduced in this place. He was reported to be one of seven children, whose father and mother had been transported to Tasmania for crimes committed at home. He was a remarkably fine young man, under age at the time he was sought for, of a pleasing countenance, fine figure, and over six feet high, and it was said that his brothers and sisters were equal in stature and in good looks. As he will appear again in succeeding chapters as having passed through a most extraordinary career, it is necessary to impress on my readers the above description of him, as leading to feelings of regret that so fine a man should have been born and brought up under such unfavourable circumstances. It has been stated to me that two of Morgan's sisters were married to highly respectable landowners in Tasmania, and were remarkable for their beauty, as well as for their becoming demeanour in the station to which they had attained. The following is Mr. Alford's account:—

"Our party of three specials was speedily formed, with the addition of one native blackfellow as our guide. Our outfit was a blanket each, with biscuits, tea, and sugar, and a little bacon, for eight or ten days, and one glass bottle each in which to carry our water. The arms supplied were one old musket, one horse pistol, and a pair of pocket barkers. We received minute instructions as to our course, &c., and started on, to us, an unknown country, with none but native tracks, and as such useless for us to follow. Our instructions were to make the whaling stations at Encounter Bay and to keep the gulf in sight, and we had a warrant to bring in Morgan, alive or dead. The direct distance as now travelled by a good road is 65 miles. The course we were ordered to take, with the numerous bends we had to make to head creeks and deep gorges, would not be less than 95 miles, perhaps more. Our first day's journey we finished at a deep creek, where we fortunately found good water.

"Our bottles had been exhausted some miles back. The next morning, after an early breakfast, our black guide exhibited great uneasiness, and objected to the course we proposed to take, and kept pointing more inland, giving us to understand by signs we should not find water in the direction we wished to go. We persisted in our course, and the native soon took an opportunity to abandon us to our fate. We were told before we started that on rounding Cape Jervis we should see the Pages, three small islands a few miles off the south coast, and nearly opposite the western horn of Encounter Bay. After we sighted them

from a high and precipitous shore, we had to fight our way through many miles of dense scrub; but, fortunately, we had to cross plenty of good water. In eight days from starting we made Hack's Whaling Station, our food exhausted and our strength gone, as may be readily understood by those who know the country over which we made our weary way.

"Before I proceed further I must hark back and say a little more about our difficulties on our outward tramp. The horrors of our return journey being now so deeply impressed on my memory that more trifling matters are easily forgotten. I came into the whaling station barefoot, having long before worn the soles off my boots on the rocky country over which we had passed; my feet were blistered and bleeding. Our provisions had been scanty enough, and not of such a nutritious character as to keep up strength and stamina. Having reported ourselves to Captain Hart, in command of the station (who had not long before been wrecked on the same coast, but many miles to the east, on Moonlight Point), we were supplied with all we required, and enjoyed a few days' rest. On making enquiries, we found that our man was in the neighbourhood, planted and well armed, and further, that the whalers were in sympathy with him, so that we were advised to adopt stratagem, and that our lives would be in danger if the object of our visit was known or suspected. We therefore agreed upon the story, that we had come down to be ready to receive cattle which were expected to be landed at the Bay. After a few days of rest, spent in making cautious enquiries, we heard that Morgan was hiding at a spot about midway between the two whaling stations, so as to obtain his supplies of provisions from his friends in the two parties.

"Many escaped prisoners were working as whalers. After we had received the above information as to Morgan's position, we proceeded to the next station, viz., Wright's, and here our mate H—— discovered a runaway lifer from Van Dieman's Land, in which island he (H——) had resided. We decided to use this man as a decoy duck. After threatening him with arrest, although we had no warrant for such a threat and no power or authority from the Government of Tasmania for such action, our decoy duck consented to our terms. We had determined to grab our man, and were not particular as to the means we employed. We promised the lifer we would let him go free if he honestly assisted us in securing Morgan. This he agreed to do.

"He commenced by advising us to return to Hack's station, and he would accompany us, and would point out the hut which Morgan would visit for his supplies that night. This course was pursued, and we were planted by him in a position commanding the hut. He then left us, telling us to give him (Morgan) time to become settled before we stirred. Our confederate proved true to us by refraining from giving counter information, which might have cost us our lives. Having waited a sufficient time, and with darkness shrouding us, we crawled quietly to the hut, and rushing in found Morgan reclining in a bunk. We were able to seize him before he could rise and reach his gun, which was beside him loaded, and his capture was made and handcuffs on him in almost no time. As he was only a youth, though over six feet high, and I was the youngest of the party, the post of being handcuffed to him was assigned to me, the votes being two to one against me. We now made

an immediate start back to Wright's station, from which establishment we had to get our supplies for the return march. The office (i.e., alarm) had soon been given to his friends (as the fraternity say), our real characters were quickly circulated, and we were saluted in anything but polite language. As we hastened away a gun was fired to call for aid from Granite Island, from whence some men pushed off in a boat with the intention to intercept us. As we succeeded in heading them, language not to be repeated was roared after us. Oh, you — — ; that is your — game of landing cattle, &c., &c., to which we replied we were well armed and would sell our lives dearly. Having arrived safely at Wright's, I was relieved, and Morgan was braceleted and otherwise secured. Here we remained the following day.

" We had been sworn in as special constables, and were yet only amateur policemen, but we were elated and eager for work in our new profession, so made enquiries as to prior entanglements of other individuals, and heard of two young men as being in that quarter who were wanted in Adelaide, and who had committed a trifling robbery. Thinking we were doing our duty we arrested them also, although we had no warrant, but as they were green and young beginners in the course of crime they quietly submitted. We had now each a prisoner to guard, and with whom to make our way back to the settlement. These young men, however, gave us no trouble, and on the way their conduct was good. The following day we started, taking provisions only sufficient to last us five or six days, hoping to reach our destination in that time by adopting a direct course, as preferable to our coasting track. Morgan, putting on an appearance of good and quiet behaviour, offered to pilot us by a short and easy cut. The provisions and swag were equally divided between the two fresh prisoners and the guards, Morgan being free of any load. To him I was again coupled with the steel cuffs. Unfortunately for all parties, we followed the guidance of Morgan, who kept as much easting as possible. We soon lost sight of the sea. We travelled for two days, having departed from the sea on our left, and after tramping many miles, on ascending high land we discovered the lakes at the mouth of the River Murray to our right. We now perceived our error in trusting to Morgan, who was leading us into a trap, as it was afterwards supposed that Stanley and Stone were harbouring in that direction. We called a halt, and encamped for the night. Up to this time I had been coupled with Morgan. I was considerably below him in stature and strength, and thus it may be imagined what punishment I endured in working through scrub and over rough ground. Having secured our chief prisoner for the night, we lay on the range till morning, when we decided to tack back to obtain a sight of the sea. This course we continued on all that day, but no sea was discovered. At night we camped at a tea-tree swamp, near the range now called Mount Magnificent. At this time we had remaining food sufficient for two days only for the whole party. The usual securing of Morgan being made, we remained for rest. Early next morning Morgan refused to budge a step, and we had to remain that day, as he said he was ill, though he was brisk and lively enough as long as he thought he was leading us into a trap. We discovered he had been saving some of his biscuits in his pockets, of which we deprived him. That night we camped on the same ground.

“The following morning, after an early breakfast, we called on Morgan to get up and walk. This he declined to do in the most foul language, calling on us to shoot him, as he might as well be shot as be taken in to be hung. Our reply was, we had a warrant to take him in dead or alive, and that we should so act. After waiting patiently, time enough for him to relent, and finding him still obdurate, we decided to make him fast to a young gum-tree by passing his arms around it, and then locking his wrists with the handcuffs. This was the only course open to us, unless we set him free, or complied with his demand to put a ball through him, to either of which alternatives we decidedly objected. With some struggling we so fastened him that he had only just room to move round the tree, a position it shocked us to leave him in. We informed him he could not be released under four days at least, and must be that time without food and water, and so left him. In two hours we felt we could not leave a fellow-creature to such a cruel fate, and so returned and begged him to consent to travel, his answer, as before, was that of a desperate and determined man—he would not move. In such a dreadful predicament we finally left him; but our own position was critical enough, with short allowance for one day, and an unknown distance to encounter, which in our state might take three days to cover. We had no known place before us to reach nearer than Adelaide, and felt we might sink by the way. As to Morgan, we found he was not to be daunted. His intention was after we left him to break the handcuffs, but they proved too strong for him. We pushed on as rapidly as possible, and, fortunately, took and kept a correct course, and, though late, the same day made Onkaparinga River at the Horseshoe, and here to our great joy we found the camp of a land selector, who was there for the night on his way south. From him we obtained refreshment and food, and here we remained. We were too much exhausted to make a very early start next day, but, weary and foot-sore, at night reported ourselves at Government House, to Governor Hindmarsh. His horror and excitement at our sad tale was great.

“He immediately called a Council, when it was decided to establish a regular police force and to appoint a Superintendent. A horse was purchased at an enormous cost, a Superintendent was appointed, and all arrangements made to dispatch him and the officials back to the prisoner, with necessary supplies. A No. 1 (*i.e.* myself) and Hateley appeared, but A No. 2 could not attend muster, and so we departed and made the Horseshoe, where we encamped for the night. Here I remained, the Superintendent and Hateley making an early start to reach the prisoner, expecting to find him either dead or gone.

At the end of the fourth day of Morgan's self-imposed awful confinement he was found by them alive. Having released him and refreshed him with weak spirit and water and food, the party encamped there for the night. Morgan confessed in pitiful terms his regret at his obstinate conduct, and described his sufferings as something fearful, what with the wild dogs at night, which he had to keep off by kicking and tramping round the tree, and the flies and mosquitoes on his face and raw wrists; such miseries may be imagined but not described. He had frantically struggled to snap his shackles, but they were too strong and *only cut deeper and deeper into his flesh.* Well, marvellous to relate,

this man of iron, after one night's rest at the Horseshoe and a moderate supply of food, walked the whole distance into town, and arrived by the end of the second day. And now he was committed for trial on a capital charge. An account of his trial and what followed must be related in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER VII.

OVERLAND JOURNEY OF MESSRS. HAWDEN AND BONNEY.

This chapter contains the interesting narrative of the first overland expedition with cattle from Sydney to South Australia. That expedition was one of the early and essential instruments in the successful conversion of a vast wilderness into a fruitful garden, and in assisting in the establishment of a colony now one of the brightest jewels in the British Crown.

I am entirely indebted to Mr. Charles Bonney for the account which follows, and feel especially obliged to him, knowing how fully his time is occupied by his important official duties:—

“The first overland expedition was fitted out by Joseph Hawden, Esq. The cattle, about 300 head, were mustered on the River Goulburn, just below the point where the Sydney-road then crossed it. A start was made on the 28th January, 1838. I had joined the party a day or two previously, and had undertaken the duty of leading the drays and choosing the line of route, the cattle being generally some little distance in the rear. The course we had intended to take was to follow the Goulburn to the point where Mitchell supposed he had left it when he turned to the southward after exploring the River Darling, and then to take his track to the southward, to follow the course of some of the rivers which he had crossed, and which he described as flowing to the westward, hoping that we might thereby avoid what was anticipated to be a difficult country to get through with cattle, in the neighbourhood of the Murray Cliffs, described by Captain Sturt.

“We found as we followed the course of the Goulburn, instead of its running in the direction of Mitchell's supposed point of departure from its banks, a little north of west, it tended more and more to the north, and sometimes east of north, until we suddenly came upon the junction of a large river coming from the eastward. Knowing that we were somewhere about 100 miles to the eastward of what Mitchell had described as the junction of the Goulburn with the Murray, and yet feeling certain that the river before us could be none other than the Murray, we were very much puzzled at first to reconcile Mitchell's account with what we saw. However, at last we hit upon the solution of the difficulty, which afterwards we proved to be correct, that he had mistaken a channel of the Murray for the junction of another river, and we pursued our course along the left bank of the Murray until we came to Mitchell's track. We then followed the course he took to the southward, passing the hill he named Mount Hope, because from its summit we saw a line of trees which seemed to mark the course of a large river flowing to the westward. We also had a view from the summit of Mount Hope, but it was Mount *Disappointment* to us. The line of trees described by Mitchell evidently

marked the direction of a watercourse flowing to the northward to join the Murray. However, we followed Mitchell's track till we came to a log bridge, which he had thrown over the river, seen from Mount Hope, which he named the Yarrayne. His grand river had dwindled down to a dry creek, with only a little water left in some of the holes at distant intervals. The question then was what course should we follow? Go on to some of the other rivers which Mitchell had described, or return to the River Murray, which we had left, and trust no more to Mitchell's accounts? My advice to go back to the Murray was followed. To do this we continued on the course of the Yarrayne to its junction with the Murray, and continued to follow down on the left bank of that river until we thought we were below the junction of the Darling, when we crossed to the other or north side, but soon found we had crossed a little too early, the junction of the Darling being still below us. However, as we were travelling in a very dry season, and the rivers were all very low, the crossing of the Darling gave no trouble. After this we kept the right bank of the River Murray until we had passed the North-West Bend, and made three days' journey on its southerly course. We then left the river, and after a very hard day's work got through the scrub and camped at the foot of the range. Following the course of the range to the southward until we found an opening, we passed immediately to the north of Mount Barker, where we saw the first signs of civilization in the shape of horse-tracks. From the summit of the Mount we had a view of Lake Alexandrina, and being misled by Sturt's map, in which the junction of the river and the Lake was shown as being in the same latitude as Adelaide, we kept a south-west direction in travelling through the ranges, and after coming upon the Onkaparinga followed its course until we came out at the Horseshoe. Here we found a party of kangaroo hunters (Sladden and others), and learned from them the direction and distance of the settlement, as Adelaide was then called, which we reached on the 4th of April, 1838, having performed the journey in ten weeks. Thus ended the first overland journey from New South Wales to South Australia after Captain Sturt's boat expedition—a journey accomplished without any disaster or difficulty worth mentioning, and almost without the loss of a single head of cattle.

"After we left Mitchell's Yarrayne everything went smoothly; we had no trouble whatever with the natives. At Swan Hill we established friendly relations with them, and from that point until we left the river they always sent forward messengers to the next tribe, to give notice of our approach, and we used to find the tribe drawn up to meet us, on which occasions they gave vent to their astonishment, in an audible manner, at the sight of what was to them such a strange race. On one occasion only were we in danger of coming into collision with them. I had left the drays and proceeded in advance to look out for a road, and the party had come up with a tribe of blacks, drawn up, as usual at the edge of a lagoon, which the drays had to go round; and the blacks wishing to have another look at the strange white creatures, took a short cut across the lagoon to meet them, when our men became frightened, and took it into their heads that the blacks were going to attack them, and halted the drays and got out their firearms. The blacks, seeing what was going on, handled their spears in self-defence. Fortunately, at this moment I returned, just as the fight was about to

commence. Having been a great deal among the blacks, and being well acquainted with their habits, I saw at once the mistake the men had made, and ordered them to put down their guns. I then rode up to the natives, and by signs induced them to lower their spears, and so peace was restored. The natives on many occasions proved very useful to us, and the paths which they had made in travelling up and down the river afforded an unfailing guide as to the direction we ought to take in order to cross the great bends it frequently makes. On one occasion we came to a point on its course where the river swept away to the south as far as the eye could reach without any appearance of a return to its general western course. A well-beaten native track led off north of west, and it became a weighty question whether we should trust to the usual guidance of a native path or keep to the river. It was evident that if the path led to the river it would not reach it for many miles, and I was inclined to adopt the safer course of keeping to the river; but Hawden thought we might venture to follow the path, and we did so. We travelled on till late in the afternoon, and still there was no appearance of the river gums in the western horizon. Hawden, who had ridden on ahead, anxious to look out for the river, came hurriedly back, and wanted me to turn to the southward and strike in for the river, but I showed him that it was too late then to alter our course, and that we should probably find the river further away to the south than in the direction we were going. We accordingly pursued our course along the native track, and just before dark we were fortunate enough to come upon a fine sheet of water, which Hawden named Lake Bonney. One of the overland parties who came down after us determined to stick to the river, and it took them nearly a week to get round the bend. When we arrived at that part of the river where the cliffs commence, my great difficulty was to know when to keep to the river flats and when to take to the high land. On the flats it was much better travelling than on the sandy plains on the top of the cliffs, but the river would sometimes take a sudden sweep round to the cliffs and compel us to climb to the high land, when we might have to go back two or three miles before we could find a place up which the drays could be taken. At last we fell in with three natives, who gave us to understand by signs that they belonged to a tribe lower down the river, and that they would accompany us. One of them I adopted as a guide, and made him understand what I wanted, and such was his intelligent and quick apprehension that, though he had never seen a white man before, he seemed to know almost by instinct where a dray could pass and where it could not. He acted as my guide for three or four days, and during the whole of that time he never once led us wrong. Old colonists will remember my friend in old "Tinberry," whose portrait figures in Eyre's Australia.

"At the time we commenced our overland journey the second expedition was being fitted out under the leadership of Mr. E. J. Eyre. Both my party and his had without concert fixed on the same line of route—that was to follow the course of the rivers which Major Mitchell said he had discovered south of the Murray, and which it was supposed would join and form what Captain Sturt thought to be a river running into the Murray above the Great Bend, but which was subsequently discovered to be merely an anabranch of the river. Eyre, however, struck across from Mount Macedon, and cut Mitchell's track a little south of

the Yarrayne Bridge, where we arrived about a fortnight after we had been there. He saw our tracks going back towards the Murray, and not having had so much experience of Mitchell's inaccuracies as we had found, he placed accordingly more reliance on his description of the rivers he had met with further south, and in consequence he continued on Mitchell's track, and tried to get to the westward by following the courses of several rivers one after the other, but they all ran out in the scrub until he came upon the Wimmera, which he found to end in a lake, to which he gave the name of Lake Hindmarsh, after the then Governor of South Australia. He next tried to push through the scrub to reach the River Murray by a northerly course, but he was foiled in the attempt after destroying many of his horses, and losing some of his men by desertion. He was at length compelled to retrace his steps, and after much suffering he reached Mitchell's Bridge, on the Yarrayne, about three months after he first saw that watercourse. Weakened as he was by the loss of horses and the desertion of some of his men, he persevered on his journey, and following on our tracks arrived at the settlement in Adelaide free from further troubles."

Here ends Mr. Bonney's first paper, most kindly furnished to me, which I hope will be followed by accounts of further trips which he so successfully made, especially with that crowning one by the south coast when he opened up the communication between the Portland Bay country with our colony, achieving the task in which Mr. Eyre first failed, and which was subsequently attempted with cattle for the Messrs. Hack by Captain Hart, who, after considerable exertion and loss of time, was compelled to follow Mr. Eyre's tracks by the Yarrayne bridge and down the Murray. Captain Hart, as he explained to me immediately after his arrival with the cattle, started on a northerly and altered course at a point much nearer the sea coast than Mr. Eyre did. He then worked his course by observations to make Mitchell's Yarrayne bridge, and did not cut Eyre's track till his near approach to the log bridge.

I must state that Hawden and Bonney brought in their cattle and horses in fine condition, but Mr. Eyre and his party, men and stock, arrived in a weakened state. I had good reason to know this, for I had the charge and sale of the cattle, which were purchased from Mr. Eyre on account of a Sydney firm, whose agent I was. Although I was able to place these cattle on splendid feed, it took many months before they recovered from the hardships they had undergone, at the same time I must admit they were cattle of a much inferior description and breed to the fine herd which Mr. Bonney conducted for Mr. Hawden, which, although the first introduced overland, have never been surpassed by any large draft brought from the adjoining colonies.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARRIVAL OF COLONEL GAWLER.

ON the 12th of October, 1838, the news spread that our new Governor Colonel Gawler, was on board the ship just arrived. No regular arrangements were made as to any public reception or demonstration on his landing, but it was bruited about that he would be coming up on horseback about midday. A few mounted men mustered and straggled down the track towards Holdfast Bay, where the Pestonjee Bomanjee had anchored. We gradually formed a troop of about twenty horsemen. On arriving a little below where Hilton now stands, on what was then open ground, we were met by a one-horse vehicle of unpretending appearance, with a lady and some children and one female servant, all in ship array, with no escort or other servants. We continued at a slow pace, utterly ignorant that we had passed the Governor's lady and children. Soon afterwards we perceived in the distance a considerable dust approaching us on the track; this was the old and lower track, before roads were formed. We soon became conscious that the Governor was coming with a small escort, at a hand gallop. His Excellency shot past us on old Black Jack, a blood entire usually ridden by the Commissioner, Mr. J. H. Fisher. We followed after they had passed, according to the speed of our horses, and remarked to one another, "This will be a fast Governor," and so he proved; but not too fast for the new country he had to carry forward towards a successful development of its great resources (*i.e.*, if he had been supplied with sufficient means). On arrival at Government House, humble as it then was, a concourse of settlers soon formed, as well as a muster of aboriginals, with their interpreter (Cronk—a bit of a humbug). His Excellency did not keep us long before he appeared, to go through the formularies required on such occasions. These concluded, he gave us a very suitable address, and one also to his black brethren, as he called them. Before he turned to them he asked the Protector (Dr. Wyatt) if he was competent to interpret what he should say to them. The answer was "Yes, your Excellency." His address to them was rapidly delivered. He told the blacks he came from their great Queen, that she loved her black people, and they must also love her white people, &c., &c.* The interpreter kept on gabble, gabble, doing his best to interpret; it was like parson and clerk racing; but not a word do I believe most of the black brethren understood of the address.

On the Governor concluding his oration he waved his cocked hat with the white feather, when a knowing native up a crooked overhanging tree shouted out—"Plenty tucker; berry good Cockatoo Gubberner." His Excellency's last words to the Protector were—"I shall order for *them* a supply of food," which the cunning fellow saved the trouble of

interpreting, and briefly construed the promise as "plenty tucker," adding by way of compliment, and as if impressed by the motion of the white feather, the title "berry good Cockatoo Gubbernor."

The Governor soon got to work on his official duties, and much energy was thrown into the service. He found only a small organisation as to police. The first Governor's marine guard, such as it was, had left with Captain Hindmarsh, and there was no military force. Captain Hindmarsh had appointed Mr. Inman as Superintendent of Police, who had a small number of green policemen under him. Shortly after the arrival of Governor Gawler he appointed Major O'Halloran Commissioner of Police and Police Magistrate, with an increased number of men. He also called for volunteers to form a semi-military force. In answer to this appeal gentlemen willing to serve as officers abounded, but rank and file men were scarce, and only at first a few came forward to be enrolled. Major O'Halloran was gazetted Colonel, and among the officers appointed were Alex. Tolmer, captain and adjutant of cavalry; Mr. Litchfield, captain and adjutant of infantry, and others. An early muster was ordered, and uniforms were announced to be obtained at the Government Store. I had allowed a man in my employment to enrol; he was driver of the mail to Glenelg or Port Adelaide (I was the first mail contractor), and I had arranged to put a substitute on the box when his services were required as a volunteer. As I was anxious to see how things went on at the muster in front of Government House I started in that direction, and as I approached I saw F. G., my driver, on his way, in some sort of a military uniform. On nearing me he halted with a military salute (he had served in a yeomanry regiment at home). I said to him, "Well, G., what an extraordinary figure you cut." "I am aware of it, sir," was the reply, "but it is not my fault; we were ordered to apply for and to appear in slop uniform. I turned over a lot of the clothing, and have taken the nearest I could find to fit me. This shell-jacket and pants will not meet, as you see, and I have adopted a large red comforter to fill up the gap." Of course I had a hearty laugh, but could not risk the chance of indulging in indecorous manners before His Excellency, and so turned back. I received a report of the miserable failure of the first attempt to muster a force, at which were present nine officers, as I was informed, and six rank and file. I must add that after some little time a respectable regiment was organised.

When our second Governor arrived he brought with him extended powers, which were generally ample. His appointment embraced also the office of Commissioner of Crown Lands, from which Mr. J. H. Fisher retired. The Governor was supreme, and only trammelled by a limit on his powers to draw (except in extreme emergency) on the Board of Commissioners in London, or on Her Majesty's Treasury.

On Colonel Light resigning, as mentioned in a previous chapter, Mr. (now Sir G. S.) Kingston assumed the position of Acting-Surveyor-General, as empowered by his original instructions from the Commissioners, bearing date 9th March, 1836. Mr. G. S. Kingston did not long occupy the position of acting-head of the department, and soon after his retirement Captain Frome arrived with a few sappers and miners as a staff of surveyors. I am not aware if any essential or beneficial changes were made in the work of the survey department after Colonel Light left the office, where a very insufficient staff remained for his "acting"

successor to rely on. Colonel Gawler reported on the state of the survey staff in one of his first despatches, from which I shall quote hereafter.

After the arrival of Captain Frome, of the Royal Engineers, to fill the post, the surveys were rapidly proceeded with. Whether greater accuracy obtained or not I am unable to say; but I was informed by one of the sappers when engaged in my neighbourhood, that in off-working on to previously surveyed sections, to fill up unsurveyed pieces of country, it was a difficult task to *thumb* in his own work. I had no occasion to complain of the old surveys, as I had an excess of quantity in the section I then held. One of the works executed by the sappers and miners under Captain Frome was to erect a small mud or sod fort on the North-terrace, with embrasures and carronades mounted therein pointing to the city. So, if the citizens had become rebellious, they could have been slaughtered there with ease if they had chosen to place themselves within the range.

Captain Frome was energetic in his office, and most gentlemanly in his deportment to all who had to apply to him for information, or on any business connected with the Survey and Land Office. He fulfilled the duties also of Engineer-in-Chief without any additional pay. Two bridges over the Torrens within the city bounds, which he erected, were by unusual floods swept away, succeeding floods have not been so heavy, nor have such large trees been brought down since, which were the great cause of the destruction of those first erections.

I am bound to mention that Mrs. Gawler with commendable zeal aided the Governor in every good work. As became them, they exhibited great interest in the welfare of the natives. One of their early steps in encouraging them was to call them together to display their prowess in throwing the war spear, boomerang, and waddy, on which occasion the settlers were invited to a lunch, and the blacks to a feed, after the trial of their skill. And here they completely out-generalled Colonel Gawler, as I shall show.

Archery targets of the full size were placed near Government House at suitable and fair distances, according to the directions of those who knew something about their habits.

The warriors of the tribe were marshalled up with their spears, boomerangs, &c., King John at their head, with his cutlass by his side, in addition to his native arms. The cutlass was presented to him in a formal manner on board the Buffalo. King John first made a grave and dignified inspection of the target at the farther end, and returning half-way towards the attacking position paused, measuring the distance with his eyes, and returned, shaking his head, to the starting point where his men and the company were standing. He then said, "No, no, too much long way." The distance was about 100 yards. On this protest the outer target was brought in some 12 or 15 yards. He then poised his spear, and brought it to their recover, saying, "Blackfellow no throw big one spear that long way." Then at or about sixty yards he consented to try their skill, though with admirable acting expressed his doubts. Now fixing his womera (a casting agent for long distances), amidst the objecting grunts of his tribe, he discharged his spear so as to strike the rim of the target with the middle of the spear instead of the point, and then came the ejaculations of his men, implying, "Ah! ah! we told you so!"

Then came up in turn the warriors of the tribe, but with well expressed reluctance, some just missing the target, others following the example of King John; and now they pretended shame under the derisive jeers of the lubras. The boomerangs were then thrown high, and so as, in their eccentric flight, to return towards those who cast them, and appeared more calculated to endanger the thrower than an opponent. On this many of the ladies exclaimed, "Poor fellows, you see they cannot hit anybody even at that short distance," and many of the spectators were convinced of the harmless character of the warriors amongst whom we had arrived. In accordance with their customs, they had been brought on to the field in their war costume, *i.e.*, their faces and breasts decorated with white war paint in bars, but with an addition of European costume as far as pants went, thereby hiding their natural spindleshanks. The exhibition ended, they retired to their feast, and we to a plentiful luncheon. If they laughed at us on the sly before us, it was internally and well disguised. No doubt the joke circulated far and wide amongst the surrounding tribes, and most likely formed the subject of one of their corroborees, their custom being to rehearse with musical accompaniment any striking occurrence, the accompaniment being performed by women beating sticks together, and uttering "Ah, ah, ah," continually during the dancing of the males. I once, on the Murray, was highly delighted to witness the performance of a corroboree of the first steamboat that passed them on that river, at the same time one of them commenced an exhibition of the first passage down the river of Captain Sturt with his boats. The actor was engaged, as I was afterwards informed, in snaring wild fowl up to his chin in the water, amidst the reeds, with a cap of green leaves on his head, when to his surprise and alarm he saw in the middle of the stream "a great beast with plenty of heads and legs." He dropped his rod and remained quiet, and as quick as he dared, darted out of the water and secreted himself in the scrub. I have been frequently amused at their singular performances. Chapters will be specially devoted to them hereafter.

I may here relate a surprise which Mrs. Gawler got on one of her visits to the residences of colonists (not intended for the upper classes), in distributing tracts to the inhabitants of tents and shanties. I have mentioned the small miserable hut where our first Postmaster carried on his duties. At the door of this Mrs. Gawler knocked, and on the door being opened she was greatly surprised when the name of the Postmaster-General was given, in answer to her question as to the name of the occupant. "I was not aware that Government officials occupied such strange places," said the lady, and feeling she could not leave a tract with so high an official, she walked on, and soon found herself in Emigration-square, to which she had started to make a special visit, as it was then filled with freshly-arrived emigrants. The good lady here found an ample field for her pious works. This necessary establishment has vanished long ago, and has not been replaced. It was situated on the flat beyond the north-west corner of the city, and was built of weatherboards, which answered a temporary purpose. These huts were pulled down after the stagnation and stoppage of emigration from England, and from the necessity to get rid of a nuisance.

During the Government of Colonel Gawler in December, 1839, Judge Cooper arrived. Of him it must be recorded that a more upright

and just Judge never occupied the highly responsible seat of judgment in this or any other country. His conscientious dread of erring in judgment caused him through the invariable caution he exercised before giving his decisions to subject himself on some occasions to impatient remarks from the advocates who pleaded in the courts. He was for some time the only Judge in all three courts, the Civil, Criminal, and Insolvent Courts, and he fulfilled his onerous duties in an unexceptionable manner. In private life he set a bright example as a consistent and liberal Christian.

CHAPTER IX.

BURNING OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

AMONGST our unfortunate "early experiences" during Colonel Gawler's administration, must be counted the destruction by fire of several of our first temporary public buildings, as well as some of the residences of Government officials, the fire-king seeming to mark such structures (composed of inflammable materials, chiefly wooden, and mostly thatched with reeds or grass) as temptations thrown in his way.

The first fire occurred shortly after midday, resulting in the total destruction of two wooden buildings which were situated to the west of the small post-office, and near where now may be seen the sheep-market on North-terrace. These were Government offices. The one was occupied by the Resident Commissioner and his staff, the other was used for the Land and Surveyor-General's offices. The flames spread so rapidly that the officers and clerks were unable to save much, and many books, papers, and maps, were lost. On the day of the fire I was driving on my way to visit sections about half way to the old Port, and passed near these offices, where business was going on all right. On my return, when about five miles from town, I saw a smoke spring up, and although I drove off at a quick pace, when I reached the scene of the fire the two buildings were reduced to smoking heaps. Great inconvenience was experienced by the loss of books and public documents. The Resident Commissioner was Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Fisher, and the dwelling which contained his office was also his private residence. Colonel Light, the Surveyor-General, had also lived in the other dwelling, and the devouring element did its work so rapidly that he saved nothing of the cases he had there containing his journal to date, and records of his experiences in Turkey, Egypt, the Mediterranean, and on the battle-fields of Spain, where he served on the staff of Wellington. Colonel Light felt the loss of this journal very deeply, and stated that he would not have parted with it for several thousand pounds.

The next building which met a similar fate was Government House, which was a temporary erection of one story, with a thatched roof, the timbers principally of native pine, then procured from what was called the Pine Forest, now known as Nailsworth.

This fire commenced a short time before midnight on the outside of the roof, and was supposed, and with good reason, to have been ignited by an insane gentleman, who, I may mention, I met under that roof at a Government ball in Captain Hindmarsh's time. This fire was also almost like a flash of gunpowder, and very little of Colonel Gawler's property was saved. The police were on the spot in a very few minutes; and Inspector Tolmer, after breaking in the window of His Excellency's private office, had succeeded in dragging a small safe or tin deed-box to the window, and had himself passed out again, when the roof fell in

before the safe could be lifted out. A loss of most important papers and documents was thus sustained by Colonel Gawler. At the time the roof fell in, and as the Inspector was at the window, the fire reached a loaded musket, and the ball passed those who were leaving the window. The Governor and his son were present ready to receive the box if it could have been saved; and to do which the Inspector risked his life, as the blazing thatch fell on him, but he escaped with singes only. These two fires forced upon the Governor the task of erecting a substantial Government House. Part only of the present modest palace was erected in his time, as well as a very small part of the present public offices. This necessity was a further calamity, as thereby labour was absorbed by the Government which was required by the colonists, and, in consequence, wages rose to an inconvenient extent, and private works were hindered.

I think the next fire was the destruction of the residence of Mr. John Brown, emigration agent, &c.—a wooden building also, from which very little was saved.

Then came the burning of a structure called the Octagon Cottage, the first residence of the Colonial Treasurer, Osmond Gilles, Esq., one of the London-built frame houses constructed of deal which he had given with the land on which it stood as a parsonage for St. John's Church. At the time of this fire the cottage was occupied by the widow of our first Colonial Chaplain, with whom was her sister. The fire broke out after the ladies had retired to rest, and they had only time to save their lives.

After a time, substantial stone buildings having been erected, the colony has had a low average of visits from the fire king, except when he has come and travelled in his bush invasions, of which, unfortunately for myself, I have had considerable experience and heavy losses. I was once met by a grand conflagration in the Tiers or stringy bark forest, when I fortunately escaped with singes only, when coming towards town with a mob of fat cattle on a hot day, a strong north wind blowing. After crossing the Onkaparinga by the Echunga road I met clouds of smoke, indicating a fire at some distance ahead of my course, but as I mounted the first hill it seemed to be raging to the south of my line, and so I kept on. The cattle were travelling at a good pace. On attaining the next summit I found the fire had crossed the road at some distance ahead, and was rushing down a gully to the right of me, carried at a flying rate by the north wind. In my endeavour to head the cattle they rushed off to the right towards the approaching fire, and charged a thick course or belt of green cherry tree, as it is called, which, being dense and high, somewhat obscured the flames. Before the cattle reached this shelter, as they expected to find it, the fire had overtaken it, and the green foliage was soon burning and crackling about them and over their heads. They could not, however, stop or turn in their impetuous rush, but dashed through the flaming hedge. As I was close upon them, I followed over burning brushwood which had been a good deal trampled out by the bullocks, and passed on over smouldering grass and bushes at full gallop after the cattle, trees on all sides being on fire and falling branches crashing in all directions, but was soon safe on the track again, on to which the cattle had turned; and after having safely yarded them at Crafers, after a wash, a lunch was enjoyed. This was the only time I ever met and charged an approaching fire. I have on other occasions

retreated, and started a fire to meet and contest with the one approaching when such an occurrence was met with clear of a stringybark forest, and also have had many a struggle in beating out bush fires, when with sufficient beaters it is a good plan to run a line of fire, although I, as well as many others, may have on some occasions been outflanked. I was once called upon to suffer a severe loss from a bush fire, as many old colonists have been, after an unavailing contest.

By the destruction of flour mills some of our millers have sustained heavy losses, especially the firm of Messrs. W. Duffield & Co. of the Union Mills, Gawler Town, which have been gutted three times. The Imperial Mill in Adelaide was the first one burned, the interior of which was destroyed in a few hours in the day time.

In a former number it has been mentioned that Mr. Emanuel Solomon arrived in the *Lady Wellington*, the back of which vessel was broken on the bar at the entrance of Light's Passage. The wreck was bought on account of a Sydney firm, and was got off and towed up towards the Old Port. I afterwards, as agent for that firm, sold her to the Governor, Colonel Gawler, for £800. As she was quite taut above and below, she was for a short time used as a Government store ship. At the time of the sale, some doubt being thrown on the Government transactions by the refusal of the first Treasurer to sign the bills drawn by the Governor, I required cash, feeling not justified as an agent to risk any inconvenience to the parties for whom I was acting. On this unfortunate vessel a great loss was made by the Government when she was sold and broken up, the retrenchment orders being put in force by Captain Grey, and when the cruel crisis was worked out, and the sacrifice of much public property was made, as well as of the property of the pioneers. Sheep which cost 38s. a head were sold first for 5s., and the same resold a few months afterwards for 2s. 6d. Cattle which I had purchased at £13 10s. a head, on a forced sale realised only £4 10s., after being kept twelve months, and when in prime condition. An early circumstance in the transactions of Mr. E. Solomon may be mentioned, who, seeing the great influx of population, and that nothing was being done to produce the staff of life, made a good speculation in purchasing a cargo of flour immediately on its arrival from a Mr. Russel, then a merchant here, part of which he shipped to his brother in Sydney, and offered the remainder of the same to the Government here at £30 a ton, well aware of a scarcity in New South Wales and Tasmania. The Government refused to buy the flour, and to prevent reshipment of any of the small stocks in the colony of flour and rice an export duty of £100 a ton was immediately put on breadstuffs. The flour Mr. Solomon had shipped to Sydney realised to him £50 a ton, and the price in this colony soon reached £100 a ton under the *protection* of the prohibitory export duty. The highest price the writer paid was £8 a bag, but for some time the price was £10 a bag. The plough in a short time gave relief, and before the end of five years wheat was delivered in Adelaide at 2s. 6d. a bushel.

Mr. Solomon and his firm suffered heavily in the crisis, and during the period in which the colony was recovering from the severe depression which was so severely felt by all when the Government stopped payment, but more especially by those of the early settlers who had expended their means and energies in first settling in the land of their

adoption. It must with justice be recorded of Mr. Emanuel Solomon that he has left his marks upon our now splendid city. At a very early period he erected our first and capacious theatre in Gilles Arcade, so named when no arcade existed, or has since appeared. But the previous existence of a theatre must be mentioned; it was a small wooden structure at the back of the Black Swan public-house, on North-terrace, where some who are now alive and moving in more exalted positions exhibited themselves. In justice I must declare that I was never within its paling walls, either as a spectator or a performer, but I remember being told that a man of the name of Bartlett was one of the performers—a bullock-driver, whose deep, deep voice was often heard in our timber ranges, and afterwards on his section at Balhannah. The inhabitants of the young city were promised by the first manager that the tragedies of the immortal Shakspeare would be exhibited in this building. I do not know what characters Bartlett attempted, but his deep sepulchral tones were peculiarly adapted to give effect to the part of the ghost in Hamlet. This performer is introduced by name, not because he long ago departed this life and so cannot be annoyed by a reference to his ambitious appearance on the stage with some of our early inhabitants, but that in truth nothing worse can be said of him than his appearance on the boards of our first humble theatre as a tragedian. I am quite sure all old colonists who heard his extraordinary voice will agree with him that it was one calculated to make a deep and lasting impression on any human audience as well as on his team of bullocks.

It was to Mr. E. Solomon's spirited speculation in bricks and mortar we were indebted for the rescue of the drama from such an unbecoming and unworthy structure, as well as for early and, for the time, most respectable and commodious blocks of city residences which he erected. Mr. E. Solomon, though a Jew, contributed to all Christian churches and chapels erected in the early days.

Some considerable gatherings, in proportion to the number of the inhabitants then in the city, used to occur in the neighbourhood of the Gilles Arcade. E. Solomon there had his first wooden store, and there were wooden cottages occupied as offices by the Treasurer, the Resident Magistrate, and one was the dwelling of Judge Jickling. On the other side of Currie-street was the Southern Cross Hotel—a wooden structure brought out in frame from London—kept by F. Allen, where generally in a morning would be seen a number of people. It was a sort of exchange or place of meeting, and when no Court or other business occupied the time or thoughts of those present, idlers would indulge in practical jokes. On one occasion, after a heavy downpour of rain which had left a number of ponds in various directions in the city, and when a large company had gathered for shelter and for refreshment, little dapper K—, then clerk of the Local Court, civil side, which was not sitting that day, walked in attired most suitably to take a direct course in any bearing across the city. No streets were then formed or channels to carry off surface water. K— on entering exhibited with pride his nether limbs encased in a bran new pair of, for him, exceptionally long patent leather boots, saying, "There, I can defy the deepest pond of water within the city." A wag offered to bet him he would point out a pond through which he would not be able to cross without getting out of his depth. The bet was made, rain had ceased to fall, and so the

company followed the betting parties. K— was to walk in a straight course from where he was placed by his opponent, to him, on a signal he would give from the opposite side of the pond, which was known, as far as to the natural surface of the ground, not to have a greater depth of water than would reach K—'s knees. At the signal off started K—, setting at defiance the advice of jokers to take off his coat, &c., &c.; but to his sorrow, on reaching about half-way across the temporary pond he suddenly popped out of sight, but was soon out on the other side of a saw-pit, of the existence of which he was not aware, and of course he had an uproarious laugh against him; and on a return of the amused company to Host Allen's he had the consolation of partaking of refreshment ordered by the winner of his money, the landlord, as usual on such occasions, being the chief winner.

This brings to remembrance a scene which occurred at the opening of the Town of Glenelg, on which occasion a splendid lunch was provided for a considerable invited company, to take place under a large tent, or rather connection of tents, on which occasion it was proposed to launch a cutter, to be named the O. G., which was built on the banks of the Pattawalonga Creek by Henning & Fenden. To add to the calamities of this day the tide in the creek did not rise so as to float the first vessel built in the colony. The lunch was given by the proprietors of the township, viz., the Treasurer, O. Gilles, Esq.; the Resident Magistrate, R. Wigley, Esq.; Matthew Smith, and W. Finke, Esquires. The morning was fine, the company as numerous as the tables would accommodate, the provisions abundant, if not exhibiting any great variety of viands, but as to the supply of drinkables that was as choice, abundant, and various as ever seen on any table of the same picnic character even in the old country. Mrs. Gawler having honoured the occasion with her presence, the entertainment was graced and enlivened by a large number of ladies in most elegant attire. Every available vehicle the settlement afforded was pressed for the occasion, but few covered ones unfortunately being obtainable. It should be mentioned early in the record of this opening day that the road between the city and Glenelg was then not formed, and very few of the sections between the two places were fenced; mere tracks over the natural surface of the ground were used. At the Bay were a few huts, two of which were licensed public-houses—one kept by Henning & Fenden. This building was formed of pines, thatched with reeds, and was, as far as the author recollects, about 30 feet long by 10 feet wide, and 8 feet high to the eaves. I give this description as a specimen of the first houses to which licences used to be granted, and to explain the position the numerous company were placed in by the heavy storm of wind and rain which overtook the party, and through which they had to hasten home in the absence of adequate shelter. I had driven my wife and two male friends, with their wives, down in an open waggonette. The morning being so fine umbrellas had in too many instances been left at home.

When the arranged toasts had been nearly exhausted the downpour of rain became very heavy. Before this it had been sufficient to prevent the retirement of the ladies, who were perforce compelled to remain during the carrying out of the programme, and as there seemed to be no abatement the sitting was considerably extended, and the consumption of drinkables also, the water pouring in from various ~~saws~~ ^{saws} in the

canvas. At length as no cessation of the heavy rain appeared likely soon to occur, the ladies determined to defy the elements. Mrs. Gawler's carriage was first at the opening of the tent, and she was conducted and sheltered to the door of her carriage by Mr. McLaren, the Manager of the South Australian Company. The ground had become so slippery that this polite gentleman fell down at the feet of the Governor's lady. I should have mentioned that on the orders to bring up the carriages being given to servants, who were taking shelter in a small framed building where the stock of drinkables had been kept, word was brought to Mr. McLaren that his coachman had imbibed too freely, and could not be depended on, and that it was on Mr. McLaren rushing back from a lecture he had given the erring coachman to assist Mrs. Gawler that he slipped and fell. However, it was for a long time a standing joke that his coachman was summarily discharged for taking too much, when the master could not keep his own legs. I galloped my horses back, leaving the track along which so many were moving as fast as their animals could travel. The storm of wind and rain was fortunately at our backs. I did not hear of any more serious mishap than the fall of one or two horsemen in the muddy track, and the destruction of feathers, ribbons, bonnets, &c. Whatever complaints were given way to among the ladies they kept to themselves, as the pockets of the paterfamilias had chiefly to suffer in restorations, and trade was thereby benefited.

I should mention in closing this paper the cutter O. G. was immediately after this unpropitious day privately christened and launched, and was for a long time usefully employed as a coasting vessel.

CHAPTER X.

CAPTAIN STURT'S LECTURE ON AGRICULTURE—MR. EYRE'S REPORT OF THE COUNTRY NORTH OF ADELAIDE—THE AUTHOR'S RIDE OVER PART OF THE SAME AND OTHER COUNTRY TO THE NORTH-EAST.

I now proceed to give some account of Captain Sturt. Shortly after his arrival, in August, 1838, he invited settlers to meet him, offering to deliver a lecture on the prospects of agriculture and horticulture in South Australia. About twelve persons attended, all being interested in the subject, and who had come out with the intention of embarking in country pursuits. I was one of the company, having brought out two land orders on my own account, with power to exercise selection of sections for a non-resident. Among the audience were farmers who had arrived as tenants of the South Australian Company. The lecture was very interesting. Captain Sturt's description of the country he passed over, after leaving the great River Murray, was most favourable; but when he came to give us his opinion of the plains of Adelaide, and of all the country to the west of the extensive ranges running north from Cape Jervis to then an unknown distance, his expressed anticipations were most discouraging. He said—"You, gentlemen, who have taken so long a voyage to form agricultural farms, I caution you, from my own experience of the climate of Australia, after residing in the province of New South Wales, not to attempt to break up land on the western plains, or you will meet with sad disappointment. You must not expect to get crops of grain or fruit on this side of the ranges; but I advise you to go to the beautiful hills, valleys, and flats between the ranges, and on the eastern slopes; there you will find excellent soil and plenty of good water. If you attempt to cultivate land around Adelaide you will be grievously disappointed," &c., &c. Three practical men in the Company (two of them now dead) and the other myself, ventured to express different opinions, and said from their examination of the alluvial soils on the condemned plains, they were convinced that with sufficient rainfall good crops would reward the farmer. To this Captain Sturt replied—"The frequent droughts to which this continent is subject, as I have experienced, is the ground on which I base my remarks."

Within three years after the delivery of this lecture sections on all sides of the city were smiling with crops of wheat, which yielded from 30 to 40 bushels an acre, and in successive years only diminishing in quantity of yield through *exhaustion and bad management*. Such prolific yields have never been exceeded in any district in the colony, even when favored in respect to elevation and rainfall.

Captain Sturt, however, was not the only experienced explorer who erred in his opinions of the capabilities of the country, as will appear from the report of Mr. Eyre on his exploring journey north, when he discovered the horseshoe lake, which he named Lake Torrens, in his *Spring*

journey around Mount Deception (rightly named by him). His report, published in the papers of the day, gave such a deplorable account of the sterility of the country north of Gawler Town and the want of water, that several intending settlers with capital, just arrived at that time, abandoned their intention of settling in South Australia, and passed on to Melbourne, to our great loss.

On one of my early rides, in company with my wife, south of the city, when all the country was open, and the hand of man had not defaced the natural park-like landscape, in the centre of which the city was placed, as we were crossing the Brownhill Creek, in an open glade, we started a pair of emus. We immediately gave chase. We had no dogs with us, but after a short gallop we overtook the female, which appeared to be in some way disabled. The male had at first dashed off at a great pace, but on looking back and seeing the danger which threatened his mate, he returned and darted between our horses and the hen, and so cut us off from our intended prey; and this he continued to do, striking at the horses' heads, and causing them to swerve as often as we approached his distressed partner. He completely foiled us, and as we felt his devoted attachment and noble courage deserved consideration at our hands, we desisted from further chase. I was greatly surprised at his bold attacks. His own life was greatly endangered, as by degrees our horses seemed to become interested parties in the sport, and did not exhibit so much fear as on his earlier assaults, nor care for his noisy defiant clucks, deeply sounded in his chest. His departure was most pleasing to witness, in the affectionate joy he exhibited. I never saw anything so courageous in any subsequent encounter I had with emus, although I have had more than one upstanding fight with old men kangaroos.

It so happened that I made a short excursion north, and returned a few days after Mr. Eyre had published his description. I left Adelaide on a recently-purchased horse, fresh and fit for a long journey, with the intention of meeting a large herd of cattle supposed to have arrived on the River Murray by that time, and to be near the North-West Bend. I started by way of Mount Barker. In that district I met a horseman, who told me that the party had arrived, and were about to leave the river much nearer the North-West Bend than the usual track. On receiving this information I turned north, and passed Mount Torrens on my right hand, and following down a gully on a native track through high grass and herbage, the day being oppressively hot, with a burning sun shining on me, my pace being slow, I saw something glisten in the narrow path, my horse at the same time making a violent start. I then observed a large black snake gliding away. My horse commenced to tremble violently. On dismounting, I conjectured correctly that the snake had struck the poor animal in the breast. A streaming perspiration soon broke out, and I felt I had no time to lose, as the nearest and only place I could reach was a temporary station at Mount Crawford. With some difficulty I reached that place, but the venom had spread so rapidly, and the bite was so near the vital parts, that nothing could save the poor beast. I need hardly say that the reptile escaped, as before I could reach it the creature had plunged into a deep waterhole in the river which I had just reached, and passed out of my sight under the shelving bank. I never before or since saw a larger snake. The heads of the kangaroo grass almost meet-

ing across the narrow track must have prevented the horse seeing the reptile, which I suppose was passing on its way to the water. I found I could only borrow a stale horse, not yet recovered from a long overland journey, but was thankful for even such a one. Next morning I started, leaving my poor beast to die, as I afterwards heard he did that day. I was surprised he lingered so long, as the swelling of his chest was very great. I had little hopes of meeting the party I was in search of, on such a brute as I was now mounted on. Leaving Mount Crawford I turned west, and passed through beautiful hills and gullies, and over the ground now known as Pewsey Vale, and descended by a rich spur of the ranges, having ridden continuously through miles of high grass. Arrived at the foot of the ranges, I bore up a little north and continued to pass over good grazing and well-watered country. On making a dairy station I remained for the night. The following day I continued to pass through good country, and crossed the river Light, where I saw some large and deep waterholes. This day, also, I rode over nothing but a well-watered, richly-grassed country, with occasional patches of scrub and gentle rises, principally clothed with sheoak. I followed up the upper part of the Dirty Light and passed over a saddle, on the western side of which I discovered the Black Springs, as they are now called, to the north of which I rode on to high ground. From the highest part I could look around me and see as far as the eye could reach what promised to be a magnificent country. I was particularly struck by the appearance of the lofty hills far to the north, and came to the conclusion that the good land extended particularly in that direction. I discovered at a distance a large party of blacks encamped, so I decided that discretion was the better part of valour. I camped on the Dirty Light for the night, and next day felt bound to return home as well as I could, generally driving or leading my weak and over-tired horse. I was fortunate before I reached Gawler Town in being able to obtain a fresh steed, and arrived in Adelaide after being out five days. I was then surprised on reading Mr. Eyre's report, so generally condemning the Northern country; however, my report privately given was followed by Horrocks, Hill, and others exploring northwards, and excellent stations were shortly taken up by fortunate parties who went out to judge for themselves.

These parties first established sheep and cattle stations in the country I had viewed, and have been followed and in part displaced by a large army of agricultural invaders, who have gone out boldly to conquer the difficulties to be encountered in this condemned country. As an old colonist I however fear that their necessities will in too many instances force them to adopt the exhaustive system of cropping, which has for the time despoiled some, I may say all, of our best and earliest settled districts. I may be allowed here to express my opinion that had the Government under the credit system bound the tenants not to take off the land more than one crop of wheat in three years, it would in the end have been better for the country, although it might have lessened the quantity of land disposed of under the credit system; a principle I admit next best, if placed under proper regulations, to granting long leases in lieu of alienating the freehold, supposing such long leases also with restrictions as to cultivation, and in blocks of not less than two square miles. I greatly fear that the present system, which is lauded up as such a great improvement on the 80-acre system, will, in like manner,

come to grief, as practical men must know that the present limited holdings forbid the mixed system of management from being carried out successfully. I may here relate in support of the ancient three-course system, which I advocate, that I witnessed the same carried out in England in the counties of Northampton and Bedford from my boyhood until Enclosure Acts were passed, the last in the year 1835 or 1836, where I observed moderate crops of wheat, such as had been regularly obtained for many hundred years, with little other manure than that left by sheep in folding, and in grazing one year in three on the resting third of the unenclosed parishes. Such a course I deem to be especially required in this climate. But I must stay my hand, as I feel I have gone in to express opinions as to the future prospects, and left the descriptions of what has occurred in the past. At all events, after all the mistakes and accidents which were calculated to arrest the prosperity of my adopted country, I have lived long enough to have seen my early anticipations of it fulfilled; so I may be pardoned for digressing.

Amongst the trials the early arrivals had to endure was the circumstance that those who came out first with 80-acre land orders had to wait, as I have already explained, until the 134-acre orders had been exercised, when all the best land and the good waters were taken up in the central districts. Now one of the crying evils of absenteeism hereby created may be seen in the sections around the city, which are let at £1 an acre and upwards—the cost having been only 12s. an acre, with one town acre given in to each section. Further, all improvements, as fencing, buildings, &c., having been made, I believe, in all cases at the cost of the tenants, not to mention local taxes also paid by them. And these absentee landholders, whether private individuals or a company, have up to this time escaped all contributions towards cost of Government in protection, and improvements by roads, bridges, &c., increasing the value of their properties. It appears strange that taxpayers have not before devised a scheme to reach these fortunate property holders. I think it may be accounted for from the circumstance that so many agents for absentees and Bank directors are returned as members in the two Houses of Parliament. By the almost universal prejudice against direct taxation the rich residents escape from their fair share of burdens, and absentees go scot free.

The early purchasers of land in common experienced an act of injustice in the withdrawal of the mile of pasturage to each section promised under the *original* land orders, which privilege was soon withdrawn on the substitution of the delusive commonage provided under the District Councils Act, no proportionate reserve from sale being set apart, but on the contrary, every good acre of land, as well as inferior land, being from time to time sold, until the deceptive bait of commonage in many districts has been blotted out, and the necessity created of abandoning homesteads and sections to capitalists having the means to correct the errors of pushing the principle of concentration of population too far, as was originally done, in a country and climate where such a principle has proved a calamity to many industrious and respectable families of small means. It is argued that time rectifies all these mistakes; but then at the cruel injury of quiet people, who cling to a home with natural and commensable tenacity to the last.

The rule of making land a mere trading commodity is bad in morals, and should not have been so universally adopted by successive Governments in these colonies. It is to be hoped that the area system, with deferred payments, will check the emigration in future of the country population, and that a mixed system will by degrees be adopted on sufficiently large areas, as by no other course of management can the metropolis and the central districts be supplied with prime meat at a moderate price, as a rule, in the varieties of seasons we are subject to. The fluctuations we have experienced in the price and quality of butcher's meat have been injurious in the extreme.

The small holdings, at first the rule, have also led to the enormous sums of money which have been expended lately in the purchase of imported draught horses, to the benefit of Victoria and Tasmania, which evil, however, is not likely to be continued, as the farmers with the increased size of holdings now obtainable will so many of them become breeders of that description of stock as in all probability to produce a glut in the market. The holders of leased runs at a distance and of a large size will now necessarily become sellers of store sheep, which may be brought down before shearing and sold to the farmers in the areas, acting as wool carriers to the advantage of all parties, and ultimately to the public at large, when fattened on the extended farms in the areas.

CHAPTER XI.

JOSEPH STOREY, THE HEAD OF THE BLACK-FACED ROBBERS.

I HAVE now to give some account of a man who was not a convict before his arrival, but the son of convict parents. His name was Joseph Storey. He was born in Van Diemen's Land, now known as Tasmania. In all matters relating to those of the prison class or breed who joined us from that beautiful island I feel inclined to keep up its original name, as these persons were amongst early settlers known as Vandemonians. Storey arrived in the colony in 1837 or early in 1838, quite a young man. He finished a criminal career here on the 24th August, 1841, when his sentence of death was commuted to transportation for life as a burglar and the head of a gang called the "Black-faced robbers." Shortly after I arrived I was introduced to this criminal, and this, fortunately for me, was the only occasion on which he came in my way, and certainly it did not prove advantageous to him.

The Colonial Treasurer (Mr. Osmond Gilles), whose house adjoined the one I first occupied at the south-east end of the embryo city, had lost a pair of grey mares, which he had received from Tasmania in 1838. He asked me as a favour to look out for them in my rides, and to order any of my people to do the same. He soon received information about them, brought by a man from the new tiers, to the effect that he and his mate, Joseph Storey, had seen two light-grey mares passing their hut on the dray track. This man offered for a reward of £10 to go after them and bring them in, urging that as the horses were travelling on as long as they had watched them, they supposed they would by the time he was speaking be a long way in the wild and unsettled bush. Mr. Gilles sent for me to speak to the man, who admitted he had come from Tasmania, on which an offer was made to him that if he or his mate, as a guide, would accompany two persons on horseback, who would bring a spare horse for him, to look for the mares, he should have £5 on their being recovered. To this he agreed, saying his mate Storey would go, and it was arranged that the start should be as early as possible the following morning. He said Storey was a better bushman than he was. I was pressed to go as one, as a favour to the owner, and consented, one of Mr. Gilles's clerks to accompany me. We accordingly started before sunrise, leading a spare horse for Storey. I rode Prince, a horse I bought from Captain Hindmarsh, and followed the track up the spur then known as Chambers's Hill, and with the directions given found Storey's hut. After taking breakfast with these men, we started under Storey's guidance. The sun was obscured; the hills were wrapped in foggy clouds, and so remained during the day—very unfavorable for discovering lost horses in a thick forest, where we often had to pass through an undergrowth of dripping shrubs, but highly favorable for the game designed and carried out by our false guide. After beating about for several hours, Storey taking us across deep gullies and over steep-sided spurs, I felt it was time to call a

halt to refresh men and horses. We had seen no tracks of horses. On a fresh start it appeared to us we were now taken on a wider course, and apparently across the same ridges and gullies, only more to the eastward. As the sun remained obscured, and we had no compass with us, I took great notice of the ground we passed over, and of the direction of the spurs and watercourses, for I began to suspect we were being sold. After going over many miles I found my horse showing signs of distress, and pulled up and dismounted, my companion and Storey doing the same. Watching an opportunity when Storey was some distance from the horse he had been riding, I said to my companion, who was no bushman, and acting under me—"Now is our time; I will mount Storey's horse, you also mount and take my horse by the bridle, and I will treat with Storey." I drew out of my pocket a small pistol, and presenting it at him as he came up, said—"Now you may make the best of your way home on foot; you have been leading us about long enough." Then we left him and continued up the spur at the foot of which we had dismounted, believing that all the spurs we had crossed ran from the east side of the Mount Lofty range, and this conclusion we found to be correct, for in less than an hour we attained the top of the main ridge, very wet and somewhat tired, after being in the saddle full twelve hours. Not long after we gained the summit the sun dipped below the bank of clouds, and to our joy we saw beneath us the infant city of Adelaide. On our right and north of us we could see Chambers's Hill, and we had time to make observations, by which we were convinced that the designing Storey had been leading us backwards and forwards in circles over ground entirely to the south of his hut, and so it did not require a conjuror to decide that the direction to expect to find the mares in was to the north of the ground over which he had been misleading us, and that the mares had been planted, and might be only a short distance from the confederates' hut. Horses and men weary, we passed down a main spur and direct across the then open plain, and reached home an hour after sunset. On the following day two mounted men were sent out with directions to search only to the north of Storey's location, and to be on the ground so early as to give no time for the mares to be replanted. They were soon found in a snug gully, about a mile from the hut, and so the scoundrels who planted them did not get even five pounds.

The police from this time had plenty of work cut out for them by burglars as well as by cattle-stealers. About this period a gang of four cattle-stealers had been playing their game some time before the police got reliable information as to the principal parties engaged, and the locality where the slaughtering of the stolen beasts took place, as so many of the timber workers were deriving profit from this sort of crime. The information came to the police in this way. A man known as Black Joe, not a coloured man, but an European of dark complexion and of doubtful character, who kept a coffee-shop and worked a team of bullocks in the tiers, having lost one or more of his cattle, suspected they had been slaughtered by this gang, and gave the names of four men as the guilty parties, and said one of them was Joseph Storey. He said this gang was in the habit of bringing into certain gullies in the Mount Lofty range, where sawyers and splitters were located, small drafts of cattle, with which they supplied the tiersmen. Their custom was to furnish their confederates, any one of whom on the mob being brought near his hut,

chose a beast, which was there shot and slaughtered. The skinning being partly accomplished, the part carrying the brand was as quickly cut off as possible, and thrust into a fire ready prepared. Afterwards the whole skin was cut up and burned. The carcass, on being separated into convenient pieces for removal, was carried into the hut of the man to whom the beast had been delivered and there as quickly as possible placed in the salting cask. Acting on this information, Inspector Tolmer and Sergeant Major Alford, with three troopers, took up a position on a spur or ridge at the back of the new tiers shortly after sundown, as directed by Black Joe. It was not long before they discovered two fires at a distance in the gully below them. The darkness was increased by a drizzling rain. Two men were ordered to make their way down the spur to the mouth of the gorge and patrol there, and to arrest any men escaping. The officers gave their horses to a third man to hold, and as they thought they perceived a person about the fires, hastily started down the steep side of the spur, but owing to the darkness they soon found it to be more precipitous than they anticipated, and they quickly lost their footing, and after rolling over rocks found themselves at the bottom; but as they had their swords on a great rattle had been made, and they found no one at the fires. Here they waited till morning. On searching the partly burned pieces of hide they could not discover any brand marks in letters, but they secured some pieces with figure brands on them, the same being quite plain. They next commenced the search of huts in the gully they were in and in others, and found men at work salting meat, which had been killed over night. Portions of the skins secured were taken to town, and three of the men found salting the beef were taken into eustody, and after the usual delay were put on their trial, but sufficient evidence could not be brought against them. The cattle were supposed, and with good reason, to have been stolen from the South Australian Company's cattle station at Inverbrackie. Tracks of a small mob were traced from that run to the neighborhood of the gullies where cattle had been recently slaughtered. The Company's stockkeeper produced in Court their figure brands, which exactly fitted the brands on the hide, but as he could not positively swear that the beast or beasts from which the patches of skins had been removed, having only numbers on them, belonged to the Company, the men were acquitted, and escaped punishment. These men were the receivers. Eleven of the jury stood out for conviction against one, but at length gave way. Although the man who had given the information to the police gave the names of four men, Storey being one, sufficient evidence was not obtained to justify the arrest of Storey and his mates, but evidence was got that twenty-two head of cattle had been killed in one day in different places at the back of the New Tiers. The proceedings of this gang were, however, stopped, and a good look-out was kept up in that neighborhood afterwards.

A few months after this Joseph Storey was arrested and lodged in the old gaol on charges of various burglaries. He had associated with him three others, of which gang he was the head, and they were called the "black-faced robbers." One of the four (Maitland, who arrived as an immigrant) was taken with him, but the evidence as to his identity was not clear enough, and he was discharged. Storey was committed to take his trial at the next Criminal Sittings on a capital charge, but getting impatient, managed to escape from the insecure makeshift prison,

and now the police had again to spend much time in the search for him. Two of his mates managed to evade the police, and, as was afterwards discovered, cleared out of the province. These were Big Ben and his mate. The former was a most desperate fellow. We were thus relieved of their presence. These four depredators, during the time they were engaged in their nefarious pursuits, occupied huts in the New Tiers, where they assumed the characters of sawyers or splitters, but their real pursuit was (after the cattle stealing was put an end to) to turn out after dark, and visit the plains to plunder where they could. On their committing a robbery on a publican at Kensington of the name of Ball, they were recognised, and it was on his evidence that Storey was committed for trial. At the time Storey's gang were at work as burglars, two youths were also occasionally associated with them. They, however, were caught on charges of stealing in dwelling-houses in which the others were not implicated, and were committed for trial; but both of them also managed to escape by jumping the gaol fence, as so many others had done. This was frequently accomplished, although guards were placed armed with carbines at the corners of the premises, in this manner:— When an escape was to be made some row was created by the numerous prisoners out in the yard, and then when the attention of the guard was taken up who was placed to cover a certain part of the fence, that part was rushed by one, or by two as in this case, and they were soon out of sight down the steep banks of the river, and their passage over the fence perhaps not observed. One of these youths (both at the time, I believe, under seventeen years of age), whose name I will withhold, and give his initial only as W—, had been employed in a lawyer's office. He was the son of a gentleman whom I knew to have filled the office of Mayor of one of our large manufacturing towns in England, and I was aware that two of the lad's uncles held high positions in two of the largest towns in the old country. The other delinquent had come out as a ship boy in the same ship as W— arrived in as a passenger, and was a runaway from his vessel and a very bad character, and had led the other astray. Both of these youths were recaptured. Some letters from the sisters of W— to him fell into my hands. My wife had attended parties at his father's house. It is to be hoped that his family did not become aware of his disgraceful career in this colony.

I now give the account of the manner in which Storey was taken by Sergeant Major Alford. In one of the many parties of police who were from time to time ordered out to retake the prisoners who had escaped from the custody of Mr. Ashton, governor, as he was called, over the first miserable gaol, Inspector Gordon was out with Sergeant-Major Alford and three troopers, who, when passing along the top of a high ridge to the north of the New Tiers, discovered Joseph Storey, one of the men whom they were after, scrambling up the opposite ridge. They were near enough as the crow flies to identify him. Mr. Alford seeing a kangaroo dog following him took particular notice of the dog, that he might know him on any future day when he might make use of him. Storey was away out of sight even before they could make their way into the intervening gully. As night was drawing near the Inspector ordered the return to quarters. On their way back, before they left the ranges, one of the troopers informed Inspector Gordon that he caught sight of a man escaping into a scrub. On his pointing out the spot the party were

ordered to spread, so as to intercept the fugitive. This movement was quickly made, and shortly after the Inspector called out to the Sergeant-Major, "I see a man squatting in the centre of that patch of thick dwarf teatree. This was a swamp. The men were ordered to dismount and arrest the man, who proved to be young W—; so although they did not succeed in catching Storey this day, they caught one of the escaped prisoners, his mate, the ship boy, was also soon afterwards taken; and these two were tried, found guilty, and transported to Sydney. Although these were not, on their arrival, of the convict class, their miserable exit may be justly attributed to the extensive impregnation of evil our community suffered from the large number of convicts sent out to the adjoining colonies by the mother country, to relieve home society of her bad subjects, and concentrated in this part of the world, as it proved, to the great injury of our free colony.

On this account I hold that the colony of South Australia had in the commencement a large claim on the British Government for more generous treatment than was awarded to it.

Great exertions continued to be made to secure Joseph Storey and his two mates, who had not yet been taken. Inspector Tolmer in one of the police excursions for this purpose, had with him Sergeant-Major Alford and more troopers than usual, so as to thoroughly scour the various gullies in the New and Old Tiers. On reaching the part where the preparation of timber was going on, Inspector Alford was called on one side by a man of the name of Josh. Lines, who was a connection of Mr. Alford's. (The officers and men were out in uniform, with their swords on, &c.) This man said to Mr. A.—"Harry, who are you after?" "Storey." "Well, you will never catch him, there are too many of you, and you make too much noise with your swords. I saw Joe this morning close by. You go away and return in an hour, and I will tell you in what hut you will find him, but do not let out I give you information, or I shall be killed. He is armed with pistols." Mr. Alford—"Has he a kangaroo dog with him?" "Yes, and mind you look out Harry, as he has threatened he will take your life." Having gained this clue the Sergeant-Major followed the Inspector and overtook him at Crafer's pub. He then asked his superior officer to allow him to return with two men to follow up some trace of Storey he had gained, to which he consented, and Alford selected privates Dawson and McMahan, with whom he went to work, and returned to the rendezvous, and met Lines, who said—"All is right, Storey is in Brown's hut; he has got his dog with him." Arrived at the hut they saw a little boy at the door, and Storey's kangaroo dog not far off. The boy was asked—"Have you seen anybody about to whom that dog belongs?" "Yes," he replied. "Do you know where he is now?" "No." "Has he pistols on him?" "Yes." "My boy, if you speak the truth I will give you sixpence. Tell me if you know where the man is." "I do not know." "Where are your father and mother?" "Up the rise, working." "Go and tell them I want them." Mr. A. with the men then searched the hut, but did not find any one within. He then supposed the escaped prisoner might be secreted outside. After examining the floors of the two rooms to ascertain if under the bed or elsewhere there might be an opening to a cellar, but finding none, he left one man at the door. With *the other one* he searched the scrub and ground around the hut. The

dog was still hanging about, and would not be driven away. From this the officer concluded that his master was secreted not far off. On the boy returning he said "his father and mother had gone away." (So much for moral training.) Mr. Alford now re-entered the hut, and observing a wide slab shelf above the bed, which he had passed before as too narrow to cover a man, he ordered private Dawson to jump on the bed and see what use it had been put to. On Dawson doing this he cried out—"There is a man lying here." "Jump down and both of you cover him with your carbines." The Sergeant-Major also drew a double-barrelled pistol, cocking and raising it, called out—"Storey, surrender yourself quietly, and first give up your firearms, handling the pistols by the muzzles, and present the butts to me, or you will be shot if you raise your weapons in any other manner." On this summons, and seeing four loaded barrels presented at him, he quietly succumbed, and after giving up his pistols as ordered came down, and was handcuffed. The loaded pistols which were found on him he had stolen after escaping from gaol from an armorer in King William-street. The prisoner was escorted to the horse police barracks, where they arrived a few hours after the Inspector, who was at the time taking a meal, and was called out to see the prisoner in the yard in charge of the two troopers, much to his surprise and pleasure, and exclaimed, "Alford, how did you manage to take him so soon after you left me?" "Well, Inspector, I had the assistance of his dog." Readers must remember that all this work for the police was going on against white depredators at the same time the Government were embarrassed by the outbreak of the blacks on the River Murray, and at the time when Captain Grey arrived to carry out the stringent policy of retrenchment with which he was charged, and to displace our energetic Governor, Colonel Gawler.

CHAPTER XII.

A NATIVE SHOT ON CAPTAIN BEEVOR'S STATION.—MURDER OF CAPTAIN BEEVOR BY THE MILEMNURA TRIBE.

I HAVE mentioned that Captain Bromley was appointed as Interpreter in place of Mr. Cronk. He might be said to have lived with the blacks, as he had a small cottage at their location on the north side of the river, and opposite to where the gaol has since been built. Here the Government had erected for the accommodation of the natives, huts or kennels, open towards the rising sun, and which with much trouble some of the blacks were induced to use for a time. But this was too great a departure from their previous habits, as such permanent sleeping places would require to be kept clean, and then as their bits of fires, according to their custom, were placed in front of the open part, when an east wind was blowing the dwellings were uninhabitable, and they could not effect a change of front, as they do with their customary wurlies formed of leafy boughs, which they cleansed when they moved to a fresh sleeping-place by putting a fire-stick in them. Here Captain Bromley lived until he was found dead in a water-hole in the river; and here the blacks congregated when they were not away on hunting and fishing excursions. The Interpreter's duties were to serve out flour, sugar, tea, and blankets at certain times, and report to the Government anything serious which might happen. For some little time before the Interpreter's death, great dissatisfaction had been created amongst the natives on account of an inferiority in the quality of the rations with which he had to supply them. At this time flour had become very scarce and dear, and in place of that, oatmeal somewhat damaged, had been substituted. This they threw about in disgust, and with much grumbling and great complaints to Captain Bromley. The sugar was also said to be inferior. It was Captain Bromley's habit to fetch his own water from the river. On the morning of his death he had as usual gone down with his can, and was afterwards found dead in the waterhole. Suspicions were excited against the blacks; he was found with his hands clenched, but with no marks of violence on his person, and there was no evidence to show that, as some people said, he had been pushed in, and held down under water by the natives, who were certainly at that time in a most angry mood about the altered rations.

The question of the displacement of an aboriginal race has always been attended with great difficulties, but is one of those necessary processes in the course of Providence to bring about the improvement of the human race and the promised latter days. From my own experience with our natives, low as they have sunk, I am convinced that with ample means granted, and time, much good may be worked on them; but at the same time the introduction of civilised habits seems to be fatal to

their continued existence, independently of the vices and diseases we have brought among them, to our disgrace, and which have hastened their destruction.

Before I took up my residence beyond the ranges I became acquainted with a Captain Beavor, who had a small sheep station towards the River Murray. He was a most amiable and gentlemanly man. On one occasion he complained to me of the blacks as being very troublesome to him, and that he and his men had to be constantly on the look out to keep them away from his sheep. Shortly after this we heard that one of his men had accidentally shot a black. All who were acquainted with him were in distress on his account. Whether the occurrence reached the ears of the authorities or not I do not know; at all events no steps, as far as I was aware of, were taken to enquire into the matter, nor did I ever speak to him on the subject. Shortly after this occurrence he called on me in passing my place, and told me he had given up his station, and was leaving for a distant part of the colony, namely, to form a station at Port Lincoln, and was about to remove his sheep overland. The next account I heard of him was that he had gone on an exploring expedition on the Port Lincoln side of the province. Then in a few years the news came that when encamped on the margin of an extensive patch of scrub, at some distance from Port Lincoln, early in the morning, he had walked a short distance from his tent, and had sat down, when without any warning he was pierced by a large spear, thrown by an unseen hand, which killed him. No natives were known to be in the neighbourhood, nor did any after this murder show themselves. It was not long afterwards that his friend Mr. Dark, a surveyor, was also killed by the natives.

The only explanation I ever heard of the way in which the black man was killed by Captain Beavor's shepherd was that on his rising one morning early, on looking out he perceived a native approaching the sheepyard, and that he motioned him to go away; then as the warning was not complied with he fired, not aiming at the man, but the ball striking a stone ricocheted, and in rising pierced the vital part of the approaching native, who sprang into the air and fell dead on his face. From my own knowledge of Captain Beavor, I accepted this explanation as true, as did his neighbors, knowing that he would not have allowed or sanctioned an act of wanton cruelty to a native. It is a sad reflection that the white man, in seeking to occupy the countries the aboriginal races have previously wandered over, should have been under the necessity of taking their lives; but I do without hesitation assert that in South Australia the instances of wilful and unjustifiable destruction of them have been few in comparison to the cases of necessity. For myself, I am thankful indeed that although I was much out in the bush, and exposed to danger from the blacks, I was never brought into collision with them. I certainly kept on good terms with them, but I do not assume that my escape was in consequence of my treatment of those who were acquainted with me, but that I kept a sharp look-out when likely to meet with strange or wild blacks, as we called them, and never allowed such to come within range of their spears.

A very few instances of unprovoked murder of whites by the natives have come within my own knowledge. I must not omit to relate some such experiences which occurred in the early days, and first bring

into this history that most unfortunate case of the killing of Captain Barker on the eastern side of the mouth of the Murray, although it occurred some years before the foundation of our colony, as I believe the tribe by which he was killed were afterwards guilty of other murders in our time, as such took place in the same district.

Captain Barker, a brother officer of Captain Sturt, both of the 39th regiment of the line, then partly quartered in Sydney, was ordered by Sir Ralph Darling, Governor of New South Wales, on his way from Western Australia, "to visit and inspect the Gulf of St. Vincent and Encounter Bay, to explore and examine the country, to ascertain if the favourable report of it furnished by Captain Sturt on his return from his boat trip down the Murray River, to near its embouchure, founded only on the distant views which he was able to obtain of the country in passing up and down the river, was borne out by an actual inspection of it." I gather the following facts from the report of Mr. King, who accompanied Captain Barker. It appears that he, with a party, left their ship (we may presume at Holdfast Bay), and travelled on foot to the top of Mount Lofty, from whence it may well be said, he had on all sides of him a most extensive and splendid prospect. From this elevation he made his way, principally through a dense forest, till he came to the exceedingly rich flats on his near approach to Mount Barker (named after him), and continued on from thence to Lake Alexandrina and the Lower Murray or the Goolwa. Wishing to get a good view of the outlet to the sea, he left his party and swam across one of the channels, with his compass fastened on his head. From this meagre account, we are led to suppose that he must have cast off the greater part of his clothes, and did not carry arms with him. He was seen after leaving the water to ascend a high sand hummock, and then disappeared from their sight never to be seen again alive or dead by his people. As he did not return he was subsequently sought for by them, accompanied by a white sealer and a native woman from Kangaroo Island, and they ascertained he had been killed, and that his body was thrown into the stream and was carried out to sea. Here was a noble man cut down in the performance of the arduous duties he had almost completed. Of him, his comrade and friend, Captain Sturt, wrote:—"He was in disposition, as he was in the close of his life, in many respects similar to Captain Cook. Mild, affable, and attentive, he had the esteem and regard of every companion, and the respect of every one under him. Zealous in the discharge of his public duties, honourable and just in private life, a lover and follower of science, indefatigable and dauntless in his pursuits, a steady friend, an entertaining companion. In him the King lost one of his most valuable officers, and his regiment one of its most efficient members." I conjectured he was cast into the rapid swirl with his compass untouched, as they evidently got rid of his remains and all he had about him effectually, as nothing has since been discovered of anything he had with him. The compass, if remaining as fastened to his head, would keep his body from returning to the beach, and I think they dreaded to touch the compass, as they would think it to be some mysterious part of his person, as some of them thought the first man on horseback formed, with the horse, one animal, and, as was related to me by a river black who first saw Captain Sturt in his boat, and the one following him, he believed them to be two animals with "plenty heads and long arms." When it is considered that the whites, who have

take possession of so much of this fifth quarter of the world, as it has been called, have spread themselves out so widely, we may well wonder that so few lives have been lost, especially as some of us know how careless the majority of the people have been, and in how many instances, as reported in other colonies, our countrymen, to their disgrace, have treated the aboriginals with insult and injustice, as we have also in taking their land without adequate compensation. Having met some further particulars on my first visit to Mount Barker about seven years after Captain Barker fell, and as he was not seen by, or buried by friends, I felt much on the painful subject. Having met with a party of blacks at or near the spot where he left his party and was about to put the crowning finish to his work, as well as to that of his friend Sturt, I questioned the natives I there met with. Amongst them was a woman who could speak a few words of English. She had been recently stolen from the Adelaide tribe, and had been told by the black who had caught her, by what I could make out, as follows:—That the tribe would not have killed him only he ran away and would not stop when they gave him friendly signs, and so a spear was thrown at him, which made him tumble down. She could not tell me of anything taken from him. I could gather that he was cut off by some who were secreted in ambush, and whom he had passed, so that he could not return towards his party.

I have considered it necessary to introduce the spearing of Captain Barker in this place, as it will be followed by the most heartrending description of the slaughter of the shipwrecked captain, passengers, and crew of the ill-fated brigantine *Maria*, on the strip of land between the Coorong and the sea, being the country of the Big Murray, or Milemura tribe of natives, and where also two sailors—Roach and his mate—were killed on visiting the wreck of the *Fanny*, which occurred some months before the *Maria* catastrophe. There is no doubt that these murders, that of Captain Barker included, had all been committed by the same cruel tribe, as they were held in such dread by adjoining tribes that no other blacks could have intruded on their country to perpetrate such deeds. The prompt action of Colonel Gawler in bringing the principal criminals to punishment had the desired effect in deterring that savage tribe from a repetition of such unprovoked slaughters, as no murders by them, excepting that of McGrath, have been discovered since.

CHAPTER XIII.

MURDERS OF SETTLERS BY NATIVES—PEGLER, DRISCOL, AND
DUFFIELD—ALSO INFANTICIDE.

IN the early days of the colony a most impolitic order was issued by the Government to the settlers as to the treatment of the natives, viz., that they were not to employ them in work, in order to avoid an approach towards slavery. I do not know if this emanated from the home authorities, but I suspect it did. At all events such bastard sentimentality was not generally responded to or obeyed. On the one hand were the settlers requiring a number of little jobs to be done, and on the other the natives in want of food and the requirements of civilization as to clothing, which they were immediately called on to respect; their skin which nature had afforded them, with on stated occasions a few stripes of white or red paint, and sometimes a small girdle round the loins, being all they had previously found necessary, except when in cold weather they chose to wear wallaby or opossum rugs from their shoulders. Nevertheless, if the Government had from the first treated them as the natural owners of the land and lords of the soil, to whom an ample provision had to be set apart to enable them to lead an idle and independent life, there would have been some justice if not sense in such a proposition. But as in the progress of settlement of their country by our intrusion their game must be either destroyed or driven back, they would have been without means of subsistence in the absence of an appropriate equivalent. The question is, has justice been done them? I say it has not, and I think the contrary will not be asserted.

As to the order not to employ them, I for one, when applied to by them for food or clothing, made it a rule to give them a job more or less slight, and paid them accordingly, thinking if their necessities drove them to beg, degrading habits would be set up, and that it was our duty to induce them to adopt habits of thrift and industry. It is proper to relate that after the arrival of Colonel Gawler right steps, as far as they went, were adopted. Mr. Cronk retired as interpreter on the appointment of Captain Bromley. Dr. Wyatt, who had been appointed as Protector of Aborigines by Captain Hindmarsh, was succeeded by Dr. Moorhouse, who had his appointment from home, and who, with the scanty means supplied to him, did all in his power to ameliorate the condition of the natives and raise them in the scale of humanity, following up the attempts Dr. Wyatt had made. But such a desirable object has scarcely ever been attended with success to any such extent as philanthropists desire, proving that low and depraved feeding and habits acquired during ages reduce even man to a state of physical degradation from which an improvement is next to an impossibility, at any rate with adults. One of the first steps adopted in this colony for their benefit was the establishment of a school for the young, and as some of the scholars in subsequent years became my servants I shall with pleasure show that some moral

good arose from that establishment, and that good impressions were not lost in all instances by such scholars after many years of wandering and mixing chiefly with untaught members of their own or other tribes. The policy of placing the school in the city, nevertheless, was accompanied with great evils and drawbacks, as it of necessity led to the adults sitting down there also, and thus the worst vices of the town were only too readily acquired and adopted by them. If the Government, instead of a few detached sections which have been from the first set apart as aboriginal reserves, had appropriated or devoted blocks of sufficient extent near fishing and hunting grounds, and there formed native stations such as that afterwards founded at Poonindie by Archdeacon (now Bishop) Hale, and at Point McLeay under the Aborigines' Association, and had continued to carry out such a system of reserves of land, with grants of money, all over the colony, in anticipation of settlement, a righteous justification would have been gained for our occupation of their land without conquest or purchase, and in compensation for the destruction of their game, and natural habits, and laws. We had been received as friends, and now where are the original lords of the soil, and in what state are the few who remain in any of our settled districts?

Before any measures had been adopted for their improvement it is recorded that one white man was killed near the river below the town. This was previous to my arrival. The name of the man was Pegler. It was ascertained that he was killed by two natives named William and George, brothers. Their native names I have not learned. He was pierced through the heart by a sharpened kangaroo bone, passed in a slanting direction down from the neck, whilst under the influence of drink. This man, it was said, had insulted the natives by intruding on them at a corroboree, and had placed himself between two black women belonging to the men who killed him, and was ordered off. On his retiring he was followed and found asleep by the two brothers, one of whom killed him. The blacks gave as a further reason that some of their dogs had been killed by a white man. On the information reaching the Governor, the Protector and another officer were sent down to enquire into the sad affair. The further particulars which I give I received from Dr. Wyatt, then acting as Protector of Aborigines.

Dr. Wyatt having obtained information as to the native who actually had given the death wound, afterwards sought out the blacks, and coming upon their encampment, accompanied by Mr. G. M. Stephen, enquired for the murderer. He was pointed out to them far up a gum tree. As the white men could not climb up to him, and the men of his tribe declined to do so, they had only to wait to see if words would bring him down. After some time he descended, and whilst standing amongst his tribe all in a state of excitement, on the two officials approaching him he quietly allowed them to take him into custody. The scene of his brother caressing him and shedding tears was most affecting. He was placed in charge of the marines, who allowed him to escape, and not much trouble was taken to recover him. The conduct of the man killed was proved to have been so bad that little wonder was felt as to the extreme punishment he had received. This black was subsequently hung for the murder of another white man.

Dr. Wyatt had devoted much time and attention to gain a knowledge of the language of the blacks, and succeeded in obtaining about 1,000

words. In this research he discovered that they had found the necessity for creating fresh words, to represent objects new to them, one for instance for trousers, quite a new article and requiring a name; their new word expressed leg-covering, thus showing much ingenuity. Dr. Wyatt, accompanied with Mr. Mann, then Advocate-General, was subsequently directed by the Governor to visit Encounter Bay, to enquire into the murder of a sailor of the name of Driscol, belonging to the ship South Australia. The native who killed Driscol was found by them to be in confinement on board the ship in irons, and evidently under very harsh treatment. It appeared on enquiry that a fight had occurred between Driscol and the black man about one of his lubras; that the sailor had been guilty of very bad conduct; and that on making a criminal assault on the native's favourite lubra a desperate fight took place, which resulted in the death of the white man; so that this case was not taken to the Supreme Court, as it could only have resulted in a verdict of manslaughter. As to the mode of taking the life of Pegler, Dr. Wyatt has recently explained to me that they adopted a most artistic mode of performing the operation in that the first case we have an account of.

I have to relate a subsequent case of deliberate murder performed on the same principle, only the instrument was passed upwards into the vitals. I will endeavor to describe the instrument which had such deadly effect with so little to be seen on the surface of the skin of the murdered men. It was made in one case out of the shank-bone of a kangaroo; in the other of the shank-bone of an emu, say twelve or fifteen inches in length, shaved down by pieces of quartz or glass, as it were, split in half and one end worked to an extremely fine point, which the close texture and the strength of the bones allowed, in the form of a scoop, the sides also carrying fine sharp edges. I was told soon after I arrived that the old men or doctors of the tribes had devised this mode of taking and shutting up the lives of the white men, so as on the withdrawal of the instrument, and pressing down the small half-circular flap, little blood could escape, and the spirit would not pass out, as they believed, to trouble them. In relating circumstances exhibiting their original and native habits, I can mention one described to me by Dr. Wyatt of a very touching character.

It has been always asserted that one of the shocking customs of the natives of this continent was infanticide. I give the facts related to me by the doctor, which prove that the destruction of recently born female children was a tribal policy and custom, and a sad crime against nature and motherly feelings.

Amongst the early settlers were many who had the kindest feelings towards a race of human beings just one step removed above the beasts that perish. One lady, especially interested in their behalf, having heard that a lubra had been confined of a female child, and that the tribe were about to kill it, sent to Dr. Wyatt, urging him to visit the blacks' encampment without delay, with which request the Protector immediately complied. Arrived at the wurlies on the north side of the river, the woman was pointed out to him. He found her sitting up, with the recently-born female child lying on the bare ground by her side, nothing having been done to the poor uncovered infant. Close at hand stood a vile-looking blackfellow, just on the point of killing the child. A stop

being put on proceedings, the mother was remonstrated with, to which she replied that the act decided on by the tribe had her consent, as one of their customs.

Dr. Wyatt observed a stout boy, about four years of age, standing and taking nourishment from the mother's breast. He had been advised by the kind and motherly woman who had sent him down to endeavour to get the mother to put the infant to her breast. After some persuasion she did this, and then motherly affections were excited, as the lady had predicted, and the life of the child was saved. It is well here to mention that I have on several occasions seen a boy of three or four years of age standing up and taking his nourishment from the mother in a similar manner, and on my enquiring where the recent infant was, I have been told that it was dead, and I admit that at the time I did not suspect that the child had been killed. From Dr. Wyatt I have been informed that the reasons given to him for such a barbarous custom were that the tribes being generally at war, they stole females from one another, and so each tribe wished to have as few young girls to tempt their enemies as possible. Such barbarous customs are almost too revolting to be related, but a true history demands it. As the tribes on the settled part of the country became partially civilised I believe such a cruel custom was seldom, if ever, resorted to, but a kind of barter took the place of it, of which I became cognisant. A young man having a sister could exchange her for a girl of another tribe, with the father, the brother, or cousin of the girl he desired to acquire, giving his own relative in exchange. Such cases I became aware of in my intercourse with the natives as an employer of them.

I have now to relate the sad murder of a quiet and confiding shepherd, which I have alluded to, by three blacks, in order to obtain a sheep. With a friend, Mr. Osmond Gilles, I had formed a joint sheep-station about four miles to the north of Adelaide, each having a separate flock and shepherd, we dividing the expense of the hut. My friend's shepherd's name was Duffield; my flock, under the charge of a man named Miles, ran west; Duffield's flock ran east. This was, at the time, the farthest out-station. Miles had followed me from England, and stipulated that I should furnish him with a gun and a brace of small pocket-pistols, with suitable ammunition. He held the blacks in such dread that he would not allow them to come near him. He never went out without his gun in his hand and pistols in his pocket, and when he chanced to meet any of the blacks, he would wave them off to keep at a distance, and would produce from his pocket one of his pistols, and say, "Picaninny gun, plenty more." I give these particulars to account for the cautious and planned proceedings the murderers adopted to kill his comrade, Duffield, who, unfortunately for himself, acted on all occasions in a confiding manner with the natives, and gave every encouragement to them, allowing them to walk about with him, saying when his mate remonstrated with him, "Poor creatures, we are taking their country from them!" but he put his trust in them once too often. He never carried arms. On their attack on him they acted as if they thought he might have picaninny guns in his pocket. On the alarming news being brought to me that Duffield was lying on the plain dying or dead, I lost no time in going out with a conveyance, and finding the poor fellow prostrate

and suffering the greatest agony, I brought him into town that he might have all the attention his case required. With much difficulty he told me that three black men were walking with him quietly, one on each side of him and one behind, conversing in friendly terms. One of them asked him suddenly for a sheep. On his saying "No," he received a severe blow from the one behind him with a heavy waddy, and fell down insensible, but shortly became conscious, and felt he had been pierced upwards, from just below his ribs. He said he saw one of them withdraw the instrument he used. He spoke with such difficulty that I thought his vitals had been pierced; yet on examining him at the spot he pointed out, I could perceive very small marks of blood, and the wound was closed, and was to all appearance such as would be seen after a heavy pressure of a man's thumb nail; the small flap must have been pressed down, as I have stated in Dr. Wyatt's account of the death-wound inflicted on Pegler; but in this case a most treacherous and cruel action was committed without provocation. Duffield was without loss of time placed under medical treatment. On examination it was found that the fine and sharp instrument used had been passed a short distance under the skin and then pressed downwards, and had passed through the lungs. I must explain that Duffield, as he informed me, was on his back, that is on his head and shoulders, that a black named Rodney was placed between his legs, which were held up by a black behind Rodney's back, and so the sharp bone was conveniently used. The instrument used was a finely-sharpened and thin leg-bone of an emu.

Every attention was exercised to relieve the sufferer, but nothing could save him; he lingered about forty-eight hours. Singular to relate, the shepherd's faithful dog, unaided, gathered the scattered sheep, took them home, crossed the river with them, and placed them in the fold, less only three, stolen or lost. Duffield gave the name of the principal murderer as Rodney, a villainous fellow, who had not long before this killed his lubra; Cronk, the interpreter, found her body and buried it. Whilst I was attending on the poor sufferer Duffield, unknown to me a meeting of the inhabitants took place, as great excitement was caused, and some intemperate men proposed that a party should go out armed and take summary vengeance on the blacks. Unfortunately, at this time, the Governor, Colonel Gawler, was away from the seat of government on an exploring expedition. Dr. Wyatt, the Protector, was also absent at Encounter Bay, with Mr. Mann, the Advocate-General, on official business, enquiring into the death of Driscoll at that southern station. In this unfortunate complication of difficulties, moderate measures were happily adopted at the meeting, as by a resolution passed, in the absence of the proper authorities, four gentlemen were requested to investigate the matter, viz., Messrs. D. McLaren, J. B. Hack, and one whose name I forget, with Mr. John Brown, Immigration Agent. Mr. Brown for some time declined, not wishing to interfere out of his department, but eventually was persuaded to act, desirous to prevent any retaliatory action. On the return of Governor Gawler he sent to Mr. Brown a written censure on his conduct, and calling for an apology or his resignation. Mr. Brown's explanation not being satisfactory, he was summarily dismissed. I am not able to say if misunderstandings antecedent assisted to cause the Governor to take this severe step, but I have reason to think such was the case.

Although Rodney was such a barbarous aboriginal, he was allowed to escape after being captured, and as far as I remember did not turn up again. He might have been killed by his own tribe, as was customary among them, to get rid of a troublesome member. I am sorry to say that the above sad murders, harrowing as they were, were exceeded far in atrocity by others as committed by the natives, and bring to remembrance one instance of a brutal murder of an old black man by an overland white man, on whom retribution soon fell as will be related in a future chapter. There were also instances of more serious collisions between the two races. On the whole, however, I can say that this colony stands alone in the infrequency of such sad occurrences as compared with other communities in this part of the world, which had gone forth to carry out the divine command "to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it."

CHAPTER XIV.

WESLEYANS.—WRECK OF THE BRIG FANNY WITH THE REV. W.
LONGBOTTOM.—KINDNESS OF NATIVES.

AT the end of the month of June, 1838, the brig *Fanny*, from Hobart Town, bound to Western Australia, was wrecked on the sandy beach to the east of the mouth of the River Murray. At that time the number of the inhabitants of South Australia did not exceed six thousand, and to supply the spiritual wants of such a population we had two ministers of religion, viz., the Rev. C. B. Howard (Episcopalian) and the Rev. T. Q. Stow (Congregational), who were, as I have shown in a previous chapter, eminently qualified to fulfil the sacred duties they had undertaken, and highly valued by their congregations. These two good men did not confine themselves to narrow sectional action in the performance of their vocations. At that time the Wesleyan Methodists had only a small staff of class-leaders and local preachers, appointed at a small meeting of members, so that with the rapid increase of population from the frequent arrivals of shiploads of passengers, assisted emigrants, and well-to-do settlers, there was ample room for additional authorised clerical workers. One more worker in God's vineyard was, however, unexpectedly provided. The Rev. Mr. Longbottom and his family being dispatched by the authorities of the Wesleyan body in Tasmania to fill a post in Western Australia, on his way there, on board the *Fanny*, was landed on our southern coast by the wreck of that vessel, and so placed by an act of Providence, overriding man's designs, to work in a field of usefulness in our province. He and his family, with the crew, were most mercifully saved from the raging billows, and on the wild beach were kindly received and succoured by the untamed blacks on or within a short distance of the spot where the passengers and captain of the *Maria* were subsequently slaughtered. As no whites survived from the *Maria* to give any account which might explain the cause of the different conduct of the natives towards them it must remain a mystery to all time. It has been communicated to me that in the case of the *Fanny* the Rev. Mr. Longbottom and the captain exercised to the last a sufficient influence—not only on the natives, but also on the sailors—to restrain them in their conduct.

I will now give Captain Gill's statement, as published in the *Register* of September 8th, 1838, in which he gives a report of the accident which befel his ship, and a pleasing description of the means by which he safely conveyed his passengers and crew across the outer channel of the Murray, and delivered them at the whaling station at Encounter Bay, and his flattering opinion of the natives, as he found them so marvellously different from their subsequent conduct. Captain Gill relates :—

“The *Fanny* left Van Dieman's Land on the 9th June, 1838, and when off Kangaroo Island, on the 16th, encountered a succession of heavy gales from W.S.W., which drove her to leeward. On the 21st the gale increased, and the squalls with rain became more violent. About

half-past 1 a.m. the sea broke on board in all directions. We had now shoaled in about four hours from 30 to 7 fathoms water, and all attempts to sail were ineffectual. Every sea threw the vessel's head round off; sometimes she was above water, and at other times it may be said she was below water. When the soundings decreased to $3\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms the lead was laid in. Now a heavy breaker hove her into the trough of the sea, and we were up to our waists in water. She now struck the ground forward, the following sea made a passage over her fore and aft, and we were up to our necks in water. I ascended the forerigging, and for the first time saw land, which appeared a low dark ridge. As soon as the vessel was broad side on, which was shortly after striking, I endeavoured to swim ashore with the end of the lead-line, but it being too short I was obliged to slip and swim ashore clear, though not until the line had drawn me two or three times under water. In a few minutes two of the men came on shore with a line, when by that I returned to the ship, and conveyed through the surf the little boy, son of our passenger. Mrs. Longbottom was unfortunately put over the side the very moment I told the people to hold on, and so was some time under water, from which we were able to recover her, but not until she was greatly exhausted. [And she had in that state to be conveyed through the surf.] In about half an hour all hands were on shore."

This would be about sundown, and the only shelter which the shipwrecked people had was such as the sandhills afforded, and there they had to pass their miserable first night on shore, at this the coldest part of the year, in their saturated garments, without fire or food. Captain Gill's narrative continues:—

"On the following morning at daybreak we (he and some of the crew) returned to the vessel, and got on shore such of our clothing and provisions as were at hand. Shortly afterwards the gale freshened, and the surf beat over the vessel with increased violence. In surveying the coast around us I was much surprised to observe an expanse of water inland; a series of lagoons extended east and west as far as the eye could reach, separated from the sea by a sort of peninsula about three-quarters of a mile in breadth, the lagoons appearing from three to four miles across, and as far as I could judge, about six feet deep. In the course of the morning we were visited by nine natives, who brought us a firestick, and showed us their fresh waterholes, and were every way well disposed during our stay amongst them, which was about seven weeks, and showed us the greatest friendship. They were decidedly the most inoffensive race I ever met with."

After the failure of several attempts to reach the whaling station at Encounter Bay, they were joined by Captain Tyndal, master of the *Elizabeth*, who had been wrecked in Rivoli Bay, over fifty miles to the eastward, and who walked overland with part of his crew to Adelaide, and reported the two wrecks as having occurred. The dingy which Captain Gill had recovered, after being repaired and lengthened about six feet, was launched upon the lagoons (*i.e.*, the Coorong). In this boat, with two men, Captain Gill sailed westward to the sea entrance of Lake Alexandrina (or the Murray Mouth). Here they were joined by four men who had walked along the sea beach. They all crossed the estuary in the boat, and arrived at the fishery. Captain Gill's account goes on to say:—

"My object was now to procure a whaleboat to bring up from the wreck Mr. and Mrs Longbottom and child, whom we had left behind with three men. I did not wish to risk them in the small boat, which was leaky, and then the passage out was unknown to me. On these accounts I deemed it desirable that they should remain behind until a better boat could be procured, and the nature of the passage could be ascertained. After considerable trouble I succeeded in getting a whaleboat and prepared to start with three men, including a native, whom I found very useful. In the meantime I dispatched the small boat back with two men to inform Mr. and Mrs. Longbottom of our success, and to instruct them to be in readiness for their departure. I must now remark that the passage we had crossed was the same where Sir John Jeffcott and Captain Blenkinsop, with part of their boat's crew, were lost from the swamping of their boat in attempting to go out last year. The information I received about this estuary was that there was a long succession of long rollers that never failed to roll heavily, even after a continuance of easterly weather; that they had a perpendicular fall of five or six feet; that a number of sealers and whalers, all good boatmen, had made several ineffectual attempts to get in; that one gentleman had waited three weeks off the entrance with a cutter of about 20 tons endeavouring to effect an entrance, but failed; that the current was always running out, and other reports equally absurd and vague. In our most recent and best charts we are informed that the passage from Lake Alexandrina to Encounter Bay is impracticable even for boats. I now give the result of my own observation and experience." When this report was published Mr. Pullen had not passed in and out. He entered in a whaleboat on the 26th of September, 1840.] "The first time I crossed this passage was during a fresh gale from the eastward, and the flood tide was running in strong, perhaps at the rate of three knots an hour. After leaving our luggage I returned to the eastern side, and brought over the remainder of our small party of men, the boat being too small to venture with all in one trip. On this second trip in the small boat we experienced a squall, with hail and rain, which so darkened the air that, although the distance is only half a mile, for about 20 minutes we could not see the land, and those on shore could not see the boat."

Captain Gill having procured a whaleboat determined to proceed along the coast to be nearer the sea mouth, and then by the use of a pair of bullocks, which he procured from Mr. Harper at the Bay, proceeded to drag the boat over the sandhills, and launch it into the western outlet (*i.e.*, into the Goolwa). After encountering many difficulties in attempting to track the boat he at last succeeded. The party now proceeded along the lagoons (the Coorong), but when a few miles east of the estuary he met the little boat, with Mr. and Mrs. Longbottom and son, and two of the crew.

Captain Gill continues:—"The little dingy was dispatched back to the camping-place, and I returned with the passengers across the estuary, and put up for a day or two at the native huts, where we had spent the preceding night. In the morning sailed to the estuary, and found the wind and tide both strong out, and it was therefore necessary to wait until low water slack, which enabled me to survey the harbour's mouth from the high eastern head. About midday, being low water, we sailed out under a close-reefed sail, the wind being N.N.W., and there was not

a single breaker in the channel, nor did I perceive any bar. The lead I had made for the purpose of sounding proved to be too light to be depended on with the boat's rapid sailing. Although our boat was considerably lumbered, she did not ship a spoonful of water. It would have been to me wonderful if I had not succeeded in getting out with ease and safety."

Yes, it may be added, under such favourable and providential circumstances as have been seldom experienced in the same passage. To Captain Gill belongs the credit of being the first man who either sailed or rowed safely through the Murray Mouth outwards in any kind of craft.

It is hardly necessary to record that the shipwrecked passengers and crew were kindly and hospitably received by the small number of settlers then resident at Encounter Bay or in the neighbourhood, the larger part being whalers.

A vessel from Sydney (the lady Wellington, Captain Develin), which had met with adverse weather, and after much knocking about, did not reach her destination, Port Adelaide, until she had expended eight weeks and two days on the passage), had called in at the Bay after visiting sundry ports of refuge on her way. In this ship the Rev. Mr. Longbottom and his family obtained a passage to Adelaide, and on this short sea trip further accidents might not have been anticipated, but they were again called on to suffer inconvenience, as Captain Develin on endeavouring to cross the outer bar at Port Adelaide entrance stuck fast, and there had to discharge his passengers and goods, as the ship's back was broken. Amongst the passengers was Mr. Emanuel Solomon and members of his family, to whom the greater part of the cargo belonged.

Mr. Solomon had arrived to establish a house of business in connection with his brother, Mr. V. Solomon, of Sydney. Of this, one of our first mercantile establishments, and of Mr. Emanuel Solomon, I shall in a future number have matters to relate, as forming part of our public experiences. Mr. E. Solomon remained to the last a determined supporter of the young colony he had joined, and lived long enough among us to witness the high position we have attained by the untiring energy exercised by him and other old colonists sticking to their adopted land through good and evil report, adversity and prosperity, as thorough colonists.

The broken-backed Lady Wellington was got off the bar, and floated up the stream and anchored below the old Port.

The Rev. Mr. Longbottom was received in Adelaide with enthusiasm by the inhabitants; he was, with his family, hospitably accommodated by Mr. E. Stephens, the manager of the South Australian Bank, in his small wooden residence on the first camping ground, now occupied by the Railway Station, until a temporary residence could be provided. Subscriptions were raised to replace some of Mr. L.'s losses, but his library and papers could not be restored to him. The small number of the Church to which he belonged gladly availed themselves of his services, and looked upon his arrival as a godsend. He arrived among them about the 1st September, 1838.

On the 25th May, the previous year, a meeting had been held in the house of Mr. S. Stephens, as per minute-book, at which a society was formed called the Wesleyan Methodist Society. Fifteen persons gave in

their names (a small beginning this); two class leaders were appointed, and two local preachers received on trial for three months. On September 31st a local preacher was appointed—not one of those who had officiated on trial, but still one of the original fifteen, of whom eight were men. Out of these, including the Secretary, six officers were appointed. Services were first performed in a small reed hut on the banks of the Torrens; afterwards the kitchen of Mr. E. Stephens was used. In March, 1838, the foundation-stone of a substantial chapel was laid in Hindley-street. Since May, 1837, the church had increased to six local preachers, seven class-leaders, fifty members, and about one hundred school children." (Officers still out of proportion to members.) "They did not cease to pray that God would send them a good shepherd; of this, however, there seemed little or no likelihood." "The history of churches, as well as of individuals, will often furnish illustrations of the truth that God accomplishes His designs by unlikely means. While the infant Church in Adelaide was praying that a minister might be sent to them, and when they saw no likelihood of their desires being granted, a series of circumstances were transpiring which resulted in the settlement of a minister among them, and that, too, in a manner remarkable and unexpected." I continue to make extracts from the life of the Rev. D. J. Draper:—"No one will be surprised to learn that the Wesleyan Methodists of Adelaide regarded the accident which landed the Rev. Mr. Longbottom as a special providence, as it has been before pronounced in this chapter—saved as they were from the raging sea. The hearts of savage blacks softened to receive and succour the distressed people on or within a short distance of the ensanguined spot where at a subsequent period the most shocking murders took place, as it must have been by part of the same tribe, if not by some of the same wild and benighted natives."

Such was the beginning of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in this colony, and from such a small start, and the difficulties through which the members have struggled and with zeal worked up to the present time, they can now with commendable pride point to their imposing buildings, not only in the city, but throughout the whole colony. Their churches, schools, and college are fully attended, and should greatly assist in dispelling ignorance and vice, and in exhibiting to the Christian world a population where peace and harmony prevail amongst all those who call themselves Christians, under whatever denomination. It is to be hoped they will help greatly to bring about the promised day when will be forgotten all those distinctive names which in fact have arisen and are kept up by the present weakness and selfishness of human nature. I hope in future numbers to give our happy experiences of the doings of other denominations in the order in which they came to the front.

CHAPTER XV.

WRECK OF THE REV. D. J. DRAPER.

IN the previous chapter, having given the arrival of the Rev. — Longbottom, saved from shipwreck and the savage blacks on the southern coast, and his reception with open arms by the small number of Wesleyans then in the colony, I now propose to give a brief account of his actions after he accepted the post of first preacher of that communion; also to give a brief account of the work of his successor, the Rev. D. J. Draper, in building up what Mr. Longbottom commenced. I shall presently give some extracts from the published life of the Rev. Mr. Draper, presenting the heartrending picture of the last moments of that good man, when he spent his latest breath in comforting the large number (169) of the crew and passengers before they were engulfed with him by the foundering of the steamship London.

Before the arrival of Mr. Longbottom, an organisation of members of his denomination had been made, starting with fifteen persons. Shortly after this, a small chapel was built in Hindley-street. In this building Mr. Longbottom was able to officiate on his arrival; and, in this respect, he found himself placed in much more favourable circumstances than were the two ministers of religion who preceded him when they arrived, for they had to gather their flocks, and assist with their own hands in the erection of mere temporary coverings in which to hold worship. In the natural order of things, Mr. Longbottom would feel some embarrassment at finding such a large proportion of officers to members, and would have some anxiety as to future means and management. And here, in giving a correct account of the "early experiences" in founding the Churches in this colony, it is proper to relate of this Church that after the ministrations of so good a man, and one so universally beloved as Mr. Longbottom was, dissensions arose as recorded in the life of the Rev. Mr. Draper, which narrative gives the history of Wesleyan Methodism in South Australia. These dissensions do not appear to have ceased until Mr. Draper's firm and influential rule as Superintendent was exercised.

The founder of the Wesleyan Church, the Rev. John Wesley, certainly in the organisation he prescribed did not adopt any approach to a democratic form of government for the management of the section of the Christian Church which he founded, nor has any such principle, as far as I know, been admitted into the Wesleyan Methodist connection since his time. It appears to me, as an outsider, and from a perusal of the Rev. J. C. Symons's work, from which I shall now quote pretty freely, that in the early steps which were taken to appoint office bearers out of so small a number of members more zeal than discretion was displayed, and I am under the impression that the difficulties which occurred in the early days to this Church may be attributed to the proceedings of a democratic character which were necessarily adopted in

electing officers from so small a number as then presented themselves, which almost amounted to self-election. It is not necessary to enlarge upon this state of things further than to say that when the first difficulties were got over, and some ballast was got rid of, the Church rebounded and rose to its present strength and state of harmony.

"In about eight years from the commencement of the Rev. Mr. Longbottom's services, and including his second appointment, five preachers in succession occupied the post. Not long after the ministrations of Mr. Longbottom commenced, necessity for enlarged church accommodation was felt, and the foundation of a large and handsome chapel was laid in Gawler-place, which was completed at a cost of over £2,000, exclusive of the land, which was given by Mr. E. Stephens. When completed a debt remained on the building of £1,300. Mr. Longbottom's health had been greatly enfeebled by his residence in India, where he had laboured as a missionary; his shipwreck and subsequent privations had completed what the climate of India had begun; and to this must be added the anxieties he was subjected to, without the aid of a colleague to strengthen his hands, and under the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed in this colony. Nor must it be forgotten that he and his family, for the greater part of his time, had no better accommodation as a residence than a small pize cottage. It thus soon became apparent that he was unequal to the heavy work which pressed upon him; in the increasing demands of his church he sought for aid, and no colleague could be sent. He was at length compelled to depart, which was painful indeed to himself and the Church. He had won the esteem of his own flock and all who knew him, and the people had drawn forth his deepest sympathies and energies. Seldom have pastor and people parted with more regret. Mr. Longbottom removed to Tasmania, and was appointed to New Norfolk, the healthful and bracing air of which it was hoped would restore his health. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Eggleston, who reached Adelaide in March, 1840. He remained less than two years; the heat of the climate, the unsuitable house, but chiefly what he described as a series of afflictions, induced in the first instance by excessive exertions, compelled him to seek a removal. His brief period of service had been signally owned of God; many were added to the Church, and great was the sorrow of all classes of the community at his departure."

The Rev. J. C. Weatherstone, Mr. Eggleston's successor, remained in Adelaide about two years. Commencing well, and even prosperously, it was not long before dissatisfaction, financial embarrassment, and all but ruin—at least temporary—came upon the Church. The colony had scarcely recovered from the crushing crisis which terminated Colonel Gawler's term of administration, which crisis tended to produce the break up of the unity of the Church to a great extent. In Mr. Weatherstone's time, in September, 1843, a petition of the Wesleyan Methodists of South Australia was presented to Governor Sir G. Grey, praying "that the Government would grant them monetary aid to pay off the debt of £1,300 on their chapel in Gawler-place, and in supporting the ordinances of religion." From a complication of difficulties, Mr. Weatherstone had to retire, and it was asked who would come in his stead? None were willing, and for the year 1844 Adelaide does not appear as a station in the minutes of Conference."

"Meanwhile, Mr. Longbottom had been directed to remove from Tasmania to Sydney. He reached there just when the Adelaide difficulties were under discussion. Such was the unfavourable impression produced, that no minister would come here. Deeply moved by the scattered and all-but destroyed Church, he offered to return to his former field of labour. His offer was instantaneously and gladly accepted. Here was a true soldier, ready to do his Master's work at whatever inconvenience to himself. He arrived the second time, with Mrs. L. and his son, in April, 1844. Mr. Longbottom's health soon again proved totally inadequate to the toils and responsibilities of so extensive a circuit. The society in general were a warm-hearted, earnest, and generous people, who only wanted a leader, and this post Mr. L. with his failing health could not fulfil, while his genial spirit and entire devotion to the spiritual requirements of his flock still created the warmest respect and gratitude towards him. This was exhibited not by mere sentiment, but in making such provision when he retired as supernumerary in 1846 as enabled him to pass his declining years in somewhat more of comfort than his allowance as a supernumerary would have enabled him to do. I must here add that members of other communions also assisted in this becoming action, and so displayed their feelings of love and respect towards him."

The place of Mr. Longbottom was ably filled by the Rev. Mr. Draper, "who at this time was engaged in the Sydney first circuit, and would gladly have spent more years in New South Wales, but who, feeling deeply for the connexion in the colony of South Australia, volunteered his services to occupy the post. Results have shown this arrangement to have been most happy and successful, as witness the position the Wesleyan connexion holds in South Australia at this time. Mr. Draper, some time after his return to his duties in Victoria, required rest and change, and after several attempts to procure leave of absence to visit England he was at length spared. He embarked with Mrs. Draper on board the Great Britain on March 16, 1865. After an unusually pleasant voyage they arrived in Liverpool 20th May. The number of souls on board was 787. Three days after their arrival they left Liverpool for London. On the following Sunday Mr. Draper preached in Great Queen-street Chapel. Having visited the place of his birth he, with Mrs. Draper, made a tour through Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, preaching and delivering addresses in the various places he visited. He also made a hasty continental trip, and in Paris preached to the small flock of Wesleyans in their nice chapel there. In one of his letters to his friend Mr. Symons, dated 18th August, he mentions "we have travelled 2,450 miles by rail since we landed. I guess another 1,000 will do. Thank God we have not had a day's sickness since we left you. Our thoughts are beginning to turn homeward." His purpose was to remain absent a year, and though many efforts were made by friends in England to prolong his stay, they were unavailing. September 19 he writes:—"I see the London is advertised to sail on the 20th December, but I expect it will be a fortnight later. If cholera, &c., should prevent our going via Egypt, we may go in her. I hope we shall be in Melbourne in March. Mr. Boyce and others are trying to get me to stay another year, but I do not think of doing so." In a letter dated 18th December subsequently he wrote:—"The time of our leaving is

now definitely fixed. The London will leave the East India Docks on the 20th inst., and finally leave Plymouth at 6 p.m." It is true that in bidding adieu to Mr. and Mrs. Powell both Mr. and Mrs. Draper appeared to be unusually depressed, and expressed themselves in terms very different from their usual buoyant character, so much so, indeed, that it led the Powells to remark on it before any calamity had occurred. Mr. and Mrs. Draper embarked at Plymouth on 5th January, 1866. "There was nothing at this time to indicate the severe weather which was to come on; the barometer was unsteady, but not low. It was almost calm when the ship started; she steamed along against a head wind. On Sunday, the 7th, the wind freshened somewhat. Dr. Woolley, President of the Sydney University, and Mr. Draper united in conducting Divine service. The same night it blew a gale, with heavy squalls and a high sea. On Monday, the 8th, the sea was so heavy that the engines were stopped, and the ship was put under easy canvas. About midday the wind lessened and steam was again used. Tuesday morning the wind greatly increased; the flying jibboom, foretopmast, topgallantmast, and royalmast were carried away; the gale had become so violent that all the wreck could not be cleared, the spars swinging to and fro, doing much damage. In the afternoon the wind increased to a hurricane, with fearful cross seas, which broke over the ship and carried away the port lifeboat and did other damage. At 3 p.m. of the 10th the ship was put about under full steam for Plymouth. She immediately began to ship green seas over all, which swept her decks and carried away the starboard lifeboat, and destroyed one of the cutters. At half-past 10 o'clock on Wednesday night a mountain of water broke on board and swept away the main engine skylight; the engine-room was filled, and in three minutes the fires were out. Sails, mattresses, tarpaulins, spars, and all available means were used to stop the opening and prevent the water from rushing into the ship. All efforts were futile. Pumps and the donkey engine were kept at work, even when the ship went down. Long and gallant was the struggle continued between man and the furious elements. At last, when the issue was no longer doubtful, Captain Martin said to his men, 'Boys, you may say your prayers.' All earthly hope was gone, and unless winds and waves were hushed and stilled by the power of their Creator, it was a mere question of time when the London should go down. The gale increased in fury. At midnight the Rev. Mr. Draper commenced that memorable prayer meeting, which lasted till the ship sank, on the next day at 2 o'clock. With one impulse, passengers and crew gathered in the saloon, distinction of class forgotten. One of the rescued tells that there were no cries or shrieking of men or women, no frantic behaviour. Mothers were weeping over their children, and the children pitifully asking the cause of the tears. During the intervals of prayer, Mr. Draper earnestly besought, as he moved among the crowd, the people to come to Christ for salvation. When the captain had lowered the starboard pinnace, which was immediately upset and lost, he entered the cabin and said, 'Ladies, there is no hope for us; nothing short of a miracle can save us.' To this Mr. Draper calmly replied, 'Then let us pray,' and used these memorable words—'Well, my friends, the captain informs us that our ship is doomed, and that there is no hope of our getting into port; but the Great Captain tells us there is hope, and that we may all get safe to heaven.' At 2 p.m. the ship appeared to be

sinking. The captain then directed the second engineer that as the port cutter was ready to be lowered, he had better get into her, saying, 'There is not much chance for the boat, there is none for the ship; your duty is done, mine is to remain here with the passengers; I wish you God speed, and safe to land.' The number who escaped in the boat out of 180 on board was nineteen. In about five minutes after pushing off those in the boat saw the London go down by the stern. The boat drifted before the wind about twenty hours, when she fell in with the Italian brig *Marianople*, and they were ultimately landed at Falmouth on January 17."

I have felt it appropriate to conclude this number with a republication of the thrilling picture of a devoted missionary finishing the work assigned to him on earth in a manner so grand as he did; as well as to record the last act of Captain Martin, whose death was that of a true hero. A previous number gives the account of a merciful dispensation of Providence when a missionary was saved from a wreck and granted to open the services of the Wesleyan Church in South Australia, and this concludes with an account of the loss of another missionary of the same communion by wreck, who had built up what the previous one had commenced here. I have here introduced the latter wreck, although it does not belong to "Early Experiences of South Australia," as both occurrences have such deep interest for the Wesleyans of this colony. The latter is conspicuously marked by the Draper Memorial Church, which was erected to the memory of the good man after whom it is named.

CHAPTER XVI.

DEPREDATORS AND ESCAPED PRISONERS CAUGHT BY ONE OFFICER OF POLICE, MR. H. ALFORD; ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF STONE AND STOCKKEEPER HART.

I BEGIN this chapter by publishing a classified list of the crimes committed by fifty-four of the prisoners who were arrested by Sergeant-Major (afterwards Inspector) Alford in less than three years. I have been enabled to prepare this list from a complimentary general order issued by Major O'Halloran, Commissioner of Police, dated September 28, 1841, with which Mr. H. Alford furnished me. In this the Commissioner speaks of him in the highest terms, and reports the names of the fifty-four prisoners he took, and the crimes for which they were arrested. This list was headed by Morgan, of whom I gave an account in a previous chapter:—

LIST OF CRIMES.

Shooting with intent at the Sheriff, 1; murder, 1; horse-stealing, 9; cattle-stealing, 8; house-breaking, 7; robbing a store, 1; stealing money, 4; stealing poultry, 1; stealing in dwelling-houses, 6; picking pockets, 1; shop-lifting, 1; receiving stolen goods, 1; breaking out of gaol, 6; convicts from convict colonies, 7.

The above list gives an idea of the large influx of professed plunderers who had made their way to this young colony, when one police-officer arrested such a number as his share in the time stated, and affords evidence of the necessity forced upon the Governor, Colonel Gawler, to establish a large police force, and to erect an extensive and substantial gaol. Captain Hindmarsh, our first Governor, had established a small force, which was enlarged and made complete by Colonel Gawler immediately after his arrival, in which duty he spared no expense or trouble; and the force he established has been from that time to the present day, notwithstanding occasional fallings off and disputes, one of the most efficient under the British Crown. By the appointment of Major O'Halloran as Commissioner, and the judicious selection of inspectors, sub-officers, and privates, many of the herd of depredaters who had intruded on us were either soon caught or dispersed. I believe I am correct in saying that the work undertaken by both officers and men was entirely new to them, but they were actuated by one principle, viz., to do their duty; and in that they did not fail.

I will continue this chapter with an account of Stone, the mate of Foley, of whom I have already stated that immediately after their arrival as runaway prisoners, a horse was found with its throat cut among the bushes then growing on the South Park Lands. In relating these incidents I am obliged to mention myself more frequently than was my intention, but I find if I avoided so doing the narration of several striking facts which occurred in the early days of the colony, and of which I was a

witness, would be somewhat obscure. I refrain from giving my experiences, if such relate only to my private affairs and not to matters of public interest, although I am one who suffered losses and privations as heavy as any of the old colonists did when the Government stopped the payment of Colonel Gawler's drafts. Such misfortunes continued until after the time when most of the public liabilities were met by the tardy loan granted by the Home Government, and I, with my family, passed through these great trials and hardships, but during all this time we never doubted the ultimate success of the colony. But then I must add that too many of the pioneers, like myself, have come under the rule, which is general, that a rise is seldom made by individuals under such circumstances sufficient to compensate them for their losses, or to replace them in the positions they previously occupied. In giving prominence to the careers of several of the prison class in the early history of the colony, strangers who read these papers should not lose sight of the fact that these men found their way here with their own resources from Sydney, about as distant as one boundary of Europe from the opposite one, or from the Island of Tasmania by a sea voyage, say equal to one from Spain to England. Nevertheless, in the opinion of many persons not well up in Australian geography or history, South Australia has been classed erroneously with those colonies which were originally convict settlements. In about twelve months after my arrival I expected a herd of cattle overland from New South Wales, and made an excursion to find a good fattening run as near as possible to the River Murray. After beating about between the hills and the river and not finding anything to suit me, and having gone through a hard day's ride, I turned towards the hills, after skirting part of the shores of Lake Alexandrina, and followed up a creek towards the close of the day, when I arrived in a bend of the same, and decided to camp for the night. I had no sooner so made up my mind than I saw on one side of me, about 100 yards off in a small opening in the scrub, a man in the act of covering me with his gun. I immediately held up my hand, and then dismounted, throwing the bridle of my horse over his head, bush fashion, and commenced to walk towards the man. He was still on his guard, although he did not further threaten me. I was to all appearances unarmed. On his grounding his piece I addressed him in a most unguarded manner by name, supposing him to be Stone. I say unguarded, as if I had reflected, I most likely would have considered it prudent to have avoided anything like a recognition of him, but the decided tone in which I was enabled to speak disarmed him, and caused him to think he could trust me. The words I used were, "Well, Stone, I am out hunting for a piece of country for a cattle run; I do not come to disturb you; have you got any tucker?" His countenance at once became friendly, and he replied, "No; only a piece of kangaroo." "Well, I have ship biscuits and German sausage, with tea and sugar, in my saddle bags. Shall I camp with you?" "All right, mate." I next asked him to go with me to the horse to help me, wishing him to see I had no arms there. The horse hobbled, we returned to his wurlie; he carried my saddle, and I the rest of my swag, *i.e.* blankets, bridle, and saddle bags. While he replenished his fire, I fetched the water from a clear water-hole. The camp was on the creek where Strathalbyn now covers the then wild bush. We had soon a quart pot of tea boiling, and supped together, and I slept by his side comfortably on a bed of dry fern leaves.

and under the shelter of a few boughs rather artistically put together. The following morning after breakfast, I gave him all my supply of food. He accepted what I willingly gave, and asked for nothing. I had as usual on such expeditions no money with me. He told me he should get the blacks to cross him over the river in one of their bark canoes. I promised him I would keep secret the course he was taking, and would not divulge the fact that I had seen him until I was satisfied he was safe. I did not then know of any charge against him in this colony, except that he was suspected to have cut the throat of a supposed stolen horse, and also believed to be a runaway lifer, as was afterwards proved. He was evidently in great fear of being enquired after. He was not communicative to me about his antecedents, and I prudently asked him no questions. His conduct in this respect differed much from that of other men of his class with whom I have been brought into contact. I must mention that unknown to him, I had a brace of small pocket pistols, which I always carried in the bush on such expeditions at that time of day. After giving the above description of my sitting down with Stone, I cannot help a remark or two on his remarkable forbearance and self-control. I may add that I was not aware that he and Stanley had stolen, or were about to steal, two horses from Mr. J. B. Hack, and were preparing to start overland.

Now, here is given an account of a desperate, hunted man, escaping as it might be for his life, and he had only to demand of me my horse and all I had about me; had I refused there would probably have been a death struggle between us; but such reflections did not occur to me at that time, as I placed entire confidence in him. He had, knowing what I was looking for, directed me to follow up a certain spur of the ranges, and to continue south on the saddle of the ranges, and I should find a good grassy and well-watered extensive gully, well adapted for a fattening run for cattle, which I found according to his directions, and which proved to be one of the richest spots I have ever occupied in this colony. I was soon displaced by a special survey. Now known as Bull's Creek. I gave full credence to this man's tale, which was, however, an invention to mislead, he and Stanley were afterwards taken and committed on a charge of horse-stealing, but escaped from gaol. Stone appeared to be uneducated, and I could not help feeling at the time that most probably he had been born of and brought up by criminal parents and trained to crime, as whatever his misdeeds had been which brought him to severe punishment, my experience of him proved he was not utterly depraved and lost to manly feelings. God help such! was my aspiration, then and now.

I must continue this number by relating circumstances which occurred on this same cattle run during the short time I was allowed to use it. On the arrival of the herd of cattle for which I was providing, stockyards and huts were erected only just in time, and the beasts were placed, if not in clover, on ground more thickly covered with long kangaroo grass than is usually seen anywhere. The New South Wales squatter, Mr. Huon, from whom I purchased the herd, recommended to me a man of the name of Hart as the best stockkeeper of his party, and him I engaged for twelve months at a good wage. I found him to be fully up to the character I received of him. Mr. Huon, however, told me he knew nothing of his antecedents prior to his overtaking and joining his

party on the Murray; that he was on foot, and was most probably a runaway, but that he never had a more active and trustworthy man of his class in his employment, and he had always under him a number of assigned or freed men at work for him. He was a kind and good master, as I ascertained from men who had served him. I can with perfect truth say that Hart was a good servant, and for one of his class remarkably civil and well-behaved, besides being well up to his business, so I soon placed a confidence in him which I never found abused. My custom was to visit the station at least once a month, and to remain generally a few days. These visits I found to be quite a treat; at first there was also a hut-keeper who had charge of the stores. After a time Hart proposed to dispense with the hut-keeper, *i.e.*, when there was a vacancy on the man leaving, and offered to perform the double duties for a small advance in his wages, which I agreed to give him. He explained to me he preferred to cook for himself, and I never regretted the change; the establishment became much more pleasant, and I always found everything in perfect order, the cattle and horses well attended to, my room clean and comfortable, and the cooking and change of food excellent; then the man was always so *cheerful* and *good tempered* that I could not avoid liking him well. I mention these trifling details as remarkable, as his conduct will appear to have been when I come to the close of his connection with me, and have to relate his antecedents immediately before he joined the party coming down the river, and the horrid crime he had committed a few days before he joined the party. How little I could have imagined such an occurrence to have taken place may be felt when I explain that for a treat I took my wife out to spend a few days on the station, Hart being the only person within three or four miles. His clean management and mild and respectful manners were invariably such as to have qualified him for filling a situation as domestic servant, even at home. Well, such a man as he appeared to be naturally led me to hear from him revelations of his previous life as a prisoner, which he always seemed most anxious to impart. How much of truth he gave me I know not, but the narrative unquestionably, if believed, was such as to produce a favourable impression of him. He was about thirty years of age, rather slightly built, and most active in his movements. As a youth, he stated, he and one of his master's sons ran away and enlisted in the Royal Artillery, then stationed in Dunbarton Castle, and after undergoing all the hardships of drill, &c., they were guilty of some breach of discipline and deserted, and to escape in the night took away two horses, not intending to steal them but to aid in escaping. They succeeding in reaching a ship at Greenock, and having exchanged their clothing (for Hart's companion had plenty of money) they managed to secure a passage, but were pursued and taken out of the ship, and handed over to the civil powers, tried, and sentenced to transportation for life. On arriving in Sydney in a transport-ship with a number of prisoners, his comrade, through interest made by his family, soon got assigned to a favourable party, and he saw no more of him. Hart being very young was sent to Norfolk Island, where he was soon selected by the Superintendent, and employed as a domestic servant, and here he became expert, as I found him. He was now very happy, and soon by good conduct became a favoured man, and promoted to be coxswain in the Superintendent's boat. After some time he was placed in one of the boats employed in receiving supplies from a brig standing

off and on. The boat was eight-oared; he was steering; one guard (armed) was only in the boat, as the men were picked, and some confidence was placed in them. The brig having taken a long tack as they approached her, the day being calm, advantage was taken of this condition of things. The men were resting on their oars, and the guard was suddenly seized and thrown overboard, and Hart followed, as he was a favourite of the Superintendent, and they would not trust him. The transaction was seen on board the brig, and all way possible was made, and both men were saved.

The shore was signalled, and although chase was given to the boat, they adopted such a course as did not suit the brig, and so for that time escaped. Amongst the boat's crew was an ex-captain of the Royal Navy, who knew how to adopt all measures calculated to complete their escape; but ultimately they were taken. Thus far, as Hart's tale goes; but it cannot be all true, as the ex-captain, whose name I suppress, out of regard to his high family, would certainly have been hung, which event did not take place. That such a man did escape from Norfolk Island is doubtless a fact, and that he afterwards finished his infamous career on the scaffold at Sydney is true—but for a different crime from that recorded by Hart; also that by the great interest of his family he had been long spared is well known. Hart, however, had introduced him into his own history, I believe, simply to give as much interest to his recital as possible. I find I must reserve the remainder of Hart's history for another chapter, including the particulars of the murder of his last employer in the province of New South Wales, which information came to hand after he had left me and escaped from the colony.

CHAPTER XVII.

ACCOUNTS CONTINUED OF FOLEY, STONE, AND STANLEY.—FIRST OVER-
LAND CONVICTS.

IN an early number I have given an account of the arrival of Foley, Stone, and Stanley. In this number I propose continuing their histories, in which will be narrated a few more instances of the exciting work which such visitors created for the police as well as for the settlers. The notice of Foley's career will be a much more extended one than I have to give of the other two. In the confession from Foley and Stone after they were confined in the Adelaide Gaol as to the line of country they had passed over in coming to this settlement, they explained that they followed the coast between long salt water creek, now known as the Coorong, and the sea, and on arriving at the mouth of the Murray found no trouble in crossing the channel, and then reached the whaling stations at Encounter Bay. Here Foley separated from his travelling companions and went into business on his own account; the others made their way to Adelaide, and there cut the throat of one of the horses, as previously related by me. It was afterwards proved that Foley rode his own horse—at any rate that horse was not successfully claimed; the other two men stole the horses they rode from Mr. Henty, of Portland Bay. Foley continued in the neighbourhood of the fisheries, and obtained rations and other supplies in exchange for kangaroos and game. He was not in the habit of making his visits there except when fully armed with a double barrellled gun, and two brace of pistols. On this and other accounts he was looked upon with suspicion and some dread, and there was a desire on the part of the officers at the fishery to get rid of him, and a communication was forwarded to the authorities in Adelaide that he was a suspicious character, and would arrive on a certain day in town. The horse he was riding was suspected to be a stolen one. To entrap him and induce him to carry a despatch to Adelaide, he was offered a good reward on his delivering a packet to the Manager of the South Australian Bank, Mr. E. Stephens. He started without hesitation and in good faith, and arrived late in the evening of the day appointed. He was fully armed as usual. On entering the Bank yard gate, he dismounted, and unslung his gun from his back, in which manner he was accustomed to carry it, and fastened his horse to the fence, unconscious of the arrangements which had been made for his reception and capture. On knocking at the back door of the Manager's residence a servant appeared, of whom he asked if "Mr. Stephens was at home," and on being answered, "Yes," he delivered his missive. He was asked in to take tea; the invitation was accepted; he was shown into a room and took a seat, placing his gun near him. In a short time his suspicions were aroused on hearing several persons whispering, and he at once rose, slung his gun, walked out into the yard, and, seizing the

bridle of his horse, prepared to mount. At the same time the reins were grasped by a policeman on the opposite side of the horse, but he threw himself into the saddle, drew a pistol, and presenting it at the man who was detaining him, threatened to shoot him. The pistol was seized by his assailant, and in the struggle it did not explode, but the hammer flew off, and before he could draw a second pistol he received a blow from a weapon on the back of his head, which felled him to the ground. Inspector Inman, who was in the house expecting Foley's arrival, on hearing cries of murder rushed out and struck the blow. Foley was taken to prison, and his wound was dressed. Mr. J. B. Hack was also present in the yard, as he had come by appointment to examine the horse, suspected to be one he had lost. Foley was detained in prison on a remand on the charge of horse-stealing, and suspected to be a runaway convict from Sydney. His conduct, however, in prison was so good that he was engaged by the Government to assist the police in seeking for two men who were suspected to have stolen horses from Mr Hack, and to have broken into a store, and supplied themselves with rations, and were heard of near the Lake. The men who were supposed to have committed these crimes were Stone and Stanley, who had done so to escape from the province, as they were aware they were enquired after on account of the horses they had stolen to reach this colony, and so now wanted similar conveniences to take their departure. I may mention that the man who had the struggle with Foley was an ex-prisoner, and had been appointed acting-gaoler, and who afterwards, with Foley, consented to assist in taking his former associates; but then it was explained that Foley had a private down on them, as having stolen from him a favourite kangaroo dog. So it is seen there had been a breach of "honour among thieves," and to assist the police "a thief was set to catch a thief," carrying out the old proverb.

To take these horse-stealers a strong party was formed, consisting of Superintendent Inman, Sergeant Alford, Mr. Stephen Hack, and three policemen, all well mounted and armed, also Foley on horseback as tracker. Mr. S. Hack was with the party to identify and claim the horses if found in the possession of the suspected parties. The country they were going to scour was that (then a densely thick scrubby country) skirting Lake Alexandrina, where the police would frequently by necessity be separated, and so a strong muster was called for. It was also known that the men they were after were fully armed. They were led by Foley to a creek which from the time of their visit was named the Inman, after the commander of the party. Arrived at this place, Foley gave the information that they were in the neighborhood of the camping grounds he frequented before he was taken, and that his tent was within a mile or so from them. He made a request to Mr. Inman to be allowed to go with one man to the place to procure his blankets or other things, to which request Mr. Inman replied, "If Sergeant Alford chooses to go with you I will allow him to do so." Mr. Alford did not hesitate. But Foley was told by the Superintendent that he would instruct the Sergeant to shoot him if he attempted to escape, and handed to Mr. Alford an additional brace of pistols. They accordingly started, the remainder of the party waiting till they returned. On their way Foley said to Mr. Alford, "Now I will show you how I foiled those who sought to find out my retreat." On their arriving at a patch of close-growing dwarf

teatree scrub, such as was often in that day found in rich bottoms and at the mouth of gullies, Foley pulled up and said, "There in the middle of that clump is my small tent;" but though they were still in the saddle Mr. Alford could see nothing but the deep green of the close-growing teatree, with no opening or passage visible; and so addressed Foley—"Now understand, if you attempt any game on me to escape, I shall obey orders and shoot you. Are there any of your companions here—Stanley, or any other man? for if any one appears I shall shoot you first." "No, Sergeant," was the reply, "I am acting honest, as I have promised the Superintendent. Never fear. We must dismount, and I will show you how to reach my tent." On this he was ordered to dismount and show the tent. This he did by spreading the teatree, as it is called (which reached in height to their shoulders), with each hand, as in swimming, and then stepped forward on one foot, and then advanced in the same manner on the other foot in an exact line, calling on Mr. A. to follow, and act in the same way, the plants rising unruffled behind them, not being trodden down, and showing no track. In about 100 yards so passed over, they reached a round place where the plant had been cut and cleared away; and now appeared a small tent, constructed in the gipsy fashion—a piece of canvas stretched over bent sticks, large enough to allow one man to lie down in, and to hold his necessary traps, which were found safe, the retreat having escaped the eyes of his previous mates. Before these things were rolled up in his blankets he gave to Mr. Alford a Jew's harp, with which, he said, he amused himself during his lonely nights. Foley explained that he never entered or left over the same ground, and, laughing at the Sergeant, said—"You policemen would never have discovered my hiding-place, for I could have shot any one approaching." On their return Mr. Inman continued the search for the horse-stealers, and after some time they found wurlies, which had been recently used, and other traces which led them to be wary. From the life he had led for so many years, Foley's vision and hearing had become so active and strong that he was able to hear sounds and distinguish objects at almost fabulous distances, as exemplified by what follows. He shortly after rejoining Mr. Inman called the attention of the party to sounds of dogs yelping at a distance, but which none of them but himself could hear. He soon, however, led in such a direction as brought them to some kangaroo dogs tied up in a thick part of the scrub, and from that spot pointed out footprints leading away, from the appearances of which he felt confident, he said, that those they sought were not far off, and proposed that Sergeant Alford and he should hasten on foot to a sudden rise of ground near, being the commencement of a spur leading to the ranges, and there to look out over the scrub, the others to wait for signals from them. They had no sooner gained the elevation than Foley pointed out the men at a great distance skirting the scrub; but Mr. A. could not for some time see them. They then returned as fast as possible to the waiting party, who had, during their absence, relieved their horses of all the swags to be ready for a gallop, as they supposed the men were off to mount the stolen horses. On Mr. Inman receiving the Sergeant's report he ordered him to mount instantly, and, with one man, to ride in the direction where he had seen the men, first letting loose the dogs. Mr. Alford followed by choice a young dog, which, after sniffing about, at last took a line which ultimately led

them into a thick scrub, and then made a pause, and after creeping into it for a short distance, was seen to stop and wag his tail, and so betrayed the hiding place of his master, who was found lying down under the thick bushes. The Sergeant instantly dismounted, and presenting a pistol at Stone's head, called on him to surrender, and rise without touching his gun, on which he was lying. Stone complied, and submitted quietly to be handcuffed. On the Sergeant returning with his prisoner to the officer in command, he was ordered to return with him and one of the policemen to town. Stone was then attached by a chain to his guard's stirrup-iron, the other end locked to his handcuffs, and so he was marched to town and placed in gaol.

The Superintendent of Police with the rest of the party remained to follow up the pursuit of the other man, but were not successful, after several days' search. Stone subsequently made his escape from gaol.

Not long after their return to town information was brought to the police that Stanley had been bold enough to pay a visit to Adelaide, where, in a low public house, he was captured by Sergeant Alford, and safely lodged in the first Adelaide insecure gaol, where Mr. Alford did not leave him until he saw him shackled to the iron bar in what was called by the prisoners the "stone jug," being a small stone cell or room, the only substantial building on that insecure establishment. The prisoner thus secured, the Sergeant left, to make his report to the Superintendent, who, highly pleased at the capture of such a troublesome customer, returned with the Sergeant to pay a visit to the prison and see all safe, but on arriving there they found the bird had already flown. He had, with some assistance from his fellow-prisoners, managed to break the lock, which enabled him to clear himself from the bar, and had escaped by jumping the low paling fence; and although every effort was made to recover him, he was not again taken, and the colony was relieved of his presence. The Acting-Gaoler for his neglect was dismissed, and his office was permanently filled by Mr. Ashton, who had been in the police force in London, and a better appointment was never made.

I now return to Foley. The Messrs. J. B. and Stephen Hack were so pleased with the action of Foley in the successful expedition in capturing Stone, that they obtained from the Governor his discharge, on a verbal pledge they gave as to his future good behaviour.

He was first employed by them to accompany a party to Portland Bay, which was dispatched to bring a herd of cattle from thence, and on that occasion he was so useful, and conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of the gentlemen in charge of the party, that the brothers Hack engaged him as their stockkeeper on their special survey of the "Three Brothers." In this employment he continued about two years, and until Mr. Stephen Hack paid a visit to England, and took Foley with him as his servant in the year 1840.

As connected with his residence in the Australian colonies, it will be in place here to relate some of the accounts that he gave of himself, and which I received from the party to whom in a confiding moment he unbosomed himself, and such I have reason to believe to be generally true. He said his proper name was Lovet; that he had been brought up as a gipsy; that he was transported to Sydney for horse-stealing (he was always fond of a horse); that he escaped, and after he had procured a mount, he spent seven years as a solitary bushranger in a small way,

occasionally assisting settlers in recovering stock. He then led a lonely life, and only lifted necessaries for his daily wants until he joined Stone and Stanley in their journey to this colony; but he soon separated from these men, and was at deadly enmity with them, and kept a sharp look out, that they might not come upon him unawares and shoot him. He had no intention, he said, of doing anything wrong in this colony. So far as to his own account of himself, which is certainly rendered probable in its main features by his conduct here. I obtained from Mr. J. B. Hack the following character of him—"Foley was a good and efficient hand." Then as to his habits. He had a decided objection to sleep in a hut, but preferred to lie under a few palings or boards, placed against the end of the hut provided for him. He did not much associate with men of the prison class, but seemed to have a dread of them, especially after it became notorious that he had assisted the police in making captures of such characters, and in doing so had acted on the principle of "dog eat dog."

I have now to follow on with his career in the old country. We first heard of him exhibiting himself in the costume and character of an Australian stockman, in the horse market in the town of Chichester, in the presence and to the astonishment of the Duke of Richmond, and a large number of county gentlemen and townsmen. Mounted on a suitable horse, he turned and stopped suddenly, as he galloped about, with yells, and with the swinging and cracking of an exaggerated long stockwhip, the sounds of which, to English hearers, more resembled the reports of a pistol than the cracks of a whip. He would at one time be galloping as if to head a mob of cattle, then suddenly turning, and with his whip alternately used in the right and left hands, successfully force, as it were, a refractory bullock into an imaginary stockyard; all this to the great amusement of the noble and other spectators, many of whom would probably consider him out of his senses.

The information received of this remarkable man, after Mr. Stephen Hack's return to South Australia, was at first, and for some time, of a favourable character. He was left at home (as I cannot help calling the dear old country) by his Australian employer in respectable employment, but probably under police inspection. In the colony it was some time before anything further was heard of him, and then a rumour reached us that he had been hung; but on enquiry it was ascertained that in a brawl he had drawn a knife and stabbed a man, for which he had been tried, found guilty, and sentenced to penal servitude in the mother country; in which state of duress he probably will end, or has ended, his days, as his fondness for freedom and the open air was so predominant that I think confinement within walls would be more than he could long exist under. From the known actions of Foley, it must appear that in his character there were many good points, such as under moral and religious training in his youth might have produced a useful and superior member of society. We must now look upon him as a social walf, to be pitied, and yet to be classed as superior to too many of his fellow-creatures more favoured as to the advantages which had been afforded them. He exhibited fidelity when trusted, and showed gratitude for kindnesses conferred upon him.

CHAPTER XVIII.

STOCKKEEPER HART—HIS NEW SOUTH WALES HISTORY AS A RUNAWAY CONVICT—THE MURDER OF HIS MASTER—ALSO, THE TRIAL OF GREEN, WILSON, AND MORGAN.

IN this chapter I continue the history of Stockkeeper Hart with the last I heard of him, and how he got away from this colony, and provided for his escape in more ways than one. I have mentioned what care he took of the horses I had given him to use in his work. I now add other particulars showing how well he laid his plans. His habit was to draw his pay from me monthly, and from the first he returned the greater part to me to deposit the same in a Bank for him, but desired me to lodge it in my own name. To this I at first objected, but at length gave way. After a time he asked me to supply him with a stout double-barrelled gun and ammunition, so that he might shoot game. There was already in the hut a rifle, &c., used in shooting cattle for slaughter. He also said he was afraid of the Lake blacks who visited the lower part of the run. He was very successful in bringing in stray cattle for the neighbours as well as my own, and frequently got rewards, which he gave to me to be added to his savings; and so he continued to carry on until he had been with me about eight months. As a further proof how careful and thrifty he remained, although he had frequent occasions to visit town on my business, he was at all times sober and respectable in his conduct, as far as I had the means of judging from observation or report.

And such uniform, steady, and sober conduct in one of his class was the more remarkable as public houses at that early time were in greater proportion to population than they are even at present, and the working population were more generally addicted to intemperance. I mention these matters, trifling as some may think them, to show how much self-denial and restraint was exercised by Hart in carrying out his plans to get away before he was sought for. The wonder to me is how he waited so long with such a heavy reckoning to pay if caught. It is also a marvel how arrangements for his capture were so long delayed on the part of the Sydney Government, and the friends of his previous master, whom he had murdered. At the time above mentioned, on one of his attendances in town, before he returned to the Bull's Creek Station he came and informed me he had found at the Post Office a letter from an uncle of his in good circumstances at the Cape of Good Hope, who had written to him in answer to one he had sent him, and in that pressed him to come without delay and live with him. As at that time there was a vessel in Port Adelaide from that colony, I believed his tale. He made on this a most pressing application for me to excuse him the remainder of his engagement, that he might get to a fresh colony where he would be far

away from a prison population, so I consented to his request on the condition that he found a good man to take his place, and asked him if he could name such a one, on which he gave me the name of Bob Moorhead, whom I knew to be a first-class bushman and a good stockkeeper. I accepted him as a substitute, so the two men went out to muster the cattle, and I followed. (It may not be out of place here for me to say that I rode as many miles over the country at that time as any man, and was so engaged that I was brought into many remarkable adventures which I propose to relate. In doing so I shall have to describe much of the conduct of the ex-prison population from the convict colonies who had joined us. Although this class gave much trouble to the Government and also to the free settlers, it must be admitted they were of great service in the commencement of the new settlement). The cattle being found all right, were handed over to the charge of Moorhead, of whose previous history I knew something, as related to me by the gentleman who brought him down with him from New South Wales, so far as that he had gained a conditional pardon and freedom, for his general good conduct as a prisoner, and for the exemplary services he had rendered when accompanying Major Mitchell, Surveyor-General, in his explorations in the Province of New South Wales, but he was not at liberty to leave the Australian Colonies.

Shortly after my return to town, after handing over the cattle to the new stockkeeper Hart waited on me with great glee, to tell me he had succeeded in obtaining the situation of steward on board the ship which had brought his letter from the Cape, to return with her to that port. He was dressed smartly in ship costume, and appeared no more as a bushman. He now received from me his money in sovereigns, about eighty pounds, with the most grateful expressions, not at all called for. After this he frequently managed to meet me, and took every opportunity of addressing himself to me in public places, especially if any policeman was in sight; but he kept on board ship some days before the ship sailed, and I saw him no more. Within a month after this the herd of cattle arrived for me, down the Murray, which I had ordered from the same stockholder who had brought down Hart on his previous trip, and had recommended me to employ him. From him, to my amazement, I heard the following account of the crime Hart had committed immediately before he joined him. Hart's previous employment had been with a squatter on a cattle station on one of the upper branches of the Murray, who engaged him knowing him to be a runaway convict. With this employer he had remained about two years, when a herd of cattle were heard of, as going down the main stream of the river. At this time, on his obeying the order to bring his master's horse ready for him to mount, and after he had fastened the horse to the rail in front of the "government house," as the hut used by the owner or manager, is called, he entered the room where his employer was sitting after his breakfast, and petitioned him in return for his services to give him an old stock-horse with saddle, &c., to enable him to overtake the party with cattle going down the river to the new colony. To this his master replied, "No, you rascal, I will send you in to the Government." On this Hart made a jump to a corner where stood a loaded rifle, and shot his employer dead. He then immediately rushed out and mounted the tied up horse, and rode for his life, but there was no fear of his being immediately

pursued, as the assigned and freed men sympathised with him. He had served this employer for nearly two years, and had only received in return rations and bush clothing. One mounted man from the station started immediately to report the circumstance to the nearest police—some miles to the east—while Hart was escaping to the west. These particulars I heard from my friend, who brought me the cattle; also that Hart on overtaking him on his previous trip, when he came within one day's journey of his party, destroyed the horse on which he escaped in a thick clump of bush, and joined him on foot. I felt greatly shocked on receiving such news of a murder committed by a man who exhibited such a different character whilst in my service, and who had been so faithful and true to me; but I had now the key to explain his action in leaving his money in my hands, in connection with his great care of the horses, especially one of them; also in his obtaining from me a valuable gun, which he left in the hut, and where also were found capacious saddle-bags which he had made, a leather cover for the gun, and other articles useful on a long journey. So I concluded his original intention was to have gone away overland, if the chance of the Cape voyage had not presented itself in place of the original plan he had designed; which if he had carried out, his conscience would have been clear as to any injury done me in what he would have taken away, viz., the horse, gun, &c., as the money I held would about cover their value. I may mention he had frequently offered to buy from me the best of the two horses, named Brown, but I would not sell him.

I must now give an account of Moorhead and his fatal end. I have to relate circumstances of a most shocking nature, for he also had committed murder. I have shown that at the muster of the cattle I was alone with these two men, who had been guilty of such heavy crimes, but I must say that from their conduct and language, such actions as I afterwards learned they had been guilty of I could not have imagined to have been perpetrated by either of them. I do not think Hart had made a confidant of Moorhead as to the crime of killing his master when he rode away from the station, or that he told any of the men in the party with whom he came down, as most of them returned to New South Wales to bring down the second mob, as one or other of them if they had known of the murder he had committed would have jumped at the reward which they would well know would be offered; for although I have found some honor among men of this class, it is the exception and not the rule. I have also special reasons to think he had not told Moorhead. For some time Moorhead went about his work to my satisfaction, but I found him getting more and more morose and melancholy, and, to tell the truth, I myself became somewhat uncomfortable by being alone with him, and in consequence engaged a hutkeeper. But I did not find the stockkeeper to get better in his mind even with company, and fortunately for myself I proposed to him to go into town for a few days, after he had got the cattle together, and see if a change would improve him. The news of the crime his friend had committed having been made public appeared to have stirred up reminiscences of his own crime, and the two things together had preyed on his mind. Well, he carried out my instructions, and left the station for the town, and put up at an hotel in Grenfell-street, and there remained only a few days, when, as he did not appear at the breakfast-table one morning, a servant was ordered to go

to his room, and as no answer was obtained to a summons given to him, and his door was found fast, a forced entry was made, and he was found dead, with his throat cut by his own hand.

Recitals of the miserable careers of fellow-creatures of the prison class are always painful to give, but in relating occurrences of the first days of the colony, some of these sad tales should be given, in the hopes that the young may be deterred by reading these examples taken from *real life*, from leaving by a first step the paths of rectitude. They serve to prove how next to impossible it appears to be to return and eradicate the stains, and to get rid of evil habits thus acquired. The opinion I formed of these two men, from the necessary intercourse I had with them, was that neither of them had originally got into trouble, as they call it, by ordinary depredations.

I had found Moorhead apparently in a most uncomfortable state of mind, commencing from the time the news came down the river from New South Wales, which was soon followed by confirmation by ship, with the notice of the reward of £500, offered by the Governor of New South Wales for the arrest of Hart, for the murder of his master. An officer also arrived with a warrant for his arrest. Before this news came down Moorhead had shown me the conditional pardon on parchment he had gained, granted him by Governor Darling, setting out that he had been sentenced to death in India for the crime of — (here was an erasure), which had been commuted to transportation for life to Sydney, in consideration of circumstances, &c., and an account of his good conduct as a soldier, &c., &c. Moorhead explained that the word had been worn out by being in a fold of the parchment, and confessed he had killed a Lascar in a quarrel about a native woman, and that the man had attempted to stab him, but he wrested the knife out of his hand, and with it inflicted a death wound. He made the above confession to me a few days before he left the station. He also showed me high testimonials from Sydney Government Officials, and here ends the career of Moorhead.

CHAPTER XIX.

SETTLEMENT OF PORT LINCOLN.

IN introducing a chapter on the settlement of Port Lincoln, it is necessary to explain that I have received full information as to the "experiences" of the first settlers in this district of the colony from two gentlemen who were in the party which first arrived there to form the settlement, and were amongst the most active in that work. From them and others I have been favoured with descriptions of the first trials endured, and of a sad accident which occurred at the opening scene, as well as accounts of the first murder by the blacks of a youth a short distance from the township.

I commence with the visit and inspection by Colonel Light of the unsurpassed natural harbour of Boston Bay and the neighbouring anchorages. On August 20, 1836, Colonel Light, Surveyor-General, arrived from England at Kangaroo Island in the brig *Rapid*, and anchored in Nepean Bay. Although he found the harbour a first-class one, as far as safe and extensive anchorage was concerned, he without hesitation decided that the Island was not the place to fix on as the site for the capital of the colony. He remained till the 7th September to refresh and water, and to examine and survey the Bay, and then sailed up Gulf St. Vincent; and after calling at a small bay, which was named *Rapid Bay*, continued on his course, and landed at the mouth of the Fifteen Mile Creek, now called Port Adelaide, the entrance to which is honoured with the name of *Light's Passage*. Mr. Pullen, ordered by Colonel Light, was the first to enter into this natural port.* Being delighted with the appearance of the country, he decided the neighbourhood would be likely to afford a suitable spot on which to place the capital. To carry out the instructions of the Commissioners, he left Mr. Kingston, Mr. Finniss, and other members of the survey party, to carry on a more extended examination of the adjacent country. He then sailed in the *Rapid* for Port Lincoln, of which navigators had published such favourable and, as he found, correct accounts, *i.e.*, as to the beauty and capacity of the harbour; but of the adjacent country no information was extant. Arrived in Boston Bay, he found all published accounts of the bay itself fully warranted, and other anchorages all that could be desired; and if the harbours had been backed up by such a country as he had seen on the eastern side of Gulf St. Vincent, no doubt he would there have fixed Adelaide as the capital; but from every point of vantage as an elevation from which to view the interior, the picture was so unfavourable that he quickly made his decision in favour of the eastern side of Gulf St. Vincent.

* See Appendix No. 1.

The account I shall give in this chapter of the first experiences of the pioneers in settling the Port Lincoln district, and I may say the history of the settlement, if continued through the forty subsequent years, is sufficient to prove the correctness of Colonel Light's first and hastily-formed decision, that the country between the Mount Lofty ranges and Gulf St. Vincent held out an ample prospect of rich well-watered lands sufficient to carry a numerous population; while the anticipations founded on the reports of navigators of Nepean Bay and Port Lincoln as to fine and extensive harbours were not likely to be realized, those harbours not being in connection with open and suitable land for agricultural settlement.

I now pass to the year 1839, and commence by giving the narrations of Captain Hawson, Mr. T. N. Mitchell, and others, taken down from their lips. Mr. Mitchell was one of the passengers by the *Abeona*, Captain Hawson, and also on board were Messrs. C. Fenn, R. Todd, W. Williams, J. M. Phillipson, and others, whose names may appear in the course of this narrative. The landing was made in March, 1839, in Boston Harbour, at Happy Valley. By the captain and passengers it was arranged that those on shore should fire a volley and hoist the British flag, and that after a certain interval of time, the mate, named James Hunter, should answer by firing the one and only carronade on board. The volley on shore having been fired, the first discharge of the gun on board took place, and shortly after they were surprised by a second discharge of the gun on deck contrary to orders, and also by witnessing a splash in the water following the report. It was evident an accident had occurred, and Captain Hawson, with Mr. T. N. Mitchell, immediately pushed off in the boat. On arriving on board they were horrified at finding one of the seamen lying in a pool of blood on the steerage deck. He was begging to be thrown overboard, his eyes were literally blown out, one of his cheeks was lacerated, his hands shattered, and his body otherwise injured. Mr. Mitchell, having previously operated on animals, and having fortunately with his luggage a medicine chest and a case of surgical instruments, in the absence of any surgeon amputated part of one hand, and dressed his face and wounds in the best way he could. The captain at the same time set about the discharge of passengers' luggage and cargo, so as to lose no time in returning to Adelaide, and placing him, if then surviving, under professional treatment. It was ascertained that poor Hunter had most improperly, in ramming down the powder used an iron bar, and thus the powder had exploded, the splash seen by the captain and others on shore being the iron bar striking the water. The running up of the British flag, part of the introductory ceremony, happening almost at the same moment as this accident, the unfortunate occurrence was looked upon as a sad opening of the settlement. The brig was soon under way, and made a quick and comfortable passage to Holdfast Bay, and the sufferer was conveyed to Adelaide. Mr. Mitchell accompanied Hunter to attend to him, and to alleviate his agonies as much as possible. The patient arrived in the Adelaide Hospital alive, much to the surprise of Dr. Wyatt and other medical gentlemen, who were soon in attendance. The building then used as the public Hospital was situated near the Black Swan, on North-terrace, and was a small thatched hut. The maimed man recovered, and survived some years.

Such was the first experience of the inhabitants of the Port Lincoln town and settlement. The splendid harbour has not up to this time (unsurpassed as it is in its accommodation for a large number of ships of any size) been much used, the back country being deficient in agricultural land and abounding in large scrubs, with a scarcity of water, and in consequence grazing stations have been few and far between.

Captain Hawson returned with his ship and passenger, Mr. Mitchell, and anchored again in Boston Bay. No time was lost by the few arrivals in organising an exploring party to view the country and discover its capabilities, Captain Hawson being leader, with about nine men all on foot, an overlander called Yorky carrying the bulk of the provisions. The direction first taken was about south-west. After passing over a barren and sandy country, and travelling three days they made Coffin's Bay, where a little fresh water was found, but not sufficient to satisfy the wants of the party. They then turned in a north-west direction to reach a range of hills in sight, on arriving at which it was decided that the bulk of the party should rest, and remain at a certain spot, while the leader (Captain Hawson), Mr. Mitchell, one other member of the party, and Yorky, with his load, should surmount the range. This was carried out, and the active party struggled up the steep and rocky range, which was named by them the Marble Range, from finding large masses of quartz, and what was taken to be marble. The prospect not being promising in any direction from the summit, no open country being in view, it was decided to continue N.E.; and unfortunately for the explorers by some accident Yorky, the bearer of the main portion of the provisions, separated from the descending party, and was no more seen until they returned to the encampment at Happy Valley. The party had now to depend entirely on their return journey on the small quantity of provisions which they had in their wallets, and on brackish water, until a black was caught, who was induced to point out some of their watering-places in the direction of the new settlement, and the party had to subsist for four or five days on a few small birds. On arriving at the settlement at Happy Valley, as they had called it (but where they had not yet experienced much of that feeling), they found their provision-carrier had arrived before them, but without much inconvenience to himself. The black, who may be said to have saved the lives of the explorers by pointing out good water, remained with them a short time, and for a time his friendship was secured.

The first water shown by this blackfellow was on a rise near a hill, which they named Mount Gawler; and here the first sheep-station was afterwards formed, by Mr. John Brown, from Shields, who soon afterwards was killed by the blacks, as was also a Mr. Biddle, who subsequently formed a station about five miles from Brown's place, with some others employed on these first stations. Full particulars will be given in a future number, as well as of the slaughter of young Francis Hawson, twelve years of age, which was the first murder committed by the blacks in this part of the province, and which took place at a small outstation, about seven miles from the first settlement at Happy Valley, when he had happened to be left alone, his elder brother having gone into the settlement.

It was not long before the inhabitants of the small settlement were cheered by the arrival of Captain Porter, with his brig Porter, named

after himself. His cargo was chiefly provisions, of which the inhabitants had run short, and, much to their inconvenience, he refused to sell. His brig Dorset, which he had sold at Port Adelaide to Messrs. Smith and Shane, also soon after arrived, with a number of Van Dieman's Land labourers—old lags—under engagement to them. The Special Survey No. 1 had been taken up in the name of Smith & Hawson, to cover which an Association had been formed as co-partners in laying out the township and country (the latter in 20-acre blocks) on the 4,000 acres to be selected out of the 15,000 embraced in the Special Survey, which was conveyed to Mr. Osmond Gilles and Dr. Knott, in trust, by Smith and Hawson, as trustees to represent the parties who had contributed to aid them in the £4,000 purchase-money, Mr. Winter, surveyor, being employed to lay out the allotments.

The next unfortunate circumstance which occurred was the pecuniary difficulties in which Messrs. Smith and Shane shortly found themselves at the commencement of the general crisis, when they could not continue to employ the rough characters whom they had introduced into the infant settlement; nor could they complete their bargain for the brig Dorset, which then fell into the hands of Mr. Emanuel Solomon, of Adelaide, who employed her to the great benefit of the older settlement of Adelaide, as will be reported in another article. The rough characters who were thus thrown out of work by the difficulties of their employers commenced to supply their own wants by committing robberies on the small stocks of the already needy settlers, who, few in number, and not altogether in harmony, did not combine together to resist the depredators, who carried on their actions with impunity, helping themselves frequently in open daylight. At this time no police had been provided or sent by the Government.

The Government were appealed to for protection, and Mr. Matthew Smith (some years afterwards Commissioner of Insolvency) was sent as Resident Magistrate, with Mr. John Irving Barnard as clerk; also a body of police, with Sergeant McEllister (who subsequently rose to the dignity of M.L.C.), and four private policemen. After this disorders were quelled, and the settlement went on in a quiet jog-trot way until the inhabitants were aroused and delighted by the arrival of a French whaler, the Recovery, Captain Latham, who remained to water and refresh, and, having given and received hospitalities, continued his cruise after the monsters of the deep, promising to return. He soon fulfilled his promise; and to the joy of the settlers soon after he dropped anchor, two more whalers arrived, all foreigners, and took up their stations and anchored without the aid of pilots. Now Boston Bay presented an interesting and unusually lively appearance. The next arrival was a most remarkable one, namely, a large whale, come in as it were to offer sport and voluntary sacrifice of a body burdened with a superfluity of fat or blubber. Boats from all the vessels were soon in chase. Although the bays are spacious enough to shelter and accommodate the largest fleet ever afloat, the space afforded for the sport of fastening on to a full grown whale, and keeping hold till death of the game, was found to be limited by the monster, which, after staining with its blood the waters, was at length made fast to the side of the whaler Nile, the boats of which ship were successful in the race. The whale was longer than the ship to which it was lashed, and the affair was a sight the inhabitants

were gratified with, and such as seldom, if ever, has been afforded to landsmen on shore. The carcase yielded about fifty tuns of oil, as was reported; the crew would not be likely again to have the same work to perform under such favourable circumstances. It is somewhat remarkable that before the whalers left their anchorage, two more whales were sighted but escaped.

Before the settlement of South Australia was made, the southern sandy beaches and sheltered coves were favourite places of resort for the female mammals to visit once a year; but now, with the numerous ships, especially the steamers, which are so constantly passing to and fro, the whalers have to visit other seas, and such profitable visitors are not now caught in our province, and only occasionally a stray one may be seen off Encounter Bay, or to the south of the Great Australian Bight.

I give an extract from the *South Australian Magazine* of November, 1841 (long defunct), furnished by the late Mr. Bentham Neales, who was one of the first supporters of the settlement at Port Lincoln, as he was of the general business of the colony. The extract is as follows:—

“I have as yet taken my stand on solid land, and have said nothing of the open sea. Look at the map, and you will see from this port (meaning from Port Lincoln) to the westernmost extremity of the province barren sandhills. Says the traveller, these in fact are universal. Tracé, so are the bays, coves, and inlets universal, literally teeming with live oil, which the prevailing winds, with the requisite amount of human industry, would at once bring up to the head-quarters provided by nature—Boston Bay. Last year (1840) four French whalers and one American, fished between this place and Fowler's Bay, and this year at least six foreigners are on the fishing-ground, taking away the riches which we neglect. A small branch of the Adelaide Fishing Company, at Sleaford's Bay, is all that has been yet attempted; although it is well known that no less than thirty-two whales have been seen in Boston Bay this year. Should a larger Company be formed, as several excellent spots can be pointed out, it appears quite evident that the whale fishery will be ere long one of the principal sources of the wealth of the Port Lincoln settlers.”

The most interesting visitor with whom the inhabitants were afterwards favoured was Lady Franklin, who, with her daughter, arrived in the brigantine *Abeona*, from Hobart Town, commanded by Captain Blackburn. This amiable lady and devoted wife had undertaken the duty of paying this visit, and encountering in her own person hardships at this early period of the settlement, when no suitable accommodation could be afforded her, or means to aid her in her toilsome work. Her object was to prosecute the difficult search for the spot on Stamford Hill from the highest part of which Captain Flinders, under whom her gallant husband was an officer, had taken his observation when on his visit some years before, he was engaged on a marine survey in the ship *Investigator*. On the spot, when found, Lady Franklin's determination was to cause to be erected a suitable work as a memorial to commemorate Captain Flinders' visit and its accomplished object. Captain Blackburn, with some of the inhabitants, accompanied Lady Franklin and her daughter on foot to fulfil this arduous duty. When reached, the steep and rocky range had to be climbed, and on the summit being attained the exact spot had to be worked out and discovered by observations until a correspondence

with Captain Flinders' record was obtained. The range was found to have so large an amount of metallic ore in its body that it was necessary to work the instrument placed upon the bent back of one man, resting to give steadiness on another. The person on whose back was placed the instrument was Mr. T. N. Mitchell, his support one of the Hawsons. After many trials a correspondence was obtained, and then the spot was marked, where the contractor (Mr. Kellet, of Adelaide) afterwards erected a monument dedicated to Captain Flinders. Anything I can write to record this devoted action of the gallant wife of a gallant sailor, whose life was afterwards lost, as is so universally known, in command of the party sent to seek the North-West Passage, will very inadequately record Lady Franklin's virtue in this instance, which is in keeping with her untiring and self-sacrificing actions in sending out naval expeditions to discover the remains of her lost husband. Never was there a nobler man than Sir John Franklin, or one blessed with a worthier wife.

In continuing the "experiences" of Port Lincoln settlers I shall have a deplorable record to furnish in succeeding chapters of a long succession of murders occurring in this part of the province; many more detached cases than have occurred in any other district of the colony, the inhabitants being few in proportion to the extent of country occupied.

It is to be noted that the natives who committed the earliest murders were not caught, nor is it known or probable that the settlers retaliated, or some deterring effects would have been in all probability the result.

CHAPTER XX.

ARRIVAL OF PASTOR KAVEL AND GERMAN IMMIGRANTS.

The arrival of Pastor Kavel in the year 1838 with a flock of German Evangelical Lutherans must not be forgotten as a valuable addition to our population. I have much pleasure in adding his name to the list of early ministers of religion who brought into our province, and in their official characters exhibited true Christian feelings and energy and evinced a thorough freedom from sectarian narrowness.

In the months of November and December in the year 1838, the ship Zebra, Captain Hahn, and the Prince George arrived from Hamburg with German families, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Kavel, who was truly a shepherd over them, not only administering to their spiritual wants, but also acting as overlooker to a great extent to their temporal affairs. The community of useful colonists whom he brought out had been assisted to a great extent by Mr. G. F. Angas, of London, now of Lindsay House, Angaston.

On this action I may remark, without fear of contradiction, that this wealthy and beneficent gentleman never made a better use of his money than affording to this body of Lutherans the means to migrate to this colony, and to escape from the persecution to which they had been subjected in their own country. Without being guilty of an intrusion on the quiet and unostentatious actions of Mr. Angas, I think, as a public benefactor to a much greater extent to the colony of South Australia than any other of its founders, some record should be made in these discursive papers of the obligations we owe to him. He was not only one of the Committee who struggled to obtain our charter; but when his funds and presence in the colony were so much needed he further made large investments, and a few years later took up his residence among us, and is now spending his last days here, and thus has set an example which has not been always followed by those who have made their fortunes here; too large a proportion of such fortunate individuals being now absentees, drawing their incomes to be spent in other countries, and untaxed by us.

Shortly after the arrival of Pastor Kavel with his numerous children—as they might truly be called from the benign influence he exercised over them—he called upon me and explained the circumstances under which this large body of immigrants had arrived, viz.—that they were generally poor but industrious and honest; that they had been, by the assistance of a loan, enabled to make the passage, and that they required cattle and other things, including land, which they must to a great extent procure on credit, and asked me if I could oblige them with cattle. Some few amongst them had money, and might pay with cash; some could pay part of the purchase-money, and those who required full credit would pay instalments at certain fixed periods. I did not hesitate to comply, and was soon visited by a number of his people.

First came a small capitalist who wanted a pair of oxen, and exhibited his small bag of sovereigns with some pride. At the time the stockyard in town was full of cattle brought in for sale. He pointed out to me on the outside of the yard a handtruck to which he had fixed a long slight pole, and gave me to understand that he wanted a pair of oxen to attach to that vehicle to take his luggage, with which it was loaded, over the hills, pointing to Mount Lofty. He had a companion with him who could speak a few words of English. I knew nothing of German. He showed me a rope, and gave me to understand he intended to guide or drive the oxen according to his country fashion. As I was much puzzled what to do with him, I shook my head to imply that his system would not answer with our cattle. On this he again produced his money-bag, to which I nodded and said "Yes," which gave him and his family much pleasure, and caused them to exclaim "Yah, yah;" and then they climbed on the fence of the large stockyard, in which were a number of wild cattle brought in for the butchers. Now I had to shake my head again and say "No, no;" but it was no use, my customer kept repeating "Yah, yah," and his friend said "How much?" pointing out two bullocks. He was told £42 the pair. One was the wildest and wickedest beast in the yard, and the other a good match for him. As I could not make him understand me, I was leaving the party when my stock-keeper called my attention to a quiet pair of small leaders in another yard in which were a number of quiet milking cows, which I told the German he could have for £42 the pair in yoke, but he declined with contempt, as I had mentioned the same price for the larger bullocks in the other yard. Finding I could not make myself understood, and that the intended buyer had worked himself into a violent passion, implying, as I thought, a charge that I wanted to cheat him, I walked away to my house, leaving him violently gesticulating to my men.

I had not been long away when I heard a great noise of roaring bullocks and men's voices, and returned to see what was the matter. It appeared after I left he had tendered to my foreman the money named, which was the price fixed for the pick of unbroken bullocks in the yard. My men wished for no better fun, so they complied with his wishes, and roped up one of the beasts he had chosen, which went quietly into the strong bail used to yoke up steers in, and on roping the other brute, which he was so determined to have, the bullock became quite furious, and was roaring and dashing about in such a manner that the German was frightened enough, and met me begging for his money which my man had received. I ordered the rope to be cut, when the beast rushed at and cleared the fence, and made off. A man on horseback was sent after him, and the bullock was found on the banks of the Torrens where he had tossed a constable and seriously injured him, and was quickly shot by one of the troopers. As the German had been so obstinate and had caused so much trouble I refused to return his money, but desired him to call on me with his pastor. Before he could leave, the man returned with the news of the damage done. The German's whole family were now present. His wife had in the meantime been handling the quiet milking cows in the milking yard, and now they petitioned me to let them have two quiet cows in place of the bullocks, with which I complied, and the whole family went off with their newly-acquired live stock highly pleased, especially as I made a return of the difference in the

price, as the wife had not chosen two of the highest priced ones but the quietest, and I was willing to submit to some loss on the bullock to get clear of the party. Some of the family yoked themselves to the truck, which was such a one as two large goats might have drawn; and after making several journeys, I was told in the same manner by hand, they managed to get the whole of their goods over the hills. It must not be forgotten that at the time this was done no road had been cut or formed, and the greater part of the goods of the community was carried on backs and shoulders to the village named by them Hahndorf in honour of Captain Hahn.

I have given the above account of my first transaction with these people to show how little they were acquainted with colonial matters. I had subsequently many dealings with them, and invariably found them punctual and honest. I continue to relate what difficulties this community had to experience and overcome in acquiring land on which to found their settlements. One they formed at Klemzig, where Pastor Kavel lived for years. The other settlement was at Hahndorf, as I have already stated.

Owing to our land system not then admitting of purchase on credit from the Government, the Germans who arrived in the early days instead of paying £1 to the State paid long credit prices and heavy interest to private speculators. For the Hahndorf land they had to pay £7 an acre. I do not know what interest they were charged, but I daresay 10 per cent. Now this land was part of the first special survey taken up by Messrs. Dutton, Finnis, and McFarlane, at a cost to them of £1 an acre, and was not by any means the pick of their land; so no favour was shown in this essential arrangement with the strangers, who, I think I may say, were taken in. They had to pay off the principal by annual instalments. The quantity of land was 240 acres, which cost them £1,080. Then, through the pastor, they obtained credit for provisions, &c., to the amount of £1,500, until their own crops were realised on. Their seed wheat had cost them £1 a bushel, and they had to procure working cattle at no less than £40 a pair. Up to the time of their arrival the inhabitants of Adelaide had been insufficiently supplied with vegetables and dairy produce, and these at an exorbitant price—butter at 2s. 6d. a lb., and eggs the same. The Germans very soon began to carry into the city for sale small supplies of butter, and, within a few months, vegetables, generally on the backs of the females, and in the same manner taking back their supplies of rations. After a time a string of matrons and girls would be seen wending their way to the capital at that time in their German costume. Before the end of their first year of residence amongst us they furnished the townspeople with a good supply of vegetables, &c., realising to themselves a good profit. At their first harvest their little handmills were set agoing; and they soon cleared off all their debts, and purchased from the Government 240 acres of land for cash, at £1 an acre, contiguous to their township.

Their implements were of their own construction, and primitive enough, of forms which had been in use in their native country for hundreds of years. For some time after their arrival we would see *funny rigs attached to one of their small ploughs or wooden harrows—say a woman with a strap over her shoulder with a rope to a swingletree, a necessary advantage given to her in length, and at the other shorter*

end a small bullock, cow, or a pony, the husband or father holding with one hand the one-handed plough and with the other hand a long pipe, which he was deliberately smoking—the wooden plough light enough to be carried on a man's shoulder.

It was not long before we saw them in better circumstances, with their pairs of fine and fat horses, kept and treated in a manner which set an example to the settlers amongst whom they had come.

At an early period old Lubasch (who was a sergeant in the Prussian artillery at the battle of Waterloo) opened in the village of Hahndorf first a coffee-shop, and soon afterwards a licensed house, and ran a pony mail-cart, much to the accommodation of the small population then settled in the district. Many a hard battle of words have I fought with the old sergeant, but never succeeded in convincing him that the battle of Waterloo was won before the arrival of old Blucher. Lubasch claimed to have been with the advanced detachment of guns which unlimbered and fired the first volley, and saved, as he maintained, the English army.

At the first shearing of sheep after their arrival at their village, the community at Hahndorf contracted to shear a flock for Mr. D. Macfarlane; and as I witnessed their peculiar mode of performing the work, I will relate what I saw. The shearers were principally young women, who were waited on by men of the village, who, when called on, caught and carried the sheep to the shearer who was ready. The sheep was carefully laid down on its side; the young woman, without shoes and stockings, had a piece of thick soft string tied to one of her great toes, the other end was then tied to the hind foot of the sheep; the girl's leg was then stretched out to extend the legs of the sheep; her knee or left hand was pressed on the neck or shoulder of the animal, which was then left to her charge, and she commenced her clipping work, most carefully avoiding any snips of the skin. The number shorn by one never exceeded thirty a day. At first I was inclined to laugh, but I was soon pleased to see how tenderly the sheep were handled. The wool was not taken off very close. The whole party worked with a will, and the amount they earned went towards the payment for their land, as Mr. D. Macfarlane, the owner of the sheep, was one of the original proprietors who sold the land to them at such a smart profit.

This first and successful experiment in the introduction of German immigrants was followed by several other shiploads, some, as I am informed, assisted also by Mr. Angas, and many others who have been aided by their friends who had preceded them and been successful. The influence of Pastor Kavel was very great, his personal exertions on behalf of his countrymen were untiring, and with a perfect forgetfulness of self, so that he could not fail in establishing a community remarkable for probity and respect for our laws; as the annals of the Supreme Court bear witness, that there has been no single instance in which one of his flock has been convicted of a serious offence. The Rev. Mr. Kavel was universally beloved. He had married a wife of an alien nation, viz., English, shortly before his arrival, and in this respect departed from the general actions of his people, with whom a certain degree of jealousy was from the first displayed against becoming amalgamated with the English population amongst whom they had settled.

It has been objected to these German immigrants that the colonists do not derive any direct benefit from their labor, but this is not a liberal view to take, as they rent a good deal of land from English proprietors, and when not engaged on their own holdings gladly take work from the adjoining settlers. By the untiring industry and rigid frugality of the inhabitants of Hahndorf they soon paid off all their debts; and although most of those who arrived here and are still alive, remain in their original location, many of the younger branches have taken up land on their own account, and are becoming amalgamated with the English population. At all events they all, young and old, prove themselves good and loyal subjects of our gracious Queen. On some occasions I attended the services of the Rev. Mr. Kavel, and, without notice, on his observing English hearers present he would address us in our own language, apparently to the gratification of his own people. He early suffered the loss of his wife, who was buried at Klemzig, and the good man seemed for a time almost bowed down with grief. He was universally beloved, and he, as well as other ministers of various sects of religion who had come among us in the early days, was endowed with true Christian love, and was free from any narrow sectarian taint.

He procured the publication of a neat pamphlet, containing statistical accounts of the colony, with a lithographed print of the city and a map of the colony, with letters from German settlers containing glowing descriptions of the success they had met with. This little work was extensively circulated in Germany, and no doubt has led numbers who have left their own nation to join us in this antipodal region.

Such success having been attained by the German communities which have settled in South Australia with their ministers and religious organisations, it appears to me to be regretted that the arrangement which was partly made with Bishop Bugnion for a community under him to be settled in our Northern Territory was not supported by the Colton Government, unless there were discovered sufficient grounds for abandoning the plan, as from all accounts I have met with the people he proposed to bring have shown their good qualities as settlers wherever they have been introduced.

The following German villages were early formed, viz. :—Klemzig, Hahndorf, Lobethal (in which our first woollen factory has been established), Bethanien, Langmiel, as well as several other smaller settlements, and now as fresh arrivals come they are more dispersed abroad than when the first communities arrived. From the Hartz Mountains and Saxony we have not had the number of miners and smelters as could be desired, such workers are specially adapted to obtain and smelt our minerals.

CHAPTER XXI.

BUSHRANGERS CURRAN, HUGHES, AND FOX.

IN this chapter, and one or more following ones, I propose to relate the doings of three gangs of desperadoes, who, after alternate intervals of hard work and deep drinking bouts, thought to adopt with more impunity than was allowed them a course of plunder on the scattered stations newly settled, when there was only a small and recently established police force, whom they lightly esteemed as being inexperienced; and they were also emboldened by the deplorable state of disunion amongst the Government officials, which had been notorious for some time previous. I first remark that after Magee had been punished with death, and his mates with transportation for life, it in a short time became apparent that such severe examples had lost their effect, especially on the following parties:— First, Green and Wilson commenced their career by stealing horses; then Curran, Hughes, and Fox started in the most foolhardy manner on their short course of bushranging. All these men found to their sorrow that an efficient police force had been established.

I now give the career of Curran, Hughes, and Fox, who started on their expedition in the neighbourhood of Gawler Town, in which part of the country they had been at work. The first action in their new or renewed pursuit was a visit to the hut of a Mr. Pfender, five miles from Gawler Town, and finding the wife only at home they stuck her up as they said for a drink. This establishment was a sly grog shop. After supplying themselves to their hearts' content, they next demanded money of her. To this she demurred most resolutely, and as she managed to escape and get outside the hut, they fired at her, but did not wound her. They then departed, after taking what they chose. Information was quickly given to a policeman in the small infant settlement then at Gawler Town, and a mounted trooper started during the night to warn people on the few detached stations in the neighbourhood, to put them on their guard. Amongst others he called at Captain Walker's sheep station, not more than three miles from Pfender's residence. Mr. M— was then in charge as manager, and from him I obtained the following particulars:—

“About 4 a.m. I and the three men, all of them ex-convicts, were aroused by a trooper calling us up to inform us that armed bushrangers were in the neighbourhood, who had the previous evening attacked and robbed Pfender's hut, and had fired at his wife. They desired us to be on our guard. I accordingly set a watch until daylight, and made myself as easy as possible. At sunrise the two flocks were sent out, the bullock driver (the third man) also left the hut on his duties, and I was left alone, but I was not favored with any visitors during their absence. At 10 o'clock, or thereabouts, the three men returned as usual to breakfast, the sheep being left coiling. I observed three other men also with

them, named Curran, Hughes, and Fox. I did not take much notice of them, as they had frequently called as they passed to their work, but I observed they had guns in their hands. Even this did not strike me as anything unusual. Shortly after their arrival one of them, Curran, walked into my apartment and seated himself without ceremony. He had still his piece in his hand. He commenced the conversation by asking me if they could have tucker, to which I replied they could when the men's breakfast was ready. He said 'Oh! but we must have something for the road as well.' I now perceived the other men, one at the door of my room and the other at a window, and that they also had their arms in their hands; and now my eyes were opened as to their character and business, and I felt my position as stuck up in a civil sort of way, so I asked Curran, in answer to his demand, if they had taken to the bush. He answered 'Yes,' in a very cool and indifferent manner. I then said, 'Why have you done this?' He answered, 'It is all through the cursed drink.' Then I asked, 'Well, what do you want of me?' 'I will give you nothing; what you get here you must take yourself.' 'Well, we do not want much, to begin with, where is the damper?' I pointed to a large one on the shelf, which he took down and said, 'Is that all you have got?' I said, 'All that is ready baked.' 'Well, I won't take it all,' and then he cut it in half, and put one part in a bag. Then he demanded tea and sugar, and took part of my stock, and asked for meat. I said there was none cooked, but some in the pot boiling. 'Well, we will wait till it is done.' During this time they took caps, powder, and shot, half of what I had; so that under the circumstances forbearance and generosity marked their conduct, for they, as conquerors by the customs of war, had acquired the plunder. Their conduct was the more surprising as to their coolness, and the little haste they showed, as my men must have told them of the visit of the police, and that a hue and cry had been raised some hours before their arrival. However, they patiently waited till the meat was ready for them to bag the same, and then they produced a bottle of brandy, and insisted on all hands taking a drain as a parting compliment, and so departed; before which I said to Curran, 'You have told me that drink has brought you to this, and why do you carry it about with you, as your continued indulgence will be likely to bring you into the hands of the police, and to punishment?' Curran then threw the empty bottle away, saying, 'There, that is the last b—— drop we will get,' and then broke out in violent threats against several settlers, especially against Captain Hall, who had a station near us. Before this I had noticed Fox to be quiet, soft-looking, and half-hearted in the work. I spoke to him aside, and urged him to give his bad companions the slip as soon as possible. This he promised me he would do. They left peaceably, and wished me good morning.

"When they had disappeared, I called the men in, and asked how it happened these fellows came in with them. They excused themselves by saying, 'They joined us while we were out in the bush as we were about to return to breakfast, and admitted to us that they had turned out. On which we exacted from them promises that they would not take more than what they wanted to carry them on with, nor injure any one on the station, or do any mischief, but confine themselves to what they required for the road.' They must have been surprised at my manner

towards them on their first arrival, as they would naturally think I would be down on them, as they say, from the warning I had received from the police. After they had left I sent as quickly as possible to Gawler Town information how I had been interviewed; but then this was by the hands of a man who, although in our employment, was one of the same class as the bushrangers; or, as they say, one who had 'been in trouble,' so that he would not be likely to hurry himself."

It will be seen in the course of this narrative how exactly and speedily Mr. M——'s warning prediction to these men came to pass, and how soon two of them suffered the extreme penalty of the law. The picture this chapter gives is without exaggeration, conveys to readers who have followed us in settling in the colony and to others some idea of what risks and trying circumstances those of us had to endure who had undertaken to form out-settlements, and what cool courage and tact were often required to be exhibited by pioneers. It may be asserted that if Mr. M—— had not commanded the respect and good-will of the men under him how extremely probable it would have been that they would have merely absented themselves, and have left the depredators at liberty to sack the hut and to maltreat their overseer. Many may disapprove of their conduct in acting as neutrals on such an occasion, and it may be only those who have been placed in similar difficulties who will be able to appreciate such half-and-half protection as these men adopted towards their overseer; but it must be remembered that had they behaved in a more decided manner they would have been "bailed-up" themselves, as the term is, *i.e.*, tied up to trees, and the manager would then have been at the mercy of desperate men excited by resistance, and left without the presence of even friendly neutrals. From my own extended experience of such characters, I believe that human beings, however low they may have descended in sin and crime, have yet a soft spot in their hearts, however small, which may be worked upon when reason has not been lost by drink or some calamitous visitation.

As I was the last person who fell into the hands of these our first bushrangers, and was to some extent the means of their arrest, I will continue the narrative with my own experience in their short detention of me. Their career was a brief one in this their last outbreak. Some hours after leaving Captain Walker's sheep station four mounted policemen were sent in pursuit of them, but did not succeed in capturing them, although so close on their heels. The bushrangers next appeared in the neighbourhood of Mount Crawford at a temporary station, where a Mr. Crawford with cattle overland had settled. It so happened that I started from Adelaide a day or two after the bushrangers commenced this tour. I was on the look out for a suitable country for sheep. On calling at Mr. Crawford's hut I found a man in charge—an old soldier, who had a little before been in my employment as hutkeeper. He surprised me with the information that the night before his hut had been stuck up by three armed men, that they took firearms, ammunition, and rations, and had greatly alarmed him, as he was all alone; that they stopped for the night, and he pointed out the direction they had taken in leaving that morning. As I had not heard of their doings in the neighbourhood of Gawler Town, I did not know what to make of this information. He pointed to a large gum tree about one hundred yards from the hut, and told me they practised their pieces on it, attempting to

hit that mark ; but, said he, they were poor shots, making more misses than hits. The following morning, in riding a few miles towards Woodside as it is now called, I came upon a party of troopers who were camped there. From them I understood they were after two horse-stealers, and that a reward of two hundred pounds was offered for their apprehension. They were much surprised at my information when I told them what I had heard only a few miles away at Mount Crawford about the bushrangers. I also told them, by what the old soldier told me, I thought they had taken to the overland track, *i.e.*, gone easterly. To this they replied that they were acting under orders, and must confine themselves to the course pointed out to them. At this time the officer in command of them had left them to obtain fresh orders from head quarters.

I then continued on my own course south through the Mount Barker district to my cattle station, and remained one night there, and was busy in mustering cattle. I afterwards returned towards Adelaide, and about 3 p.m. reached Crafer's old bush pub, intending to refresh myself and feed my horse, as I had been riding him three days, and had travelled many hours a day. As I approached the slab hut I saw a great bustle about the place ; but this was not unusual, as a number of splitters and sawyers employed in this part of the Tiers were in the habit of frequenting that place to knock down, as they called it, their hard-earned cheques—working like horses, and spending like asses. I alighted at the stable-door, close to the hut, and drove my tired cob into the stable, calling for the ostler. As no ostler appeared, I pushed my way through the crowded tap-room and bar, all in one, and with some trouble entered the private room. On turning round to give my orders, I saw standing at the door of the room a big fellow with a horse pistol in his hand, which he presented at me and said, 'Here's another b—— jimmy; I'll walk into him.' I then heard a voice, which I knew to be Black Dick's, a well-known splitter, from whom I had bought much timber, say, 'Let him alone ; he's all right. He carries no blunt with him; he is just in from the bush.'

I now found I had stepped into a lion's den, and that these were the veritable bushrangers, whose path I had crossed two days before, now drawn back by the temptation of drink to what proved to be their fatal last carouse. I, however, put the best face I could on the position I found myself in, and said in as jolly a manner as I could command, 'None of your gammon, young man ; Mrs. Crafer, send me in bread and cheese and brandy and water, and send Hardyman, the ostler, to feed my horse.' I could now see one of the men (Hughes) breaking open a brandy case, and that the landlady and ostler were bailed up behind the counter. I shall never forget the terror stricken faces of these two persons, both as silent as death. New a scuffle occurred, and I saw a man bolt out and run past the window and heard a shot fired. Curran, who had bailed up and threatened me, had another prisoner bailed up in the corner of the tap-room out of my sight, who observing Curran's attention taken off himself, took advantage to make a rush out of the door with Curran after him. I have since been told that one of the tiersmen pushed Curran's arm on one side, thereby probably saving the escaping man's life, as they were so few yards apart. I now saw my chance, and pushed instantly my way through the half-drunken crowd, who were

enjoying the treat the bushrangers were affording them with stolen goods. On reaching the stable-door I fortunately found my cob coming out ready for me, as he had found no provender. I sprang on his back, and had not time to recover my stirrups, but stuck my spurs into his sides, when Curran, returning from the chase, met me and grabbed, intending to unhorse me. I struck him on the head with the heavy loaded handle of my stockwhip and felled him to the ground. His horse-pistol having been discharged, I think he must have cast it away when he missed his man, or he would have struck me with it if he had kept it, and our positions would probably have been reversed. At this time he, as well as all hands, were about half drunk. I then pushed my horse as fast up the hill as he could carry me towards town, feeling as I mounted the rise a shot might follow me at any moment. When I had ridden about half-way I met Crafer, the landlord, on a fast horse. I told him what was going on, and that the bushrangers were treating themselves and the household of tiersmen to the best in his house, and that his wife and servants were bailed up. I urged him to return for the police, and that he was welcome to the reward, as I was sufficiently thankful I had escaped out of their hands unharmed, except by the loss of my lunch. He took my advice, as he said to me, "What good can I do unarmed against armed men and all their friends, whom they have been treating with my stuff?" My pace was necessarily slow, and he was mounted on a remarkably fast horse. Before I reached town I met Crafer with a party of mounted police at full gallop, who found the bushrangers helplessly drunk, and the handcuffs were put on them without a struggle. On the following morning they were conveyed to Adelaide and by the Police Magistrate committed on a capital charge for trial to the Supreme Court. I must reserve for another chapter an account of their final scene. Here I may mention that on meeting the police I renewed my declaration that I should not put in any claim on the reward, and stipulated that I should not be called on to give evidence against them unless such should be absolutely required. Prudence dictated this course, as in the pursuit of my business I was so much exposed to danger from that class of men. I was present at their trial, but was not called as a witness.

CHAPTER XXII.

EXECUTION OF CURRAN AND HUGHES—CAPTURE OF GREEN AND WILSON.

After sentence had been passed on the bushrangers they were first confined in the insecure gaol of which jolly old Ashton was governor. He had a number of short sentenced prisoners under his charge, who were marched out daily to work on the roads, and were locked up at night in a wooden building. In a small stone building, called by the prisoners "the stone jug," Curran, Hughes, and Fox were confined. Whilst these men were under the charge of Mr. Ashton he was informed one night by one of the guards, named Kennedy, that he had reason to believe by the riotous conduct of the prisoners after they were locked in for the night that they meditated an outbreak, and that he feared they were filing the rivets of their irons. Mr. Ashton immediately on hearing this report sent to the horse-police barracks for a file of men with loaded carbines. Inspector Tolmer was quickly on the spot with his men. After these were placed around the small and insecure building, from which prisoners had previously escaped, the door was opened by himself and the turnkey. The prisoners being cautioned by him (he had at all times a marvellous influence over them), and also in dread of the carbines in the hands of the police, they allowed their irons to be examined and the cut rivets of their irons to be renewed, without any resistance, but they were left for the night with extra guards over them. In the morning Mr. Ashton waited upon the Governor, and requested that Curran, Hughes, and Fox, and two other prisoners who had received heavy sentences, might be removed and placed at the horse-police barracks, in charge of the police under Inspector Tolmer. This request was complied with, and the five prisoners were removed accordingly, and confined in the sergeants' day-room, to enter which it was necessary to pass through the guard-room. On one side of the day-room temporary beds were made up on the floor for the five prisoners, who were all ironed. They were under the especial charge of Sergeant-major Alford, who had a mattress on a table in the same room, on which he rested at night. In the outer or guard-room, in bunks, slept three or more men with loaded carbines ready, a sentinel also pacing backwards and forwards between the rooms. In the first instance the window of the day-room was not guarded by iron bars. This insecurity, on the report of the Inspector, was ordered by the authorities to be rectified, and a smith was sent to do the work. Shortly after this was done, after the prisoners were ordered to turn in, and the Sergeant-major was reclining on his mattress, the guard aroused him by touching his leg and whispered to him that the prisoners were filing

their irons ; on which he got up quietly and passed into the guard-room, and said to the men, " I will take a drink of water," in a loud voice, to blind the prisoners, so that they should not suspect their actions to have been detected. He then charged the men in a whisper to have their pieces in their hands, and on his making a signal, to rush into the day-room and present their carbines, and on his giving the order, to fire if the prisoners did not surrender. He gave them to understand that he would return to his mattress and lie down as if all was right, and allow the prisoners to continue their work until he gave the signal, which he shortly did, by stripping off their blankets by a pull from the ends at their feet. They had, in order to effect their object, covered their heads with their blankets, and drawn up their knees so as to reach the rivets, and to disguise the working of the files kept up a loud snoring, feigning sleep. Five loaded pieces being presented at them, they obeyed the order to rise and pass across the room, and seat themselves on a form, where they were kept till morning. Inspector Tolmer had been called in, and in the morning communicated to Mr. Ashton the attempt to escape made by the prisoners. Mr. Ashton arrived with a smith and with heavy irons; the prisoners' lighter irons were taken off, and several of the rivets were found to have the heads filed off, and the heavier were substituted for the light ones. On the beds being searched, the tools they had used were found, and some screws to be put in place of the rivets intended to be removed. The smith who had been previously employed to fix the iron bars on the windows was afterwards charged with dropping the implements and screws, the latter being the size of those used by him in fixing the bars. He stoutly denied the charge but was not believed. The prisoners were well known to have friends and confederates outside who would render them any assistance in their power.

The prisoners, up to the night on which they made this wild attempt, had conducted themselves in a most quiet and orderly manner, in order to allay any suspicions as to such an attempt ; but now they commenced to behave in a most disgusting and riotous style. Fox and two other prisoners were removed, and Curran and Hughes, the confederates of Fox, only were left. They continued their reckless behaviour to the last ; sad, indeed, to be related of men who had so short a time to live, but which time had been unusually extended after sentence was passed on them, in the hope that they would use it in preparing for their departure, but without any apparent good.

The sentence of death was in the case of Fox commuted to transportation for life ; and he was sent to Sydney, but died on the passage, it was said, of a broken heart. He was reported to be the son of most respectable parents, and was a soft and helpless man, not able to earn a livelihood by hard work. He was not the only individual of this character and constitution I have met with out here who, at home having proved himself useless and troublesome, had been shipped off to this new country, where sharp and decided attributes are especially called for, together with correct principles, and full personal command and restraint, to obtain a good position ; but Hughes and Curran were left to suffer the last penalty of the law. The Colonial Chaplain (Mr. Howard) visited them in their cell, but for some unaccountable whim they took a dislike to this amiable clergyman, and wished to see the late Rev. T. Q. Stow, who attended them in the barracks and on the gallows, and was

on the platform when the bolt was drawn. His efforts to arouse them to a proper sense of the awful position in which they stood were wholly fruitless.

On the fatal morning, on the executioner entering to pinion them, Hughes refused to submit to him, and addressed him in unmentionable language, calling on him to pull off his mask, and finished by knocking him down, when Mr. Ashton had to interfere. After being pinioned Hughes required a lighted pipe to be furnished him, and continued to smoke until he reached the gallows, which was erected in the police yard to guard against a rescue. At the gallows, Hughes bent himself so as to catch his pipe, which he cast away, saying "No b—— man shall smoke my pipe." At length Curran, who in action had always taken a leading part, now called on Hughes to be quiet, and die like a man. To the last this most reckless mortal continued his mad career, for at the sound of the withdrawing of the bolt setting free the scaffold-flap he made a spring, and caught with his feet on the sides of the opening, and it was necessary for the hangman to seize his legs to pull him through the opened space ; thus, by resisting his inevitable fate, he lengthened his last sufferings in this stage of probation before he went to meet his Judge in the world to come in so unfit a frame of mind. So ends the history of Curran and Hughes.

It is necessary to step a little out of the course of events in order to give Mr. Alford's account of the time I met with his party encamped in the neighbourhood of Mrs. Murdoch's place, as mentioned by me in a previous chapter. He had been hastily dispatched with three troopers to catch Green and Wilson, who had first stolen from Mr. John Hallett a quantity of rations. These men had previously worked for Mr. J. Hallett. With the stolen rations they crossed the Mount Lofty Range, and visiting Mrs. Murdoch, robbed her of two horses. It should here be mentioned that there was no concert or connection between the two gangs of robbers, *i.e.*, Curran and his mates and Green and Wilson, although their outbreaks occurred about the same time. Sergeant-Major Alford's party had been sent out with some of the horses unshod, and not in condition for a long and severe journey. When I came upon them, Mr. Alford was absent. To his men I reported what I had heard at Mount Crawford as to the bushrangers who had visited the hutkeeper there. I had received no description of them, or their names, nor had I heard of their doings near Gawler Town, and the police-troopers had not previously heard of their outbreak. The doings of Green and Wilson were unknown to me. Mr. Alford and his party had returned from the Wellington Crossing on hearing that the men they were pursuing had crossed ; when he deemed it necessary to have horses with shoes on, and to be well found in rations and outfit for a stern chase through such a desert and unsettled country as they would have to travel. He therefore decided to leave his men where I saw them, and report himself at headquarters. The day after I saw his men, on his way to town with led horses, he called at a recent settler's place on the Onkaparinga River, Mr. Richardson's, and there had a drink of milk ; at the same time a young man, a stranger, was supplied with a drink. In that neighbourhood Mr. Alford saw a shepherd, who told him that on his round the day previous he saw three men firing at a gum tree. It was

singular that Mr. A. and his men also heard shots fired at a distance from their camp, and supposed sportsmen were out.

Mr. Alford continued towards town at a slow pace, and passed Crafer's public-house without calling, nor did he see anything remarkable in passing. As he approached town he first saw posted placards, and became aware that the Government had offered a reward of £200 for the arrest of Green and Wilson, whom he had missed. Before he reached Adelaide he met Inspector Edwards with a party of police, and from him he received information of the outbreak of Curran, Hughes, and Fox, and that there was a reward of £100 for the arrest of each of those men, and that he was after them. Mr. A., on seeing their description, declared at once he had seen one of them drinking milk at the same time he got a drink at Mr. Richardson's, and now supposed the whole of them must have been on the road he had followed, and that two might have been before him at Crafers, and the one he saw, whom he pronounced to the Inspector to be Fox, would be behind him. Having given to the Inspector a report of what he had ascertained of the men he had been after—that they had crossed the Murray—he was ordered to continue on and report himself. This report made at head-quarters, he was instructed to go back the next day to bring in his men, as it was considered Green and Wilson, on fresh horses, had got too long a start to be overtaken.

These men having made good their escape from this colony, the Government took the first opportunity by ship to forward to Melbourne information as to the crimes of Green and Wilson, a description of them, and the reward offered for their apprehension. I should here remark that Inspector Edwards and party arrested Curran and Hughes at Crafer's pub., as I have before related, so Mr. Alford, by a run of ill-luck, lost his chances of obtaining either of the rewards out. Fox was afterwards taken in the neighbourhood.

The above explanations and additional circumstances show how these concurrent outbreaks confused the police party and myself.

I now come to the successful arrest of Green and Wilson in Melbourne by two of our officers on their way from Sydney. These policemen, namely Corporal Wilkie and private Higgins, having landed some prisoners who had been transported to Sydney, had to take their passage back to Adelaide via Melbourne.

As the vessel was stopping a few days there, these men spent their time on shore, and soon got wind of the reward out for Green and Wilson, and were not long in finding them and taking them before the Police Magistrate, who remanded them to Adelaide. On their being charged at the Police Court in Adelaide with stealing Mrs. Murdoch's horses, evidence was wanting to connect them with the stolen animals, and so they were remanded from time to time that the required evidence might be procured. Nevertheless, Corporal Wilkie and private Higgins were the lucky men who received the reward for their arrest.

The following proceedings, taken to convict these horsestealers, will show that Governor Colonel Gawler was determined they should not escape.

An intelligent and active officer, Sergeant N——, was selected, and sent to Victoria to collect evidence and obtain the horses, to complete the case against the criminals, and make perfect the work his predecessors had left undone. He had ample powers given him, and a letter

from our Governor to the Officer Administering the Government of Victoria (or Port Phillip, as that settlement was then called), requesting that every assistance might be rendered to him. Sergeant N— was accompanied on the expedition by Mr. Lorrimer, then manager of the station from which the horses had been stolen, that he might identify and claim them when found. By this account it will be seen how vigorous the Government was under Colonel Gawler's administration, and how regardless of expense in bringing to book the authors of the depredations which were now becoming so common. It is a remarkable fact that a sufficient number of men with talents specially qualified to carry out the determinations of Government in such an early stage of the colony should have been found. The sergeant and his companion started for Melbourne in a small vessel named Thirteen. The passage was most boisterous throughout. On arriving off Port Phillip Heads the tempestuous weather and heavy sea obliged the captain to bear up for Sydney, his final destination, and there our passengers had to land and take their passage back to Melbourne by the first sailing ship bound there. On arriving at Melbourne our officer presented his credentials, on which a mounted trooper was placed at his service. He soon discovered the public-house at which Green and Wilson put up, and where they disposed of the horses, and was informed that three men were engaged in the sale of them, two answering to the description of Green and Wilson, and a third, a man who represented himself to be their master.

As to the acting gentleman-master, our officer got a particular description of him, and he decided him to be Morgan, who, having been transported for life from our colony, was reported to have escaped from Van Diemen's Land, and was supposed to have landed at or near Portland Bay. In coming to this conclusion Sergeant N. was not supported by one of the Melbourne inspectors, who held a contrary opinion; but he acted on his own judgment, founded on the description gained as to the extreme tallness of the man, his pleasant countenance, the colour of his eyes and hair, and the great probability of his having been picked up by his old comrades, Green and Wilson, as they passed through the Portland Bay district. As will be seen in the sequel, he was correct in his assumption. It now became doubly important that this third man should be secured. From the landlord spoken of he obtained much information, also from the police, and on following this up step by step, he heard that a horse answering the description of one of the stolen ones had been seen in the possession of a sporting innkeeper, well known in all the colonies. On him he waited, and on the question being put to him, "Do you know anything of such and such a horse?" he answered, "I neither know nor care." "Then you may expect to hear from me again," replied Sergeant N—. After this, our active officer, on a visit to the horse-police barracks, seeing the horses brought in from the paddock to be fed, on casting his eyes over them, saw a horse which he thought answered to the description of one of the stolen ones, and asked if that was a police horse? The answer was "No, that horse belongs to an hotel-keeper, and is sent here to be under treatment by our farrier. His owner is Mr. —." Now, this being the individual from whom he had received such an unsatisfactory answer to his question, he felt the scent was getting hot. The horse was immediately caught, and on the water brush being applied to his long coat, at the place where Mrs. Murdoch's station brand

should be, it was visible. The horse was then taken in charge for the rightful owner. On the following morning the overseer confirmed the claim, and the case was taken before the Police Magistrate, and on a razor being employed, the part was shaved and the brand shown perfect.

A decision in favour of the claimant was made, and an order given to remove the horse to Adelaide, much to the annoyance of the sporting landlord. This first step successfully gained, and also some information of the probable whereabouts of the other horse, arrangements for a bush trip were made, on which our officer was accompanied by a mounted trooper. The scent being closely followed, the second horse was found in the possession of a sheepfarmer, at a station on the River Plenty, and was given up. To make the case complete it was now only necessary to secure the third man, whom our officer still continued to believe to be the escaped Morgan, although very slight traces had yet been found of him. After riding many miles and visiting many stations the officers made a station on the Rocky River, at about one hundred miles from Melbourne. To this station the scent had been followed up, however slight and contradictory the evidence appeared. On entering the men's hut, amongst a number of assigned men, Sergeant N. discovered him whom he was seeking. On challenging him by the name of Morgan he denied that was his name, and said he had never been in South Australia. He was now seen with only one arm. Nevertheless, although the sergeant had not heard that he had been so maimed, he took him into custody. It may be mentioned here that it was afterwards reported to our officer that the Melbourne police had some months previously made an attack on a party of bushrangers, and after an exchange of shots the bushrangers had escaped with one of their number wounded. This was now found to be Morgan; at a subsequent period he confessed that he was the man whom the police wounded, and said that a shepherd had cut off the shattered part of his arm, and bound it up. It was still a green, unhealed wound at the time of his arrest. He had adopted the quiet life of a shepherd in the hopes of recruiting himself, and of getting his arm healed.

In this miserable state he had to walk a hundred miles to Melbourne. Sergeant N—— was unable to procure any conveyance, and at that time the roads were not formed. In this shattered state this iron man, as I have before called him, walked the whole distance, and with apparent ease.

I now continue to relate the successful completion of the work undertaken by Sergeant N——, and his efforts in procuring evidence to convict Green and Wilson.

Having recovered the two stolen horses he brought them to the publican L——, at whose house they had been sold, and with them took the escaped convict Morgan back to Adelaide. Morgan, it will be remembered, had been sentenced to death for his share in the attack on our Sheriff, Mr. Smart, but the sentence was commuted to transportation for life, from which he escaped, and commenced bushranging in Victoria, where he lost an arm in an encounter with the Port Phillip police, and was finally hunted down by Sergeant N——.

With this complete array of evidence our officer returned to Adelaide, and arrived at the Port early enough to prevent the release of the prisoners. Ill luck fell against them, for on this day only, an order

had been obtained for their release on small bail. They thus were soon presented again before the Police Magistrate, and committed for trial at the next Criminal Sittings for horse-stealing, where also Morgan was present to be used as a witness.

The interchange of news and passengers in these days was so infrequent and uncertain, and Sergeant N——'s work had taken such a long time to perfect, that it was felt the men Green and Wilson should be let out on bail, and as no information had been received by our Government of the Sergeant's success until he brought the news himself.

They were in due course tried by Judge Cooper. On the day of their trial I was at the Court before the business commenced. In the absence of any public Court-house the Judge had fitted up a large outer room, now part of the Bushmen's Club House. Here, before the doors were opened, I saw the prisoner Morgan in charge of the police, pacing backwards and forwards under a verandah, like a wild beast in a den; and here an instance of his extraordinary character was manifested, for on his perceiving an officer of police in uniform approaching, on recognising him he called out, "Ah, Alford!" in a jocular manner, holding up the stump of his shattered and unhealed arm, "you cannot handcuff me round a gumtree now, as I have been winged since I saw you," alluding in this joking manner to the horrid position in which he was left—four days and four nights without food or water—after being arrested by Mr. Alford at the fisheries at Encounter Bay, as related in a previous chapter. Such an instance of nonchalance and hardihood is no fiction, although it exceeds anything I have heard or read of. Morgan was at this time still under age, and was at that place and time to appear before the Judge, with the probability present to him of return to imprisonment for life. That he should under such circumstances call attention to two such dreadful occurrences in his short life in this jocular manner is unparalleled. I had it from good authority that after his arrival in Adelaide, when the Colonial Surgeon examined his arm and found he could not do anything for him, he himself gave the information that, after the bone was shattered, a shepherd cut off with a knife the part of the limb hanging by the sinews. Perhaps the most striking feature in his conduct was that he exhibited in his manner to Sergeant-major Alford no malice against him who had been the agent in fastening on him his grievous punishments. I have before mentioned that he was the son of convict parents, and what may we suppose his bringing up had been! Many other circumstances have been related of him; one I had from good authority, viz., that when at Encounter Bay engaged at the fishery, he was said to have been crossing between the mainland and Granite Island with a whaler, both the worse for drink wading along the ridge of connection, when they both staggered into deep water, Morgan released himself from the grip of his comrade and was saved, but his mate was drowned. Before this occurrence, something similar happened at Adelaide to a man of the same name, and some say it was this Morgan, but for that I have no certain authority; but there is no doubt that two men crossing the River Torrens when in flood, by a fallen tree, at mid stream wrangled, and both fell in, and here the man of the name of Morgan escaped, and the other was carried away by the flood and perished.

It has been supposed, but I think without foundation, that Morgan was a relation of the notorious bushranger Morgan, who so long and with such impurity defied the police of the neighbouring colonies, and was at length shot down in a treacherous manner, as men of his class would say, but a man who outlaws himself must take the consequences.

At the Criminal Sittings on the 7th November, 1840, Green and Wilson were brought up for trial as before mentioned, and on the overwhelming evidence produced against them were found guilty of horse-stealing, and sentenced to transportation for life.

Morgan was produced as a witness to prove the sale of the horses, but his evidence was not admitted or required. He was subsequently transported as an escaped convict, and it is to be hoped he fell into good hands, for there was little hope that he would recover from his wound or long survive it. No information has been met with as to what happened to him after he was banished from this colony the second time.

Having in this and the previous chapters given the closing scenes in the careers of some of the men who had left the old country for their country's good, and who had found their way to this new land, as they supposed for their own benefit, but not having learned in their transition state that honesty is the best policy, suffered accordingly, for the present I must leave the histories of such characters, and give a few chapters on other subjects relating to our earliest days in colonising South Australia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MURDER OF THE CREW AND PASSENGERS OF THE WRECKED BRIG
MARIA BY THE MILEMURA TRIBE.

ON Saturday, July 25, 1840, the inhabitants of Adelaide were thrown into the greatest state of excitement by the arrival of an express from Encounter Bay with the alarming news that there had been a wreck on the south coast to the east of that station, and that part or the whole of those on board after reaching land had been murdered by the natives. In a letter from Mr. H. Nixon to Major O'Halloran, Commissioner of Police, the following account was given, which he received through a native of the Bay tribe, known as Encounter Bay Bob, who reported that two of the Big Murray tribe had arrived, and he gave an interpretation of their statement as follows:—"They found ten white men, and five women and some children, who had been killed; one of them said all killed in one place. It took them three days after leaving the dead bodies to make the Mouth of the Murray." Mr. Nixon added that a man of the name of Edward Fox said "it would take three days and a half to reach Lacepede Bay from the eastern side of the Murray Mouth."

Shortly after the arrival of this information, Mr. Pullen,* who was employed in surveying the lower part of the River Murray, started with Dr. Penny from Goolwa to search for the wreck, and to ascertain news of the people. It will be seen in the course of the narration of the searching parties sent out by the Government that although the statements of the two blacks were only too true as to the fearful massacre of the party, in minor particulars their information was incorrect. All were not killed in one place, and the distance was also wrongly stated. In the *Gazette* of August 13 the letter from Mr. Pullen was published, of which I avail myself:—"I started from Goolwa in a boat, with the following parties, viz., Dr. Penny, five sailors, one policeman, and three blacks—Encounter Bay Bob, Peter, and Charley. Made twenty miles up the Coorong the first day. Next day started at 8 a.m.; at 10.30 Peter said some of the whites were killed on the main land to the north of where we had arrived. Hauled in, landed, and searched, but found nothing. Pushed off, and at 12.30 Peter pointed to the spot where he said the murders had been committed on the coast."

"We now landed and crossed the neck of land between Goolwa and the seashore, not being far from the part of the coast where the Fanny had been wrecked some time before. I now divided the party into three. I and Dr. Penny kept the coast line, directing one party to travel along the neck of land, and the third to push forward with the boat down the Coorong, and arranged signals to be used on any discovery being made. We had not proceeded far when we were hailed by the centre party, and

*See appendix

on joining them the sight we witnessed was truly horrible. There were legs, arms, and portions of bodies visible, partially covered with sand. In one place by itself was a body with the flesh completely cut off the bones, except the hands and feet. Horror sat on every countenance. Sad and sorrowful was the task, but we determined to bury the bodies in something like decency. The boat was stopped and a spade procured; when, after digging a deep grave, we uncovered the whole of the mangled bodies. From one spot we took four bodies—two males, one young woman, and a child about ten years old. The skeleton spoken of was a female. Two male children, one fifteen, and the other ten, we found in separate holes, and at a little distance alone, a female infant with very light hair. Both the women had wedding rings on, and one of the men handed me their rings. The bodies were in a complete state of nudity, and dreadfully bruised about the faces and heads. The whole of the bodies were placed in the deep grave we had prepared. We were occupied on this sorrowful business until 4 o'clock. Friday, 31, pulled down to two miles to be opposite the wrecked *Fanny*. On reaching the spot saw natives ahead of us, but they escaped. In crossing the strip of land dividing the sea from the Coorong, we came suddenly on two black women who screamed violently, but Peter managed to pacify them. They said they knew of no other wreck, but that some of the people we were asking about *died* further down; that three of the party—one woman and two men, had crossed over to the land by the islands, and there were killed at the spot we had searched unsuccessfully, and that the other bodies we had found and buried had been killed by a tribe not far from us. On reaching the boat a small party of men showed themselves, and at our camping-place many more natives appeared, but kept at a distance. On the following morning crossed the sandhills and saw many groups of natives with blankets and sundry wearing apparel about them. It was some time before they would come near us, and then they threw off the clothing they had on."

"From the silence of this party, when questioned through Peter about the murders, and their apparent uneasiness at our searching the pockets of the coats, and in examining a woman's bonnet, I was convinced we were among the guilty parties, especially on looking at two men of the most ferocious and forbidding aspect, such as I never saw before. On returning to the boat we were followed by several old men who showed no fear, one of whom had a woman's shawl on. Peter, who could speak his language, obtained from him that he had brought the whole of the party along the coast to a short distance from the spot we were on, and caught fish for them, for which they gave him the shawl. He knew of no fresh wreck. The number he gave was fourteen, not agreeing with another account we obtained. Finding I could not take the boat further up the shallow channel I decided to continue along the beach on foot, and at intervals found several spars and planks stuck on end. On the beach found a whale-boat. By one of the natives we were told that the boat was left there by five men who had gone across the main land" (these must have been the sailors, yet they were not subsequently heard of.)

Mr. Pullen returned, and made his report to His Excellency the Governor, who appended to the same the following note:—"In reference to Mr. Pullen's report, I consider it important to remark that the tribe

of natives by which the murders described by Mr. Pullen appear to have been committed is not connected with the tribes with which the colonists are in familiar intercourse. From the first discovery of the province this tribe, inhabiting to the south-eastward of Goolwa and the sea mouth of the Murray, has been little known, and when known has been remarkable for its ferocity."

Governor Gawler, with most commendable promptitude, organised and dispatched a strong party under the Commissioner of Police (Major O'Halloran), accompanied by Mr. C. Bonney, and Captain H. Nixon, with a number of mounted police, and arranged that the party should be joined and strengthened by Mr. Pullen and his boats' crews, to follow up the Coorong arm, or, as it was first called, a narrow lake, running east, parallel to the sea coast, and extending within a few miles of Lacedpede Bay (at that time an almost unknown district), this channel was found navigable for boats nearly to its eastern end, but partially obstructed by a few limestone bars. The strip of land between it and the sea coast is very narrow in its widest part, the western end forming the eastern side of the sea mouth of the river. Major O'Halloran having crossed the channel at the mouth of the Murray on the 21st of August, 1840, with the aid of Mr. Pullen's boats, the horses swimming behind the boats, made a start the following day as described in his official report, from which I quote in continuing the narrative. He had associated with him, as I have said, Captain Nixon and Mr. Bonney, and had under his command Inspector Tolmer and Sergeant-Major Alford, with a strong body of mounted police, Mr. Pullen also, with two boats manned with sailors, to proceed up the Coorong abreast of the land party, all moving in an easterly direction. I continue in Major O'Halloran's own words.—

"I started at an early hour on Saturday morning, the 22nd instant, with the main body along the seacoast, having detached Captain Nixon and Mr. Bonney, with an orderly, to keep up communication between me and Mr. Pullen in the boats, who were to notify to me if any natives were seen, as we were now in the country of the hostile Big Murray tribe. About 12 o'clock we discovered a number of natives at a great distance ahead of us running from us. We followed in pursuit, and in two miles approached them, when they took to the scrub and the sand-hills. After a long chase we contrived, without injury to any of them, to capture thirteen men, two lads, and about fifty women and children. Some of the natives took to the Lake (or Coorong), but were some of them captured by Mr. Pullen's party. Upon the persons of almost every man and woman, and in almost every wurley (and they were numerous), were found various articles of European clothing belonging to males, females, and children—many of them stained with blood; also were found an excellent silver watch, and some silver spoons marked with JEY. The men were secured and guarded during the night; the women and children set at liberty. On the morning of the 24th the party mounted before daybreak to scour the country ahead of us, and where Pullen on his previous trip saw a number of ferocious blacks with European clothing on them. We beat the country a long way between the Coorong and the sea beach, and in some wurlies captured women with a quantity of European clothing, male and female, several articles of which, especially a woman's under garment, were covered with blood.

Close to these wurlies we saw two men who escaped by swimming across the Lake (or Coorong), and at the water's edge Mr. Pullen picked up a sailor's cap, which he recognised as worn by one of the worst-looking of the men he had seen in his former trip, and who the friendly natives (he had with him) pointed out as belonging to the party who had committed the murders. Finding these fellows would escape I ordered the police to fire on them, and they were both wounded; they nevertheless swam to an island, on which Inspector Tolmer, having cast off the principal part of his clothes, and hanging his naked sword behind his back, swam after and overtook them, but before the boat arrived to his aid they escaped. At another spot in the same neighborhood, in native huts, we found newspapers, receipted bills in the name of Captain Smith, mail letters from Adelaide opened, and the torn leaves of a bible, another book, and part of the log of the brigantine Maria. These facts prove clearly that the crew and passengers left the ship deliberately, and were making their way to Adelaide. It appears strange that we found no arms. The captives on our return to camp were much alarmed, and pointed out one of the number as the murderer of Roach and his mate, who came down here some time before to the wreck of the Fanny, and were both killed. Pieces of the wreck were still lying on the beach opposite the camp. The captives also pointed to the mainland across the Coorong, and said one of the murderers of the people who had escaped from the Maria was there, and could easily be caught, and two of them, on the suggestion of Mr. Bonney, volunteered to bring the man over and give him up to us. I sent Encounter Bay Peter with them, and they returned with the culprit. A formal and deliberate investigation into every particular relative to the two separate cases of murder was gone into, full particulars of which will be given in the next chapter, of the trial by court-martial, under the authority and instructions given by His Excellency the Governor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COURT MARTIAL.

Monday, 34th August, 4.30 p.m.

Major O'Halloran assembled the blacks, the officers and gentlemen, some of the police and sailors, when the following proceedings took place. Bob and Peter, Encounter Bay blacks, were engaged as interpreters.

The native Mongarawata, who was brought in by Peter and two volunteer natives, was now arraigned.

Major O'Halloran asked of the members of the tribe present—Is this the murderer of the white men?

Answer—(Unanimously, by the tribe)—Yes.

Q.—Whom did he kill?

A.—Only one white man.

Q.—How did he kill him, and when?

A.—With a waddie, and in the day time.

Q.—Can any of these people show where the body is?

A.—No.

Q.—How many white men, women, and children were killed?

A.—Three women, two men, and four children.

Q.—Are there any white people still alive? If you tell me I will reward you.

A.—None.

Q.—Where is the wreck?

A.—They came along the coast.

Q.—Where are the graves of the people killed—are they all in one place?

A.—All in one place.

Q.—Had the people any guns with them?

A.—No.

Q.—Did the men fight?

A.—No.

Q.—Did they kill them by night or day?

A.—Day time, with waddies.

Q.—Had the white man any sword or gun?

A.—None.

Q.—How long ago?

A.—A short time.

Q.—Where are the men who killed the rest?

A.—More that way (pointing south-east.)

Q.—Who killed the women and children?

A.—The same men.

Q.—Where did the prisoner bury the man he killed?

A.—At the place we are going to to-morrow.

Major O'Halloran—Bob, tell the men of the tribe that as they have given up the prisoner as one of the murderers we will not hurt them;

that the great Governor has sent me to catch and punish the black men who killed the wrecked people; that the next time a white man is killed by this tribe the Governor will send me here again with a greater number of police, and then more blacks will be killed. That if the black men are kind to white men when in distress, the great Governor and white men will be friends, and give rewards to such black men. I will take Peter and the two men (pointing to them), who went with Peter and brought in the prisoners to the Governor, who will reward them.

The murderer of Roach, Pilgarie, was now arraigned.

Major O'Halloran—Bob, ask these men of the tribe if this man killed white man.

Answer by the tribe (unanimously)—Yes.

Q.—When?

A.—Last year.

Q.—Who was the man, and where did he come from?

A.—Encounter Bay.

Q.—What was he doing?

A.—He was coming with another white man to the wreck Fanny.

Q.—How did he kill him?

A.—With a waddie.

Q.—In the day, or night?

A.—The day time.

Q.—Was he asleep or awake?

A.—He was sitting down.

Q.—Did the blacks kill the other man?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Had the white men any weapon?

A.—None.

Q.—Did the white man resist?

A.—No.

Q.—Where is the body of the white man?

A.—Where the wreck is.

Q.—Did a great many men attack them?

A.—Yes.

Peter, ask the prisoner Mangarawata if he is guilty of killing the whites.

Peter answered—He will not tell.

Ask the prisoner Pilgarie if he is guilty of killing Roach.

A.—He will not tell.

Q.—Peter, ask both the prisoners if any of the blacks present have killed any white people.

A. (by both prisoners)—No.

Now, Bob, tell these natives present who are under guard that they will not be hurt, but they must remain quiet to-night, for I want them to be present to-morrow. Tell them that if a white man kills a native, the Governor will hang the white man.

The Major now turned towards the officers present, and said:—Gentlemen—By virtue of the authority vested in me by His Excellency the Governor, I declare in the presence of Almighty God, and of those assembled round me, that I believe these two men who have been given over to us by their own tribe, to be guilty of murder, and to merit death. This I declare according to my conscience, so help me God.

Captain Nixon, I now request of you to give your deliberate opinion whether you consider these men guilty of murder and deserving of death?

Captain Nixon—I do, so help me God.

Mr. Bonney, yours?—I do, so help me God.

Mr. Pullen, yours?—I do, so help me God.

Mr. Tolmer, yours?—I do, so help me God.

Major O'Halloran—

Encounter Bay Bob, do you say these men have killed white men and ought to die?

Encounter Bay Bob—Yes.

Charley, do you?—Yes.

Peter, do you?—Yes.

Major O'Halloran then pronounced the following sentence on the prisoners:—

I now, by virtue of the authority I have from the Governor of this Province, whose representative I am, pronounce the sentence of death upon the prisoners Mongarawata and Pilgarie, that they be conveyed to-morrow to the grave of our unfortunate countrymen, and there be hanged by the neck, and may God have mercy on their souls.

[Certificate.]

I declare the above is a true statement of the questions and answers, declaration, and sentence, and that the whole ceremony was carried on in an impressive and proper manner.

(Signed) H. Nixon,

Captain and Brigade Major, South Australian Volunteers.

We declare the above to be perfectly correct.

(Signed) { W. J. L. Pullen.
C. Bonney.
Alexr. Tolmer.

August 25th.—A wet and miserable morning; ordered the camp to remain here in charge of a sergeant and three men, Mr. Pullen with his crew in the whaleboat and the mounted party on horseback to proceed with the condemned men and the other natives of whom we had kept charge, back about fifteen miles to Palcarra, the place where our unfortunate fellow subjects were slaughtered, and reburied by Mr. Pullen, where the party arrived at 2 p.m. through incessant rain. The gallows was erected a little before 3 p.m., and the murderers were then executed in the presence of sixteen natives, to whom I made the following address:—

“Blackmen, this is the whites’ punishment for murder, the next time white men are killed in this country more punishment will be given. Let none of you take these bodies down; they must hang till they fall in pieces. We are now all friends, and will remain so unless more white people are killed, when the Governor will send me and plenty more policemen, and punish much more severely. All are forgiven except those who actually killed the wrecked people, who, if caught, will also be hung. You may now go, but remember this day, and tell what you have seen to your old men, women, and children.”

“The above was interpreted by Peter, and the natives whose hands had been unbound by my orders before the execution bolted with an *amazing amount of agility*. They trembled much before and after the

men were swung off. They died almost instantly, and both showed extraordinary nerve and courage to the last. The one given up by his tribe had the most ferocious and demon-like countenance I ever beheld."

I (the writer) was informed after they had hung the usual time some of the men of the tribe were required to touch and speak to their dead countrymen, and told to leave the bodies hanging. It need hardly be mentioned that for a long time they avoided that neighborhood.

Major O'Halloran's report continued—"All the clothing, &c., I have carefully preserved in the hopes that they may be identified."

The names of the passengers were reported to be Mr. and Mrs. Denham, three boys and two girls, Geo. Green and his wife, T. Daniel and wife, Mrs. York and infant, Mrs. Smith (wife of the captain) Jas. Strut, Captain Smith, and mate, and said to be eight men and boys, but none of the bodies were ever found.

"On the morning of Thursday, 27th August, we started south-east along the coast, in search of the wreck of the *Maria*, with six days' provisions for each man. Leaving Mr. Pullen at the camp, we found fresh huts, with European clothing and a watch; but as we could not carry the clothing, I ordered the huts to be fired. The watch dial and the upper part was stained with blood. On Friday we moved on at an early hour, and soon met Captain Nixon and Mr. Bonney, who had preceded the main body; they reported they had fallen in with two men, Thompson and Walker (Kangaroo Islanders), from whom I received the following statement, taken down by Captain Nixon. They had passed up the Coorong before we arrived at the Goolwa."

Thompson's statement:—"After leaving the mouth of the Murray we passed up the Coorong, and hauled the boat up where we now are, and supposed we had made about 100 miles, when we divided our party, two to keep the beach, and two the south shore of the Coorong. On Sunday evening we fell in with the longboat belonging to the *Maria*, having in her two oars and a mast, but no sail. We hauled her up above high water mark. At about six miles further east we fell in with part of the quarterdeck and skylight of the vessel; at another six miles from the wreck we found the companion, and then walked on to Captain Wright's camp at Lacepede Bay, where he was engaged with a party of his men in endeavouring to get afloat a schooner which had been driven ashore in a storm;" this he accomplished, and the craft was taken to Port Adelaide.

"On our return we found sundry other parts of the wreck, which we suppose came to grief on Bundin's Reef. Major O'Halloran on his return met a native of the Big Murray tribe, named Tom, who said that three males and one female belonging to the wrecked party had been waddied by some of his tribe not far from where we now stood, being clasped round their bodies by some of the tribe while others waddied them. Tom offered to show us the spot, and point out the wurlies of the murderers, and identify them. He gave the names of two of them as brothers (Polaraynaka and Porielpeepool). As these murderers were distinct from the others, both as to locality and the persons by whom committed, we considered the duty we had undertaken would not be complete until we searched further."

After an interview with His Excellency, who came down and met Major O'Halloran and his party before they had left the Coorong district, and in obedience to fresh orders from him, Inspector Tolmer with half the number of police returned to scour the country inland, with Mr. Pullen and the boats to keep abreast of them. Major O'Halloran with remainder of police, searching along the banks of the Coorong.

Major O'Halloran's report continued:—"The several parties returned on Wednesday, September 2. Between 11 and 12 o'clock my party discovered the mangled remains of two Europeans, a male and a female, the skulls of both frightfully fractured, particularly that of the female, whose lower jawbone was broken. On asking Tom if he knew of these two likewise being killed he said no. No more bodies were found, but a large man's shoe and some books. On reaching the spot where the four men were said to have been murdered we could not find their bodies. I find these seventeen murders—fifteen from the Maria, and two whalers—have all been committed by the Milemnura or Big Murray tribe, who are notorious among the other tribes as most brutal and ferocious. The neighbouring tribes evince confidence in us, and abhorrence of the atrocities that have been lately committed."

The writer was also told by one of the troopers, amongst other particulars of minor interest, that when they were chasing the flying blacks on the sandhills, and through the scrub to head them, as stock-keepers say, some dropped behind bushes, and the horses leapt over them.

There is no record of any other murders committed in the lower Murray district until several years after, when one white man was killed some miles to the north of the Coorong. It will be my duty to give in future numbers accounts of attacks by numerous natives on the Rufus, and at some miles further to the east of the great bend of the Murray, on parties coming down with sheep, as well as a number of separate murders of white settlers by various detached tribes in the Port Lincoln district at a later period, such bitter experiences having been endured in the course of settling this province. At present I am confining myself to the time Colonel Gawler occupied the seat of Government, from which it will be seen what an anxious time he had in protecting and saving the lives of the whites, and at the same time the peculiar duty he had to perform in adopting such a policy as would discourage indiscriminate and unauthorised measures of retaliation against the aboriginal race.

In this chapter I have given the extremely repulsive conduct of the tribe of natives which was first known and called by us the Big Murray tribe, on account of its numbers, but which I believe consisted of several allied tribes, some more humane than others, and who should have been called the Lake tribes. Good reasons for this opinion I consider may be drawn from what I have related in a previous chapter of the conduct of a section of the natives inhabiting that part of the province as most humane and generous, as was experienced by the crew and passengers of the brig Fanny, which was wrecked about two years before the Maria came to grief.

But severe censure was visited on the Governor by a certain party at home, and by a small section in the colony in opposition to Colonel Gawler, who made this a handle against him, but were not in the habit

of exposing their own precious bodies to dangers in the bush of any kind. I cannot help thinking that the treatment Colonel Gawler met with at home after his recall may be attributed in a great measure to the mistaken decision arrived at by the party alluded to acting on the Government at home, which assumes to be especially the protector of the aboriginal races, who could not see and would not believe that there were peculiar circumstances to justify the irregular but humane mode of action which was ordered by the Governor and carried out by Major O'Halloran in inflicting the punishment then put in force for such crimes. I am not writing as the apologist of the officials, but have taken on myself the duty of truthfully recording early experiences in founding and settling South Australia. I call upon readers to form their own conclusions after reading the particulars of these Milemnura murders, and what I propose to record in future numbers of subsequent attacks by other Murray tribes on parties coming down from Sydney with stock. A much heavier punishment in those cases was ultimately given which resulted in a number of the blacks being killed; and there was no public agitation respecting these affairs. As to the Milemnura case, it must be admitted that if such speedy and severe action had not been adopted by Colonel Gawler, the settlers would have taken the law into their own hands, and then who can tell what sad consequences would have ensued? I at the time became acquainted with the excited feelings of the parties under Mr. Pullen* and Major O'Halloran, and know it must have called for the exercise of all the influence possessed by the leaders to have kept the men from acts of retaliation on their own private account. I conceive it becoming all old colonists, in justice to the memories of the gallant men who were the chief actors in the performance of the retribution visited on the barbarous murderers, to give their decided opinion that the punishment inflicted was fully justified by the peculiar circumstances surrounding the case, and with the object of preventing a repetition of such horrors, and which object has been successfully attained.

I have much pleasure in concluding this chapter with an extract from a letter published in the *Register* of the 5th September, 1840, after the two reports had reached the Government.

Of the writer it may be said a more humane and Christian man has never occupied a position in office in South Australia than Captain G. Hall, then acting Colonial Secretary. His letter followed Major O'Halloran's report of his expedition against the Big Murray or Milemnura tribe of natives. We who have lived in the colony during the succeeding period of nearly forty-one years can certify that his predictions of the effects of the exceptional action taken have been fully realised. Captain Hall said as to the report (*i.e.* Major O'Halloran's):—"Upon this statement of facts I would only remark that there is great reason to believe that prompt execution of the guilty parties on the spot where their crime was perpetrated, and in the presence of their tribe, who were fully aware of their guilt, will have a very beneficial effect in deterring the natives of that district from making wanton and unprovoked attacks on persons or property of Europeans who are about to settle in that neighbourhood. If the offenders had been brought up to Adelaide to be tried and punished under the English criminal law, the effect of the example would have been lost to the other members of the tribe, who would have been more irritated by the removal of their

* See Appendix.

comrades than awed or impressed by any account which they might hear of the punishment of the offenders.' "

Success in the attainment of earthly treasures, even where questionable means have been exercised, is, according to a low standard of morality, too often rewarded by the key of admission into good society and by a cloak covering such delinquencies if within the line laid down by human laws. But as to the stigma visited on Colonel Gawler on account of his prompt action in undertaking the responsibility of deviating from the ordinary processes of criminal law in ordering, as he did, a Court Martial to be held on the Milemnura murderers, and in issuing a warrant for their execution on conviction, when no other course was open to him with any chance of overawing such a bloodthirsty tribe, except that of indiscriminate slaughter, should not have met with censure. In the minds of some this stigma was not removed from him during his lifetime, although he lived long enough to know, as also colonists have since experienced, that success was attained by his treatment of that tribe as evinced by their subsequent conduct.

CHAPTER XXV.

COLONEL GAWLER—HIS WORKS AND EXPLORATIONS.

By his early actions the Governor threw life into the service, which soon affected favourably the general business of the colony. The various staffs were strengthened, and the place became much more lively.

It was soon after the arrival of Colonel Gawler that the erection of substantial public buildings was commenced from the designs and under the superintendence of Captain Frome. One of the first was the present Gaol, which has not been much enlarged or altered, so that much increased accommodation was not deemed necessary to be provided for the rapidly-arriving immigrants, free and untainted, as they were expected to be. Then were commenced two bridges to span the Torrens, substantial as they ought to have been, but which heavy floods soon carried away. Among other energetic actions of the Governor were the various explorations on which he went to judge for himself as to the capacity of the colony for settlement. After he had seen as much and had travelled as far as he deemed requisite he published his opinions, and gave interesting and encouraging reports of what he had seen. He expressed his belief that the portion of the country he had inspected would carry a large population. I forget exactly the number he ventured to give, but I think it was 200,000. He pronounced it to be a decided mineral country, and rich in argentiferous and auriferous promises. For publishing these opinions he was laughed at by the croakers; but what has been proved! His anticipations have been very far exceeded, in spite of many errors and adverse circumstances.

In the midst of his active career he received a serious and unlooked-for check before he could carry out his policy to success, which unfortunately "pulled him up by the round turn," as the sailors say. He had exceeded his general powers by overdrafts on the authorities at home, but in an amount much less than the annual interest now being paid on our loans. His drafts were dishonoured, he was recalled, and the colonists were ruined. Ultimately, after a fatal delay, the claims were met by a loan, and debentures guaranteed by the Imperial Government. All such advances were recouped in a very short time, but the management of the colony was taken out of the hands of the Board of Commissioners in London and transferred to the Colonial portfolio in Downing-street. The constitution provided under the original founding Act, to be granted to the colony on the population reaching the number of 50,000, was also forfeited.

A greater commercial crash never fell on any painstaking and industrious community than we were called to endure when the Governor's drafts were dishonoured. The ruin reached every class, and

those who had invested the whole of their capital in legitimate pursuits never afterwards recovered their lost position or property. The stagnation continued over many months. Some few amongst the recent arrivals were fortunate enough to acquire stock and land at nominal prices, the unfortunate sellers having locked up all their capital.

During the time Colonel Gawler administered the Government of South Australia many special surveys were taken up, which were found useful as providing funds at that time, but which exercised a mal-influence in placing so much of the best and well-watered land in the hands of absentees. The rage for special surveys continued until the crisis put a stop to all speculation for a time. Amongst others, two special surveys were applied for on Yorke's Peninsula, which were afterwards abandoned (worse luck for the speculators), as one of them would have embraced Kadina and Wallaroo, and the other the mineral land fronting Spencer's Gulf, including harbours—one in each gulf. It is a well-established fact that the richest mines in this colony have from time to time been discovered by parties engaged in pastoral pursuits, and not by the purchasers of land to any extent, and so the benefits of such discoveries must be credited to the squatting interest.

I may here mention that the late Mr. Osmond Gilles was one of the subscribers to the Association organised to take up the special surveys on Yorke's Peninsula, and also acted for some of his friends in England, and that he read to me one of his enthusiastic letters to them, in which he predicted that there would be included in the properties a port on each side of the Peninsula with a railroad connecting them (which latter work is just now about to be accomplished). I also remember his angry remarks when the speculations were given up. Some year or two later I heard another remarkable prediction as to the future of Yorke's Peninsula from that eminent mineralogist and geologist, the late Mr. Menge. We were resting on one of the hills at the entrance to Glen Osmond, when he pointed across the Gulf and said, "Before many years are over rich copper mines will be worked there, and ships will be in harbours on both sides of the Peninsula to convey the ores away." To which I replied, "How do you know, you have not visited that part, I believe?" "No, I have not, but I pronounce the Flinders Range to be a rich copper-bearing vein of country from the part of it I have examined in the north; that range in past ages extended to the southern end of Yorke's Peninsula, and a mighty sea-wash long continued, has carried away the same and reduced it to the present level, and copper will be found near the surface."

At the time this prediction was made we were still suffering under our first crisis. By the working of mines in fulfilment of his predictions, but not till a few years after, and by the untiring energy of a small population engaged also in other pursuits, the colony has been raised from that crushing depression, which ought never to have been allowed to occur, to its present proud position. We are now receiving accommodation on the most favourable terms current for three millions sterling, in addition to the same amount previously borrowed, to develop those great resources which Colonel Gawler and Professor Menge rightly perceived the country to promise; and yet the former was allowed to pass his latter days and die, a disappointed man, as many great and good men, benefactors to their fellow-creatures, have done before him.

I will now give a short account of the Governor's flying visit to the North-West Bend of the River Murray. Some time before he started he purchased from me three horses at the price of £320. On one he rode himself, on another he mounted a young gentleman, a Mr. Bryan, and on the third one of his staff. On their arrival at the North-West Bend, a camp was formed, from which he started with his visitor, Mr. Bryan, and one attendant, on a flying trip in a northerly direction. He expected to find water on the course he took, but after pushing on many miles without coming to water, he endeavoured to return. Shortly before sunset one of the horses gave up, and they were unable to proceed. After a rest he left Mr. Bryan with the knocked-up horse, and pushed south to reach the Murray River for water to send to the relief of horse and man. The weather was fearfully hot. His Excellency and his attendant, unused to bush deprivations, before they could reach the river were so exhausted that one of the horses was killed and his blood drank. On reaching the camp men and horses were sent on their return tracks, with all that was necessary to save man and horse. On the relief party reaching the place where the unfortunate young gentleman was left, it was found that he had departed. The track of his horse was followed by the mark of his tether rope, which he had dragged, and a long-continued search was made of the scrub for miles in every direction, but no traces of Mr. Bryan were found, and his remains have not been discovered to this day. Some years afterwards, several miles from the place where he was left, the horse was discovered alive with his hoofs turned up like skates. On Colonel Gawler's return from this unfortunate expedition his distress of mind may be imagined, as this young gentleman was a visitor at Government House, and was not lost in the execution of a public duty.

Our first Resident Commissioner Mr. Jas. Hurtle Fisher, held office until the arrival of our second Governor, Colonel Gawler. I am unable of my own knowledge to express an opinion of his early performance of his official duties in the first high office he held. One great mistake made during his management of the Crown lands was the sale of the whole of the town acres at a time when so few colonists had arrived. This, however, was not his fault, but was done in obedience to instructions emanating from the Commissioners in London. Thus a great sacrifice of public property was made to the advantage of a small number of mere land speculators, and to the disappointment of settlers immediately following.

He was not only head of the Land Department, but also of the Commissariat, and this brings to my recollection a transaction I had with that department shortly after my arrival. I had purchased stock which arrived in two ships from Twofold Bay, and I was applied to by the Commissioner for some dairy cows for the Government, and was also informed by Mr. Fisher that he had purchased in Tasmania a quantity of breeding and store pigs which he wished to dispose of. As I had purchased a large stock of damaged flour and ship biscuit, a double transaction was carried out by the Commissioner, and an exchange made between milking cows and grunterns. To take charge of the cattle and sheep which I had purchased I engaged two young Scotchmen, one of whom was a cousin of an eminent Scotch Baronet. Mention is made of these particulars to give a correct account of the diverse materials out of

which our community has sprung, and to relate some of the early experiences in the colony. The pigs had to be let out and driven to water daily to the river, a distance of about one mile, from whence water for domestic use had to be carted. As I had given employment to the two respectable young Scotchmen, a third, a shipmate of theirs, continued daily to apply for work. He had been clerk in a bank in Scotland, and would take no denial that the establishment would not be likely to have any opening for one of his class. On one occasion he was present when the pigs were let out, and was told there was only the office of pig-minder open, on which he immediately applied for and accepted the appointment, and continued to mind and feed the pigs, and do all such work, chasing them to water and back, and performing all the other uncongenial parts of his duties to his employer's satisfaction, if not to his own; but no time was lost in procuring more suitable work for him. On a party being organised to go to Sydney to purchase and conduct sheep overland, he was recommended to be employed as a drover, and was engaged. The party was successful in the purchase of sheep, and in the return with them down the Murray River. The young Scotchman succeeded in obtaining, on favourable terms, sheep for himself, and was most fortunate in placing them on a good run about one hundred miles to the north of Adelaide, which he took up, where he remained perseveringly for about seven years, and then sold out, realising as it was said, the large sum of £25,000 with which he retired from the colony.

To return to Mr. Fisher. On losing his office of Commissioner he resumed his profession, and became the leader of our bar, moving many juries by his sensational and touching appeals, and soon had a leading practice.

Mr. Fisher was spared in life to enjoy several of the highest appointments obtainable in the colony. Under the first Corporation of the City of Adelaide he was chosen first to fill the office of Mayor under the Bill of incorporation established by the Act of Council 4th Victoria, No. 4. The officers being the Mayor, three Aldermen, thirteen Councillors, a Treasurer, Town Clerk, Town Surveyor, and sundry subordinate officers. The allowance to the Mayor provided under the Act was £300 per annum. Powers were given under the Act to levy rates on the citizens, not to be *more* frequent than once in each quarter. The inhabitants were hardly numerous enough to bear the pressure of this unwieldy establishment at so early a period. Town offices, Council Chamber, &c., &c., had been rented, and well furnished. The corporate body having performed several sittings, a rent day came in due course, and at last when the Treasurer had not sufficient funds, the landlord walked in and saved the Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors, &c., from vacating their seats by seizing all the chairs and other furniture for arrears of rent, and shortly after this climax the ponderous body collapsed. The landlord, in accordance with the old saying, finding no body to kick nor soul to be blessed, consoled himself by the sale of the moveables. So ended, after a very brief existence our first grand Corporation, cut out and constructed on the ancient patterns of the old *country*. On looking over the names of the civic dignitaries forming *that body it must be admitted that it would be a difficult matter to select*

more respectable or suitable men to fill such offices now that the city has attained its present importance.

On the passing of the Imperial Act granting the colony two elective houses, Mr. Fisher was chosen President of the Legislative Council, which high office he filled with dignity and success for some years, and had the honour to receive from Her Majesty the dignity of knighthood. Sir Jas. Hurtle Fisher remained in the colony until his decease at a ripe old age, universally respected.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MILITARY CAREER OF COLONEL GAWLER—HIS DISAPPOINTMENTS
AND DEATH.

BEFORE entering on the occurrences during the Government of Captain Grey, in justice to him, but especially to his predecessor Colonel Gawler, I think it is right to give quotations from one of the earliest despatches of the latter to Lord Glenelg, dated January 23, 1839, to show that both Governors had financial difficulties to face at starting, as well as to give further particulars of his career. Colonel Gawler says in his despatch:—

“On arriving here about three months ago I found the public offices with little pretension to system. There were scarcely any records of past proceedings, or of public accounts, or issue of stores. The non-fulfilment of one of the leading principles of the regulations made for the disposal of land, that the surveys should be in advance of the demand, had produced a number of complicated questions which the letter of the law as it stood could not rectify. Sections were only laid out in the plain about Adelaide. Seven other districts remained to be marked out for the choice of preliminary purchasers, who will occupy the greater part of the good land in them.” [Such purchasers being principally absentees, or persons who were not about to engage in agriculture.] “The survey department reduced to the Deputy Surveyor, Mr. G. S. Kingston, with one draftsman and one assistant.” [What a staff for the acting head of the department to depend on to push forward the surveys!] “The population shut up in Adelaide, capital flowing out for the necessaries of life almost as fast as it was brought in from England. The colonial finances in a state of thorough confusion and defalcation. Almost all I have been able to discover definitely of the finances of this period is that the whole of the regulated expenditure for the year was drawn and expended in the first quarter” (of the year 1838). It is natural to suppose that a copy of this despatch would be supplied to the Board of Commissioners, who were then responsible for the management of the finances of the colony; but it is scarcely probable that Lord Glenelg ever read this despatch. Colonel Gawler held his appointment as Governor from the Crown, but his office of Commissioner from the Board of Commissioners sitting in London.

The despatch from which I have quoted proves that the home authorities were at an early period made aware of the embarrassed position of their representative on his arrival in the colony, viz., that three-quarters of arrears of liabilities were incurred prior to his assumption of his double office. Then, notwithstanding the information so promptly sent, ship-loads of passengers and immigrants continued to arrive, to complicate and add to the Governor's embarrassments. Thus it is evident that the Governor was compelled to stretch his powers to *draw on home authorities*, who must have been kept posted up from *time to time* of such drafts. We know that the influx of population *was not arrested*; and we are not informed that Colonel Gawler received

any special instructions in answer to the information he sent as to how he was to meet the emergency of arrears which could not be laid to his door. It appears clear enough to the writer that the Commissioners at home were bound either to have met the difficulties which had occurred through the mistaken opening arrangements, and by their accepting a trust, tied down by conditions, which could not be carried out, or at once, if unable to do so, to have thrown up the work they had undertaken into the hands of the Imperial Government, as they had ultimately to do, when Captain Grey was dispatched with his stringent instructions, unworkable as he found them to be, to rectify matters.

The real requirement was a loan of, say half a million, guaranteed by the Government, to meet arrears and to provide for necessary opening works.

It is, indeed, a wonder to me how the Board of Commissioners, good and substantial men of business as they were, could have expected successfully to launch and build up a large colony, at such a distance from the mother country, without a sufficient capital within reach of their working representative. The fact of the appointments of officers, with the exception of Governor, resting with them, left them solely responsible for the first errors. In reviewing the material losses as well as the loss of time, in respect to public interests, we now see that subsequent prosperity has recovered such wastes; but the sacrifice of the small capitals of the pioneer settlers they have had themselves to bear without compensation.

The first divided authority was a mistake. By the Act of 15th August, 1834, the Home Government appointed a Governor, and the Board of Commissioners in London had the appointment of a Resident Commissioner in the colony, under whose control the Land Fund was placed. By a clause in the Act a most unfortunate blunder was made, which provided that the whole of the proceeds of the land sales were to be devoted to immigration, without power to apply any portion to defray the expenses of surveys, or for the erection of indispensable public buildings and other works, to meet which imperative demands a debt had to be incurred, at a ruinous rate of interest, at the same time that the forced capital which had been raised at a great sacrifice was lodged, at a low rate of interest, in the British funds, as has been previously explained. The first mistake was a divided Government in the colony; the second, the Governor having to serve two masters, viz., the Home Ministry with the Imperial Parliament, and the Board of Commissioners, no sympathy being felt between the two Powers, but on the contrary, the Commissioners were held in no respect by the Government as to the principles on which the colony under their management was to be carried out.

In this unfavourable state of the affairs of the colony it is quite clear that Colonel Gawler was compelled in accepting the position to take upon himself responsibility, the absolute necessity of which I consider is amply proved by his despatch to Lord Glenelg, from which I have quoted. To make matters worse Captain Grey was afterwards hastily sent out with inadequate means and unworkable instructions.

Foster, in his history of South Australia, says:—"Captain Grey's duty was not an agreeable one. He had to commence immediately to *bring the expenditure of the Government into something like agreement*

with its *income*; on this subject his instructions were specific and stringent." This was something like the order to the Israelites to make bricks without straw.

"He had also to stave off as well as he could the creditors of the Government, who held many thousand pounds of dishonoured Government bills, besides a considerable amount of unsettled claims, until arrangements could be made with the home authorities for satisfying them."

Answers from home could not be expected to reach the colony under twelve months, if immediately attended to, the only means of communication being then by sailing ships of the old stamp.

In this state of things Captain Grey arrived to displace Colonel Gawler, on the 10th of May, 1841, without notice, and walked into Government House without ceremony, having on the front steps read his commission in the hearing of a very small audience there assembled, and received by them with no marks of approval. Not many months before which he had been hospitably received and entertained by Colonel Gawler when he visited the colony after he had accomplished his difficult but successful exploring trip in Western Australia, and spent sufficient time here to become acquainted with the value of the country and its requirements. Of him it might reasonably have been expected, from his experience of the causes which had kept back the elder colony of Swan River, and from his subsequent visit to our younger one, he would have been looked up to by the authorities at home as a traveller of experience, competent to advise the Ministry of Her Majesty as to the capacity and requirements of South Australia; and in either case, if he came out to accept the government without first giving his opinion, founded on his experience as to the truth of Colonel Gawler's report of the intrinsic value of the undeveloped country of South Australia, or had thrown discredit upon those reports, he is much to blame for the crowning ruin he assisted to bring on the first inhabitants of the infant colony.

I feel I shall be doing right before I conclude the brief history of Colonel Gawler, to republish the following quotation from the *Australian Mail* of the 15th of June, 1869:—

"George Gawler, born in 1796, was destined for the military service. He joined at an early age the 52nd Light Infantry Regiment, in November, 1811, and served to the end of the Peninsula War. He was present at the storming of Badajoz, where he led the ladder party of the 52nd Stormers, and received a wound below his right knee, and at St. Munos a wound in the neck. He was present at the battles of Vera, Vittoria, Nivelle, Orthes, and Toulouse, besides various minor affairs. At Waterloo he commanded the right company of his regiment. He received the war medal, with seven clasps, as a reward for his services. After the restoration of peace he continued with the regiment, performing his duties with that zeal and intelligence which so largely distinguished the officers of the 52nd, and assisted in making the regiment one of the best in the service. His military career soon closed, but he continued on half-pay until 1850, when he sold his commission with no ordinary feelings of pain." This was after his bitter experiences following his hasty removal from his government, and the denial of his claims on the Queen and the British Government. "As a civil officer his career commenced under the

auspices of his illustrious Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Wellington, who interested himself in his advancement, urging that 'Gawler could not act otherwise than wisely, for he never did a foolish thing in his career.' His merits were recognised in 1838 by the appointment of Governor of South Australia, when the Imperial authorities and the ruling classes did not hold in favor the principle on which the colony was founded, not recognising it to be a means to provide homes for the toil-worn sons of England, of those unsoiled by crime, and as establishing another market for its exports.

"On entering his important, and to him novel duties, he found serious obstacles to be overcome, of sufficient weight to deter an ordinary man, but which Colonel Gawler grappled with firm determination. It should always be looked upon as a turning point in the history of South Australia in acknowledging the influence he had upon its early struggles. What, then, did he accomplish? He had no light task to bring order out of the chaotic materials of the early expeditions. There was little or no authority amongst those who attempted a settlement between 1836 and 1838. (How could there be under a divided authority?) The settlers, disappointed as they were at the delay they experienced in getting their land were yet without a protecting force, either police or military. The administrative officers were for months disagreeing about their duties and responsibilities, and not only was the Government destitute of public offices and buildings, but the small population at the time of the Governor's arrival may be described as nomadic rather than as having houses and homes such as could be acceptable to English settlers. Colonel Gawler, by his own confession, admitted that he entered on his government hastily, and without being able to make minute calculations. He accepted his instructions under a strong conviction that the emergency clause in them would always protect him, and that expenses of a special or extraordinary nature might be incurred without previous authority, when justifiable on the ground that delay would be productive of serious injury to the public service."

"It is worth while, now that the colony is an established success, to enquire in what state it would have been if these emergency powers had not been liberally given and extensively acted upon." The home authorities did not approve of his actions in the extent to which he relied upon such emergency clauses, although he had in his despatches given full notices of his actions, and the grounds by which he had been influenced. It does not appear that they believed his reports of the value of the country and its prospective importance, although such reports were based on his own personal toilsome excursions, in exploring an extent of country not even yet fully occupied, after a lapse of time exceeding a third of a century since they were made.

"Colonel Gawler left the province on the 22nd June, 1841. He was presented on his departure with unanimous addresses and a purse containing £500, contributed by the colonists out of their diminished means, which sum he left to be invested in land on his account, as a connecting link between himself and the colony. The amount raised, considering the depressed state of the inhabitants, was respectable, and was made up by many small contributions from persons who had been greatly reduced by the policy forced on the Home Government by a niggardly Parliament, who could not look into the future and see that the ~~Austra-~~

lian colonies were to become the best customers for British goods, and so great a safety-valve to relieve the mother country of her teeming population. Following immediately after his recall, a Committee of the House of Commons investigated the consequences of his large but not lavish expenditure. The result was a loan from the Consolidated Fund of £155,000 towards the temporary relief of the colony (long since repaid). Mr. G. Wakefield had remarked, 'I cannot imagine the possibility of founding a colony without obtaining money for its first expenses from some other source than itself. At first it has no existence at all, and one might as well propose to manufacture cotton goods without the outlay for the building, machinery, and the raw materials, &c. The consequences, not only of the temporary relief granted by the British Government, but also from the carrying out the early policy of Colonel Gawler, have proved all that could have been desired. The land has yielded its increase, not only in rich and abundant crops, but the mines also in silver-lead and copper ores.'

And thus our second Governor's predictions were soon largely accomplished, although too many of the pioneers, by the stagnation produced by the authorities repudiating the actions of their own representative, were brought to ruin, and had to work with insufficient means, and apply themselves to hard and unaccustomed labour, newer arrivals in too many instances on most advantageous terms for themselves, gaining the advantages of their first efforts in founding the new colony.

It is to be recorded with regret and shame, that even after the colony was proved to be a success, and that Colonel Gawler had only been a little too fast in his actions, he was left by an ungrateful Government to end his days as a grievously disappointed public servant, without material reward, or even that of empty honours. It was never attributed to him that in his actions he in the slightest degree sought his own personal advantage.

"Colonel Gawler, after appeals to Parliament and to successive Governments in vain, wearied and disgusted with routine and red tape, exercised the right of petition to Her Majesty, but received no other response than a bare acknowledgment through the Secretary of State. When he afterwards applied for some honorary title in reward for his long and faithful services he was absolutely refused, and the grand old soldier had but little to wrap himself in but his martial cloak and a conscience void of offence. Sincerity, earnestness, and devotion marked his career. His last appearance in public in London was at the dinner to Sir James Fergusson previous to his proceeding to occupy the Governorship of South Australia. He spoke more than once with a vigor which charmed those present, and with an enthusiasm fresh and youthful, of the substantial progress since his time [this would be in 1868, or twenty-seven years after his recall]. At this dinner, in honour of the newly-appointed Governor, Colonel Gawler quoted the following lines:—

'What constitutes a State?

Not high raised battlements or laboured mound,

Thick wall or mounted gate,

Not cities proud with spires and turrets crowned ;

Not bays and broad-armed ports,

Where laughing at the storm rich navies ride,

Not starred and spangled Courts,

Where low-browed baseness wafts perfumes to pride ;

No! men, high-minded men,
 Who know their rights, and knowing dare maintain,
 Prevent the low-aimed blow
 And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain—
 These constitute a State,
 And sovereign Law, that State's collected will,
 O'er thrones and globes elate,
 Sits Empress—crowning good, repressing ill.'

"A standard not less high was ever present to his mind, and although his true worth was not recognised largely and publicly, it is through such sons England has reared her Empire, and that her influence the wide world over is regarded as just, wise, and beneficent."

At the time he was called on to surrender the reins of Government to his successor, Captain Grey, the great outbreak of the natives on the Murray had occurred, to be described. The first task, therefore, Captain Grey had to perform was to dispatch the larger party which was being organised at the time he landed.

I think it will not be out of place here to quote a speech which Colonel Gawler addressed to a sorrowing audience of colonists in Adelaide the day before he departed from the colony. He said:—"Gentlemen, it gives me very deep regret, very great pain, to leave the colony with so many accounts which have arisen under my administration unsettled; but I have the fullest confidence that not one account will remain unpaid, because such accounts have been drawn upon my authorities. It has been difficult to explain to you such authorities, which are scattered through the whole of my correspondence during that period. Parties in England have judged of the effect which ought to have been given to these instructions by the standard of what they supposed the colony to be, but I have judged of those instructions from what I have known the colony to be, and from what I knew of its requirements; and from their imperfect knowledge of the colony in England, as opposed to my knowledge of it, these unfortunate difficulties have arisen." Forster, in his history of South Australia, says—"The romance of South Australia, when the colonists lived in tents, and the representatives of the sovereign received deputations under spreading gum trees, is yet to be written. It will afford a chapter of real events stranger than fiction." This the writer of these chapters is attempting to perform, and it has been and will be his aim to give facts only, and in addition to a small part of his own "experiences," to gather reliable matter from old colonists who were with him actively engaged in conquering the wilderness, and have lived the best part of their lives through hardships and difficulties to witness and enjoy the successful results of our early struggles.

"On May the 7th, 1830, at Southsea," says the *Australian Mail*, "Colonel Gawler died, and his most enduring monument will be the colony of South Australia, which he lived to witness a permanent success." I am happy to be able to add that on a recent occasion the City of Adelaide received, as a present from Colonel Palmer, an excellent oil painting of this good and gallant man, to be placed in our splendid Town Hall.

CHAPTER XXVII.

TROUBLES WITH NATIVES ON THE UPPER PARTS OF THE RIVER
MURRAY.

OLD colonists well remember the difficulties encountered by parties on their way down our great system of water communication from New South Wales with sheep and cattle to stock our newly-established colony. The account given in even a condensed form will necessarily occupy several numbers, and present a succession of thrilling pictures of sufferings endured by pioneers, and, sad to relate, the necessary slaughter of blacks, banded together in large numbers, in their attacks on travelling Europeans with stock.

As an introduction to this subject I will take advantage of Captain Sturt's description of his first contact with natives on the Murray, as given in the interesting account he published of his boat trip of over one thousand miles down that river and back. He came down the Murrumbidgee with his brave band, and immediately after entering the Murray found that the natives were much more numerous than they had found them on the Murrumbidgee, and it was with great difficulty that they were enabled to pursue their way without coming into collision with the sons of the forest. Captain Sturt's admirable tact, coolness, and presence of mind, and the manifest intervention of a higher power, alone saved the party from actual conflict; but they were at one time upon the very point of an affray, which must have resulted in the destruction of the whole party. I will now give the circumstances in Captain Sturt's own words:—

“As we sailed down the stream we observed a vast number of natives under the trees, and on a nearer approach we not only heard their war song, but remarked they were painted and armed as they generally are prior to their engaging in a deadly conflict. Notwithstanding their outward signs of hostility, and fancying friendly natives who had been met with higher up were with them, I continued to steer directly for the bank on which they were collected. I found, however, when it was almost too late to turn into the succeeding reach to the left, that an attempt to land would only be attended with loss of life. The natives seemed determined to resist it. We approached so near that they held their spears quivering in their grasp ready to hurl. They were painted in various ways. Some who had marked their ribs, thighs, and faces with a white pigment in stripes looked like skeletons; others were daubed with red and yellow ochre, and their bodies shone with the grease with which they had besmeared themselves. A dead silence prevailed among the front ranks, but those in the background, as well as women, who carried supplies of spears, and who appeared to have had a bucket of whitewash capsized over their heads, were extremely clamorous. As I did not wish a conflict with the people, I lowered my

sail, and putting the helm to starboard, we passed quickly down the stream in mid-channel. Disappointed in their anticipations, the natives ran along the bank of the river endeavouring to secure an aim at us; but unable to throw with certainty in consequence of the onward motion of the boat, they flung themselves into the most extravagant attitudes, and worked themselves into a frenzy by loud and vehement shouting. It was with considerable apprehension that I observed the river to be shoaling fast, more especially as a huge sandbank, a little below us, and on the same side on which the natives had gathered, projected nearly a third of the way across the channel. To this sandbank they ran with tumultuous uproar, and covered it over in a dense mass. Some of the chiefs advanced into the water to be nearer their victims, and turned from time to time to direct their followers. With every pacific disposition, and an extreme reluctance to take away life, I foresaw that it would be impossible any longer to avoid an engagement; yet, with such fearful numbers against us, I was doubtful of the result. The spectacle we had witnessed had been one of the most appalling kind, and sufficient to shake the firmness of most men; but at that trying moment my little band preserved their usual coolness, and if any thing could be gleaned from their countenances, it was that they had determined on an obstinate resistance. I now explained to my men that their only chance of escape depended or would depend upon their firmness. I desired that after the first volley had been fired, McLeay and three of the men would attend to the defence of the boats, with bayonets only, while I, Hopkinson, and Harris, would keep up the fire as being more used to it. I ordered, however, that no shot was to be fired, until after I had discharged both my barrels. I then delivered their arms to the men, which had as yet been kept in the place appropriated for them, and at the same time some rounds of loose cartridges. The men assured me they would follow my instructions, and thus prepared, having already lowered the sail, we drifted onwards with the current. As we neared the sandbank, I stood up and made signs to the natives to desist, but without success. I took up my gun, therefore, and cocking it, had already brought it down to a level. A few seconds more would have closed the life of the nearest of the savages. The distance was too trifling for me to doubt the fatal effects of the discharge, for I was determined to take deadly aim, in the hope that the fall of one man might save the lives of many. But at the moment when my hand was on the trigger and my eye was along the barrels my purpose was checked by McLeay, who called to me that another party of blacks had made their appearance upon the left or opposite bank of the river. Turning, I observed four men at the top of their speed. The foremost of them, as soon as he got ahead of the boat, threw himself from a considerable height into the water. He struggled across the channel to the sandbank, and in an incredibly short space of time stood in front of the savage against whom my aim had been directed. Seizing him by the throat, he pushed him backwards, and forcing all who were in the water on to the bank, he trod its margin with a vehemence and agitation that were exceedingly striking. At one moment pointing to the boat, at another shaking his clenched hand in the faces of the most forward, and stamping with passion on the sand; his voice, which was at first distinct and clear, was lost after a time in hoarse murmurs. Two of the four natives re-

mained on the left bank of the river, the third followed his leader, who proved to be the remarkable savage I had previously noticed before we arrived at the scene of the action. The reader will imagine my feelings on this occasion; it is impossible to describe them. We were so wholly lost in interest in the scene that was passing that the boat was allowed to drift at pleasure. For my own part, I was overwhelmed with astonishment, and in truth stunned and confused, so singular, so unexpected, so providential had been our escape."

Captain Sturt continued his course down the river, and although he met with many more blacks than he did on the Murrumbidgee, they gave no more indications of hostility.

I now proceed to detail some of the experiences of parties coming down the river with stock, commencing with the attack on Messrs. Field and Inman as the most serious, though not the first. This was the first encounter, however, of the natives of that particular locality with white men, and their assaults for a time assumed the proportions of regular combats.

On Wednesday evening, April 21, 1841, information was received in Adelaide that an overland party conducting a large flock of sheep, under the charge of Mr. H. Inman, previously superintendent of Police in Adelaide, and Mr. Field (that gentleman being part owner) had been attacked by natives to the east of the great elbow of the River Murray, and that one or more of the persons employed had been wounded, the whole of the whites dispersed, and the sheep, bullocks, dray, and stores had been taken by the natives. It was stated that on the sheep entering the Rufus country a numerous body of blacks made their appearance, and in a most impudent manner commenced disturbing the sheep, and attempting to drive them away. The men of the party, ten in number, were armed, but on the natives presenting a hostile appearance they all fled, leaving the two leaders of the party alone to defend their property. Mr. Inman had previously been wounded when they were in the Murrumbidgee country, and in that disabled state was unable to assist Mr. Field, who had to abandon the sheep and make the best of his way to the nearest station, that of Mr. Dutton, at Mount Dispersion, and from thence forwarded information to Adelaide.

Fuller particulars arrived as follows:—At the Darling, and after leaving it, the blacks became troublesome to the party, who were ten in number. On one occasion Mr. Inman seeing a few blacks ahead of the sheep and approaching, rode forward and had a friendly parley with them. On turning to ride back to join his company three spears were thrown, one taking effect in his shoulder, one in his arm, and the other fetching him out of his saddle. This was a jagged spear, and entering his back near the backbone, went in a slanting direction through his body, the point appearing below his ribs on the same side. One of the sharp jags had hitched into his backbone, and was so fast that the spear could not be withdrawn, and it became necessary to cut the head from the shaft with a saw close to his body. A sling was stretched across the dray from the side rails, on which he was laid, not one of the company expecting him to survive for any length of time after such a wound, and it was out of the question to delay the journey onwards. After enduring the jolts of the dray in passing over a rough country for two weeks in a recumbent position, he seemed more easy, and the morning

of the day when the successful attack was made on the party, the jag became detached from his spine, the head was extracted, and the wound dressed as his comrades were best able to do it. Vast numbers of the blacks had been about them for some days, and were evidently increasing. They were now in the Rufus country. I now quote from Mr. Inman's report, which appeared in the *Register* of 1st May :—

“On the morning of April 16th ult., when about forty miles on the other side of Lake Bonney, having encamped on the bank of an exceedingly brackish creek, we broke up the camp and pushed on about three miles to breakfast, during which meal the natives presented themselves, in number appearing to be about thirty or forty. They had, since we left the Darling, speared several of our sheep. By what occurred afterwards we found that considerable numbers were in the scrub close behind those who first presented themselves, although unseen by us. They were armed, and evidently meant mischief from their endeavours to conceal their weapons from us in the long grass. They essayed to make friends with us, but we did not like their movements, and warned them off with out hands. Not the slightest violence was offered by us. The natives seeing they were not allowed to enter our camp on pretence of friendship, soon exhibited their determination to gain their object by force, when treachery could not be employed. After breakfast, and before we made a start, the blacks resumed their spears, and making signs with their hands that they would meet us again on the road or track, immediately made off at a quick pace with an apparent intent to cut us off. Our suspicions being thus aroused, the men were ordered to examine their firearms and renew the priming, when the party moved on. We had not proceeded above three miles when we saw the natives ahead of us in the scrub in great numbers. Mr. Field, from the time I was speared on the Murrumbidgee, had altogether conducted the party. The spear-head having been removed, although I was very weak, I mounted my horse. Mr. Field with two horsemen advanced in front of the party, and although very weak I found them, and kept them company. None of the party were aware of the numbers they had to encounter. On our approach to the position occupied by the blacks, they shouted and struck their waddies, and from their movements we soon found out that their object was to oppose our passage. On this Mr. Field ordered the driver of the dray to stop and wait for the sheep. On their coming up the shepherds rounded the sheep, to support the men at the dray. One of the horsemen of the name of George Crow, and the best armed man on the party, was now found to have absented himself, and did not make his appearance at all during the fight. This weakened the party considerably, as I could not be accounted as a combatant; the spear-head which I had carried in my body for nearly three weeks was upwards of seven inches in length, so I could be of no use to Mr. Field. The natives, in number about three or four hundred, commenced the attack by issuing boldly from the cover, and waddies flew in all directions. A slow but ineffectual fire from two or three pieces was returned by the men at the dray, the remainder of the fire-arms being so inferior that they would not go off. We were now surrounded. Two shepherds were speared at the dray; one an old soldier, when defending himself by clubbing his gun, was carried off, and several spears were run through him. He had the presence of mind to cross his arms over his chest, and was left by them for dead. They first stripped him of almost

all his clothing. He, however, managed to travel during seven days, living on roots and on part of a carcase of a wild dog, which he found in a deserted native camp. After this man was carried away, the remainder of the party, after struggling for some time against overwhelming numbers, and finding their firearms all but useless, retreated through the scrub, Mr. Field behind them, who had done his utmost to save the property, and at length was compelled to abandon all to the natives, who took full possession. He then conducted the retreating men through the scrub until he hit the Murray at some distance from the scene of action, and proceeded onwards alone to procure assistance from the nearest out-stations."

Mr. Inman continues—"On leaving the place of strife I proceeded alone and shortly picked up the other horseman, and after a week's privation and bodily suffering managed to reach the station of Mr. Hallack, where I was hospitably received; the shepherds also managed to get as far as the Narcoota Springs, where they were met by Messrs. Hawker and Bagot, who had come out in search of the party and to bring them food. After being refreshed they were conveyed into the station. The shepherd who was carried off and speared had managed to reach the Springs before the shepherds left. He had seven wounds in the body."

Thus all escaped with their lives, and the wounded afterwards recovered. Mr. Inman continues—

"I beg leave to say that on no occasion during the journey had any act of violence been committed by my men; on the contrary, they universally treated them with kindness, but still with that caution which was necessary for the safety of the party."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN'S FIRST EXPEDITION AGAINST THE RUFUS
BLACKS.

I have through the favour of Mr. T. J. S. O'Halloran, S.M., the use of his respected father's well-kept diary, from which I can give the account of the proceedings of the first police party under Major O'Halloran, which was dispatched by His Excellency Colonel Gawler on the day after the distressing news was published. His Excellency, however, from his embarrassed position found himself compelled to recall them when within two days' journey of their destination—that is, from the spot where the greater part of the sheep were supposed still to be alive, and might have been recovered. Major O'Halloran in his diary records:—

“On the 22nd of April I started with a police force consisting of Inspector Tolmer, Dr. Weston, and thirteen men, sub-officers, and privates.” [Dr. Weston was sent by the Governor to dress the wounds of Mr. Inman and his men.]

“On the 23rd arrived at Dutton's Station, and found Messrs. Bagot, G. C. and J. C. Hawker, Jacob, Hart, and others. Inman and his party had arrived only two hours before we had, in a very weak and exhausted state, Inman and two of his men severely wounded, he having three spear wounds, and one of the men seven. They are now all doing well, although Inman is greatly emaciated, having travelled seven weeks in his wounded state. Before we arrived, Field started with Mr. Jacob, jun., in quest of Inman, but has been recalled to accompany me with two of the shepherds and a native boy. Have arranged with Mr. Hawker to forward supplies to the bend of the Murray. Wrote by Mr. Allen to Private Secretary Hall, reporting progress for Governor's information.

Saturday, 24.—Dr. Weston returned to town, having dressed the wounds of the patients. The party under me now consists of Inspector Tolmer, fourteen police, Mr. Field, and a native boy, having nineteen horses and one cart. Moved off at 11.30 a.m., guided by the native boy Tommy, for the Nicota Springs. Arrived at 5.30 p.m. Here met Messrs. Jacob and Field, jun. Found the course we took quite dangerous for carts or drays. Detained waiting for cart with supplies from Gawler. Police-constable McLean arrived, and reported cart coming up drawn by bullocks, horses having refused. In consequence have to remain for the day—a great loss. Notified by letter to Mr. Allen that I could not add him to my party. At 1.30 p.m. Corporal Prewett arrived with two police-constables, one native, ‘Sambo,’ and two of Inman's shepherds, with a cart and three bullocks with provisions from Gawler. After dinner, at 3 p.m., leaving Mr. Jacob, jun., started with Inspector Tolmer, eighteen police-constables, Lieut. Field, Field, jun., two shepherds, two natives, a bullock-driver, 23 horses, three bullocks, and two carts.

Dispatched Police-constable Saunders to town with letters. At 5.30 p.m. camped at margin of scrub. Scrubby feed; no water.

"Monday, April 26.—Moved off at 8 a.m. Rain, with thunder and lightning. Made the 'Pound' on the Murray at 4 p.m. Good feed on the flat; much needed by the cattle. The river here not more than one hundred yards wide. Put the party on one pint of flour to each, and ordered rice to be mixed in the dampers, to make the allowance go farther.

"Tuesday, 27.—At 8.30 marched for the North-West Bend. Ordered the Inspectors on the march to drill the men in carbine and sword exercises, and in the formation of threes charging. Explained to the party my orders from His Excellency in presence of Lieutenant Field and Inspector Tolmer. At midday halted for dinner on a rich flat, on which we found survey pegs. The water in the river muddy, but sweet. At 4.30 camped about the west end of the bend, and just past a lagoon, where we disturbed some natives who were cooking. The bend is not abrupt, but gradually rounds off to the eastward. The sun at times powerfully hot.

"Wednesday, 28.—As I find our flour likely to run short, and our progress is slow, waiting for the dray, I have ordered two of the troopers to return, and by this arrangement our flour may last ten days. By the police sent a letter to Private Secretary Hall, also one to Mr. Hawker, with an order for 100 lbs. of flour to be sent on to us. Marched at 8.30 a.m.; encamped at 5.15 p.m. Made nineteen miles; road very heavy; cart horses knocked up. Encamped at a spot where several parties have been attacked by the natives, and where one European was killed by the natives and lies buried between two trees, with 'F' cut upon one of them. From what I can gather from some of the men who came overland, several blacks had been killed here. Mr. Tooth was attacked and nearly killed. Mr. Eyre was turned back and obliged to get further strength before he could pass. This night and for the future good positions for camping will be selected, and double sentries posted.

"Thursday, 29.—Left 'Dead Man's Flat,' so named by me, at 8 a.m. Found roads dreadfully heavy. Changed draught horses at midday, hoping to make better progress, but will scarcely make twenty miles. It is fortunate that we have amongst the police horses four good in collar. The cart horses are allowed oats. At 9.30 a.m., saw a vast number of native feet-marks along the track. The dogs killed a wallaby with a young one in her pouch. Had to pass a flat seven miles long, which I named the 'Great Flat.' When about half way across saw natives on the opposite bank, who gave us the 'Cooee.' Others I think were hiding behind trees, as the voices seemed to be numerous. To the left of this flat there is a long narrow lake, running a considerable distance. Encamped for the night on another flat, not far from the former, at 4.30 p.m. Distance nineteen miles. I call this Pine Flat.

"Friday, 30.—Marched at 8 a.m. About mid-day the dogs killed a wild dog, at which time a despatch arrived from the Private Secretary by a trooper, ordering me to return with the party to town. (The Major was reported to have said—under the disappointment he felt on receiving *this order—to the trooper who brought the despatch, aside, "Why did not you lose yourself?"*) Proceeded onwards, however, expecting to find *a flat to feed the horses, and refresh the party, and dispatched Inspector*

Tolmer in advance to see if he could find a good flat. On his return he reported that we must proceed several miles further, ere we could be suited. At fourteen miles a halt was ordered. At 2.30 p.m., made a movement homeward. Our advance from Adelaide was at our return 161 miles. Lieut. Field proposes to return to-morrow morning to Mount Dispersion, and in that neighbourhood to beat up for volunteers to accompany him back to endeavour to recover the sheep. I will give him, as escort till he gets to his destination, two troopers. It is with extreme pain that I have been obliged to return back to Adelaide when within fifty miles of the place where Inman and Field were attacked; but I have no alternative, as an old soldier, than to obey His Excellency's orders, who of course has his own just reasons for ordering me back, and which it is my duty not to question, but obey. Ordered Police-constables Stuart and Rose to be ready in the morning to accompany Lieut. Field back, and to take sufficient rations for the journey.

"Saturday, May 1.—Lieut. Field and the two men left the camp at daybreak. Sent a note to Hawker to countermand the order for flour, and also to report my return march. On the 29th Mr. Tolmer and Sergeant-Major Alford shot a duck and three wild geese on the lake, and as we got to the extreme western end of this long flat we surprised a party of natives, who had a canoe with a fire in it, and a duck, which I suppose they were about to cook. They had also a fishing-net, and on seeing us they dashed off in great alarm, and remained in the centre of the stream till we departed. At 4.30 p.m. halted for the night in a good reed flat. Twenty-two miles under a scorching sun.

"Sunday, May 2.—Started at 7.30 a.m. Delayed at a steep hill up which the horses refused to pull, and the cart was drawn up by the men. Some time after this, when riding on ahead of the party a considerable distance, I saw about fifty natives on the opposite bank, who began chattering loudly when they saw me. At 9.30 a.m., when in the centre of 'Dead Man's Flat,' we espied a cow and a calf in the reeds. I fired two shots with a rifle at the calf, and, though not more than fifty yards off, I am ashamed to add that I missed. I ordered then a general chase, and Sergeant-Major Alford rode up and from his horse dropped the calf with a ball from his carbine. It was a bull calf, as fat as butter, about ten months old, and would weigh about 160 lbs. We cut off his hind-quarters, which will be sufficient for our wants as long as the meat will keep, and the rest we left in hopes that the blacks might get a feast. This supply of fresh meat is most acceptable, as we have been living on ship pork for some time past. At the extreme end of Dead Man's Flat the horses again refused to draw the cart up that very steep hill, and the men had to do it. At thirteen miles the horses in the cart were done up, and with a change of horses reached the Bend at 5.30 p.m., having marched twenty-five miles in ten hours, including stoppages, the sun powerfully hot.

"Monday, 3.—Reached the Pound at 11.30 a.m., doing seventeen miles in four hours. Soon after our arrival some natives came over from the opposite side with fish, and were very quiet and well-behaved. At 3.30 p.m., to our astonishment, we saw a whaleboat approaching, rowing up the river, and shortly after Mr. Scott and his crew came on shore. He left Pullen's party that day week with supplies for us, and

has made his way from the river mouth in seven days. I now gave Inspector Tolmer orders relative to marching into town, and to leave on his way one man at Dutton's Station, and one at Gawler Town, to be ready to convey any orders from His Excellency to Mr. Scott, whom I requested to wait at the Bend to receive instructions from head-quarters. The march through the scrub to the Nicota Springs being a long and fatiguing journey without feed or water I decided, as the heat was now extreme during the day and the moon was about full, to march about sundown, and we left the Pound at 7.30 p.m. I pushed on ahead of the party for Adelaide, accompanied by Police-constable Cusack. Rain began to fall, and we got a thorough soaking at 12.30 a.m. on Tuesday."

"May 4.—Reached the Springs and there dismounted in the pelting rain, with a high wind blowing and no shelter. However, I contrived to get about two hours' sleep, and after moving on a short distance to reach wood, lit a fire and dried our clothes, and then pushed on to Bagot's Station, where we halted till midday, and then continued on and arrived at Gawler Town at 4 p.m. Little Peter has carried me eighty-five miles since yesterday. He is a noble little horse, and considering that for the last fortnight he has been on bad feed he has proved himself a trump."

"May 5.—Having slept at Robertson's like a top left at 8 a.m., arrived at home at 4.30 same day."

The only benefit of this toilsome and expensive expedition was the good done to Mr. Inman and his men by the attendance of Dr. Weston. It appears that when His Excellency the Governor received Major O'Halloran's first despatch, which gave the information that the whole of the party had survived the attack, and that Mr. Inman and his wounded men were doing well, after being treated by Dr. Weston, he did not consider himself called upon to allow the police to come into collision with the natives, when the rescue of the sheep was the only object to be gained—perhaps influenced by the remembrance of the home censures on his actions against the Milemura natives.

Immediately on the recall of the police party, before they could accomplish the purpose for which they were sent out became known, a meeting of settlers was held, when it was resolved that a party of volunteers should offer their services to Inman and Field, to go out and endeavour to recover some of the property seized by the blacks, of which particulars in next chapter.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE EXPEDITION OF VOLUNTEERS UNDER THE COMMAND OF LIEUT. FIELD, R.N., AGAINST THE RUFUS BLACKS, AND THEIR DEFEAT BY THE NATIVES.

IMMEDIATELY the recall of the police party commanded by Major O'Halloran became known Lieut. Field lost no time in collecting and organising the party of volunteers offered at the public meeting.

"May 5, 1841.—The following volunteer party started from Adelaide (the same day as the return of Major O'Halloran), to endeavour to recover some of the 5,000 sheep, the bullocks, dray, and other property of which the blacks had taken possession when they defeated the party of Messrs. Inman and Field:—Lieutenant Field, R.N. (in command), Messrs. G. C. Hawker, J. C. Hawker, John Allan, James Kinchela, Kenneth Campbell, S. Samuel, J. Jacob, and H. Field; also some shepherds. Five mounted and two foot police were ordered by the Governor to accompany the party to the supposed boundary of the colony, to protect the volunteers, but not to proceed or act beyond the boundary of the province; also Turner and Ross, Mr. Allan's overseers, in all twenty men."

The following narrative is from Mr. James Hawker's diary:—

"May 7.—On arriving at the Pound on the Murray we found Mr. Scott with the surveying boat. He was in charge of a survey party. Lieutenant Field delivered to him a letter from His Excellency Colonel Gawler, instructing him to keep with the force as far as the police were ordered to go, and to render assistance to the party.

The Pound, so called because it consisted of a small piece of flat ground on the banks of the Murray, and enclosed landward with cliffs having only one entrance.

"May 8.—Left the Pound at 8.30 a.m. Rested at midday at a picturesque lagoon, and shot a number of beautiful crested pigeons. Camped at 7.30. Made twenty-two miles. Two blackfellows joined us here. Scott with the boat did not arrive. Having no tents we lit large fires, and cut bushes for screens, huddling together for warmth.

"May 9, Sunday.—Off at 7 a.m. Track very sandy. Passed Dead Man's Flat, so called by Major O'Halloran. Found the approach to the river to be so steep that we had to lower the cart down with ropes. Distance travelled, twenty-five miles. As our supporting police force by orders, had to remain here, it was decided to leave the cart, and each man to take on his horse rations for five days, consisting of flour, tea, and sugar, taking no meat to avoid over-loading our horses. Lieut. Field left a note for Mr. Scott with the non-commissioned officer in charge of the police, instructing him to supply them with rations, and to push on after him.

"May 10.—Left at 8 a.m. Our party consisted of ten volunteers. Three mounted and two men on foot, employed as paid assistants, were left with our dray. We passed through eighteen miles of dense gum scrub; total distance, thirty-three miles to camp. Two natives in a canoe made a visit of inspection, but on seeing the watch which had been set, dropped down the river, and remained on the opposite side, where we could see two large native fires. Found a tree behind our camp bearing an inscription cut in the bark—'E. Howe, Jan'y. 1841, via Hume.'

"May 11.—Made a good breakfast on wallaby which were shot yesterday. Started at 7.30. Came upon natives fishing. The women, alarmed, swam the river with children on their backs. Crossed at midday Lake Bonney, at this time waterless, the whole surface covered with mussel-shells. Width of lake about one and a half miles, and length about five miles. Three horses running wild here. Crossed recent cattle tracks. Killed two kangaroos, and took with us some of the meat. Camped at twenty-six miles. A large signal-fire to the north-west of us.

"May 12.—Off at 7.30. The kangaroos here are a deep red colour. Camped on a river flat to feed the horses. Crossed a salt-water creek and pushed on, hoping to reach the place before dark where the attack on the sheep party was made. Had to camp on a brackish creek. Mr. Field, who had come down with the sheep, considered we were not far from the place, and rode on with his brother—Lieutenant Field—and myself, and at two miles arrived at the spot where the sheep had been taken from him. We then returned to the camp. The distance from last camp twenty-eight miles, and from Adelaide 230 miles.

"May 13.—This day will decide whether our expedition is to be successful or not. Our only hope is that they will stand, in order that we may show them the use of good firearms." (As previously stated, the small party of police which had been granted to Lieut. Field's handful of volunteers had, in obedience to orders, remained behind on arriving at the *supposed* boundary between this colony and New South Wales—which was afterwards found some miles west of the true line). "Reached the place of attack about 8 a.m., where the sheep were taken from Messrs. Inman and Field. Found the abandoned dray. On the ground were scattered in all directions tea, flour, fragments of casks and chests. As the tea was not much damaged we secured some part of it, and some tobacco. One wheel was off the dray, and some of the iron-work had been cut away. A little further back on the overland track, on the bank of a large lagoon, we found two of the bullocks lying dead, and two more on the further bank of the same lagoon.

"By forced marches and after a hurried preparation we reached the supposed boundary of the colony in seven days, from thence the volunteer party started carrying only tea, sugar, and flour, camping at night under bushes, our only meat a few wallaby which we succeeded in shooting. The police in obedience to orders remained here, and we proceeded onwards unsupported. On the evening of the 12th we camped on the creek where the attack had been made on Messrs. Field and Inman. We first found Mr. Field's trunk empty on the track. The natives had chosen a most favourable spot on which to make the onslaught. It was on a little flat, through the centre of which a gully ran, and was surrounded by a thick scrub. It was when the dray was crossing the

gully that the rush was made. The providential release of the spear-head from Mr. Inman's back enabled him to mount his horse, and to this he owed his life. From the hasty departure of the rescuing party we were badly provided with arms. Most of them were rifled, and we had only one powder-flask to three men. Many of the balls fitted very tight, so that speedy or convenient loading was out of the question. The barrels also had become rusty after the damp nights to which they had been exposed. At the first discharge two of the pieces became useless, one hammer breaking, and in another a ball stuck fast when half home. The natives when met were in their war paint, with white bars on their bodies and limbs, giving them the appearance of skeletons. It was found that the horses would not steadily face them, the blacks also yelling in the most hideous manner."

I now follow with extracts from Lieutenant Field's official report, which was published in the papers:—"We first found sheep tracks, and on following them down observed natives running through the trees. We soon came to a large body of them concealed in the scrub, waiting our approach, we then formed in line, and rode towards them; they at the same time boldly approached us to within forty yards, well within spear range, when one of their chiefs gave the signal to attack by sticking a spear in the ground, and with a wave of his hand, they then gave vent to a loud war cry, and commenced a discharge of spears. The first man who threw a spear I shot through the head, and gave the order to fire, hoping when they saw two or three fall they would retreat, but they still advanced in the form of a crescent, in number at least 200, while many more were seen through the scrub behind. At this time Mr. Hawker called out to me that they were encircling us, and seeing they were advancing both wings while the centre were attacking us, a large lagoon lying in our rear, I ordered the party to follow me and outflank them on the right. While effecting this movement Mr. Hawker's horse fell across a tree and he was dismounted, at the same time Mr. Jacob's horse received a second spear and was soon unable to carry him further. He dismounted and we were all engaged in covering his retreat." [One of the party informed me that before they lost sight of Mr. Jacob's abandoned horse he was like a porcupine from the number of spears sticking in his carcase.] "We succeeded in reaching a rising ground, where we formed line while Mr. Jacobs mounted behind Mr. Bagot. The affray had now lasted more than half an hour, a very few shots were fired without effect, and the last man shot was one of their chiefs. I must here remark that had not the gentlemen displayed much steadiness and coolness Mr. Jacobs must have fallen, as it was by frequently coming to the present but reserving our fire that we kept the headmost men back, as on those occasions they doubled themselves up into the smallest possible compass, holding shields before their heads. In covering Mr. Jacob I was struck with a spear in the fore part of the head, but as it passed through a thick tarpaulin hat the wound was but slight; but the mare I rode was severely speared in the shoulder. When I was struck the natives gave a loud yell, as they did on every occasion when they appeared to gain an advantage. Having retreated a mile we had to halt to sew up the wound in the mare's shoulder, or she must have soon dropped from loss of blood. Then, choosing the clearest line to retreat upon, we continued our retreat, and found our cart ~~and~~

the police the following day. I feel convinced that the remainder of the sheep were not far distant, and the natives had assembled to defend them and resist their recovery. I further remark that a very strong party would be required to subdue them without loss of life to the attacking force, as their activity and courage combined with their numbers and the necessity to attack them in a country unfavorable for horse movements, render them a much more formidable enemy than the colonists have generally any idea of."

It has been related to me by Mr. Jas. Hawker that the first black who fell and was supposed to be killed was some time after these affrays employed by him when in that part of the colony. He says:—"The ball struck him obliquely just above his left eye, carrying part of the frontal bone and the eye away, and also injuring the beauty of his nose considerably."

Having given Lieut. Field's report of the fight and retreat, I will only add a little more here from Mr. J. C. Hawker's diary:—"On the retreat a number of blacks followed behind their fighting men, and continued to hand them spears. I consider the total number of them to have been over 300. One native with a white band round his head carried no arms, evidently the chief or leader giving orders. In addition to the number who opposed us were many who were not immediately engaged. They were not in the least intimidated by the number who fell, which could not be less than eight. When the ground was clear for us to gallop they kept on after us and did not seem the least winded. The wish I had written down in the morning was thus disagreeably realised to our discomfort. Had not Mr. Jacob's horse been speared many more might have been shot; but still it was the opinion of all of us that it would have been impossible to have recovered the sheep with our small party, as we had only eight effective men, two of the pieces having become useless early in the fight; and after rallying the third time, by the loss of Mr. Jacob's horse we were again reduced, and subsequently also by the spearing of Lieut. Field's horse. The ground the encounter took place on was covered with polygnum and scrub, and intersected with creeks. The place had been rightly named by Captain Sturt on his way down the river—"The Islands." We rallied three times, and kept our adversaries in check. On our arrival in Adelaide we found that Captain Grey, formerly of the 83rd regiment, had arrived to displace Colonel Gawler." It will be only bare justice to Colonel Gawler to remark that the indecisive measures adopted by him at this crisis, and so unusual in him, are fully accounted for by the weakened position he felt himself to occupy after the severe censures heaped on him for his vigorous actions in punishing the Milemura tribes for their murders.

A numerous meeting of the inhabitants was quickly held in the Auction Mart, when it was resolved that a respectful memorial should be prepared and presented to His Excellency the new Governor, particulars of which will be given in next chapter.

CHAPTER XXX.

SECOND EXPEDITION UNDER MAJOR O'HALLORAN.

A numerous meeting of the inhabitants had been held in Adelaide, and a Committee appointed to present a respectful memorial to His Excellency Governor Grey, urging him to take the promptest measures to protect parties on their way overland with stock. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Inman, Kinchela, James Fisher, Captain Ferguson, and Mr. Giles as Chairman. The deputation was politely received by Governor Grey, who expressed his readiness to promote the objects in view so far as the means at his disposal would permit. He promised to lay the matter before a meeting of his Council, and communicate with the Chairman of the Committee. In his answer he stated "that it would be necessary to communicate with the Governor of New South Wales. He was willing to accept the services of the volunteers offered to assist the police, but he could not admit the idea that a military expedition should take place against the natives; but the services of the volunteers would be accepted as special constables. That positive instructions had been issued by Her Majesty's Government to treat the aboriginals of all parts of the continent as subjects of the Queen within Her Majesty's allegiance." However, orders were immediately given to the Commissioner of Police to prepare for an expedition to the disturbed district, and a large number of colonists were sworn in as special constables—peace officers to meet victorious blacks with spears in their hands!

Major O'Halloran, Commissioner of Police, was appointed to command this second party, with special orders to protect the lives and properties of the settlers, but was not to levy war or to exercise *belligerent actions* against the aborigines of Australia. The Major was supreme in command of the combined party of police and volunteers, but to be accompanied by the Protector of Aborigines, Dr. Moorhouse, with some native interpreters. Subscriptions of money and stores were raised by the inhabitants towards the expenses of the expedition.

The following gentlemen were sworn in:—Mounted—Captains Beaver, Inman, and Ferguson; Messrs. Berry, J. C. Hawker, Langhorne, H. Field, Jas. Fisher, Barber, Brown, Whitpine, Tooth, S. K. Langhorne, Daniel, and Oliver. Foot—Messrs. Martin, Gatwood, Dennis, Pavlin, Head, Day, Deprose, Daverell, Taylor, and three men as bullockdrivers' Volunteers, mounted and on foot, 27; mounted police, officers and men, 26; foot do., including four drivers, 11; in all, 64. Volunteer officers—Mr. J. Beaver, senior officer; Mr. R. Ferguson, junior do. Commissioners—Mr. J. C. Hawker, senior officer; Mr. G. Daniel, junior do.

"On the 29th May the drays were dispatched containing camp requirements from Captain Ferguson's store. On the 31st the greater

part of the volunteers desirous of showing their respect to Colonel Gawler before his departure, mustered and waited on him in a body to bid him farewell.

"On a general muster Major O'Halloran took command of the whole party, and marched to Gawler Town, and took up quarters for the night. On the 5th June the whole of the expedition arrived at the Pound, on the Murray. On the 6th, Sunday, the Major read the Governor's instructions to his command. Mr. Moorhouse, with three natives to be employed as interpreters to the wandering black inhabitants, had joined, and was present. Some additions to the force having arrived, the total muster amounted to sixty-eight. Extracts from Mr. J. C. Hawker's diary:—"Two boats under charge of Mr. Kiffin, had been ordered to join us from Lake Alexandrina in case we required to cross the Murray. Remained for the day. In the morning the mounted men were drilled by Inspectors Tolmer and Gordon, the Major being present. In the evening the men on foot were drilled and practised in firing by the same officers.

I now take advantage of the Commissioner's diary, the use of which I am favoured with by Mr. T. J. S. O'Halloran.

"June 8th, Tuesday.—Morning bitter cold, our native interpreters returned by moonlight from their visit to the tribe in whose country we are now encamped, and state that the natives have promised to come and see us in the morning, and are very anxious that we shall kill all the blacks of the tribe who have got the sheep, that tribe being their enemies (as they pretended). I dispatched a letter for the Governor by Captain Nixon, who was returning indisposed. Three of the natives from the river came into the camp at 7.30 a.m. Two of them offered to go with us as interpreters to the tribe who have the sheep. Halted at the east end of 'Dead Man's Flat' at 2.30 p.m.; distance travelled, seventeen miles; road very bad. The drays did not come up till 8 o'clock, the bullocks done up.

"June 9th, Wednesday.—Most delightful weather. Halted here for the day, and sunk one of the drays in the river till our return, and put the supplies on the other two. We shall thus get on better with ten bullocks yoked to one dray and eight to the other. Three natives who joined us yesterday have promised that no injury shall be done to the dray sunk in the river. Mr. Moorhouse and myself put them through an examination after breakfast, and the following is a correct report of questions and replies:—

"THE EXAMINATION OF THE NATIVES WHO JOINED OUR CAMP
YESTERDAY.

"Dead Man's Flat, 126 miles from Adelaide, June 9th, 1841.

"These men state that the sheep are only six hours' march from this place. One of them stated that he saw the sheep five days ago, a number of which were still alive, with one sheep dog, some bullocks, one or more drays, some shirts and blankets, all of which were in possession of the hostile blacks, who admitted that they had beaten and speared to death one white man. To these statements was answered:—

"'You say it is but six hours from this to where the sheep are; now, we know that the sheep are seven days from us. Have you ever seen the place where the sheep are?'

“No, we have not; but we have been told by other blacks that the sheep are near.”

“How near are we from the country of the hostile blacks?”

“Two days’ march; when we get there we will tell you!”

“Is the tribe numerous, and have other tribes joined with them?”

“They are a big tribe, and have other tribes with them!”

“Will they fight us?”

“No, there are too many whites.”

“Then what will they do with the sheep?”

“They will take to the river when they see you, and will be so frightened they will not spear the sheep.”

“How soon will they know we are coming up the river?”

“We will go in advance of you one day; they will not know you are coming till we tell them.”

“Are all the tribes together, and will they sit down till all sheep are gone?”

“They are now together, with the sheep, men, women, and children, and when we tell them they will stop for you to talk to them.”

“That is what we wish, and you are to tell them we are not cross, and if they give up the sheep we will not hurt them.”

“We will go and make them sit down till police come in sight, and then we will bring them to you.”

“Will they believe you when you tell them we will not hurt them?”

“We think so.”

“If we get the sheep we will give you blankets.”

“Very well, we will try and get the sheep.”

“In the late fight there was a chief before his tribe who had a white band round his head, and some cockatoo feathers, but no spears. Who was he?”

“There are plenty such—old men of the tribe.”

“Are the sheep-stealers on same ground where they attacked the whites?”

“Yes, same ground.”

“Are sheep in yards at night, and wild dogs kept off?”

“We do not know.”

“Why did the blackfellows attack the whites?”

“Because they came in black man’s country.”

“Have you ever heard them say white men coming down river ever killed blacks or took lubras, or had done them any wrong?”

“The whites have had fights with hostile tribe, and killed several.”

“Have whites ever had fights with your tribe?”

“Never, never: we were always frightened to attack whites.”

“Does your tribe ever fight with tribe of sheep-stealers?”

“We never fight, and have no spears or other arms.”

“When some of your tribe see two boats coming up the river let them tell them to go on up the river.”

“Very well.”

“How many blacks did white men kill in last fight?”

“They shot many.”

“How many blacks were killed when they took the sheep?”

“ ‘One blackfellow.’

“ ‘Were any blacks wounded?’

“ ‘None; but one black was speared by another black by accident.’

“Remarks.—These men commenced their statements by falsely declaring that the sheep were near. On being detected they said they meant that the first sheep tracks were near. Now, this was a still grosser falsehood, for the fight occurred more than 100 miles from this camp. Much falsehood is apparent throughout their answers. The spot where we are now encamped has been named by me ‘Dead Man’s Flat’ in consequence of McKinnon’s overseer having been killed by this very tribe, and in this flat he lies buried. It is not fifty yards from where I am now writing. Mr. Eyre had also to turn back to rejoin his party. Mr. Tooth and others were here attacked.

“June 10, Thursday.—Several more natives have crossed over to our camp this morning. Feed bad here, struck camp at 10.30 a.m., and moved on nine miles on account of better feed. One of the volunteer’s bullocks lost. Several wallaby and crested pigeons shot yesterday and to-day. The drays did not arrive at our new camp till 6 p.m., although they had only nine miles to travel, they are in such a wretched condition and unfit to travel. It is too bad that the Commissariat should have sent out such weak animals, as we shall be greatly retarded in our progress to our destination, and also on our way homewards. One pole was broken, and the dray capsized in coming down the steep pitch into this flat.

“June 11.—Halted here. Passed a bitter cold night. Foot drill and sword exercise from 11 till 12.30. The drilling gets on admirably. The boats have not arrived. They ought to have been here.

“June 12, Saturday.—Another cold and frosty night. Halted for the day, most anxiously looking out for the boats. Sword and carbine exercise. During the afternoon some more natives joined, but could not get more satisfactory information from them than from the previous examination of the men of their tribe.

“June 13, Sunday.—Halted for the day. At daybreak this morning one of the police horses was found nearly strangled. He had wound himself with the tether rope round his neck and legs up to a tree. His struggles must have been great, as he was much bruised and swollen. He was unable to stand, and is not likely to live. The two blacks whom we examined, and who promised to accompany us to the hostile tribe, have disappeared, and told our natives previous to departure (one of them) that he was lame, and the other that his children would cry, so that all hope of their usefulness as interpreters has vanished, and their desertion will I fear prove a most serious disadvantage to us. Some natives crossed from the opposite side of the river in a canoe, which some of the men borrowed to assist them in fishing. One large fish was caught.

“June 14.—The agony of the unlucky horse has been such that to put an end to his sufferings I ordered him to be shot. Blazed three trees close to the river, and wrote largely upon them—‘Boats to follow on.’ I have named this camp Wallaby Flat. Marched at 9 a.m., and reached Pine Flat at 11.30; distance eleven miles. Drays came up at 3.30, men having to unload the police dray, and carry the things over a deep sand. Some natives joined us on the march, and one of them said he had seen the sheep three days ago, and that they were numerous, but were

afraid of the blacks, who could not manage them. He also stated that the blacks were aware of our approach, and were going up the river, and would not fight us. This blackfellow offered to go with us and show us where the sheep are. The drays did not come up till 6.15 p.m. Rain commenced to fall at seven and continued at intervals during the night.

"15, Tuesday.—Fine morning. The feed is here so bad have had to strike camp and move on to a flat six miles distant, and halted at 10.30 a.m. For the last three days the wind has been fresh and fair for the boats, and yet they have not arrived, though we have halted at various times, in all six days, to enable them to come up. I must now calculate the distance we may have yet to advance, and push on for our destination with all speed possible, to prevent the chance of our provisions falling short. We are now sixteen days from Adelaide. Some of the men found two caves in the cliffs, in the roofs of which were seen designs scratched by the natives in the soft sandstone. If the boats do not come up the day after to-morrow I shall blaze the trees, and order the boats to remain after their arrival at the blazed trees until our return. Two of our Adelaide natives refused to go further, and have remained behind with some of the river blacks. I was not aware of their remaining behind, or I would have prevented it, and I will take care that on our return to Adelaide these worthless vagabonds do not join us. Their loss to us will be great, for the third black is lazy and stupid, and he was not engaged, but allowed to accompany us as a supernumerary.

"June 16, Wednesday.—Moved off at daybreak. Marched through a seventeen-mile scrub, and encamped in a very long polygnum flat, with a long pole stuck up in the centre by natives, at 2.15 p.m.; distance, twenty miles. Drays up at 4.45.

"17.—Heavy rain about 4 this morning. Yesterday the Governor's servant, Binstead, was assaulted by one of the river blacks who had joined us. He was away from the party, endeavouring to procure rare specimens of birds for His Excellency. The black attempted to take his gun, which Binstead was obliged to present several times at the fellow to keep him off. The tents wet through, and as the camp is in low ground, we are surrounded by water.

"18.—The morning fine and clear. Examined Binstead's charge against the blackfellow and ordered him out of the camp. At 10.45 started. On the march fell in with thirty-one blacks; saw also others in various directions, and fourteen on the opposite side of the river. All the blacks we have seen are small and by no means powerful. Blazed three trees close to the river, and wrote largely on them, "Boats return to Bend. Dig underneath." Buried a bottle containing instructions and information to look out, as natives are numerous and not trustworthy. Established an alarm post, and ordered extra sentries, five in all, to be placed around the camp during the night.

"19th June, Saturday.—Struck camp an hour before daybreak. Moved off with the drays at 8.30 a.m. Passed Lake Bonney at 10 a.m. About 150 natives are in our rear who say they want to see us fight and kill their enemies, with whom they will also fight. I do not allow them to come near us. We are marching in fighting order with an advance and rear guard; the drays in the centre. I keep these rascals off, for if we beat the natives they will take their wives, and if we are beaten

they will fall upon us. Crossed Lake Bonney and got to the north side of it, and upon a ridge of scrub, the commencement of the country of the hostile tribe, at 11 a.m. On looking to the rear we saw a large signal fire just lit by the vagabond blacks behind to give notice to those ahead of our approach. Lake Bonney dry. Encamped a little before dark. Distance marched, sixteen miles."

I now continue with extracts from Mr. James C. Hawker's diary:—

"20th, Sunday.—One of the horses, although in hobbles, swam across the river, on which one of the friendly natives was directed to swim after him and catch him and take off his hobbles and drive him back, but seemed not to understand the order; on which Inspector Tolmer dashed into the water, swam after and succeeded in catching the horse on the opposite bank, and turned him back, but on his return was much exhausted, as the river here was about 150 yards wide and the water very cold, current strong. Off at 9.40. The mounted men had to halt at about every three miles to allow the drays to come up, the country being boggy. Passed a great many tracks of wild cattle. Men were sent out to procure beef for rations but could not succeed, the cattle being wild. Large numbers of natives showed themselves on both sides of the river. Efforts were made to induce some of them to come to us, but they remained shy. Distance, fifteen miles.

"June 21.—Off at 9 a.m. Track better. At 3.30 arrived at a creek running into the river. On the opposite bank of which many natives were assembled; with them some of the blacks who had been with us and had bolted. They told us that the sheep were still alive, and they would give them up to us; they also said a party with cattle coming down the river were a few days journey from us. Camped on the lagoon. Distance, fifteen miles.

"22.—The men in bringing in the working bullocks reported they had seen recent footmarks of a number of sheep. Off at 8.30, as the Major desired to recover the sheep without delay. The natives here left us, saying they would join us when we reached the place at which we would find the sheep alive, as they would take a shorter cut than we could travel on. At 12 camped, distance eight miles, on a creek which crossed the small flat where Messrs. Inman and Field were attacked, the creek now running good water. After an hour's rest the Major proceeded on with the mounted men."

Mr. J. C. Hawker, having charge of the drays, did not accompany the advance party. In addition to Major O'Halloran's diary I am indebted to information furnished me by Inspector Tolmer, Sergeant-Major Alford, and Sergeant Naughton, for the following particulars and remarks:—

"22.—The Major with the mounted men pushed on, hoping to come up to the travelling cattle party as well as the remains of the sheep. After riding five miles they met a white man in a deplorable state, naked, except a blue shirt which he had converted into trousers hanging from his waist, with a pair of Wellington boots on his feet, with no other clothing. He reported an attack of the blacks, and that some of the party had been killed. A little further on we met the drays with the survivors of the party, one of them named Miller, the conductor, lying in a dray with five spear wounds in his body.

The Major was told that at the time of the attack, some of the drovers had been sent back by Mr. Miller to recover and bring up part of the cattle which had parted and gone back, and the weakened advanced party were attacked, and the men on being overpowered, and seeing three of their mates killed, and their overseer seriously wounded, took to the river, and after remaining some time in the water, finding the blacks had retired from some (to them) unknown cause, came out of the river, and finding three of the bodies of their dead comrades, they rolled them over the bank, as much out of sight as possible, and hastened forward on the track.

As Major O'Halloran subsequently found one of these bodies shockingly mangled, as will be described hereafter, it must appear that the cause of their suddenly abandoning the ground on which they had defeated the overlanders was that they had received in the midst of their work the first news from a flying scout of the large number of armed whites who were approaching; and that afterwards getting further information from the lying spies that the police were still some distance off, they had returned to effect the mangling of the bodies, and, perhaps, at the same time slaughtered the remainder of the sheep, and left them in fulfilment of their promise, as will be explained in full details in another chapter.

It will be my duty in completing the history of this fatal outbreak to relate what a heavy slaughter ultimately had to be visited on the natives of this part of our colony before the communication between the colonies could be made open and safe.

Such weak tampering with aboriginals, when combined and with arms in hand, and after murderous conduct, is anything but a policy of mercy, either to the natives or to the settlers, as no grounds ought to be given to the latter to take the law into their own hands. It is a remarkable circumstance that immediately after the arrival of Captain Grey to displace Colonel Gawler he should have to report to the Imperial Government the non-success of the weak policy he had undertaken to carry out as to the treatment of the natives. He had himself experienced in his explorations in Western Australia something of the dangerous character of untamed blacks.

I feel it a fair remark to make that as it was taken for granted in his instructions that the aboriginals of all parts of Australia were "subjects of Her Majesty and within her allegiance," that it should have followed that subjects of whatever colour found in arms, and after committing such crimes as these had, should have been promptly treated as subjects in revolt, and have been dealt with accordingly, constables' staves being left at home. The remainder of this distressing experience must be held over for future chapters.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MAJOR O'HALLORAN'S SECOND EXPEDITION, CONTINUED.

I continue the account of Major O'Halloran's expedition on the Murray, from the time the party came upon the mangled body of one of the slaughtered men, from information given by Mr. Miller, the wounded overseer of Mr. Langhorne's cattle party, and from the diaries and reports of officers.

When the attack was made on this party the overseer had dispatched some of the men to the rear to bring up a part of the herd which had separated from the main body. These drovers did not come on to the ground where lay their slaughtered mates until the survivors had passed on, but overtook them shortly before they met the relief force. The cattle were then got together with the aid of the relief party, and with the loss of only seventy-three out of the original number of seven hundred, so that Mr. Langhorne had then great cause for thankfulness that the police and volunteers arrived in time to save so large a proportion of his cattle, and probably the lives of the whole of his men. But it must be recorded of him that he made no outward signs of his gratitude then or afterwards to gentlemen who had endured such fatigues, and had undertaken such a thankless duty in aid of the Major's force. However, his name has been given to a creek which in its whole length is generally dry. When the rear party overtook those who had survived the attack, it was resolved to push on with all speed to reach the nearest stations, as they had no idea of an approaching party. Their firearms were mostly useless, and they had only a few charges of ammunition left, the blacks had taken from the drays everything except part of their flour, and this was all the party had to depend on for the remainder of the journey. On meeting Major O'Halloran they became aware why the natives had so suddenly vanished, and how they had been saved in such a providential manner, the black scouts having given notice of the approach of a strong and armed body of white men. I now return to make use of Mr. J. C. Hawker's diary, and continue with the further occurrences of the 23rd of June.

"At about 9.30 all the mounted men, and as many of the men on foot as could be spared from the camp, started to scour the country, to see if any of Inman's sheep were still alive, but nothing was found but the stinking carcasses of about two thousand sheep, wantonly speared. A camp of about thirty natives was come upon, but the blacks bolted and took to the river, laughing and defying the party to shoot, and remaining *within shooting distance*, evidently aware of the orders under which the *men carried their useless arms*—with strict injunctions not to fire unless *attacked*. Amongst this insulting mob was identified one of the natives *who had left the party the previous day, promising to procure a confer-*

ence. The natives who had promised to give up the sheep were amongst the swimming niggers, thus proving their treachery. In the camp which they had deserted were found pieces of clothing and some iron-work belonging to Mr. Inman's party, and also the bones of Mr. Jacob's horse, which they speared as described. On the return of the force to the camp, Major O'Halloran took the depositions of Mr. Langhorne, jun., who was with the party when attacked, as well as of the overseer and men, and decided to start the next day to Lake Victoria, and endeavour to make prisoners.

"24th.—At 7.30 the party started for the lake—leaving Messrs. Inman, J. C. Hawker, and Field, in charge of the fortified camp—with the men on foot and all Mr. Langhorne's party except three. A strong fence was immediately commenced as a stockade, sentries being outside during the day, and within all night.

"On the 25th the defending fence around the camp was finished."

The Major's diary continues—

"On the 26th the mounted force returned. They had divided into two parties at the Lake, one party crossing the Rufus, keeping the easterly side, and the other continuing on the near side, in order to intercept the natives, but they had been on the alert, and had reached the farther side of the Lake, and eight canoes were seen on the Lake crossing the remainder, and so they accomplished their escape. When the party arrived at the junction of the Rufus with the Murray they found to their unspeakable horror the mangled body of a man named Martin, one of the four murdered men who had been placed over the bank by their escaping mates. One of the bodies (the one found) had been brought up by the blacks, and placed on the upper bank, stript naked; the skull had been battered with waddies, and exhibited masses of mangled bone, brains, and congealed blood; the bones of the arms and thighs had been removed; the sides had been opened, and the vital organs, with the kidney fat, had been extracted. In the hands small green boughs had been placed. All this had been done in derision after the men had been killed with spears, to accomplish which diabolical act the savages had returned to the spot. By the side of the body of Martin was seen a faithful bulldog named Blucher, which appeared to be wounded. The poor brute, alarmed at the approach of the police, took to the water, giving vent to a most piteous howl, which none of the hearers would be likely to forget. The rescued men said the dog had fought the blacks nobly, and was supposed to have been killed. The metaphorical fiendish display the blacks had time to indulge in may be read to mean that the whites when they intruded on their country had not bodily arms to fight with, or to defend themselves, and had not legs to escape from them, nor brains to cope with them; and to complete the unheard of picture they placed in the powerless hands small branches of green boughs as an emblem of their unarmed helplessness."

One of my informants, a very kind-hearted and genuine Englishman, thus expressed himself to me respecting the effect the shocking sight had upon him on seeing the derisively mangled body of his countryman. Sergeant N—— thus gives his impressions on witnessing the shocking spectacle:—"Before this I never knew what it was to feel bloodthirsty or to desire to take the life of a fellow creature, but this sight caused my blood to run cold; and then I felt as if my brain was on fire, and

that no command would restrain me from wreaking vengeance on such barbarous murderers. I do not know what the Major felt, but I could guess by his distorted countenance, silent as he was, and how he felt his false position. I was with him in his raid against the 'Milemura tribes of natives after the Maria murders, but then his hands were not tied by instructions from the Home Government, and he there carried out what proved to be a humane policy under the orders of our Governor, Colonel Gawler."

After a pause, to allow the feelings of the party to quieten, "the Major ordered a grave to be dug, and he performed funeral service over the body. Then a large fire was made and kept over the spot to disguise the grave. A watch belonging to one of the slaughtered men and a few other articles were found lying about, with broken spears, and here fifty-three head more of cattle were recovered."

Lake Victoria is twenty miles from the last strong camp, Lake Bonney being fifty-six, and the grave is 233 miles from Adelaide. A tree was barked at the crossing of the Rufus, and on it was written "Beware of the blacks," as a caution to fresh parties coming down.

"On June 27 the whole of the force remained at camp to rest the horses. It was called Fort O'Halloran."

Mr. J. C. Hawker says:—

"I took one of the men and rode to the spot to which the natives had removed Messrs. Field and Inman's dray, and found it in the same condition as when first discovered in May. Rode afterwards over the ground where we received the attack, and there found a very large deserted black's camp and piles of sheep's bones."

"28.—Took five men of the party and brought the dray into camp, which I had bought from the owners.

"29.—Still in camp.

"30.—Mr. Inman's horse escaped, and could not be recovered.

"July 2.—Inspector Tolmer, J. C. Hawker, and two troopers dispatched as an express to head-quarters."

Continued from the Major's diary:—

"The place where Langhorne's overland cattle party were attacked was called Langhorne's Ferry by Major O'Halloran, as he here prepared the body of a dray by covering the bottom, back, front, and sides, with a tarpaulin; and in that makeshift crossed a party of eighteen men, under Inspector Tolmer, swimming their horses over to the opposite side. He gave the Inspector strict orders to make prisoners, if possible, without bloodshed; to carry out the commands issued by His Excellency Governor Grey to the letter. The Inspector, with his party, was directed to proceed a little inland, where some natives were known to frequent, and to force them, if found, towards the junction of the Rufus with Lake Victoria, towards the Major and his party of fourteen, who would be there ready to intercept them; after which, if time permitted, he would order both sides of the Lake to be scoured. The drays and party in charge of them (thirteen in all) were to remain at Langhorne's Ferry till the scouring parties returned. The parties on both sides of the channel (known as the River Rufus, being the connection between the Lake and the Murray) mounted, and commenced operations at about midday. The Major's party had not proceeded far in extended order, when one of his scouts gave him notice that about thirty blacks were crossing the

Lake. Orders were given to pursue. The channel or junction of the Lake being waded, the party passed to the New South Wales side, and with speed skirted the Lake, when to their regret they found they were too late. They found at the bank of the Lake eight canoes, which the blacks had left and vanished in the scrub. The Major being thus foiled, turned back and recrossed the channel, which near the junction was found to be fordable. He now extended his men along the banks of the Rufus, in hopes to intercept any blacks that the Inspector's party might drive before him, in passing from a salt-water creek emptying into the Murray. At 2.30 p.m. the Inspector came in with his detachment, and reported he had met with no success. The country around was now seen to be in a blaze with signal fires, and finding it would be useless to make any further attempt to secure prisoners, the whole party returned to Langhorne's Ferry, and all hands were carefully employed in searching along the banks of the Rufus towards the Lake in hopes of finding the other three bodies of the murdered men, which might have been carried by the current then passing from the river to fill up the Lake. This Lake by high floods is filled, and as the river falls for a time, returns its waters to keep up the stream in the Murray, as many back waters, lagoons, and anabranches do on this great watercourse with which our province has been favoured. No more bodies were found, but a musket, uninjured, a morocco cigar case, and other scattered articles, with many broken spears. Trees here were blazed, and on them written, "Beware of blacks," to warn the next unhappy party of their danger on arriving in the country of these bloodthirsty tribes. The flour and other property of the previous sufferers had been found distributed in all directions on the Murray, Rufus, and Lake, thus proving these vagabonds participated in the late dreadful and cruel murders.

The party were ordered to return to the morning camp. Mr. Langhorne this day recovered four more of his cattle, having with the assistance of the relief party ultimately regained all but sixteen head of his number of seven hundred.

"The Rufus is a narrow but deep stream or channel and full of windings. The distance from the Murray to the lake is not more than seven miles. Its breadth is about thirty yards, and at its junction with the Lake it is sufficiently shallow to admit of horsemen and drays crossing without inconvenience, and at this spot only ought overlanders to ford the river. Lake Victoria is a noble expanse of water with rich alluvial flats of considerable extent along its banks, and fit for dairy purposes as pasture land or for agriculture."

The party were now 260 miles from Adelaide and (the Major in his diary says) they could not expect to arrive there under three weeks, which in all would make an absence of nearly seven weeks. He felt much disheartened, after so much anxiety and exertion, that no prisoners had been taken, but he still hoped to be able to do so at or on arriving at Lake Bonney. One great source of consolation to him was that his party had been, under Providence, the happy means of saving the lives of twelve white men as also the bulk of the cattle for the owner and the colony. He could not speak too highly of the admirable conduct of the entire detachment since they left town, every duty having been performed with a prompt cheerfulness. The gentlemen volunteers deserving especially his warm thanks for their gentlemanly conduct and strict obedi-

ence to orders; and their admirable example and quickness in learning their military duties had both surprised and greatly pleased him. The party returned to the fortified camp, and to the regret of the Major and the party the faithful dog Blucher did not again show himself. Mr. Hawker picked up a hymnbook found about two and a half miles from the camp, which had belonged to one of the murdered men.

On the 28th of June the whole party left the camp, which the Major named the Hornet's Nest, but the volunteers called it Fort O'Halloran. Their next camp was on the ground where the famous "Blue Beard" was shot some 18 months previously. Sturt mentioned him in his work. He was a very old man, and had a long white beard. It was reported that he was shot when in the act of some treachery towards Miller's first party. The Major named this spot "Blue Beard's Den."

"20th.—Left Blue Beard's Den and marched fifteen miles. We are detained for Mr. Langhorne's cattle to come up.

"30th.—Marched fourteen miles. Day cold.

"July 1, Thursday. — Marched seventeen miles, crossing Lake Bonney. Now out of country of hostile blacks. Captured a number of women and children, who, however, through a misunderstanding of orders by the men in charge, were released, and they escaped. One of them bit a policeman in the leg, and taking his sword about the middle snap it in two. I was in hopes, by the capture of these women, and by releasing one of them with a message to her tribe, that we might on promising to release the rest, have secured the three men who joined us in this neighbourhood with the promise of acting as interpreters with the hostile blacks, and who afterwards acted so false and treacherous a part. Looked for and found the bottle buried at this camp for the boats, from which I conclude that the boats have been counterordered. Just before dark six blacks fearlessly came to our camp. They were asked if they were not afraid to come near us; but they said no—they had done us no wrong, and they knew we would not hurt them. They knew we had caught their women and children and had released them. The men who had deceived us were ahead, and we should see them. I could not find in my heart to make prisoners of them after thus confiding in us. The point of a spear came out of Mr. Miller's groin this evening.

"July 2, Friday.—Mr. Tolmer, the Sergeant-Major, and Corporal Pollard left camp this morning at 6 a.m. with a despatch for His Excellency. Eleven gentlemen volunteers also accompanied them into town. The faithful bulldog Blucher, that we found at Langhorne's Creek guarding the dead body of poor Martin, to our astonishment came into camp this evening with the cattle. He is very thin and emaciated; had a spear wound through his body, and another in the hind leg, on which he is very lame. He has followed us in this state upwards of 70 miles, and appears at present very shy and timid.

"July 5.—Dead Man's Flat.—A board on a tree, and on [it 'Boats left for the Bend June 25th.' Some hours after arrival at camping-ground caught one of the blacks who had so grossly deceived us by acting as spy to the hostile tribe; notified to him in presence of other blacks that he should be taken as prisoner to Adelaide for the future good conduct of his tribe, for it seems that this fellow and five other men of his tribe were about to attack our cart on the line of our march homeward,

and were only prevented by Sergeant Naughton presenting his carbine at them. He was in the cart sick, with Mr. Miller. The blacks doubtless coveted the rugs and blankets that were laid in numbers in the cart to form a soft bed for the wounded overseer.

"July 6.—Left for town, giving over the command to Inspector Gordon.

"July 8.—Arrived in town at 11 o'clock a.m. Have eleven miles still before me ere I reach my residence."

Extract from Major O'Halloran's report, published in the *Register* of July 10, 1841:—"Unfortunately, after great anxiety, we have failed in making any prisoners, but this has been owing solely to the boats not joining, and for which I cannot account. In a country such as I have gone over, intersected by rivers, lagoons, and creeks, and thick with polygnum scrub and high weeds, it is next to impossible to surprise any blacks, who all know (by scouts and signal fires) of the approach of any party from the time the same makes the river, into which the natives are ready to plunge, and are there secure from all danger. The cruel tribe we are now surrounded by are very numerous, and have doubtless become emboldened by having defeated three successive parties of Europeans, and having also escaped punishment from any detachment. Mr. Inman was attacked three miles from this, and Mr. Langhorne's party fifteen miles east of us; and this clearly proves that this tribe in the last three instances are the murderers of our countrymen, and the plunderers of their property."

EXTRACTS FROM THE "REGISTER."

Register, July 17.—The whole of the police party, we understand, returned from the Murray expedition on Wednesday, bringing in custody a native, though with what crime charged we have not heard. It is said the man was fastened to and obliged to follow the dray. He was tied up on his arrival in the Police Barracks, but during the night he contrived to escape, and no tidings of him have been gained.

Register, 24th.—It will be recollected that one of the objects of the late expedition to the Murray was to protect the party of Mr. Langhorne (reported by him to the Governor), and known to be on the road with a large herd of cattle. The expedition, though it did not reach the spot in time to prevent an attack by the natives and the murder of four of Mr. L.'s servants, was happily the means of saving the lives of those who escaped. The cattle, too, with a trifling exception, were all saved. The Mr. Langhorne who was with the party is indebted as well for his life as for the property to Major O'Halloran's party of police and volunteer gentlemen on the occasion. In knowledge of these facts it was with some surprise we heard it stated on the return of the party that the Mr. Langhorne (who was with the cattle) had refused to supply the expedition with more than one bullock, out of nearly seven hundred saved. We received last week a statement from Mr. J. C. Hawker, who took the trouble to act as commissary to the volunteer force, which we publish without comment. "One beast only was killed for the police and volunteers. As commissary I represented to Captain Beevor that our rations of salt meat would not last us out if we supplied Mr. Langhorne's men with meat. On which Captain Beevor asked Mr. Langhorne when he would be killing a beast, as some of our men were suffering from scurvy."

Mr. Langhorne's answer was that if we thought we had come out to eat fresh meat all the way in we were very much mistaken, as it would cost him twenty head to last us into Adelaide. Mr. Beevor then asked if he would sell some to him, but he refused to sell any, making several paltry excuses."

The following is the account of the expenses incurred by the volunteer party:—"To Messrs. August and Cook, flour, rice, &c., £42; hire of two teams at £8 a week, £55; bullock driver, &c., £8; total, £105. None of this amount is defrayed by Mr. Langhorne."

The account of the third expedition of police, under Sub-Inspector Shaw, accompanied by Mr. Moorhouse, Protector of Aborigines, will appear in next chapter, on which occasion ample punishment was inflicted on the Rufus tribes and their allies, by a great slaughter of the emboldened natives.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FINAL AND DECISIVE EXPEDITION—HEAVY SLAUGHTER OF THE OFFENDING TRIBES.

AFTER the return of Major O'Halloran on the 8th of May, 1841, with his strong party from his second almost fruitless expedition—utterly so as to the recovery of any of the 7,000 sheep taken from Messrs. Inman and Field—Governor Grey being well informed that other parties were on their way down, and made alive to the increased danger they would be likely to encounter from the same murderous blacks who had hitherto had it so nearly all their own way, at length felt it incumbent on him to send a third party under Sub-Inspector Shaw, and with him Mr. M. Moorhouse as Protector. (Qy—Of the whites from unjust censures?)

In the *Register* of September 11, 1841, was published a report of that expedition from the Protector of the Aborigines; also a letter from Mr. Robinson, who was met by the Government force at the Rufus Junction, where a conflict took place, when the little army of blacks placed themselves between the two parties, and advancing to attack at length met with their deserts. I now give an account of this affair from the public records of the time:—

“Yesterday morning Mr. Robinson arrived in Adelaide overland in advance of his party with stock from New South Wales under their charge, and has furnished accounts of two desperate affrays before reaching and on the Rufus, from which they safely escaped. We are enabled to present our readers with full extracts from the official report of Mr. Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines, to His Excellency the Governor. The painfully interesting details which these documents furnish render comment for this week at least unnecessary, as an investigation has been ordered by the Governor to be made by the Bench of Magistrates. It is clear, however, on the surface that no party can for the present pass safely from New South Wales territory into South Australia unless sufficiently numerous and well armed.

THE PROTECTOR'S REPORT.

“Lake Bonney, September 4, 1841.

“Sir—I have the honour to inform His Excellency the Governor that the expedition consisting of twenty-nine Europeans with three aborigines, which left Adelaide on the 31st July to meet Mr. Robinson and others on their route from Sydney is now on its return, having been effectual in rendering all the assistance that was necessary to the parties. I joined the detachment fifty miles from Adelaide on the 4th of August, and with it reached the Pound on the 7th. I had all the party mustered, and read and explained my instructions to them. Several natives were within a mile of the camp, but did not visit us. Our

blacks went to them, and returned with some curious reports, that in consequence of a black scout coming down the river the bulk of the active natives had gone upwards on being called on 'to congregate and attack a party coming down the river with bullocks, sheep, and clothing.' I received the report with doubts, but as we travelled along the Murray I noticed an unusual absence of native camps, which soon led me to believe the story. In passing over a distance of over ninety miles we only saw natives on one place, the number being twenty-four, emaciated old men and women unable to travel.

"On the 18th of August we halted for the night, three miles to the south of Lake Bonney. Our Adelaide natives took three of our party—myself, Sub-Inspector Shaw, and a volunteer gentleman—to a creek two miles distant from our camp, where we saw 105 blacks, who seemed frightened at our approach, and several women took their children on their backs and ran into the water. Some of the men seized their spears and stood firmly by their wurlies. Two of them came to me, whom I had seen on my previous visit, and asked if I did not know them. They showed great anxiety to be on friendly terms with us, and said they could prove that they had not speared white man's property. They said there are three horses near our camp, and we could spear them at any time, but we have not done so, as we wish to be friends with white man. They then took us through a belt of scrub and showed us the horses within 400 yards of a wurlie.

"19th.—When about to march, forty of the natives we had seen last night came up to us, and urged us strongly not to go on, as there was a great number of blacks congregated two days' march ahead, at work preparing spears and other weapons, and they would be sure to attack us. They were 'turla butta' (full of wrath), and would take our clothing and provisions. I desired one of them to go with us, but he declined. This interview produced a bad effect on the blacks we brought from town. Two of them on the following day turned aside from the track, pretending to hunt, but did not return. Fortunately we had the other fellow on the dray, whom we did not suffer to escape. In the evening camped on Tolmer's Flat, twelve miles to the north-east of Lake Bonney.

"20th.—Halted to rest the cattle, now in the country of the hostile natives, and here had the first instance of aggression I witnessed on the river. The party were all at drill; the sheep we had with us for food were allowed to graze without a shepherd. When drill was over, and the shepherd went after his sheep, he found one with a spear in its side, and saw the aggressor, but he escaped. We now had some difficulty in keeping our interpreter. As we passed along the river he made many enquiries from natives on the opposite side, and frequently asked me how many sleeps we were from Lake Victoria, because he was told we would be attacked there. He induced three of these blacks to join us, whom we supplied abundantly with kangaroo, and allowed them to sleep at our camp, but charging them not to move about during the night lest one of the four guards might shoot them. Pangi Pangi, our Adelaide black, urged us to keep up drill that the strangers might see the superiority of white men's arms.

"On the 25th Sub-Inspector Shaw had a tree marked at a distance of fifty yards, and ordered the men to fire at the mark, allowing three

seconds between each shot. Pangi Pangi said, I am glad, and no more frightened. The three blacks who had been with us several days were terrified and wished to go before us to the Lake 'to tell tribe what white man can do with mucketty.' I was glad to let them go.

"27th.—Now only five miles from the lake I mustered the party and repeated my instructions. Each man was told that no firing could be allowed until the Inspector gave the command. I advised them, in case of attack from the natives, to use every exertion to protect the drays. At 9 a.m. we marched, and in an hour we saw two mounted men on the opposite side of the Rufus, whom we found to be Mr. Robinson and Mr. Levi, at one mile from Langhorne's Ferry towards the lake. We saluted them heartily, and asked if their party were all safe. They answered 'Yes, both persons and property,' although they had been attacked on the preceding day by a body of 300 blacks, who were repulsed after receiving eight wounds from the overlanders. At the time of the attack they were about two miles from the Rufus, and marched on and encamped at Langhorne's Ferry. They asked of us where the herds and drays could cross, as they were then looking out for an easy place to cross, and wished to do so immediately. They had found the junction of the Rufus with the lake too wide and deep, and now would take the ferry. We now left them and rode along the Rufus towards Lake Victoria, and greatly to our surprise discovered a large mob of natives running towards us, each carrying his implements of war. We hastily returned to our party. The drays were drawn up on the banks of the river; the men were formed in a line of two deep to protect the drays. In half an hour the natives were seen in the scrub at about half a mile distant, evidently prepared to commence an attack. I, seeing this, gave the command of the party to Sub-Inspector Shaw, and said he was at liberty to issue such orders as he thought necessary for our safety and of the overland party whom we had been sent out to protect, desiring him not to commence firing until I had spoken to the hostile natives. I ordered Pangi to accompany me in advance. After we had proceeded about three hundred yards, the three blacks who had gone forward at their own request to confer with the advancing tribe left the mob and came to us. I asked them what message they brought. They said the Lake people would not listen to them; they knew the whites had tomahawks, blankets, and food, and they would have them at all risks. I took these fellows back and told them to sit down out of the way of the strife. The police party were on the western bank of the Rufus, and Mr. Robinson and his men on the eastern bank, who advanced towards the closing natives and commenced to fire on them; Mr. Shaw also ordered a firing to commence. The natives were almost immediately thrown into confusion, the greater part running into the scrub, and about fifty running into the water to conceal themselves in the thick reeds. Both parties closed on to those in the water. The firing lasted about fifteen minutes, and the result to the natives was, according to my estimate, about thirty killed, ten wounded, and four prisoners taken (one adult male, one boy, and two lubras). Mr. Robinson was speared in the left arm. As soon as there was the least probability of taking prisoners firing ceased. More prisoners might have been taken if an alarm at the drays had not been given which called the party off from searching the reeds, and in the meantime the natives escaped.

"At 11 a.m. the following day the whole of Mr. Robinson's party were safely crossed. The police fully armed, being drawn up, the prisoners were placed in the centre, whom I addressed through the interpreters. I told them they had been advised by their allies not to attack the whites, whose arms were so superior to their own; that we had not any desire to kill black men or their lives would have been taken; that I was empowered to allow the two who were wounded to go to their friends (that was a boy and a woman); that the other woman whose husband had been killed, and who was rescued by the Adelaide black, having consented to become his wife, might go with him to Adelaide; that I should take the black man, the other prisoner, to Adelaide, and he would be there kept as a hostage, and if the tribe attacked any other party coming down the river he might be put to death. I then gave the woman and the boy their liberty, and one day's supply of provisions, telling them we wished to be friends with their tribe, and that the prisoner was taken as a pledge of their future good conduct, &c.

Mr. Robinson's statement:—

"On July 1st, in company with Mr. Warriner (a crack shot with a rifle) and Mr. Barker, I left Gundaguy, on the Murrumbidgee, with 6,000 ewes, 14 horses, 500 mixed head of cattle, 3 drays, and 26 in party. We were well armed, and had heard of the attacks on the previous parties. We saw blacks all the way down, but did not allow them to come near us. The Darling was in full flood, and we lost three head of cattle in crossing. On approaching the Rufus I had remained a day's march behind looking for strayed cattle, and saw thirty or forty natives fully armed on the track towards the Lake. The blacks on seeing me crossed the Murray. The day following I had gone on ahead to look for a crossing-place. On my return towards the party I saw about 300 blacks, who, perceiving me, formed themselves into a half-circle to oppose the advance of the party. I immediately got all the sheep and cattle together, left nine men with the drays, and with the remainder of the party went to the blacks, who by this time had approached near to the sheep, yelling most hideously, and by their gestures evidently intent on an attack on us. They met our approach, on which we commenced firing. After receiving eight rounds the blacks gave way, and we drove them to the bush. During this affair about fifteen were killed or seriously wounded. We then proceeded on and camped. The following morning we were met by the party from Adelaide sent to protect us. We were told by them that they expected an attack that day. I said I thought not, as we had the previous day encountered a large number of blacks, and had beaten them. As we were preparing to cross at Langhorne's Ferry one of the Adelaide party came and informed us that the natives in force were approaching through the scrub. The three blacks who had preceded Mr. Moorhouse also told us that the hostile blacks were close at hand, determined to fight and plunder us. We met their advance and fired on them, &c. (as stated by Mr. Moorhouse). The prisoner on a subsequent day attempted to escape, and was not retaken until he had received three gunshot wounds."

Mr. Robinson further remarks:—

"On entering the South Australian country the difference is most striking; nothing can be finer than the tracks from the Springs to Adelaide."

Register, September 18th—Remarks of the Editor :—

“The Bench of Magistrates are to assemble on Monday to enquire into the late deplorable *rencontre* with the natives. The investigation is to be public. As the matter stands at present it is very plain Mr. Moorhouse cannot act as Protector, for it was under his protection they were shot down by dozens, and by his own showing, before they had thrown a spear or committed a single offensive act in his presence.”

“I have quoted the above, as the remarks of the Editor will be so completely answered by the unanimous resolution of the Bench in justification of Mr. Moorhouse, after an examination of himself and others during three days ; extracts from the published reports of which will follow :—

On Monday, at midday, the Bench of Magistrates sat at the Court-House to investigate the circumstances under which about fifty natives were shot on the Murray by Mr. Robinson's overland party and by that under Mr. Sub-Inspector Shaw, dispatched by His Excellency Governor Grey.

The Chairman of the Bench addressed Mr. Moorhouse, and informed him that in order to satisfy the public mind in the colony and at home, the Governor had thought it necessary to have an official investigation into the circumstances of the late engagement on the Murray, and requested Mr. Moorhouse to state to the Bench the facts of the case. Mr. Moorhouse's published report was read by Mr. Richman. Mr. Smillie asked Mr. Moorhouse if he adhered to that statement and confirmed it, and that gentleman replied that he did.

In answer to other questions Mr. Moorhouse stated—No spears were thrown before the firing commenced. The blacks were approaching in line with spears quivering in their hands poised ready for throwing. A message of defiance had been previously brought by three blacks (allies of the hostile assailants) that they were determined to have our property.

Captain Sturt—What was the conviction in your mind when you gave over the command of the party ?—My conviction was that we were to be attacked ; that if we had allowed them to approach within spear's throw we should all have been cut off. Firing was the only advantage we had to compensate for our small numbers, the muskets being able to kill at greater distance than their spears. I calculated that one hundred and fifty fighting men who were in front had at least four hundred spears with them, each spear being equal to one gun if within their range.

Major O'Halloran—You think their object was to make a rush ?—I think so, and so we all thought. I made signals to them not to approach but they paid no attention.

Dr. Kent—What were your instructions ?—They were, in case the natives manifested any hostile intention, to give over the command to Mr. Shaw that he might issue such orders as he deemed necessary for our safety.

Captain Sturt—You did not give up the command to Sub-Inspector Shaw till you saw all hopes of an amicable understanding were at an end ?—I did not.

Captain Sturt—Can you venture an opinion as to whether Mr. Robinson's party would have driven them off without the assistance of

the police?—I think they would have taken his drays and sheep from him.

Mr. Moorhouse further stated that about two days afterwards¹ he saw about one hundred blacks with their arms, going down the river, but they offered us no further annoyance.

Mr. Robinson also underwent a long examination, as also the native interpreter, and confirmed Mr. Moorhouse.

The prisoner, Pul Kanta, was examined, and admitted it was their intention to take the sheep, &c. To other questions he would not answer, and was silent when asked if he had fought the whites on the same spot before.

Mr. Moorhouse said he did not fire on natives; he never carried arms when among the natives.

It was moved by Major O'Halloran, and seconded by Mr. Eyre, "That the Bench of Magistrates after full and careful examination of all the evidence brought before them relating to the late affray with the natives on the Rufus, and the police and Mr. Robinson's party, are unanimously of opinion that the conduct of Mr. Moorhouse and his party was justifiable, and indeed unavoidable, and that much praise is due to him and the combined party for the great forbearance the force evinced when placed under circumstances of the most trying nature."

It must be here noticed that no subsequent censures were uttered or published, when this much to be deplored heavy slaughter of natives was rendered necessary, after the weak tampering policy had been unsuccessfully put in practice. If so large a number were known to have been killed, what an unknown number must have been wounded and escaped to die in the bush.

A resolution was also passed that His Excellency be respectfully solicited, under the circumstances now elicited, that an armed party should be stationed in the vicinity of Langhorne's Ferry, and also that the native prisoner, Pul Kanta, be placed forthwith under the charge of the Protector of Aborigines, and after receiving from him such instructions as at his command, be set at liberty to return to his tribe. See appendix Major O'Halloran's letter.

Register, October 2nd, 1841.—"Yesterday Mr. Eyre left town on his road to the Murray, where he is to be stationed as Police Magistrate of the district. Mr. Eyre takes with him the native captured in the late affray on the Rufus, and he trusts through his means to be enabled to open up a friendly communication with the hostile blacks."

The following passage is from Dutton's *South Australian*, published 1846:—

"Mr. Eyre held this appointment at Moorundee, eighty-five miles from Adelaide. Governor Grey made this appointment, after many Europeans had been from time to time killed and their property destroyed or plundered; whilst on the other hand, whenever the parties of whites had been in sufficient force, great slaughter of the blacks had been committed. The Governor, therefore, had apparently sufficient grounds for going to the expense of the above establishment, even at a time when colonial finances were at the lowest possible ebb."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS—ACCOUNT OF POONINDIE ABORIGINAL INSTITUTION — LITTLE VALUE OF NATIVE PROTECTORATE EXPOSED.

HAVING in previous chapters brought the long and calamitous history of the conflicts with the blacks on the Murray River, from the threatened attack on Captain Sturt in his boat expedition in the year 1830, down to the fight between the blacks and the whites on the Rufus Junction in 1841, I think it will be as well to give a short summary of the contest, ending with the severe punishment of the blacks as recorded in the previous chapter, before I shall bring to the notice of readers allusions to more pleasing pictures of the intercourse of the whites' associations with the benighted race. Before the severe encounters I have recorded, a few trifling attacks by detached bodies of blacks on overland parties with stock had been previously made, but had been repulsed on the fall or wounding of one or two of the assailants. When, however, the passing of white men with flocks of sheep down the bank of the river commenced, the wild natives saw their greater chances of success, and the detached tribes associated together and made their first combined and successful attack on Mr. Inman's party, and secured the 7,000 sheep on the 16th of April, 1841, as before written.

On the day following the arrival of this surprising news, Governor Gawler dispatched Major O'Halloran with a doctor to attend the wounded whitemen, and a small body of mounted police, but recalled the force before they arrived at scene of strife. This was the first party sent out.

Second. Small party of volunteers under Lieutenant Field, R.N., badly armed, beaten back by the natives.

Third. Large body of police and volunteers under Major O'Halloran arrived at Rufus in time to save Langhorne's party except four men killed, but no prisoners were taken, sheep recovered, or punishment inflicted.

Fourth. A small well-armed party of police (with Dr. Moorhouse present as Protector of Aborigines) under Sub-Inspector Shaw, who met Robinson's party with cattle and sheep at Rufus Junction and there encountered the blacks, who in their bravery, and filled with contempt for the white man's previous exhibitions, placed themselves between two fires, and received ample punishment, as related in the previous chapter.

Then comes the enquiry of the Bench of Magistrates under Governor Grey's orders, whose report fully justified the action of Dr. Moorhouse and the Inspector, and "respectfully soliciting the Governor to place an *armed* party in the vicinity of Langhorne's Ferry on the Rufus, for the protection of overland parties."

There we have nothing advised but fire-arms and force, to govern and manage poor ignorant natives. On this recommendation Governor Grey appointed Mr. Eyre as Stipendiary Magistrate, to reside at Moorundee with police support, the post being about 200 miles from the Rufus. As to this appointment I have no adverse remarks to make, and only desire to bring such an incomplete plan into contrast with the infinitely superior system inaugurated by Archdeacon Hale, and commenced in a great measure with his own private funds, and which has since attained a decided success, viz., the Aboriginal Mission at Poonindie, Port Lincoln, founded after the grievous murders committed in that district on different white settlers and their servants by the natives.

I have great pleasure at this time in giving a few cheering particulars of the good work accomplished by this mission; fuller details hereafter, to follow the narration of the third sad page in our history, where has to be recorded the hanging at different times of twelve natives, who after being tried in Adelaide at the Supreme Court were conveyed to their own districts, and suffered there the extreme penalty of the law in presence of their tribes. I may here mention that the Government after the Milemura outbreak applied the same principle of overawing the natives as they did afterwards in the Rufus affair, having appointed a sort of deputy protector of the Lake tribes, who was ordered to reside at Wellington to keep those tribes in order with carbine, sword, &c., but no attempt was made by Government to instruct or form any establishment or home in which to train the wandering human beings in habits of industry and civilisation even, not to mention religious training. Of Corporal Mason, the Sub-Protector, it is admitted he fulfilled his limited duties to the best of his ability, his chief influence arising from the miserable dole at distant stated times of blankets and rations, and here the duty of Government was allowed to end. It is a pleasure to me to record that in this portion of the colony also private benevolence afterwards stepped in to establish an institution and home for the dispossessed aboriginal tribes in the Point Macleay Mission, which, as far as its means extend, is effecting good work, placed as it is on very inferior and unprofitable land. Strangers will naturally ask how is it that a Government composed of professing Christian people has not appropriated and set apart suitable blocks of land of sufficient extent in the several districts for such establishments? Well, if such an appropriation of what may be called their own land, say five per cent. of the whole, or even infinitely less, in blocks, and encouragement had also been given by the Government, many other such establishments as the two I have mentioned might have been formed, and have become self-supporting as Poonindie has been for some time, as will be shown hereafter.

I have enlarged upon this matter at the end of the history of the Rufus contest to lead to what I consider the Government should do in making a grant of land on the banks of Lake Victoria, or in that neighbourhood, for the benefit of the strong tribes in the district where such fatal conflicts have occurred. And to show its suitability I quote from Major O'Halloran's diary of his official visit to that part of our province:—

“Lake Victoria is a noble expanse of water, with rich alluvial flats of considerable extent along its banks, and fit for dairy purposes as pas-

ture land, or agriculture, about 260 miles from Adelaide. The lake appears to me to be about forty miles in circumference, and one-half of it, at least, must be in the Province of South Australia; the remainder belongs to New South Wales. Two or three special surveys might be taken up with great advantage, and a town formed in that vicinity and within our province. I know not the spot in the colony that I should like to locate on as in Lake Victoria." (There is the opinion of a gentleman who had early entered into farming and stockkeeping. This land at the present time and in the country near has not been alienated.)

Eyre, Dutton, Forster, and other writers of South Australia have stated as follows, their opinions on the native race, *i.e.*, after the first abortive and insufficient means had been adopted for their amelioration by the Colonial Governments under instructions from Home.

I first quote from Mr. Dutton:—"The black inhabitant gradually dwindles away before the blighting effects of civilization, and another half century will most probably also see the end of the Australian aboriginal race." Eyre says:—"It has already been stated that in all the colonies we have hitherto established upon the continent the aborigines are gradually decreasing in numbers, or have already disappeared in proportion to the time their country has been occupied by Europeans, We are almost, in spite of ourselves, forced to the conviction that the first appearance of the white man in any new country sounds the funeral knell of the children of the soil."

In quoting from writers who record their opinions as to the hopelessness of attempting to ameliorate the condition of the natives, or to save them from certain extinction, I do so to precede the publication of the very different and satisfactory results which I purpose to show have attended the two principal private establishments (as they may be called) now at work in this colony, and so to set up unanswerable arguments with which to force claims on Government to continue and confirm the appropriation of the land now occupied at Poonindie and Point McLeay, and to obtain much larger and more equitable grants in other localities, which cannot be abrogated or interfered with, through or by uncompromising greedy white "subjects of His Majesty." To support this view of our duties I quote from a despatch of Lord Stanley to Sir Geo. Gipps in 1842:—

"I cannot conclude this despatch without expressing my sense of the importance of the subject of it. My hope is that your experience may enable you to suggest some general plan by which we may acquit ourselves of the obligations which we owe towards this helpless race of beings. I should not without extreme reluctance admit that nothing could be done; that with respect to them alone the doctrines of Christianity must be inoperative, and the advantages of civilization incommunicable. I cannot acquiesce in the theory that they are incapable of improvement, and their extinction before the advance of the white settler is a necessity which it is impossible to control. I recommend them to your protection and favourable consideration with the greatest earnestness, but at the same time with perfect confidence; and I assure you that I shall be willing and anxious to co-operate with you in any arrangement for their civilization which may hold out a fair prospect of success."

Mr. Dutton speaks thus of the Government post at Moorundee under Mr. Eyre :—

“ Mr. Eyre has certainly succeeded in an eminent degree in effecting the object contemplated, as the whole length of the River Murray, from the Great Northern Bend to the coast, is occupied at the present moment with sheep and cattle stations, and no single outrage of a fatal nature has since the establishment of that post been committed by the natives ; whilst at the same time a great moral control and influence has been obtained over the more distant and warlike tribes, who were either periodically visited in their own districts by Mr. Eyre, or used to come down to Moorundee to receive the meagre distribution of flour and blankets now and then allowed them by the Government.”

As to any of the higher objects, which should have been aimed at through Government posts, Mr. Dutton wrote in 1846 :—

“ Of the protectorate posts in New South Wales, after costing the large sum of £80,000 since 1821 in keeping up a widely ramified establishment of protectors, that plan has, I believe, been abandoned in despair, as being productive of no good. Had that money been annually dropped into the sea outside the Sydney Heads the loss could not be more regretted than its resultless application in redeeming the savages, and it would have saved both Sir George Gipps and Lord Stanley the trouble of writing the immensity of despatches they did ; and, although the experiments in South Australia have been made on a far more moderate scale, no better results can be shown with us than in the neighbouring colonies ; but the effects of our civilising influence is shown (as Mr. Eyre says) ‘ in their diminished numbers ;’ nor is it in my recollection that throughout the whole length and breadth of New Holland a single real and permanent convert to Christianity has yet been made amongst them.”

This as the result of the protectorate system ! Forster in his later history says :—

“ The aborigines of New Holland are fast disappearing from the face of the earth. The occupation of the country has injuriously affected them in many ways without conferring upon them any compensating advantages. It has broken up their tribal arrangements, by which the land was parcelled out into hunting districts that could only be encroached upon by strangers under such penalties as savages are wont to inflict on one another. Civilisation has in fact impressed its vices, with very few of its virtues, and tended to sink to a still lower depth the already degraded inhabitants of the soil. In saying that no advantages have been bestowed on the natives for the loss of their territory, I do not mean to imply that no attempts have been made to benefit them, or that they have been ruthlessly left to perish by the Government and colonists without protection and without sympathy. It was a special instruction of the Home Government on the establishment of South Anstralia that they should be *properly cared for* ; and for that purpose a Chief Protector of Aborigines was appointed in Adelaide, and Sub-Protectors were sent into the country districts.” Yes ; and with such results as before set forth !

Then, under what responsibilities do the inhabitants now remain ? *New systems* have been adopted, which are calling aloud as successful *experiments* for the support of every man and woman according to their

means and influence. It is almost past credence that at this time a member of Parliament, at the instance of one or more greedy constituents, should have moved in Parliament to deprive the trustees of the Poonindie institution of the occupation of the land on which a large number of civilised and Christianised natives are leading a respectable, useful, and happy life—families *permanently* residing in a model village, occupying neat cottages, and in all respects conducting themselves as well or better than any white community in the province. In this mission-township at this time the number of native or half-caste inhabitants is eighty-eight. There are forty-four children regularly attending the school, who are clothed and fed. Medical attendance is also provided gratuitously to all who require the same. No public grant of money has been received since 1866, at which time there was a debt owing of over £800, since paid; and under the management of the last appointed trustee, G. W. Hawkes, Esq., the mission has not only become self-supporting, but in addition to contributions from the coloured inhabitants to several charitable objects, grants from the profits of the farm and flocks have for some time been made annually to the Point McLeay Mission. When these papers reach the date at which the establishment at Poonindie was founded by Arch-Deacon Hale I propose to give a detailed history; in the meantime I will add in this place a few pleasing facts which have recently occurred or are now taking place there. The natives when employed on the farm or station receive regular wages. The following amounts of money wages were paid to coloured labourers:—In the year 1875, £697 7s. 11d.; 1876, £841 13s. 1d.; 1877, £720 5s. 8d. The men when not employed on the station take contract jobs of shearing sheep, grubbing, or any other rural work from settlers, sometimes in amounts of £50 and £70, and employ under them bush blacks from wild tribes.

At this present shearing Mr. A. Tennant has engaged on contract shearers from Poonindie after they had finished their home work; one or two white men joined this second party, a pleasing feature. By Mr. Tennant they were sent up to his station on the Middle-back Ranges under contract, to shear, sort, and pack the wool of four thousand sheep, without superintendence, at 30s. a hundred with rations. This work was also done by black men last season from Poonindie, to the perfect satisfaction of the flockowner.

Tom Adams, one of the men, is allowed to be unsurpassed as a shearer in that district; and although the quantity shorn in a working day by blacks does not average that made by a white party, the work done by them is equal to or superior in quality. Tom Adams turns out in a day from eighty to ninety. The above particulars I acknowledge with thanks to have received from G. W. Hawkes, Esq., that firm friend of the native races as well as of all other benevolent institutions.

I conclude this chapter with an appeal to all colonists to exert their influence to procure for the future ample appropriation of land on which to establish native missions where now required.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ARRIVAL OF PRESBYTERIAN CLERGYMEN AND ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS.

In earlier chapters it has been my pleasing task to record the arrival of the first ministers of religion of three denominations, viz., of the Church of England, of the Independents, and of the Wesleyan Methodists, and to speak of their untiring exertions in the fulfilment of their missionary duties, and of them as examples as men of true Christian charity in their walk and conduct.

Next in order I come to the arrival of the Rev. Ralph Drummond, the first minister of the United Presbyterian Church, who arrived in this colony in June, 1839, in the ship *Sir Charles Forbes*. After passing his studies under the celebrated Dr. Lawson, of Selkirk, and at the Divinity Hall at Glasgow, he settled at Crail, in Fifeshire, where he was held in high esteem, as was testified by several members of his then congregation, who afterwards became colonists of South Australia, W. W. Hughes, Esq., being one of that number. Mr. Drummond commenced the services of his church in a small chapel in Angas-street, still standing.

In the performance of his first duties to the scattered members of his Church here he had to take many long and toilsome journeys on foot about the Finnis, Strathalbyn, and Mount Barker Districts, in order to visit wide apart members of his flock and scattered settlers of other communions whom he desired to benefit spiritually. He continued to officiate as pastor of the Church he had opened in this colony till the year 1856, when he had toiled here seventeen years. In the year 1871 he completed the fiftieth year of his ministry. On the expiration of this term of his fixed official duties an address was presented to him by the Revs. J. Lyall and J. Davidson on behalf of the Presbytery, expressing most cordial congratulations on his having attained his jubilee as a minister of the Gospel, and regret that his then state of health would not admit of a public celebration on such an interesting occasion. Mr. Drummond expired at Mitcham on the 26th April, 1872, at the age of eighty years. He was interred at the West-terrace Cemetery, when there was a large attendance, not confined to members of the Church over which he had so long presided, but embracing numerous friends of other denominations, to evince their esteem for him as a faithful and devoted Christian minister.

"The first minister of the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland who came to the colony to gather together a flock of members of his Church was the Rev. Robt. Haining, who landed at Port Adelaide at the end of 1841 from the ship *Orissa*, of London. It is gratifying, as showing true Christian union, to be able to give in the narrative of his work in the colony, that the opening services he held, on the first

Sunday after his arrival, were in Trinity Church, North-terrace. The Rev. C. B. Howard, the Incumbent, in a spirit of Christian courtesy, gave the use of his Church on that occasion, offering no objection to the whole of the services being carried out according to Presbyterian form, but himself giving aid in leading the psalmody. I would here remark how much more in accordance with our Saviour's example and precepts it would be if such Christian liberality could be recorded as the rule of action, and not merely the pleasing exception, in the practice of those who profess to be Christ's disciples and followers. Then for two Sundays Mr. Haining preached in the Congregational Church in Freeman-street, Mr. Stow taking advantage of this opportunity to pay missionary visits to several districts a day's ride or more from Adelaide. Arrangements were at the same time being made by the Presbyterians of the old Kirk for hiring a small place of worship which had been erected by the Wesleyan Methodists, and was afterwards sold to the Baptist body and used by them. It stood in Hindley-street, immediately west of the site of the present Theatre. (In this small building the Rev. Mr. Playford subsequently for some time ministered to the members of the "Methodist Baptists," so that it has been used as the first meeting-house of three distinct sects of Christians before it ceased to be applied to religious purposes, and has been only recently removed). Here Mr. Haining gathered his first congregation around him, and herein continued to officiate until a larger edifice was erected in Grenfell-street in 1844, which in its turn was abandoned to secular purposes on the erection of the present church in Wakefield-street, known as St. Andrew's Church, of which he continued minister until the infirmities of advanced years induced him to retire from ministerial work. Besides regular morning and evening services in the city, Mr. Haining for some time took part in maintaining a Sunday afternoon service at Port Adelaide in the original wooden church, on the site where now stands St. Paul's Anglican Church, which was erected with the understanding that it should be available for divine service alike for the Anglican and Presbyterian forms of worship, an arrangement which was carried out in a most brotherly spirit by the Rev. (afterwards Dean) Farrell, and the Rev. Mr. Haining officiating alternately, each according to the form of his own Church, the congregations embracing with few exceptions the same individuals at either service. A pleasing instance this of Christian union."

"An amusing anecdote is told of one of Mr. Haining's visits to the Port Adelaide Church, and is worthy of Dean Ramsay's collection. Mr. Haining was glad to get some friend to accompany him on these visits, and on one occasion, having with him in the old hired gig Mr. Wotherspoon, W.S., then resident in Adelaide, on a hot summer's Sunday, the following incident occurred:—Mr. Haining was driving, and when he came to the crossing of the Torrens at Thebarton, where there was then no bridge, and the banks of the river were steep and worn into deep holes, he let one of the wheels jerk violently into a hole, and was pitched out. The accident was supposed to have occurred in consequence of Mr. Haining slackening the reins while he took a pinch of snuff—he was an inveterate snuffer. He rolled down the dusty bank, and was nearly going into the shallow stream when his friend jumped out and stopped him. After brushing the dust from his clothes as well as they could the journey was resumed. Presently Mr. Wotherspoon said in a solemn manner, "Mr. Haining, *Ux*

sorry to see you've disobeyed one o' the injunctions o' Scripture the day." "Indeed," replied Mr. Haining, "and what is it?" "Why d'ye no mind what Joseph said to his brethren—'See that ye fall not out by the way,'"

"Mr. Haining also held services at Dry Creek, Morphett Vale, Mount Barker, Strathalbyn, etc., and in his journeyings to these outlying places many indeed were his struggles and those of his poor horse Badger over the unmade and rough tracks of the primitive bush districts in all weathers. He would frequently hold services under the wide-spreading branches of giant gumtrees, many of his hearers arriving by families in bullock-drays. In the first years of his service in the colony he was assisted in his income by an allowance from the Foreign Mission Fund of his Church. Such were the labours of our first missionaries."

I have also great pleasure in devoting space in this chapter to give the history from the small beginnings to the successful establishment of the missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church in this province, greatly advanced after the beneficial appointment of Bishop Murphy. I am indebted to the present liberal and truly Christian head of that Church in South Australia—the Right Rev. Bishop Reynolds—for copious extracts from their records, as follows:—"Amongst the very first settlers in South Australia the number of Catholics was proportionally great. The spiritual wants of those who settled about Adelaide, Brighton, and Morphett Vale were attended to by Mr. Phillips, whose house served as an oratory, where as many as wished assembled each Sunday for prayer, reading, and for catechism."

"Early in 1839 the Catholic inhabitants deputed Messrs Phillips, Johnson, and Counsell to make known the great need of a priest in their midst, and through them a petition was sent to Archbishop Polding (then Vicar Apostolic of New Holland), who sent his Vicar-General, the Very Rev. William Bernard Ullathorne, D.D., to visit the little flock in South Australia. He arrived in June, 1840. As soon as the Catholics heard of the arrival of a priest they mustered in goodly number, and many not of his Church were also glad to welcome him. The house on East-terrace was too small in which to open services. Dr. Ullathorne applied to the then Manager of the South Australian Company, to allow him the temporary use of a schoolroom, which was used at times as a chapel. Although this room was vacant at the time, Dr. Ullathorne's request was refused, and in a manner and language bigotted, rude, and uncalled for—in words taken from the Rev. Dr.'s report, "He would not aid me in my Popish practices." This unseemly conduct, as well as that exhibited by the representative of royalty, who forgot his duty on that occasion, was represented by Dr. Ullathorne to the authorities in Downing-street. Many of the non-Catholics expressed their indignation at such narrow bigotry. Lord Glenelg (Colonial Secretary) some time before having heard of the need of a Catholic priest to be connected with the convict establishment in Sydney, had dispatched Dr. Ullathorne as a Government Chaplain, to administer his sacred office, and to exercise his influence on the banished population of Roman Catholics in bond or as ex-pirees in the Province of New South Wales, which at the time of his appointment extended over the portion of New Holland which was afterwards assigned to South Australia. Bearing this in mind it will be *allowed that the policy displayed by our Governor and the Manager of*

the South Australian Company was open to censure, and justified the representation Dr. Ullathorne felt called on to make to Her Majesty's Government."

"Mr. Neal, who had at that time a large store in Waymouth-street, placed it at the disposal of the Catholics, as Dr. Ullathorne says in his report:—"A very large room was given us by a liberal *Protestant gentleman*, where I erected a temporary altar, where surrounded by crockery, hardware, and miscellaneous articles, I preached my first public sermon in the capital of South Australia." He also says:—"I had previously met a few of my people in a cottage on East-terrace, where also I offered the sacrifice of the Mass for the first time."

"After organising the Catholics to collect the means to erect a place of worship and to pay the passage of a priest, whom he promised to procure for South Australia, Dr. Ullathorne returned to Sydney per ship *Indus* on July the 10th, 1840. The Rev. Mr. Benson was duly appointed by the Vicar Apostolic, and left Sydney by the brig *Dorset* February 14, 1841, for his mission in South Australia. He was a quiet, delicate gentleman, and scarcely ever left the city. He hired a wooden building which stood near the corner of Topham and Waymouth-streets, and lived in a small slab hut in rear of his temporary chapel. The building will be remembered by old colonists as having previously served for a time as a Police Court. Father Benson's health completely gave way during the heat of January, 1843. He returned to Sydney in the following April, and afterwards left for England, and died at Wolverhampton in 1868 at the ripe age of 73."

"In 1842 Pope Gregory XVI. raised Sydney to an Archbishopial See, and gave to the first Archbishop, the late Venerable John Bede Polding, O.S.B., Hobart Town, Perth, and Adelaide, as suffragan sees. The choice of the Pontiff compelled Dr. Murphy, Vicar-General of the Archbishop, to become first Bishop of Adelaide. The Rev. Edmund O'Mahony was sent *pro tem.* to Adelaide by the Metropolitan, to prepare for the coming of the Bishop. Father O'Mahony was rural Dean at East Maitland. He was a most amiable gentleman, and, notwithstanding his delicate constitution, was most energetic and laborious. He visited every district where he heard of any of his flock residing. He had for some time to work alone, as Father Benson had left via Sydney for New Zealand, and was single-handed until November 9, 1844, when the Right Rev. Francis Murphy, D.D., first Roman Catholic Bishop of Adelaide, arrived per ship *Mary White*, accompanied by Father Michael Ryan, whom the Bishop subsequently appointed as his Vicar-General. The good Bishop and his two priests found that the "harvest was indeed great, and the laborers very few," yet he was not discouraged, but set about the work at once, although he accepted the highly onerous office with great reluctance, knowing the uphill work he would have to encounter. He hired a building from a Mr. Walshe, in Pirie-street, known as the Brewery, and this served as his pro-cathedral until the opening of St. Patrick's Schoolhouse at West-terrace. The Episcopal residence—or, as they were accustomed to call it, the Brick Cottage (the Palace)—was in Wakefield-street, and became in after years the Dublin Arms. Incongruous changes! Bishop Murphy took on himself the sole charge of the city, and dispatched Fathers O'Mahony and Ryan to distant districts. They visited Catholic families about the Gilbert, the Dirty

Light, and Armagh village, or, as it was then called the Hutt River Special Survey."

"The spreading gum trees on the Gilbert, and the late Patrick Butler's barn, served those good missionaries as churches. Distant shepherds' huts were also visited, and the consolations of their religion brought to many bush homes. On one of their return trips to Adelaide they were "bushed," having lost their way somewhere about the head of the Wakefield. The night turned out wet and cold. Father Ryan, who had a robust constitution, did not suffer from any ill effects of that miserable night, but poor Father O'Mahony's weaker constitution was not able to sustain the strain put upon it, and here he caught a severe cold which brought on a rapid consumption. He left Adelaide for his deanery at East Maitland towards the year 1845. Before he left he made a census of the Catholics in South Australia, who then numbered only 1,273, the entire population being at that time but 19,317. On his return to New South Wales his people saw with grief the sad change in his health, and were somewhat prepared for his death, which occurred a few months afterwards. His mild urbanity and charity, together with his unflagging exertions, won from all the highest esteem and veneration. When he left Adelaide, people of all denominations assembled to bid him farewell. As a preacher he was mild and persuasive, though by no means an eloquent man. His preaching had that sweet simplicity and earnestness about it which always made its way to the hearts of his hearers, and was calculated to make a lasting impression. In private life he was cheerful and agreeable, an ardent friend, and his hand and heart were ever open to assist the indigent wherever met with. On Sunday, the 20th of April, he burst a blood vessel. Spiritual and medical assistance were promptly rendered. A second rupture took place on the evening of the 24th, which terminated his useful and holy life. He was buried outside his church by the Archbishop of Sydney, and a handsome marble monument was erected by the Protestant and Catholic people of Maitland, which marks his last resting-place."

"The first church erected in South Australia by the Catholics was St. Mary's, Morphett Vale, on a site given by the late Mr. A. Anderson. This was solemnly dedicated by Bishop Murphy on the 8th of December, 1844. St. Patrick's, West-terrace, was originally intended as a school, and first served the double purpose of school and pro-Cathedral. The first stone of the building was laid on the 12th December, the same year."

"It will be necessary to continue the history of the progress of the Roman Catholic Church in the colony to avoid a loss of interest in the recital, as the struggles encountered extended into the term of Colonel Robe's Government. Father Ryan was deputed by Bishop Murphy to make a visitation of the Tatiara district, and left the central station about November, 1845. About the same time Father Jas. Watkins, on his passage to Adelaide was wrecked on that fatal beach to the east of the sea-mouth of the River Murray, in the brig *Mariner*. The whole of the passengers and crew reached the sand dunes without loss of life, and were soon visited by a large number of natives, whose anxiety to exercise their wrecking propensities led them to display such manners as to excite in the unfortunate shipwrecked people great dread and fear for their personal safety. The brig was carried high and dry, and divested

of masts, so that much of the passengers' luggage and cargo was soon scattered along the sandhills. Communication was forwarded to Adelaide of the wreck and the doubtful position of the people. The following particulars I obtained from Messrs. Tolmer and Alford :—

Inspector Tolmer was aroused one night in November, 1845, after he had retired to his bed. On getting up he found Mr. Levi, who informed him that a wreck had occurred on the south coast towards Maria Creek, near the same spot where the unfortunate passengers of the *Maria* met their cruel fate at the hands of the ferocious natives, as recorded in this history. Mr. Levi further said the information he had received was to the effect that the natives were using threatening signs and language towards the wrecked people, who considered their lives in danger.

The Inspector, without a moment's delay, called up Sergeant-Major Alford and desired him to select two troopers, and with them to start at once to the rescue of the wrecked people, offering his own celebrated horse Bucksfoot to Mr. A., and leaving him to choose two of the best horses in the police stable for the two troopers, such as could be depended on for a gallop of a little short of one hundred miles to the spot where the wreck was said to have happened. The horse Bucksfoot was purchased from Mr. Hawden, being one of those sterling horses which we received from Sydney in those days. This little horse carried Mr. Hawden on his first trip with cattle from New South Wales down the River Murray.

Sergeant-Major Alford, with Sergeant Lamb and Private McLean, left the barrack-yard about midnight. A short stay was made at Wilunga to bait. The crossing of the Goolwa channel was effected at Hindmarsh Island, and then from the south-east end of it they crossed the Coorong, landing on the neck of land between that channel and the sea. They now continued at full speed along the sandy beach until they came to the wreck, a mere dismasted hull, which had been carried up so that they were able at low water to ride round it. No people, blacks or whites, were in sight. The beach and sandhills were strewn with cargo. Numerous footprints of natives were seen and followed over the sandhills, until they arrived at an encampment on the bank of the Coorong formed of spread sails, around which a great number of natives were seen, who on perceiving the quick approach of the three horsemen, and recognising them as police, immediately scattered, some of them dropping plunder from the wreck. On their disappearance the wrecked people showed themselves. The first person who spoke to the arriving party was Father Watkins, who in his joy at their opportune visit dropped on his knees and said, "Thank God we are saved." Then the Captain presented himself to the police, saying, "You have found me hard at work making a punt to get the passengers across the Coorong, as we were frightened the blacks intended mischief. I have only one gun with a broken lock, and they have used threatening signs and language to induce us to abandon cargo, &c., to their undisturbed plunder."

The rescuing party arrived soon after 4 o'clock p.m., accomplishing the distance, including stoppages to wind the horses, in about sixteen hours, over a rough country and many miles of sand.

The passengers—men, women, and children—could not speak for joy, many shedding tears.

The Sergeant-Major informed them that he had been dispatched by the Government to render them every assistance, and to carry that out he would in the morning take one man with him, leaving the other trooper as their guard, and make his way to Encounter Bay, and dispatch boats to remove them and their luggage down the Coorong, from whence they would be conveyed to Adelaide.

The blacks did not after this show themselves in any number. They had not forgotten the punishment which had been inflicted on them by Major O'Halloran for the murders which had been committed a few years before. The Sergeant-Major, on arriving at Encounter Bay, dispatched boats and necessaries, and then made a hasty ride to the city and reported at head-quarters what he had accomplished. He was then ordered to return to the wreck and superintend the removal of passengers and luggage to Adelaide. The wrecked people were quite aware of the horrid fate of those unfortunates from the wreck of the *Maria* who fell into the hands of the murdering natives of this district. The captain had very nearly completed his punt when the delivering party arrived.

About the same time that Father Watkins was cast on our shores by the wreck of the *Mariner*, Father Ryan left the central station in Adelaide on a visitation to the scattered flock of Roman Catholics in the Tatiara district, and had a very dangerous encounter with the natives in the *Maria* Creek country, but was not injured. I purpose in a future series to continue the history of that eminent Christian, the late Bishop Murphy. I had the privilege of many pleasing and instructive interviews with him. On all such prized occasions I was deeply impressed by his unreserved and truly Catholic and Christian utterances to me, an Anglican Churchman.

CHAPTER XXXV.

CATTLE STEALERS—MURDER OF ONE OF THEM, GOFTON, BY HIS
MATE, JOSH STAGG.

I now return to narrate a continuation of the painful experiences of our early days connected with our contact with the convict element from the older colonies.

Next in order came the cattle stealers of the Black Forest.

The settlers had for some time felt the loss of cattle, of which no traces could be found. Many complaints reaching the Government, two officers were ordered on this special duty. Sergeant-Major Alford and another officer (as an occasional help) were instructed to go out disguised as bushmen and scour the country. After searching the gullies to some distance north of Adelaide and south as far as the Sturt River, Sergeant-Major Alford by himself made a cast of the plains around Adelaide. In passing Ashford he saw the late Dr. Everard, and on asking him if he had seen any suspicious-looking people at any time passing with cattle, the doctor replied that he had seen cattle driven down the Forest track, and pointed to it. On this Mr. Alford proceeded in that direction. It may here be mentioned for the information of the greater part of those who may read these articles that on the opposite side of the road on the Ashford estate are still a number of trees, formerly part of the Black Forest, which, with the exception of this patch, has vanished, and they are now the only remains of that ancient and dense wood which extended from South-terrace towards Holdfast Bay, in many places having a thick undergrowth of scrub; at the time of which I am writing not at all encroached on with clearings. The time the question was put to Dr. E. was late on a Saturday afternoon. Although the Sergeant-Major had not received any leading information from the doctor, he thought it well to make a search, intending, if he found any traces of cattle slaughtering going on, to return early in the morning, when the cattle stealers might be at work, and when, with a sufficient force, the whole of them might be caught. He proceeded down a slight track, and after going about a mile and a half came to a fallen tree across the track, of which he took particular notice, and here he made a turn to the north, intending to make a circular course. After creeping through the thick bush for a mile or so he heard a dog bark, and then took a direction towards the sound, and soon saw through the thick bush and trees a stockyard and cattle, and men.

He then immediately turned away to avoid being seen from the yard, and kept on at a good pace. On clearing the trees he perceived that he was followed and watched by a man on horseback. Without appearing to notice him, Alford kept dodging about as if in search of cattle, and when he saw the coast clear set off at full speed to the

barracks, where he reported himself to Inspector Tolmer, and proposed to go again with one man to lie in wait till daylight, when the suspected persons might be seen at work, and if it was cattle slaughtering going on then to return and obtain a sufficient force to surround the place and capture the lot in the commission of their crime. Having procured a fresh horse he started from the barracks late at night accompanied by Sergeant N—. They crept down the trodden path and passed the fallen tree, continuing on the track, but not intending to approach too near the yard. The Sergeant-Major's horse neighed, which was answered by another horse close at hand tied to a tree. It was a starlight night, and on looking about they perceived a pair of bullocks in yoke also fastened to a tree, and near them a dray, with casks and a bag of salt in it, a short distance ahead. They now saw three or four men in a yard, who appeared to be busy at work—they could hear the noise of steeling the knives. They had unintentionally approached too near to hope to retire without giving an alarm, and then the game would be lost. Mr. Alford decided there was nothing for it but to make a rush in order to effect a capture. He therefore whispered to his comrade that he would quietly dismount and creep to the fence, and on his rushing over, his mate was to gallop round to the opposite side. Accordingly he made the rush, calling out, "Men, surround the yard; shoot down any escaping. Surrender yourselves prisoners or you are dead men!" He caught one before he could clear the stockyard fence, and told him he would blow his brains out if he did not quietly surrender. Not expecting to find the work begun till early morning, they had only gone out as scouts, and had each one small pistol. Alford's man surrendered quietly before the yard could be surrounded by one man, as the Irish soldier did his prisoners. When Alford made his capture the other three cattle-stealers had cleared the fence and bolted. Sergeant N— followed one, whom he singled out as Dick Fenton, but the timber, standing and fallen, gave a chance to the fugitive, who after being chased some distance was lost sight of.

Our Sergeant-Major now went to work single-handed with his prisoner, who was the owner of the bullocks and dray, and promised him if he continued to behave well and give him information he should have favour shown him, he first asked, "How many beasts have been killed this time?" The answer was, "Four; three cut up, lying on the tarpaulins—one not finished dressing." "Have the brands been cut off the skins?" "No." "Then roll them up and pass them through the fence." This done, he was ordered out of the yard. But Alford seeing some bottles standing at the fence asked what was in them. Answer—"Grog; please let me have a drain." The answer given to that request was the smashing of the bottles. As a matter of course the loaded pistol was in hand, cocked, and ready for use. The prisoner was now conducted to the dray, and ordered to remove the empty casks and the bag of salt from the dray, and to place the skins therein, also a coat found on the fence, and to put the bullocks to the pole of the dray. The horse belonging to one of the firm was then tied behind the dray, all ready for the start to the barracks. It would appear that the employment on Sunday would have been to salt the beef for a shipping order. *The Sergeant-Major having mounted, ordered a start, closely guarding the prisoner, who was driving the bullocks; he, however, tried a dodge before the forest was cleared, by endeavouring to pass down a wrong*

track leading south, which was no sooner discovered than the pistol was at his ear, with orders to turn. On the party nearing Dr. Everard's residence, Sergeant N—— was met on his return as it appeared escorting two men on foot, who at first seemed to be prisoners. Matters were however soon explained; they had been called up to assist the sergeant, and were now with him to look out for his brother officer. They were old McLean and one of his sons. They were thanked and dismissed, and the party arrived safely at the barracks. But their duty was not completed. Losing no time, before daylight they visited a grog shanty on South-terrace, which they had been told was the resort of Gofton, whom they knew to be one of the three who had escaped from the yard. Arrived at the place, one went at the front and the other behind the hut. On a summons being given to open the door, the wife of Brodrip, the proprietor, answered, and declined to give admission. After being told that they were policemen, and asked where her husband was, she said at Thebarton, where he had gone to a party. She still refusing to open the front door, it was burst open.

On a light being produced, Gofton, the man they were seeking, was found lying on a couch in the taproom. On being called to sit up, he was asked what he had been at. He said he had been having a spree. "Yes," said the Sergeant-Major, "I see you have; your moleskins are bloody, so are your shirt-sleeves, and you are without your coat; so get up, you are my prisoner; hold out your hands." The snaps of the handcuffs soon sounded. It should be here mentioned that a coat well known to the police as Gofton's, of a peculiar check, was the one found hanging on the stockyard fence, and was brought away with the skins. Gofton was also taken to the barracks, and thus two out of the four were secured. Dick Fenton was immediately sought after, but he escaped on board ship, assisted, it was said, by an Adelaide publican. As to the fourth man suspected, viz., Stagg, neither of the officers were able to swear to him, and so he was not had up on this charge. Dick Fenton had come overland with Mr. Huon, from whom I had purchased two mobs of cattle, as I have previously explained. Though of the prison class, he was a trusted servant of Mr. Huon, and had been placed by him in charge of a preliminary section on the Torrens which I had sold to his employer, and towards which he had run when escaping from the sergeant. This man was with the party with stockkeeper Hart, whose history I have given in a previous chapter. Of course Fenton knew my cattle well, some of which then ran about the Sturt, that is, such as were brought in for sale to the butchers. I had from time to time been losing cattle, which at the time I supposed had strayed, but of which no trace had ever been found, as the skins were as a rule destroyed as the cattle were slaughtered by such parties. As Stagg could not be brought up on the cattle-stealing charge, there was an enquiry set on foot as to a horse which was often seen in his possession and which he was in the habit of riding. Our Sergeant-Major, pushing his enquiries, found that the South Australian Company had some time previous to this lost a horse somewhat answering to the description of this one, which had escaped immediately on being landed. On this Alford applied for a warrant to arrest Stagg, and waited upon him at a public-house kept by old Anthony Best (who had joined us from Tasmania), where Stagg was known to lodge.

Our officer found Stagg at home, and other company of the same class in the house. After conversation on various subjects, Mr. Alford said, "Oh, Stagg, our Inspector, Mr. Tolmer, wishes you to call on him—you may as well walk down with me." This message not suiting Mr. Stagg, he declined (smelling a rat), and ordered the landlord to bring round his horse. On the landlord doing this, our officer declared the horse to be a stolen one, and charged Best to take him back to the stable and hold him for the Government. Addressing Stagg, he said, "You are my prisoner on the charge of horse-stealing; and now you must go." On this Stagg drew from his pocket with his right hand a pistol, and also one with his left hand, but before he could cock either of them, as he turned partly round to leave the house, Mr. Alford sprang on his back with his arms round his neck, and after a struggle both came to the ground, and the pistols dropped from Stagg's grasp. The struggle, up and down, lasted for some time. Stagg was much the stronger and heavier man, but he failed to shake off his capturer, who hung on like grim death until assistance came, for the spectators, at the commencement of the fray, rendered no help to the officer. On the arrival of additional policemen Stagg was escorted to the barracks of the horse police, where the horse was also taken. The horse was claimed by the Manager of the Company, and Stagg was brought before the Police Court on the charge of stealing it. As there was some doubt about the identity of the animal, Stagg was released on bail after being committed for trial to the Supreme Court. I felt it necessary to give all the previous particulars before narrating the murder of Gofton. It is well to mention that more than one of our original butchers were in the habit of buying part of their beef from the cattle-stealers. Those men are not now in business here. The bulk of the beef had been salted and sold to the ships.

Not long after Stagg got out on bail, and before Gofton could be brought to trial on the charge of cattle-stealing, the latter managed to escape from custody by jumping over the fence around the temporary gaol (made of palings), the guards placed at the corners of the yard with loaded carbines failing to fire at him.

A fast horse, which I may mention I had some time before sold to a man who was afterwards believed to be one of the gang, was tied to a tree between this temporary gaol and the river bank, and was mounted by Gofton, who thus managed to escape. The country was scoured day after day, and Gofton's haunts visited, from which he continued to move until he was traced to the neighbourhood of the North Arm. A considerable number of the mounted police under Inspector Tolmer were out patrolling between Port Gawler and the Dry Creek Junction, and about the North Arm of the Port. A black tracker was also with the party. Stagg, on the same horse on which Grafton had escaped, had been seen on several occasions riding between Hindmarsh and the Dry Creek before the police had been placed on patrol as I have mentioned, and then had to cease his visits in taking supplies of food to his partner in crime; thus Gofton was left to starve. After being brought to a great strait he *ventured out*, and visited a small dairy station towards the hills belonging to Mrs. Robertson, at which he applied for a drink of milk and some bread, and had a quart handed to him, which he took off at one drain, and tendered to the woman a sovereign in payment. The woman was

much surprised at his actions, and information soon reached the police, when Inspector Tolmer, with the black tracker and Sergeant-Major Alford in close attendance, with the bulk of the police also following, were led by the black guide to a saltwater creek connected with the North Arm, to which the black had worked the tracks. He led towards the main or Port Creek. Inspector Tolmer with the Sergeant-Major were on one side of a back water creek, the tracker was on the other and somewhat ahead, as the two officers had lost ground in gaining the opposite side. After a time they observed their skilful assistant beckoning to them rather frantically, on which they hastened along, and on getting opposite the black to their horror he raised a dead body so as to exhibit the shoulders and bloody head. The officers waded up to their waists through the muddy creek, and found the body to be that of Gofton, who had been shot through the head, the ball entering below the jaw and passing out of the back of the skull. After he was killed he had been dragged by the tails of his overcoat until it had been stripped from the body by the sleeves turning inside out; the coat had been thrown into the creek, and the body rolled over the bank to the mangroves. In the pocket of the coat a newspaper was found in which was an account of the charge laid against Stagg for horse-stealing. This paper was secured by the Inspector. A piece had been torn from it. On the person of the murdered man was found some money and a strip of a silk pocket handkerchief—trifles as they might be considered by a non-professional, but which with other clues proved sufficient to convict Stagg of the murder of his partner. Mr. Inspector Tolmer on his return to town detached Constable Lomas with a warrant to arrest Stagg, who was accordingly taken.

The body of Gofton was removed to town and an inquest held, at which Stagg was produced and as usual cautioned. The evidence given was deemed sufficient to commit Stagg as guilty of the murder. Gofton had for some days lived in a wurley, which was discovered about a quarter of a mile from where the body was found. He had been placed there by Stagg, who had frequently visited him with supplies, and from thence he hoped to escape by being taken off to a departing ship by a boat. Money it was ascertained had been collected by Stagg from some of the persons who purchased beef from the cattle-stealing gang, to be used for his passage and for the expenses of getting him off; and it was supposed when the chances of success vanished his confederates thought it safer to put him out of the way lest he should split on them, as they say, and they could stick to the money, of which information was afterwards gained that there was a good amount, but this never appeared in evidence.

The next chapter will contain an account of the trial and execution of Stagg, (which took place on November 18, 1840) with further matter in connection with him; also the extraordinary career of trooper Lomas, and the romance which was got up about the murder of the man Gofton. The action of Stagg in taking the life of his friend forms one of the most humiliating pictures of human nature, showing to what depths of iniquity a career of vice may lead, and how one crime leads on to more.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF JOSH STAGG; ALSO, LONG AFTERWARDS THE ACCUSATION OF LOMAS OF HIMSELF AS THE MURDERER.

HAVING in a previous chapter brought the history of the first gang of cattle-stealers to the death of Gofton, by the hand of his partner Stagg, before I proceed to give an account of the trial and execution of the latter, I will relate so much of his previous career as came to my knowledge at the time. He was known to have been transported to Tasmania, according to his own account, for [sheep-stealing. A large proportion of the ex-prisoners in giving an early account of themselves claimed either to have been transported for poaching or sheep-stealing, crimes which they seemed to consider quite venial; and this brings to my remembrance an incident which I met with on my way to London to embark for this colony, which proved that so long as sheep-stealing was punished with transportation, it was sometimes adopted as a means to get a free passage to Australia.

On the occasion I have alluded to I called on a friend—a gentleman-farmer in Bedfordshire—to bid him farewell, when he surprised me by saying, "Well, you must be going to a wonderful fine country; for a man of this parish, who some time ago returned from New South Wales as an expirée, and who brought some money with him, having spent his money, got tired of working at English wages, and so took it into his head to steal a sheep, and was convicted; but the Government did not indulge him with a second free passage, but sent him to a domestic penal establishment for the term of his sentence."

I give this as one of several instances I met with before I left the old country of individuals committing crimes to obtain transportation, and now proceed with the history and the end of Stagg. I knew him as a stockkeeper, frequently remaining in my neighbourhood, and as doing good work for his employers. He then appeared to me as a quiet and civil man, and a fine specimen of a rough, open-hearted Englishman of a Saxon type, ready to oblige anybody. I have to thank Mr. Alford for many of the following particulars. The report of Stagg's trial, as given in the *Register* paper, is very brief, but of that I also take advantage.

I have mentioned that Private Lomas was dispatched to arrest Stagg, which he succeeded in doing. At the inquest which was held on the body, Stagg was present, and the evidence produced was deemed sufficient to commit the prisoner to take his trial at the criminal sittings of the Supreme Court, as previously related. Inspector Tolmer, with Sergeant-Major Alford and a sufficient number of police, as given in *evidence*, were stationed at Port Gawler. After some days expended in *beating about the country*, he discovered in the neighbourhood of Port Gawler a horse-track, and also foot-tracks of a man, on following which

he discovered a wurley in the midst of a clump of mangroves. Immediately behind the leafy hut was a swamp, and at a short distance in front, over the mangroves, the Gulf was to be seen. There was a fire not quite out, but the bird had flown; footprints were about the wurley, evidently of three persons, one from boots or shoes making nail marks; another without nail marks; there was also a smaller footmark, not larger than a woman's. Three of the police were left at the wurley. On the following day, Sunday, the Inspector continued the search in the neighbourhood of the Little Para, and with the aid of two black trackers, followed footmarks on which they continued until dusk; the same footmarks had been seen about a native well. Early on Monday morning the trail was followed, the blacks being in advance of the officers and a small party, when the tracker was seen to be beckoning in an excited manner. To reach them the Inspector and Sergeant-Major had to wade through a salt-water creek, and on reaching the spot saw a body, and found it to be Gofton's. He had been shot. The following further particulars came out at the trial of Stagg. The ball had entered near his ear and passed out at the back of his skull. He was found with his arms extended. On his person was found a bag containing twelve sovereigns and three half-sovereigns. In the neighbourhood of the body were footmarks of two persons—one Gofton's, and one of a man who in walking turned his toes out in an unusual manner. The body had the appearance of having been dead about twenty-four hours. The turned-out footprints were found to correspond with boots afterwards found in Stagg's house. The Inspector stated he had observed that Stagg in walking turned out his feet, as in the marks left by the man who had been with Gofton at the time of his death, and that about one hundred and fifty yards from the body such tracks led to a tree nearer the wurley where a horse had been tied, and where the rider had previously dismounted.

Sergeant Dean was subsequently sent out from town with the boots found in Stagg's house, and compared them with the footprints, which showed the peculiar manner of walking of the wearer as a splay-footed man, and as treadings on one side of each foot, as in the footprints in the soft ground. He also compared the boots with the marks seen near the wurley, and found there also an exact correspondence. He also identified a strip—part of a pocket-handkerchief—found near the body, and which had been torn from a handkerchief which was found tied on a bag left by Stagg at the house of Peter Rhodes, at Hindmarsh. Peter Rhodes at the trial stated that Stagg came to his house on the Saturday before the body of Gofton was found, and took some bottles of water. He had a gun with him, and asked for a razor. He left and rode from the house towards Port Gawler. He was riding a horse belonging to Tom Oakley (the horse on which Gofton rode when he escaped from gaol). He was at his house again the next day (Sunday). He told him he had left two guns, and would call for them in a day or two. George Henry, servant to the previous witness, saw Stagg on Saturday. The next day he left a bag, in which he said there were two guns, which was afterwards given to the police. Inspector Litchfield said the bag with the guns was brought to the Police-Station on the 31st. One end of the bag was tied with a handkerchief; the other end tied with part of a handkerchief. The barrels were dismantled from the stocks. He examined

them, and found one loaded and the other had been discharged. E. Strike, gunsmith, said he knew Gofton and Stagg. They were often together. He was shown the guns found in the bag. One belonged to Stagg; the other had been Dick Fenton's. T. Oakley said he lent Stagg a horse on the Saturday before the body was found, which he returned on Sunday. Further evidence showed that on the charge in the loaded barrel being withdrawn two bullets were found wrapped in a piece of a newspaper, which was proved to have been torn from a *Register* of the same date as the paper found in Gofton's pocket, from which a part had been torn. Thomas Bray, bootmaker, identified the boots said to have been worn by Stagg on the Sunday as the pair he wore on the Monday morning after the body was found, and at which time Stagg bought from him a new pair of boots.

Witnesses were called for the defence, endeavouring to prove an *alibi*, but failed. The jury having retired for a short time, returned and gave a verdict of guilty. Judge Cooper was much affected in passing sentence of death, this being the first occasion on which he had performed that painful duty. Stagg was hung at the new gaol, being the first criminal who was executed and buried there. He met his death with quiet firmness, but made no confession.

I have given all the material evidence which was produced at the trial, as necessary to precede what I have to relate of Lomas's trumped-up romance which he some years afterwards produced against himself as the murderer, which I propose to give in this chapter, although the narrative relates to what took place many years after Stagg had been executed for the crime. At the time the sentence was carried out on Stagg, many persons thought there were great reasons to doubt the justice of the sentence, and even the editorial remarks supported such opinions. I had an interview with Stagg after sentence was passed on him, and before he was locked up, which then caused me some uneasiness; but a number of circumstances which have since come to my knowledge have removed from my mind any doubts on the subject. One suggestion I heard was that Gofton took his own life. Now the gun which had been fired was Stagg's, and the one which Gofton may have had with him was brought in by Stagg, and was the one in which the bullets were found, wrapped in a piece of newspaper as stated. If, as had been suggested, Stagg had found his friend dead by his own hand, he would hardly have been so foolhardy as to have taken away the gun. As to the few words he was allowed to have with me, they were as follows, as near as I can remember:—"Mr. —, I am quite content to die, but as an innocent man as to this crime. Do you believe, sir, I would have assisted him to escape, have ridden miles to have given him food, and money to pay his passage, and every way to help him, and after all to murder him? I am content to die. I have led a bad life, and confess to you I have previously committed crimes deserving death. I do not desire to live to continue a bad life. I hope you believe me. I would sooner have died in defending Joe, if it had been necessary. I have been a violent bad man, but I could not kill a friend." He requested to see me again before he was executed, but as he was in the hands of a minister of religion, I felt it better not to see him, as I had suffered loss by the cattle-stealers, and wished to avoid the subject.

It seemed hard to find a motive for his being engaged in taking the life of Gofton ; but I consider, as all chances of his escaping seemed to be lost, his confederates — and there was reason to believe there were several—deemed it safer to take his life rather than to let him fall into the hands of the police, when to save himself he might have “peached” as they call it.

As I have stated, Private Lomas arrested Stagg. After he had remained in the police force some time he obtained his discharge on the plea that he had by the death of a relative come into some property in England. He was a married man, and left his wife behind him. He was not again heard of for some years, and after a certain time his wife consoled herself by marrying a second husband.

I will now relate the early history of Lomas, as far as verbally reported to me. He was transported for life to New South Wales, or, as it was then called, sent to Botany Bay, as having shot a comrade in a quarrel. He had been a private in the army. He must have received a conditional pardon, as he was brought down by Captain Sturt, on whose recommendation he was employed as a trooper in the South Australian police force. Many years after he left this colony the Governor received a despatch from the Secretary of State, giving the extraordinary information that a man of the name of Lomas had confessed that he had murdered a man of the name of Gofton, in South Australia. At this time he was confined in a madhouse, but as he had given the information in a most clear and circumstantial manner, notice was taken of it, and our Governor was directed to make enquiries into the matter. This official communication naturally caused much excitement here. The confession was mixed up with many circumstances which had occurred, describing that on the Sunday evening of the day of the murder he had been sent by Sergeant-Major Alford from the Little Para to the police camp at Port Gawler for rations ; that on his way he met the man Gofton, and shot him. The Governor, as a matter of course, ordered a full enquiry to be made. Judge Crawford had some time before the arrival of this despatch been appointed second Judge, and he was called on by the Governor to conduct the enquiry. After taking the evidence of Inspector Tolmer and other witnesses, he started out, accompanied by Mr. Alford—at this time Inspector of Police—to the place where the tragedy was enacted. He was taken over the whole of the ground where Gofton had been in hiding, and from thence to the place where his body was discovered. Judge Crawford was informed by Inspector Alford that Lomas's statement as to being sent on the Sunday evening for rations was correct, and he showed Mr. Crawford where Lomas started from, and how far along the track he watched him ; and was taken to the place indicated by Lomas, where he said he met Gofton and shot him. They then measured the distance from that spot direct to the place where the body was found, crossing several small saltwater creeks, and found the distance over three-quarters of a mile, thus proving that it was not possible for him to have conveyed the dead man to the place where the body was found. It was further manifest that the Inspector or one of the men must have heard the shot if it had been fired so near the encampment. Judge Crawford, from his careful examination of the ground, and the evidence of the officers and privates who were on duty at the time, as well as of the other evidence given at the trial of

Stagg, pronounced his opinion that there was not a doubt on his mind but that the confession of Lomas was a gross fabrication, and reported accordingly. A most inexplicable circumstance in the actions of Lomas is that of his returning to South Australia after charging himself with such a crime.

Information some time after this reached the colony that Lomas, although he did not succeed in getting out of the madhouse by obtaining a free passage to our colony as a prisoner on a charge of murder, did manage to escape from the asylum in which he was confined, and made straight off to the property he had unsuccessfully claimed, and set fire to the premises. He had been placed in the madhouse on the complaint of the persons whose property he claimed on his arrival in England, and who declined to accept him as heir-at-law. His conduct at that time had been sufficiently wild and eccentric to gain an order for his incarceration. He was tried for arson, and was sentenced to transportation to Western Australia, where after serving his time, or obtaining a remission, he managed to make his appearance in South Australia, where he found his wife comfortably settled, and she, as may be supposed, declined his protection. He was brought before the Adelaide Police Court for threatening her second husband, and was dismissed on his promising to leave the colony. He returned to Western Australia, where he said he had acquired possession of an island, and where it is to be hoped he will live and die a regular Robinson Crusoe.

It has fallen in my way to be able to relate some of the extraordinary careers of outlawed men out of the thousands who had been sent to these colonies; but who can say how many volumes would be filled if the lives of others could be given, containing facts exceeding all imaginary works on the same humiliating subject. The serious question is how shall systems of education be devised to diminish such a propensity to crime.

The following additional information has been kindly furnished by Mr. C. Bonney:—

John Gofton, or Gafter, was in my employment as shepherd in the year 1837, on a run of which I was the discoverer and first occupier, where Kilmore, near Melbourne, now stands. He was a quiet well-conducted man, and had what was then very uncommon amongst that class of men, a propensity for saving money. He had been a convict in Van Dieman's Land, but for what crime he was sent out I never learnt, these personal reminiscences being carefully concealed by the old convicts. When I was coming overland to South Australia in January, 1838, he asked to be allowed to join the party. How he was employed after his arrival here up to the time he joined the cattle-stealers I do not know, but men who have been shepherding for some years do not generally like hard work, nor from my knowledge of the man should I think it likely that he would take a very active part in the cattle-stealing business. His money was no doubt the inducement that led the gang to take him into the concern, some capital being required to carry on the extensive business these men were engaged in. My own impression as to the cause of his murder, gathered from the evidence given at the trial of Stagg, and from my knowledge of the murdered man, was that he was weary of the miserable life he was leading as an outlaw, and having let drop some such expression as that he had better be in goal

than living as he was, he was murdered to prevent him from "peaching." The fact of money having been found upon him proves that robbery was not the object of the murderer. Who else then would have any object in taking away his life except one of the gang with which he had been connected? Notwithstanding Stagg's protestations of innocence to this particular crime, I never had any doubt but that the punishment fell on the right man.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

JOURNEY OF THE WRITER WITH HIS FAMILY OVER THE MOUNT LOFTY RANGES.

THE Resident Commissioner and the Surveyor-General in opening the work of the new colony had first to order and arrange the survey of the City of Adelaide and the preliminary districts, extending from the city down to Cape Jervis, in which the preliminary land orders (mostly held by absentees) might be first exercised, as I have previously explained. No other country land was open for selection until near the end of the first quarter of the year 1838, which was over two years after the colony was proclaimed. The size of all sections surveyed up to this time was to suit the preliminary land orders, viz.—134 acres. After the best sections had been chosen, the rejected ones had to be cut up into 80-acre sections, and green slips as they were called; and then the 80-acre land orders might be exercised. As was natural, all the best sections as to quality of land, supply of water, or locality, had been absorbed by the representatives of the preliminary land-order holders. The authorities had no power to place *bona fide* farmers, or others having 80-acre land orders on sections, although purchased and paid for in England, until after preliminary selections had been made. A further great evil shortly arose, viz.—the commencement of land speculation in South Australia, by applications for special surveys of 15,000 acres, out of each of which after survey 4,000 acres could be selected and obtained at £1 an acre; and thus the number of absentee proprietors was further increased, and the surveying and opening free districts for selection to *bona fide* applicants for land for immediate agricultural operations was further hindered.

I may here also mention that the new colony at first was entirely dependent for supplies of sheep and cattle for consumption on such as arrived by sea, nor was there any other introduction of horned stock until the arrival of Mr. Bonney, who brought Mr. Hawden's herd of cattle down the Murray, early in the year 1838. Previous to their arrival fresh meat at one time was 2s. 6d. a pound, even for mutton not of the best quality. Captain Sturt subsequently arrived in August in the same year with stock overland. The mode of landing sheep from ships at anchor was generally to pack them on end as close as possible in the ship's long-boat, and when that grounded some distance from the sand hills to cast them into the sea. Many through drinking salt water died on their road to town; some were drowned, and both accidents were said to be corrected by muttonising the carcases. At all events the arrivals were generally grievously affected by scab, so our choice of fresh mutton was very doubtful; but then we had occasionally fish and game, the latter consisting principally of kangaroo and opossum. But under *all these preliminary trials* we were not a discontented community. *Energy in action, and patience under trials unavoidable, were the*

order of the day. A few discontented mortals quickly retreated, and left to those possessing more pluck and perseverance the glory of successfully establishing one of the finest colonies under the British Crown.

Importations of flour and grain were made principally from Van Diemen's Land, at one time at a cost of from £80 to £100 a ton. The Parliament and Government of the mother country must be justly blamed for the short-sighted and parsimonious policy they adopted in launching the colony, thereby leading to the most serious of our first troubles. When the Act of Incorporation was granted, it was stipulated that it should not be in force until the sum of £35,000 was realised by the sale of land, and an additional sum of £20,000 by the issue and sale of South Australian bonds, and that amount to be invested in the British funds "as a guarantee that the colony would at no time be a charge on the mother country." The negotiation of these bonds at such a time was, as a matter of course, a losing transaction. The above treatment may justly be termed step-motherly. For such hard terms the gentlemen on the Committee for establishing the colony worked hard for three years, and at last accepted them on finding there was no prospect of obtaining more liberal treatment. Thus arose the necessity for the forced sales of land in London, and at a reduced price. The South Australian Company and a few fortunate private individuals took advantage of the preliminary sale in England, and thus was created an absentee proprietary. These preliminary sections near the capital cost only 12s. an acre, with one town acre thrown into each, as I have already stated. I do not desire to cast blame on these fortunate purchasers who came forward to invest their cash in a speculation which was treated by the authorities as a wild scheme, but to explain the primary mistakes which resulted in the unfortunate crisis of 1839-40. The early settlers who had invested their capital in legitimate pursuits suffered great losses. The delays I have recounted which took place in obtaining suitable land for agricultural purposes caused many who had come out to embark in farming to adopt other pursuits, but when the crisis approached, and after flour had attained the unheard-of and famine price of £8 and £10 a bag, many of those who had any means left returned to the pursuit they joined the colony to embark in, although in most instances with greatly diminished means. I myself closed my town business in 1839 at a great sacrifice, and made arrangements to occupy and reside on my sections, only recently selected, which were situated about twenty miles to the east of the city. It may be as well here to give a description of our first experiences in this line.

Having sent on men to prepare timber for building and fencing, I followed as soon as temporary shelter was provided. I give an account of our journey as a fair specimen of what early settlers had to experience. I first despatched two bullock teams with our furniture and fixings as early in the day as possible, and followed some hours afterwards with my family in a roomy waggonette, to which were harnessed three horses, one in the lead and two wheelers—a dangerous rig for the rough and hilly track we had to pursue. In the trap, I being the driver, I had my wife, sister, two sons (three and four years old), one female servant, and our youngest boy in arms: also a man to assist me on the road in procuring timber drags, and in fixing them on to the hind

axle of the carriage before I ventured to drive down the steep hills which we had to pass—in those days screw skids had not been invented. This great improvement in skids over all other plans which had been previously used in easing loaded vehicles down hills was shortly after invented by one of our earliest colonists, viz., Mr. Stephen Hack. The first one which was constructed on his suggestion was made by J. Adamson. To pass over the Mount Lofty Range at that time was no easy task. The first ascent to be made was by either of the spurs between Beaumont and Glen Osmond. I fixed on the one nearest Greenhill, as being most used and having more space for making tacks. I had a staunch team, and with many zigzags I surmounted this first difficulty, my man following behind with chocks to stop the hind wheels when necessary to ease the horses. On the top of the brow on the first saddle, to my surprise and annoyance, I overtook the drays. The day being very hot one of my best leading bullocks dropped, and could not be got up again. I had in consequence to leave my man to assist in yoking up one of the body-bullocks as a makeshift leader in the place of the fallen one, and to continue with the drays to assist the disarranged team; and I had no alternative but to go on the best way I could, without help or the use of drags. I could not leave the horses to cut young saplings for that purpose and to attach them to the drag chain. My next serious difficulty was Breakneck Hill, rightly named as I can speak from experience of broken necked bullocks in descending, but on this occasion I had to surmount it. I afterwards got on pretty well down moderate and short pitches, having an excellent leader who would turn to the right or left as sharp as required with slack traces. I bought him from Captain Hindmarsh when he left. When I came to the steep and longer descent at Cox's Creek, on which spur very fine trees had been felled and split into palings and shingles, the stumps of course left standing, and sundry rejected bad splitting pieces of timber lying about, I felt I had arrived at my worst trouble. I pulled up and looked on each side hoping to find at hand a suitable timber drag, but was disappointed, and with much trepidation I started the team at a foot's pace, but when, without skid, the pressure came too heavy on my wheelers they began to trot in spite of all my efforts to hold them back, and at length they broke into a full gallop. By the sagacity and obedience of my leader I was able to clear the stumps and logs without an accident. The females and children fortunately did not scream or utter a word. At the foot of the hill, on pulling up, I found two men on horseback, who had paused in astonishment at seeing us make such a flying descent. Before I could gain my breath or speak to my family they addressed me most abruptly (I could see they were fresh arrivals). They said, "We wish we could hand you over to the police for driving down such a dangerous hill in such a reckless manner to the risk of your passengers' lives, &c., &c." I replied, "I must excuse your ignorance, gentlemen; the passengers I am driving are my wife and family. I have scarcely recovered from my fright. You have interrupted me and all of us in returning silent thanks for our deliverance from so great a danger. Look at my hands, black with the force I have used." We continued on the track over the *natural surface*, now steep sideling, now sharp rise or fall, no pick or shovel *having yet been used*, and reached the Onkaparinga River without *accident*. The crossing was too rough, and here one of our back springs

gave way, after having stood all the heavy jolts and jars we had previously encountered. A cross-bar, cut and fixed, we again passed on, and reached the stations at sundown. After a picnic supper we turned in on beds of dry grass, as the drays with bedding and food did not arrive till next morning, when we had a sumptuous breakfast. Poultry and dairy cows had been sent up some time before with a small flock of sheep.

The kitchen and dairy being finished we soon had our usual comforts. And now the work of fencing was continued, and grubbing trees, and preparing land for corn. An orchard and garden were trenched, to be ready at the right season for planting. I had purchased seed wheat at 15s. a bushel, and having to pay that price for seed, and so much to do in clearing, fencing, and erecting farm buildings, I did not crop more land this first season than what I thought might yield me seed for the following year and enough for domestic use.

At this time, on the first farms established, the proprietors, some of them quite unused to manual labour, might be seen undergoing the heaviest work their powers would admit of; their wives and children engaged in unaccustomed employments totally unsuited to their strength—a boy of eight or ten years of age driving bullocks at harrow, occasionally a young girl driving bullocks for her father at plough, or with a sister cross-cutting logs for fencing; then all had to help at odd times of the day, early and late, at log burning. All this toil was necessary, because labour was scarce and wages high, or money wanting; and so a variety of hard shifts had to be adopted to accomplish indispensable work. Before I arrived at the farm with my family some preparatory work had been done in fencing and building. For some time an overlander—*i.e.*, a lag of the name of Tom Fuller—with his mate, had been employed in sawing timber for buildings and in splitting posts and rails for fencing, and his work went on until late in December. I am about to give some account of this man, as he was, as I believe, the last of his class in my employment. I had a final settlement with him on Saturday night, a few days before Christmas Day. He left my service apparently well satisfied, as he received a lump of money. On the following morning, Sunday, I turned out early. On my walk round the premises I observed one favourite goose was missing. On walking forward to the edge of a small gully, on the opposite side of which Tom's hut stood, at about three hundred yards up the rise, I observed Tom coming out carrying a bundle. I hailed him, but instead of waiting he dropped the bundle and ran to the top of the heavily-wooded range at his best speed, and I after him. On reaching the summit I could see him rushing through the bushes on a slant, to reach the main gully. This gave me a little compensating advantage, as I could take a line to head him. I soon found he was blown, and that I was gaining on him rapidly. I was still alone, although at starting I had called aloud to arouse my people. On coming near him at a great pace, my course being down-hill, and charging him on his left flank, he suddenly stopped, and taking out of his pocket a large clasp-knife, he said in a loud voice—"Now your life or mine, you b——." My hand was quickly at his throat, and between that and his handkerchief, and down he went, and I on the top of him. In the fall the knife was lost by him, and after a short struggle a labourer whom I had aroused, and who had followed in haste, came up, and shortly after

him my old shepherd Miles, who, as usual, had his pocket-pistols with him. So Tom was allowed to get up, and I soon decided to take him to the next Magistrate's house, about two miles off. I sent the labourer back for the slaughtered goose, with instructions to meet us at the Justice's residence. I had heard that this gentleman had been appointed and gazetted the previous week, and that one of his men had been sworn in as a special constable. On my laying the charge before him, he decided to commit the thief to my custody. I declined such a trust, stating I had risked my life in taking him, and I thought it was his duty, as he had a constable in his establishment, to keep him in charge. He then turned to my shepherd, Miles, and charged him in the Queen's name to keep the prisoner secure until he could be handed over to the police, and made out a *mittimus* accordingly; to which poor trembling Miles said, "Your worship, what am I to do if he will run away? I am sure I cannot hold him, but I have got my pistols in my pocket; may I shoot him?" With the utmost gravity the Justice replied, "Certainly." After this Tom walked back with us to my residence, and was placed with his guard in the stone kitchen. I took Miles on one side and asked, "Are your pistols loaded?" He replied, "Yes, master; am I to shoot him if he offers to escape?" I said, "If you do except in defence of your life my opinion is you may be hung. To prevent accidents we will withdraw the bullets." In doing this I had more fear for Miles than for Tom Fuller. I added, "Tom must still think they are fully loaded. Keep him safe and give him food." On the way home I had a conversation with our prisoner. On his asking me to forgive him this time, declaring he had not lifted anything of mine while he was working for me, I declined his request, as his conduct was so bad after my liberal treatment of him. He had the impudence to explain that he and his mates had agreed to have a spree at a public-house some miles away, and now he was very sorry he had robbed me. After dark I heard a commotion in the kitchen, and then a shot fired, and the voice of Miles calling out, "Tom has bolted." I could hear him running, and his little dog yelping with joy; but presently heard the dying yells of the poor faithful animal which had lain at the kitchen door. Its carcase was found by us in the morning on the track with its throat cut, killed to keep the fugitive's course secret. So much for Tom at present. I ordered the men not to follow him, as that would be useless. A trooper in due time came out, but Tom was not again captured, as he had plenty of money and was wary enough to resist drink, and so cleared, as I supposed, out of the colony. His taking credit for respecting my goods did not say much for him, as, he being on contract work, I had always money of his in hand, so his conscience could not be credited, but his prudence might. He was not seen again in the colony for some years, but I shall have more to relate of him.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

GRIEVOUS WRONGS DONE TO THE PIONEER SETTLERS.

THE advent of Captain Grey as third Governor of South Australia has been recorded, and I propose in this chapter to relate a few instances of the cruel wrongs which the pioneers had to endure under the crowning ruin which the policy of the British Government instructed its representative to carry out as to the financial liabilities of the colony, and which he undertook with his eyes open, for he did not come as a stranger. The first instance will give a brief account of the ruin of the firm of Borrow & Goodlar by the direct action of Captain Grey's Government in cancelling the large contracts under which the firm were bound to the Government of Colonel Gawler. The bills which they had received on the Home Government in part payment for work done having been also dishonoured, they were suddenly brought to a standstill, and had to meet the claims of their numerous workpeople, their merchants and bankers, with promises. In this crisis they waited with an influential merchant on the Governor, and the case of the firm was with great force pressed on His Excellency, who treated them with kind consideration, and in answer he gave them full and decided assurances that the claims of the firm should be honorably met, and be submitted to arbitration. With this favourable and gracious reception they left Government House, highly pleased and satisfied, and went direct to the Government Offices and had an interview with Mr. Gouger, the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Jackson, the Treasurer, to whom they detailed the promising result of their interview with Governor Grey. Their explanation of the answer they had obtained from His Excellency's lips was received by these officers with the greatest surprise, and they assured their visitors that the Governor had neither the power nor the means to make good such promises, and that there was no chance of an early settlement of their claims on any terms. And so the result proved, to the total ruin of their extensive business. Their engagements extended beyond the building trade, for they had taken leases of suburban sections, which they had fenced in with a view to the growth of wheat, and had sunk their capital in legitimate pursuits likely to result in benefit to the country. It was not until a wearied and lengthened contest that their creditors obtained from the Government a dividend by a compromise, and accepted a portion of the just claims of the firm. I may mention here that "during the year 1842 no less than 136 writs were passed through the Sheriff's Court, and thirty-seven fiats of insolvency were issued. In one important respect the disastrous consequences of the losses sustained in the colony were made apparent on the non-payment of the Government debts, as out of 1,915 houses that had been built in Adelaide 842 were in December, 1842, totally deserted, and the people spread out in the country districts.

One of the ruined pioneers of the colony, who has published a brief history of his early career in the *Methodist Journal*, under the signature "Pioneer," having allowed me to extract therefrom, I take advantage of the privilege, with thanks, as the ultimate sacrifice of the wreck of his property followed, as in my own case and so many others, from the advantage taken of our weakened state after the first general blow, and when the news was received confirming the repudiating action of the Home Government. I commence to quote from the termination of "Pioneer's" voyage from home, in order to show how he began from the first in his colonial career to go in with all his energies and means as a bona fide pioneer settler, to assist in stocking and cultivating the new colony:—

"After the inevitable discomforts of a long sea voyage in the ship *Isabella*, which Captain Hart, the commander, endeavoured to make as pleasant as possible, we sighted Van Dieman's Land on the 1st January, 1837, and at once sailed up the River Tamar, and grounded in the mud two or three miles from Launceston. We obtained lodgings, and began to make anxious enquiries respecting the new colony. We found that many shipments of sheep had been made to Port Philip (then a new colony, an offshoot of New South Wales). The John Pirie arrived from St. Vincent's Gulf, South Australia, and reported having spoken the Buffalo, beating up the Gulf, so that we had arrived in Tasmania nearly as soon as Governor Hindmarsh and his staff arrived at his seat of Government. The settlers were said to have landed at Kingscote, Kangaroo Island, and Rapid Bay, on the main, but many of them had gone north to a part of the coast opposite to Mount Lofty, near to which a river or inlet of the sea had been discovered, with 2½ fathoms of water on the bar. The *Isabella* was laid on for the new colony, our destination, and we proceeded at once to make our purchases of stock (for which purpose we had come round), and all that appeared necessary for the occupation of three preliminary sections purchased in England. We put on board three hundred and fifty ewes, forty-five wethers, six heifers, one Devon bull, ten working bullocks, two mares, one Timor pony, goats, pigs, poultry, dray, waggon, seed wheat, and provisions for twelve months, with the packages brought with us in the ship. I engaged four bush hands and a female as washerwoman. Three out of the four were convicts, but there was no choice, and the fencing and other work, required men of experience in colonial operations. The woman turned out a confirmed drunkard, and was for years known in the colony as Scotch Bella, (who had more interviews in her time than any other man or woman with the Resident Magistrate.)

"We sailed on the first of February from the Tamar, and were met by contrary winds and rough weather, during which one bullock died and many sheep. At length, on the 9th we reached Backstairs Passage, and when off Rapid Bay a boat was lowered, and the captain, myself, and one or two more went ashore; found no settlers, but only a few huts. The captain said he would run up the Gulf forty miles, when he expected to find the Buffalo and the body of settlers. We anchored about midnight, but found in the morning we were two or three miles south of the Buffalo at anchor, and the *Coromandel* also, which latter vessel had arrived before us. A strong hot north wind was blowing, and to save the lives of as many sheep as possible the captain landed

them opposite the ship. No water was near, and as the sheep-netting was not landed according to promise, we could not make a yard. In consequence the sheep broke adrift in the night, and were most of them irrecoverably lost. The other stock were landed in fair order. A heifer calved a day or two after, and I had the pleasure of milking the first cow of the colony. The settlers were camped over the sandhills, at the present site of Glenelg, and were busily rolling their goods over the sand hummocks. My men at once yoked a team of eight bullocks, and brought our goods from the ship's longboat to the camp we formed near a lagoon. It created quite a sensation in the encampment, as most of the people had not seen a colonial team before. Mr. John Hallett had, however, landed two bullocks and a few wethers before we arrived. In a few days a vessel from the Cape brought some fine Fatherland cows for the Government, several of which I subsequently bought at auction at an average price of £27 each, and subsequently one at £30. We found the colony had been proclaimed over five weeks before we landed, but the survey of Adelaide was not completed. I had brought out two of Manning's cottages. One I first put up at the Bay, and the other I placed at Adelaide, opposite North-terrace. In April I finished the cottage there, and brought up the other from the Bay, and with the two formed a four-roomed habitation. While the *Isabella* lay in Holdfast Bay, Captain Hart said he wished to return in the ship to procure a freight if he could. Not being able to procure land, except at an exorbitant price, I commenced mercantile business, much against my inclination, and purchased goods out of the *Regia*, the *William*, etc. I further agreed to take goods from Captain Hart, and pay freight and ten per cent. on the invoice; also that I would pay for any stock landed in good condition, at specified prices; and we parted, expecting, if Mr. Griffiths, the owner of the *Isabella*, consented, to meet again before long. In April a meeting of holders of preliminary land orders was called, at which a resolution was carried to ballot for the locality in which the sections should be selected, which caused my three to be placed in District D, Yankalilla, the survey of which was not made for some two or three years after, before which we had sold the land orders as useless to us.

"The town acres, after the preliminary ones had been allotted, were offered by public auction, and realised about £4,000, after reserving the 437 preliminary (gift) acres, belonging to the 134 acres preliminary sections. I became the purchaser of sixty acres of town land for want of other land. I enclosed twelve acres in Lower North Adelaide, and sowed wheat the first season. A sample of the produce was sent home, and excited some notice in Mark Lane. Mr. G. Stevenson also commenced a garden close by, and soon made it one of the show places of the colony. Our bullock-team was fully employed in carting goods from the Port and Bay for the settlers. I have a record of £12 for one day's work, when loaded both ways.

"On the 6th April the brig *William* arrived from Tasmania, and reported that the *Isabella* had sailed the day previous to the *William*; that she had on board 400 sheep and twelve bullocks, and four cows for us, besides a variety of goods selected in Launceston and consigned to me. I this day dined at Mr. Gouger's, the Colonial Secretary, and met *Sir John Jeffcott*, who had just arrived. He rode with me to some fine

country about ten miles south of Adelaide, where we were putting up yards and huts to receive the stock expected.

"On the 13th of April I rode to the Bay, and on arriving at our camp found Captain Hart there. I was sorry to hear from him that he had lost the *Isabella*, which was totally wrecked on Cape Nelson, near Portland Bay, on her voyage hither. The loss was occasioned by the neglect of the mate, who came out with us in the ship from England. She was uninsured, and the captain said he had lost everything, and his friends had turned their backs on him. He described to a friend that he possessed nothing but what he stood up in. He said, Mr. Hy. Jones, who was a passenger with him, had joined him in the shipment. I invited the captain to remain with us, and at the time thought myself very fortunate in being, as I supposed, free from personal liability. But then there was the disappointment and loss of gain in the stock and goods not coming to hand, all being much wanted." [I may mention here that the captain, who was brought to such a bare position, was the Captain Hart whose after career in this colony was so successful, and who attained a leading political station, and acquired great wealth, whose sons are now carrying on the large export trade in the staff of life, as purchasers and exporters of wheat, which he established." * * * * *]

"In consequence of the difficulty in procuring land and the backwardness of the surveys, a plan was originated called the special survey system by which on £4,000 being lodged with the Colonial Treasurer, a block of 15,000 acres might be selected out of which 4,000 acres might be chosen." This amounted to selection before survey, and allowed the eyes of the country to be picked out, and a number of such special surveys were soon taken up, and in surveying occupied the time of the staff, the greater portion being applied for by mere speculators in land or large capitalists non-resident.

"After Captain Hart had remained some time with us I entered into an agreement with him to go to Sydney and purchase on our account a schooner to trade between that place and Adelaide, and furnished him with funds for that purpose. Not very long after Mr. Jones arrived in Adelaide, and made a claim on me for the value of the lost cargo, stating they had purchased the goods as my agent. As no authority could be produced in writing, no action could lie against me; but I agreed to an arbitration, and had to pay for the goods, but not the stock. Mr. Jones received about £700 from me, but Captain Hart refused to receive his share, admitting that it was an unjust claim. My brother joined Captain Hart in Sydney, and they agreed for the purchase of about 800 head of cattle, to be delivered at Portland Bay. About half after their arrival were shipped from thence to Adelaide, but arrived in very bad condition. On the safe arrival of the remainder of our cattle, 400 in number, overland from Portland Bay, conducted by Captain Hart, who, taking Major Mitchell's track towards the River Murray, and then following the course down the same and the track to Mount Barker, arrived safe at the spot where the township now stands. We here formed a dairy station, and made arrangements with the Bank, by which we were able to purchase a special survey, of which we were to take 3,000 acres, and a Cattle Company, of which I was a director, the balance, 1,000 acres. We were, however, forestalled by a few hours by some speculators from Sydney, who obtained the Treasurer's receipt before my money was tendered.

Having made ourselves very certain we should be unopposed, the disappointment was great." [The writer of these lines was glad to come into this first Mount Barker special survey with two land orders purchased and paid for before leaving England, and one in the colony, *i.e.*, nearly three years after the first payment, but had not the privilege to select until after the speculators had picked out their 4,000 acres, not one of whom personally became an occupier.]

"In this emergency we next applied for another survey, south of the Mount Barker block, which we obtained. It was afterwards called Echunga, and there we commenced to improve and fence. We soon had two dairies at work, with seventy cows milking in each—one at Echunga and one on a thousand acres we had taken up on the Little Para, part of a special survey—and also established a cattle run at Yankalilla, for dry cattle and breeding." [A large speculation under the special survey system was made on behalf of Mr. Angas, by Mr. Flaxman, his agent. Although it seemed a very considerable outlay at the time the result has proved a very satisfactory investment of capital for Mr. Angas.]

In 1839 we built a house at Echunga on the survey, and laid out a garden of twelve acres, to furnish which I sent for a large invoice of trees, &c., from Hobart Town, and it soon became very flourishing and productive. I removed my family there in 1840, and to attend to the business in Adelaide rode in by 10 a.m., returned on the following evening, and remained out one day, and so continued to carry on with the country work and the town business. Experience has shown me that the difficulties in which I ultimately became involved had their rise in carrying out my desire to acquire a large landed property. Early in 1840 I had an apparent balance to the credit of profit and loss of £30,000, but by 1843 all had to be sacrificed. The special surveys led the way, but the purchase of the land was only a small matter. A large sum was sunk in making the land acquired produce anything; and these, in common with other heavy business losses, fell on us. Bank assistance was required—very readily granted while the colony flourished, but as summarily called in when the crisis came. I sold my Hindley-street property for £4,000, and raised £1,500 on the Echunga property, to pay off claims and in part overdrafts. At length, in 1843, the worst of the storm seemed past; the manager expressed himself much gratified with the exertions I had made to reduce my liabilities with them, and I felt secure I should have the continued support of the Bank. Time was all that was required, but this luxury was not obtainable. Almost every merchant and trader in the community had to make arrangements with creditors or to become insolvent. A few days after the satisfactory interview with the manager of my Bank, I was aroused one morning by two men riding into the yard at Echunga, and on asking their business I was informed they were bailiffs come to take possession on behalf of the Bank. At the time there was only one director of the Bank, and an English friend of mine, representing a house in England with whom I had large dealings, and who held a mortgage (as security for advances) on a portion of the Echunga land, was married to a sister of the Director, and it was determined to obtain my improved property. This could only be done by my being compelled to insolvency, and this was carried out, and the whole of the Echunga estate passed for a small amount over the mortgage to my English friend and schoolfellow. Judge Cooper

was sometimes a guest at Echunga, and little thought when he talked over with me the new insolvency law he was preparing, that I should be one of its first victims."

So far Pioneer. In a former chapter I have described my journey with my family over the hills to occupy three sections, which I was glad to take up in the first Mount Barker Special Survey. This was the survey out of which "Pioneer" was choused. Anxious to get into country pursuits in carrying out my original intentions, I lost no time in commencing work on the sections as soon as I got possession, and before I got rid of my town business. As I have described, I had been actively engaged like "Pioneer" in introducing stock into the colony. A few months after I commenced in town, I was induced to enter into partnership with a gentleman who arrived from India, who had left the greater part of his capital there to follow him. Immediately before the crisis arrived I was anxious to withdraw from town business, and was advised by a Bank manager to hand over the partnership, stock, and liabilities to my partner; this was done as suggested. Over 400 head of large cattle were assigned to the manager and a second party whom he named to cover partnership acceptances then current, for the last purchases of cattle made by the firm. Before this was carried out I paid all other partnership claims then due, and lifted one bill for a large amount. I also paid all my private accounts. I agreed to a very low valuation of the cattle, horses, drays, &c. (in a falling market), less than half the cost of the same, with an arrangement that I was to receive out of sales £800. On this matter being concluded a complimentary letter from the Bank manager was received by me, and I afterwards drew cheques on both Banks on my private accounts. At the time this arrangement was made I was not aware that my partner had obtained large advances from the same Bank (in anticipation of the receipt of funds from India), which he had invested in land, &c., in the colony. He was a large shareholder in an Indian Bank which came to grief. Other heavy losses befel him, and his expected funds did not arrive, but the funds from the assigned partnership stock were taken to clear off his private debt to the Bank. Not long after I had assigned the stock I was surprised at my quiet home on a certain day, by the visit of a bailiff and was served with writs for the unpaid partnership debts, and held in durance vile until the arrival from Sydney of the drawers of the bills, who immediately on landing discharged me entirely. The first insolvent law having now passed, my late partner became one of the first who had to pass through the Court, and in his schedule I appeared as a creditor for the amount of £800, amount of my arranged claim, but I got no dividend, as the insolvent had shortly after again to declare himself; and such were some of the transactions of that day.

Not to go into minute details of further bitter "experiences," I will only add that advantage at this time was attempted to be taken of my weakened state by a fresh arrival with whom I had been connected in transactions, and by whom I should have suffered grievous wrong if I had not been favoured by the support of a strong friend, and with whose support I was enabled to force an arbitration, by which I obtained the greater part of my claims, but only on yielding up my comfortable and well-arranged home; and I had to turn out with a young family to commence again. The above three instances of "Early

Experiences of Colonial Life " in South Australia (to which many might be added), are sufficient to prove that the early colonists are not to be blamed for the first crisis under which they suffered ruin. They did not voluntarily confine their operations to town pursuits, as has been represented by some of those who have furnished histories of pioneer work in the colony, and as Governor Grey also stated in his early despatches.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

GOVERNOR GREY—HIS DIFFICULTIES.

IN relating some of the occurrences during Captain Grey's government it should be mentioned that after he assumed the office of Governor of South Australia an Imperial Act was passed which repealed the two former Acts regulating the government of the colony, and by which it had been constituted as a separate colony, independent of New South Wales, and its boundaries had been fixed. On the 15th July, 1842, this repealing Act was passed—introduced by Lord Stanley, then Colonial Secretary—entitled "An Act for the better government of South Australia." It abolished the London Board of Commissioners, and in the colony the office of Resident Commissioner, and by the same Imperial Act a provision was made for the appointment of a Legislative Council for the colony, to consist of the Governor for the time being and not less than seven other persons, to be nominated members by the Queen, or in such a manner as she might direct.

This new Council (of advice, as it was merely) was first established in June, 1843, and the selection of its members being left to the Governor, Captain Grey, he appointed Mr. Mundy (Colonial Secretary), Mr. Smillie (Advocate-General), Captain Sturt (Registrar-General), as official members, together with four gentlemen not holding Government appointments. The following gentlemen were first nominated, and from time to time changes took place, as these honourable members retired:—Major T. S. O'Halloran, John Morphett, Esq., Jacob Hagen, Esq., Captain Charles Harvey Bagot. The repealed Act which had constituted the colony provided that local government should be conceded when its population reached the number of 50,000 souls. At this time the population of the colony fell far short of the number, thus the promised constitution was lost to the infant province, and under the depression, caused as it was by no deficiency of intrinsic value of the country itself or lack of spirit and energy in the pioneers, nevertheless the increase of the population from without was still kept back by the continued want of action and sympathy on the part of the British Government, as the repeated pressing applications of Governor Grey on Lord Stanley were totally disregarded for a resumption of emigration, and a restoration of the amount of £84,697 which had been taken from the Land and Emigration Fund, and otherwise applied without reference to the contributors. So the unfortunate first settlers, having first suffered the loss of the greater part of their capital by Government repudiations, had afterwards to struggle on in country pursuits, after patiently waiting for their land, with a deficiency of working hands, and with the rate of wages at an unusually high figure. The first relief obtained came from the adjoining colonies, especially from Sydney. Succeeding the first beams of prosperity which arose from successful

agricultural operations, the discovery of the mines soon followed, and aided materially in drawing population—people who joined us at their own expense, and at a time when we were denied them from the mother country, teeming then with populations existing on miserably low wages or as a burden to the State.

The large reduction which the Governor immediately made in establishments and works, by cutting off two-thirds of Government expenditure, naturally caused an enormous depreciation in every description of property, by which many people were ruined, and the labouring classes found it more and more difficult to obtain employment from impoverished settlers. At the latter part of 1841 the Governor had the enormous number of nearly two thousand men, women, and children, thrown upon his hands for support as absolute paupers. This state of things was taken advantage of by some few, who made much gain, not always to their credit. The lawyers, of course, reaped a rich harvest.

"The grave question," says Forster, "was forced upon the Governor from whence to obtain the means to support two thousand British subjects, who must either starve or support themselves by rapine and pillage, which they threatened to do in very intelligible language."

"Captain Grey reduced the wages of the unemployed emigrants to one shilling and two pence a day, without rations. Great discontent was, as a matter of course, created, and a popular outbreak was more than once anticipated, which the absence of military made serious. The Governor's income was then £1,000 per annum, and to his credit it is recorded that in this crisis he contributed over £400 towards charitable purposes. Mr. Dutton, in a note in his "History of South Australia," states that "in the year 1840 the immense sum of £277,000 sterling was sent out of the colony for the purchase of the necessaries of life."

The only way open to the Governor to lower the cost of the police department was to reduce the number as well as pay of the officers and men in the force, and this was done although their work was greatly increased by the outbreak of the natives on the Murray, and through the destitution of the working classes. (See appendix.)

In reviving the occurrences of this period in our history which were such bitter experiences to the writer and to some others still alive of the early colonists, and after the flight of many years, and comparing the then state of the colony with our present position and prospects, and in recalling the proposal which Captain Grey made in one of his gloomy despatches to Lord Stanley, to dispose of Government House as well as other Government properties to raise funds, in contrast with the favourable opinions so early expressed by our present Governor, Sir W. F. D. Jervois, on his first glance at the country, I can boldly say that history furnishes no parallel to our progress as an infant settlement. At this time our coastline is the same in extent, and affords only a greater accommodation in harbours as they have been improved since 1841. Our River Murray, also a grand natural canal, is of the same expansive character without change, except as to the removal of snags. Our surface land is now, as it was then, unexceptionally the greatest in extent, and of superior quality to that possessed by any other Australian community; and to crown all, in spite of much selfish and short-sighted policy and actions on the part of most of our previous leading legislators, we have arrived at our present position from which to start onwards to attain a

state of wealth and influence equal, if not superior, to any other Australian or British colony.

I continue to finish the first chapter under the administration of Captain Grey by an extract from Dutton's history:—"In November, 1841, Captain Grey heard from England that Colonel Gawler's bills were in course of payment by means of the Parliamentary grant voted as a temporary assistance to the colony. On ascertaining this fact, looking to the justice of the still unsatisfied claims for which Colonel Gawler had not drawn bills, and determined to relieve the distress consequent on the non-payment of these claims, he drew upon the Lords of the Treasury for the amounts which were properly substantiated as due. Governor Grey's despatch announcing his having done so gave in full his motives for incurring responsibility which he was aware at the time had been the cause of his predecessor's recall."

These bills of Captain Grey were also returned protested. The disastrous news did not reach the colony before the arrival of the *Tagliani*, in October, 1842, but there was not a single despatch for the Governor on board announcing this fact distinctly. It was on the 24th December following that Governor Grey at length received Lord Stanley's despatch announcing the dishonour of his drafts in the preceding May. "You have," said Lord Stanley, "now drawn bills on the Treasury in discharge of these (outstanding) claims, and the bills have been dishonoured, and will be returned to you chargeable with interest."

Mr. Dutton continues:—"Lord Stanley gave no good reason for refusing to pay those bills, beyond that they were drawn without special authority, but the reasons given in Lord Stanley's despatch do not justify the course he pursued in refusing to place those few additional thousands of pounds on the same footing as Colonel Gawler's bills, as an attentive perusal of Governor Grey's despatch clearly shows that these claims were composed of precisely similar ones which the British Government had thought it incumbent on themselves to pay to support the credit of the Government." Mr. Dutton in a note comments on the remark made by Lord Stanley, "that the outstanding debts of Colonel Gawler were *created* under the full knowledge of the peremptory orders which Colonel Gawler had received not to draw any further," the fact being "a considerable portion of these claims were for contracts entered upon before the prohibition to draw had arrived, but were not due till after that period; and a large sum was due on account of public buildings in the course of erection, the remainder being for absolute necessities." Lord Stanley, to meet these dishonoured bills, ordered colonial debentures to be issued, to bear interest at 5 per cent. To parties in England this may at first sight appear to have been a very satisfactory arrangement, but fresh light will appear on acquaintance with the working of the matter. "In the first place the colonists were kept waiting eighteen months before they got any settlement at all, then they got the Governor's bills on the Lords of the Treasury, to get which cashed they had to pay the Banks five per cent. discount. The bills were sent to England and refused acceptance; then the lawyers got hold of them. In addition to noting protest there was a charge of twenty per cent., also charge for *re-exchange*. Lawyers in the colony were then ordered to call for an early *reimbursement* from the unfortunate endorsers, which they could not *make* except by handing over the debentures bearing five per cent. interest

whilst the Bank interest was from ten to twelve. A child might guess the consequences to nine out of ten of the holders of these bills. Half the amount of the bills gone in expenses, and a final settlement gained after an advertisement of the properties of A. B. or C. for peremptory sale." [Then properties mopped up by Bank manager or some of his friends and partners.]

"The new Governor was forced by his instructions to stop public works, except so far as was necessary to complete them to prevent early dilapidation, for which purpose he obtained a temporary loan from the Government of New South Wales of £3,000. The next downward movement was the stoppage of works of a private nature; the colonists holding large amounts of dishonoured Government bills as well as unsettled Government accounts, as I have stated, for works done and goods supplied, were made bankrupts; thus a large number of labourers fell upon the Governor for work or food. Necessities more compulsory than his stringent instructions, which he had arrived to carry out, were thus created. A number of over 700 immigrants, most of them good working men, were, under compulsion at first, furnished with work at wages reduced to the lowest point at which they were able to subsist, and were marched out daily under inspectors, the majority employed on roadmaking at a Government stroke.

In this crisis Captain Grey applied for power and instructions to sell such of the Government properties as might conveniently be disposed of, but he found such a step impossible, as not a fourth part of the value could be obtained for anything offered for sale. He applied to the Bank of South Australia, and was offered £10,000 at twelve per cent. on his personal security! But as such a sum would have been immediately absorbed by liabilities already incurred, and would leave nothing for the legitimate expenses of his own administration, he had ultimately to adopt the same course which had led to Colonel Gawler's recall. He drew bills on the Lords of the Treasury, which were also returned dishonoured. After many months of severe suffering for the colonists, and trials and responsibilities for the Governor, of no ordinary character, the necessary advances were made by the Imperial Government, and from the time of that assistance, too long delayed, the colony has continued to rise in importance and wealth, all such advances having been long since refunded. With the appointment of Captain Grey as Governor, the management of the colony was taken out of the hands of the Commissioners in London, and we were passed over to the tender mercies of Lord Stanley. The change in Her Majesty's Ministers at the time of the colonial crisis was no doubt an additional agent in prolonging our difficulties. I think it will be fair in this place to quote from Governor Grey's despatch, of the 31st December, 1842, to Lord Stanley, as being a most unfair comment on the action of his predecessor, and an unjust charge against the then small number of colonists, as follows:—

"The great majority of the community were interested in the maintenance of the lavish Government expenditure. During the twelve months preceding my arrival about £150,000 had been procured by drawing bills, which were ultimately paid by the British Treasury, and had been distributed in the form of salaries, allowances, and lucrative contracts amongst a population of 14,061 people, who only contributed £90,000 towards their own support; that is, the British Treasury paid

annually to every man, woman, and child, in South Australia, upwards of £10 a head per annum, which was paid to them by Great Britain for the support of them and their families."

Could anything be more monstrous or unjust than to charge the then small population of the young colony with the whole amount of the sum named, which had been principally expended on the substantial public buildings erected, or in course of erection, and which so soon proved to be insufficient in size to afford accommodation in which to carry on the Government business of the rising colony.

Such statements in a despatch to one of the Secretaries of State may cause surprise, but are quite consistent with the remark Captain Grey was at the time of his arrival charged with making, that he was prepared to let Government House as a store, *i.e.*, the portien then built.

In this chapter I have considered it necessary to record at some length the difficult position in which Captain Grey with his eyes open allowed himself to be placed as to means at his disposal to carry on the Government of this province. I have also thought myself justified in placing before readers at the same time such particulars as exhibit a justification to a great extent of the actions of his predecessor, Colonel Gawler, of whom it must be said that all his predictions as to the future of this colony have been already more than realised. In subsequent numbers I shall have to produce the continuation of the fatal affrays with the blacks on the Rufus junction with the Murray—sad, sad records.

CHAPTER XL.

MINERAL DISCOVERIES.

The earliest mineral discovery made was the Glen Osmond silver-lead lodes, the first indications of which were found almost immediately after Preliminary Section 295 was taken up by Mr. Osmond Gilles, situated on the slope and foot of the first tier of hills, four miles south-east of Adelaide. As an incident and experience in my own career, I think I may fairly explain my first connection with this valuable section, although to do this a return must be made to a past date. Shortly after I arrived in the colony my attention was called to this section by Mr. G. S. Kingston, then acting Surveyor-General. I had visited the original Survey Office, and was examining the second map of District A. Mr. Kingston pointed to the east corner of the surveyed sections, and informed me that the map was a copy of the one from which the preliminary sections had been selected by holders of land orders or their agents, and on which original map their selections had been marked off. He, at my request, ordered this original map to be produced for my inspection, and I then saw on that map a section (No. 295) unselected which did not appear on the copy, and in the situation he pointed out to me, and I at once rode out and found the western corner pegs, and perceived near the south-western corner of the same an appearance of a surface spring, on which important find I returned at once to my camp on South-terrace, and took two 80-acre land orders and tendered them for section 295 and the additional quantity required, and the tender was accepted. Subsequently, on the same day, when spending an hour with Mr. Osmond Gilles, near whose residence I had encamped, he asked me if I had found any land to suit me. I replied, "I have this day exercised two land orders, and I can see the spot from your windows;" and on pointing out the locality to him, he said, "What! those dimples?" I said, "Yes; if you call the spurs and the indents between them dimples." My wife and a lady were present, and enjoyed a laugh; and as Mr. Gilles seemed a good deal interested by what I told him about the non-accordances of the maps, I proposed the party should take an evening ride and view my selection. Mr. Gilles at once assented, and his gig and two of my saddle-horses were ordered out—one lady in the gig and the other with myself on horseback—and we passed joyously over the open plain, covered with long kangaroo grass and flowery herbage. On arriving at the "dimples" we dismounted under the shade of trees, and I alone climbed the hill to find the back pegs of the section, and found a large part of the same was on the hillside, stony and unsuitable for agriculture, and perceived that the lower part was thickly covered with trees, the view across the plains with the young forest city in the centre and the gulf in the distance,

formed a most delightful picture, with which I was sufficiently enraptured. We returned and spent the evening with Mr. Gilles, and I and my host enjoyed some of his splendid hock, over which we had a long chat. Mr. Gilles regretted his bad luck in drawing for his numerous choices for preliminary sections, by which he had not been able to obtain for himself even one section near enough the city on which to erect a suburban residence, and expressed his annoyance that his attention had not been called earlier to Section 295. He then asked me if I had any particular desire to retain the section, and proposed to me to withdraw my application, as it might be some time before I could obtain the additional quantity of land and in a manner to suit me. Well, after some consideration, I did not hesitate to comply with his expressed desire, for I had seen that the back and hilly part of the section was not suitable for the plough, and the lower part, as I have said, thick with trees, and would be expensive to clear. The following day I accompanied the Treasurer to the Land Office and withdrew my land orders, and Mr. Gilles exercised one of his preliminary orders, which he had been under the necessity to reserve, for one of the southern reserved districts; the Commissioner (Mr. J. H. Fisher) and the Acting Surveyor-General (Mr. G. S. Kingston) threw no difficulty in the way of the transfer, and the section was marked off and registered to Mr. Gilles, and he and I put our initials on the map, which now seldom sees daylight, but which initials I saw not long ago, on the map being produced in the Supreme Court on a trial about the boundaries of sections. Some few weeks after this arrangement was effected I formed one of a small picnic party to the "Dimples," as the ladies continued to call the hollows. On the spurs some whitish quartz-looking stones were picked up which showed small bright specks of lead, not thought much of at the time. In the following year, 1839, large projecting blocks of what appeared to be limestone, on being broken on the hillside, were found to be internally pure galena, and now great excitement was caused. A few men were put on by the proprietor at first under his chief clerk, Mr. Finke. Some of the Adelaide speculators endeavoured to come to terms with Mr. Gilles as to purchase, but he met them by saying he would not part with the property even if £30,000 was offered for it. Ultimately six or seven distinct veins or lodes were discovered, and some 200 tons of good lead ore were soon raised, which parcel on reaching home was represented to give seventy-five per cent. of lead with eighteen ounces of silver to the ton. The average published value given was £13 a ton of 21 cwt. On this a London Company was formed called the Glen Osmond Union Mining Company, with a paid-up capital of £30,000. At a very high royalty a mining lease was granted to the Company by the proprietor. A captain with a strong body of good miners was soon dispatched under engagements to work a certain time, which engagements were not in all cases fulfilled. Operations were for a few years carried on in a miner-like manner. The spring indication, which I had seen at surface, was tapped at a shallow depth, and found to be strong enough for washing such of the ore as required to be dressed. Large quantities of ore were raised and shipped until a smelting establishment was built by the Messrs. Penny on adjoining land, but unfortunately the Adelaide management got into litigation with the proprietor, which together with the heavy expenses of management shortly

led to the lease being abandoned by the Company. At the same time ores sufficient had been raised to cover first expenses of sinking two main shafts, driving two principal adits into the hill, and making the necessary buildings, machinery, &c., but the stoppage took place before the adits reached the main lodes, and so a promising mine was knocked, as the miners say.

Subsequent to the opening of the first lead mine an extraordinary bunch of galena was discovered on an adjoining section, known afterwards as the Wheal Watkin's Mine, and many tons of rich lead, rich also for silver, were raised, but the workings were abandoned when at about forty or fifty fathoms below surface, when the lead became pinched and the ground harder. On other adjoining sections lead lodes were worked a short time. One, the Wheal Gawler, and a lode near to, and one in Hardy's Quarry. Well, all these prospects stand over for a future day if ever wages and expenses permit the workings to be resumed. The amount realised on the Glen Osmond mine, as I was informed at the time, amounted to over £13,000. No doubt the royalty was much too high, which might have been the primary cause of the stoppage.

In 1842 the Kapunda Copper Mine was discovered. I extract particulars of this from Dutton's work:—"The first discovery of the ore was by the youngest son of Captain Bagot whilst gathering wild flowers on the plain. Shortly afterwards, not far from the same spot, I ascended the top of a small hill to view the surrounding country. One of our flocks of sheep had been dispersed during a thunderstorm, and I had been out nearly the whole of the day in drenching rain in search of them. At the spot where I pulled up my horse was beside a protruding mass of clay slate. My first impression was that the rock was covered with a beautiful green moss; but on dismounting and breaking off a piece, it was green carbonate of copper. To my neighbour, Captain Bagot, I confided my discovery; the place was on his sheep-run. He also produced a similar specimen, which was found by his son, as related. The two spots were in close proximity; the discoveries were of course kept secret. We applied for a survey of eighty acres, in conformity to regulation, the section was advertised as required in the *Gazette* for one month, and we became the purchasers of the same at the upset price of one pound an acre. At that time there were a number of eighty-acre land orders unexercised, and any one of them might have been tendered, and have gained the section for the owner of it. We quietly waited for the expiration of the month, and then lodged the money, having trusted to the general depression of the times as preventing any competitors, and we were not mistaken. Having secured the land, the next step was to ascertain the value of the ore, and we sent samples to England, and from Mr. Percival Johnston obtained a return of an assay of the average of twenty-three per cent. of copper. We then lost no time in beginning working with a small party of men, and with three miners and a party of friends, ladies included, started in a bullock-dray with a tarpaulin hood, Mr. Menge being in the party. Proceedings were opened by an interesting address on mining in general by him, and the ground was broken by the men. At this time a few Cornish miners were quietly following other pursuits, who gladly resumed mining tools, and commenced to raise ore on tribute of *8s. 6d.*

in the pound, to set the interest a-going. They did very well, and raised a quantity of rich ore. The place was a complete wilderness; the nearest water was half a mile away, and brackish; we soon succeeded in finding a good spring, and erected a row of stone cottages for the workmen, and they quickly had their families with them. The mine was about forty-two miles from Port Adelaide, and at first no track even had been made between the places. Captain Bagot undertook to select and mark out a line, which he did in a primitive manner by fastening a plough behind the first dray, and by that striking a furrow for succeeding drays to follow. On the plough breaking he had a crooked forked branch cut from a hardwood tree, and with that produced a sufficient scratch to be followed, and so the line was made and adopted, and for a long time used, being worn to a hard surface, and remained a good road until road makers were set to work."

I have previously mentioned that Captain Frome, who arrived towards the end of Col. Gawler's time, had pushed on the surveys in advance of wants, and now his work was increased in surveying detached mineral sections as well as the numerous special surveys which had been applied for. He also performed the duties of Engineer-in-Chief, and erected bridges, and commenced to form metallised roads.

"In justice I have to record a most popular act of Governor Grey in declaring in July, 1845 (at the time when copper and lead ores were promising to be raised in large quantities), all South Australian ports free of port charges to ships of all nations without exception. At this time, from recently opened mines, ores had arrived for shipment from Port Adelaide. This free grant was made after the revenue had attained a comparatively flourishing condition, from the successful occupation of country lands by an industrious population lifting the colony from its deep depression to such a state of prosperity as to justify the Governor in establishing such a wise, liberal, and well-timed policy, and which drew freight-seeking ships to our colony. The previous year's revenue, derived from Port dues and charges, had amounted to about £2,000. The loss of that amount of revenue was correctly anticipated to be made up in other branches under increasing prosperity. Contracts for the first cartage of ores from Kapunda were fulfilled at 22s. 6d. a ton of 21 cwt., probably as cheap as it could be carted for the same distance in England. After the richness of the mine became publicly known applicants came forward for a section of one hundred acres of adjoining land, and the section, on being put up for public competition reached the amount of £2,210, which was purchased on joint account by Messrs. Bagot and Dutton." From this additional purchase before the end of the year ores were raised sufficient to repay the first cost and expenses.

"In the year 1840 three miners were employed in the colony; in the last month of the year twelve men were at work. The gross produce from sales at Swansea amounted to £6,225."

"In the year 1845 Mr. Dutton sold his one-fourth interest in the mine, and subsequently Captain Bagot parted with the remainder to an English Company, by which Company the mine has since been carried on. The fame of South Australian mines soon spread through the neighbouring settlements, and when once it became known that every one who went there found immediate and profitable employment (Mr. Dutton says) we began shortly to receive a large accession to our popu-

lation by voluntary free emigration from New Zealand, New South Wales, Port Phillip, and Van Dieman's Land. Tables for 1844 show increase from arrivals, 973; first quarter 1845, 616; one month, August same year, 500 arrived at Adelaide."

Amongst early experiences I cannot properly give the subsequent transactions of the Kapunda Mining Company.

The Burra Mine is the next important discovery to be mentioned, which so largely aided in placing South Australia in the position she ought never to have lost. This mine was discovered in the year 1845, after the previous mines mentioned had got well at work, by a shepherd of the name of Pickett. A rumour of a discovery of a monster mine in the Far North, as it was then called, had been for some time rife in Adelaide. Reports were current that this discovery was of such an extent as to eclipse everything which had been seen or heard of, but the locality was wrapped in mystery, and by many was considered to be a hoax. At length it was proved to be a fact. The excitement this discovery caused was unprecedented; the richness of the ores and the extent of the outcroppings were soon placed beyond a doubt. The tide having turned in favour of prosperity, arrivals from England were daily expected with a large amount of capital, and if so the prize would be lost to those first interested, so it was made manifest that nothing short of a special survey of 20,000 acres quickly demanded would secure the prize. The strivings and rivalries and exciting articles and communications in the papers were unexampled for some weeks. At length two Associations were formed. They could not agree to coalesce further than to club their money together to form the necessary fund of £20,000, required to be deposited to secure the claim, to be after survey subdivided.

The two parties of gentlemen between them acquired this splendid property of 20,000 acres (on which was subsequently opened one of the richest copper mines ever worked in the world) by paying into the Treasury the said sum of £20,000. Out of the first struggles to form a party with sufficient cash at command, two associations were formed, which by some wag were named "The Nobs and the Snobs;" not that men of each party were not as colonists equally respectable, but amongst the snobs were a few retail storekeepers and humble people, with whom the nobs would not further combine. The survey of the special block being quickly made, and in length lying northerly and southerly, it was divided into two equal parts by an east and westerly line. On the northern half the first great surface block of ore existed—afterwards the Burra Mine. On the southern half had been discovered indications of large copper lodes—afterwards named the Princess Royal Mine. Well, on the fortune of the two great speculating parties being decided by lot, the rich Burra fell to the snobs; and, as it afterwards proved, the deceitful Princess Royal to the nobs. In the successful Burra Company were a large number of small contributors. In the Princess Royal party were fewer individuals, and amongst them Captain Bagot, Mr. F. S. Dutton, and other proprietors of the Kapunda mines, together with a few outsiders; so part of the unsuccessful Association had their own valuable previously acquired mineral property to fall back on and enjoy, and the public generally who had no direct interest were satisfied with the action of *Dame Fortune*. The Princess Royal property was for a time worked

as a mine, but though large copper lodes were found to exist and to carry every usual symptom of permanency, the ores proving what the miners call "dredgy," was ultimately abandoned as a mine and the land sold as a sheep run, and fell into the hands of a fortunate sheepfarmer, Mr. A. McCulloch, and is now occupied by him, there he still resides ; and dispenses his annual bounties to the inhabitants of the adjoining mining townships.

CHAPTER XLI.

CAPTURE OF ESCAPED PRISONERS, BELL CHAMBERS; CARTER, A SYDNEY ESCAPED CONVICT; AND DYER, A BURGLAR—BALK OF AN INSPECTOR OF POLICE.

BLACK JOE, who has already appeared as having laid the police on the cattle stealers, as described in a previous chapter, has again to appear in this as performing the same service in leading to the recapture of Bell Chambers and Collins (the former a notorious character), who together had been guilty of stealing cows from Mr. Warland. They had been caught, committed for trial, and had escaped from gaol, adding two more to those who gave double work to our police until a suitable gaol was built. At the same criminal sessions at which these two men were tried the wife of Collins was also tried for the crime of shop-lifting and sentenced to seven years imprisonment.

Mr. Alford on a certain day was met in Hindley-street by Black Joe, who said he was about to call at the barracks to give information, and asked the Sergeant-Major if he had not been out seeking Bell Chambers? "Yes, what then have you to tell me about him?" "Well, he and Collins are hiding in the tiers; they were at my coffee shop last night for food, and they promised to come again to-night, and if you will come out I will give them something stronger than milk in their coffee, which will be sure to detain them." On receiving this news, Mr. Alford on his way to the Police-station called at the Old Gaol, to let the Governor (Mr. Ashton) know that he had got information which would give him great pleasure. On hearing the news Mr. Ashton accompanied the Sergeant-Major to the Police-station to have an interview with Inspector Stewart.

Mr. Ashton and Inspector Stewart arrived in the colony together, both having served in the London detective police force with such credit that they had been sent out with promises of good appointments under our Government, and which they obtained. On hearing from the Sergeant-Major the clue he had obtained, Inspector Stewart decided to take charge of the party himself, assisted by Mr. Alford. Mr. Stewart being Inspector of foot police, a quiet and safe horse was kept especially for his use, as he was not a skilled horseman, and Mr. Ashton's duties were not of the cavalry order. Mr. Ashton requested of his friend and old comrade to be allowed to accompany the police, and it was so arranged, one of the strongest of the police horses being furnished to him, as he was a heavy-weight, and not at all calculated to undergo a night expedition in the Tiers with ease to himself and nag; but he was so anxious to be present at the taking of Bell Chambers that he determined to encounter the inconveniences of a night excursion. Bell Chambers subsequently gave much trouble to the Governor of the Gaol, and on one occasion when a break out of prisoners had been prevented by

a file of troopers being called out to aid the gaol guards, was removed to the strong room at the police barracks, and there kept heavily ironed.

Some time after dark Inspector Stewart, with Sergeant-Major Alford and the stout Governor of the Gaol, started for the Mount Lofty range. They did not arrive at Black Joe's hut till after midnight. The Sergeant-Major was ordered to knock at the door. On Black Joe answering, he was asked to open the door to friends who wanted refreshment. The party dismounted and entered. On being asked who he had got there, by Mr. Alford, Joe replied—

“Two chaps who came in late for something to eat, and asked to be allowed to lie down before the fire, as they were tired.”

“All right, Joe, don't disturb them; now get us an early breakfast, as we are hungry, and have been beating about some hours.”

The men on the floor appeared to be sound asleep, but after a time were roused by the loud talk, and one of them (Chambers) sat up rubbing his eyes, when he was thus addressed by the Sergeant-Major:—

“Hullo, Chambers, what are you doing here? You know me?” (The officers were wrapped up in overcoats with felt hats slouched over their faces.) “Now, Bell, come forward, here is your friend, Mr. Ashton, looking for you. Here, Ashton, is one of your lost birds.”

On this Mr. A. came forward, and said, “Well, Chambers, how could you put me to all this trouble to come after you through the dark night, over this rough and hilly country. You should not have put me to all this fatigue and annoyance; you see you are now in the hands of the police, and you will have to march to town secured by them.”

The two men were soon in handcuffs and chained to the Sergeant-Major's saddle, and after a tramp to town were placed in safe custody.

A later notable instance of troublesome “experiences” our officials had to put up with in the way of an escape from gaol was that clever dodge successfully carried out by a runaway convict from Sydney of the name of Carter, who, in compliance with authority from the Government of New South Wales, had been taken into custody, and been secured in the new gaol, to which, even at that early time, it had been necessary to add another ward to contain female prisoners. This ward was a westerly extension of the premises which had been erected by Colonel Gawler, the original capacity of which he considered to be sufficient; but was not found to be so, and an enlargement was therefore commenced, and to do this the high outer wall had to be broken through. The ward or yard in which Carter was confined was surrounded by an inner wall, with a course of open brickwork commonly adopted on the top of prison yards and outer walls. Carter was detained with other runaway prisoners and some who had been sentenced to transportation for crimes committed here, until a vessel could be chartered to take the lot to Sydney. Carter was celebrated as the first prisoner who got clear off from the new and secure establishment, and he soon after added to his celebrity a fresh crime—namely, stealing a horse, saddle, and bridle on his way overland, before he could cross the Murray River; after which, on his way back under police escort, he succeeded in making a *second escape*. The mare he stole was the property of a Mr. Gemmell, in the Bremer District. The blacks gave information to the police stationed at the Wellington Crossing, who went out and caught Carter,

whose intention was to cross by swimming the stolen horse across the river somewhere about Wood's Crossing, and a few miles north of Wellington. But I must return to explain how he first got out of Mr. Ashton's hands. He was confined with a number of criminals in No. 1 yard. The prisoners, after roll-call in the morning, were let out of their cells and allowed to exercise themselves in the yard, secured as I have explained. They had a strong long-handled broom which they were required to use in cleaning their cells and the yard. This broom, in the hands of a tall man would reach within about four feet of the top of the solid wall and of the open loose brickwork, there being a much higher outer wall, with a wide space between the two, in which guards patrolled day and night. The escape of Carter was not discovered until after the roll was called over prior to the prisoners being locked up in their cells; to be occupied according to regulations, the rule being one or three to be placed in each cell. On the evening of the escape, when Kennedy, the turnkey, had called over the names and obtained no answer from Carter, and having searched around he cast his eyes to the wall and saw none of the loose bricks displaced, he then became the butt of the prisoners, who jeered and laughed at him. "He could not fly over the wall." "He must be somewhere." "Is he in those boots?" "Look in that place in the corner." "You are in for it, Kennedy, you have allowed the man to escape," &c. The distracted turnkey soon brought Mr. Ashton on to the scene, but no light was then obtained. The police were soon on the alert. Before I give the account of their hard work I will relate what Mr. Ashton was afterwards able to get out of the prisoners and from the guards as to the manner in which this escape was made. First, Carter was placed by his fellow-prisoners with his face to the wall, with one foot on each of the shoulders of a tall prisoner, then the strong broom in the hands of two stout prisoners was placed against the wall, so that the escaping man could step upon the head of it. The broom, with Carter on it, was then raised gradually until he could grasp the solid wall by passing his hands into two of the lowest openings of the loose bricks. His next step was to raise himself so as to peep over, to watch when the nearest guard had passed out of sight. But now comes the most marvellous part of the exploit—how he managed to raise himself further, steady himself, and stride over the open brickwork, and then lower himself to the ground without displacing any bricks or avoid making a noise not to have been heard above that which the prisoners would be keeping up; or how he was able, unruffled, to meet the guard on his return in pacing backwards and forwards on his short beat is a mystery. The prisoner had in some unknown manner become possessed of an ordinary carpenter's linen or cotton jacket and cap, which he had put on, and had in his hand a pencil and a fold of writing-paper, on which he was making notes when the guard presented himself, whom he addressed, saying, "Good day, guard; I am the contractor for additional sentry-boxes. I am required to inspect the one you use as a pattern," and then moved towards it and entered, jotting down his notes, and then with a parting polite remark passed round towards the opening, and addressed a second sentry with the same remarks. On the outer wall masons were at work, and when he came to them he paused, and assumed an air of scrutiny. I should mention that the guards on duty at the time

of this escape were soldiers from one of the two companies which were then granted to us by the Imperial Government on our paying for them. The first guard whom Carter passed and imposed on would naturally suppose him to be a tradesman who had entered and passed the two guards who were on duty at the opening at the outer wall. On his going out the other guards whom he afterwards addressed would also think that he had entered by the main gate, and had passed the guards placed there. As he passed out he said, "Good evening, guards." Looking at the sentry-box, he said, "Ah, I have taken the dimensions of the one inside; I see they are constructed alike;" and putting up his pencil and notes he walked quietly in the direction of the city, and so cleverly made his escape.

He was next heard of as on the way to the Murray River. A trooper from Wellington was sent after him, and in following up information received from natives after his arrival in the Bremer District got the information that a horse, saddle, and bridle had been stolen a few hours before from a Mr. Gemmel. The trooper hastened after the horse-stealer, and before Carter could cross the river above the Wellington crossing-place had him in custody, and with him and the stolen horse returned, and called at Gemmel's station that the owner might claim the horse, where he was invited to alight with his charge, and both to take some refreshment, which the horses and men greatly needed before the long journey to town was undertaken. The trooper was so unguarded as to enter with his host into an inner apartment, leaving Carter to take his meal in the outer room. Of course the owner of the horse was highly pleased at the early recovery of his property, and the police officer was enjoying the liberal treatment offered to him, but in a very short time, on taking a peep to see how his prisoner was getting on, found he preferred his liberty before the indulgence offered him, as he had quietly decamped; and although his footsteps were immediately followed, as he had a thick and extensive scrub country to cover his flight, he was not heard of in that district (he was handcuffed at the time), and the trooper had to return to town with the stolen horse riderless, and give in the unsatisfactory report he had to make, which led to a severe censure and loss of stripes. The Commissioner now considered it necessary to dispatch Sergeant-Major Alford and two troopers after such a slippery customer. They left town with instructions from Mr. Tolmer to trace the man from where he was lost, and to continue on until he was found. To carry out these orders the Sergeant-Major took a supply of rations for several days for himself and the men, and started for the Bremer. Having there received such information as Mr. Gemmel could give him, which was very slight, he commenced a search of that scrubby district, and arrived at the Tinpot Station, belonging to Mr. Harriott, and there remained for the night. He was told that a man having the appearance of a sailor had called and asked for work about a week previously. The men at this station Mr. Alford knew to be of the prison class, on which account he asked only a few questions, and allowed them to think he was after a runaway sailor. One of them asked Mr. A. "Has the man you are after committed murder?" "No, he has not, he is only a bolter." The man added "If he had done that we would have helped you." Mr. Alford has explained to me that he has always found that men of the class known as *professed* or "good thieves" will not screen murderers. He

was not told here which way the stranger had taken when he left the hut. The Inspector after a night's rest left for the district of Mount Torrens, beating about, and not passing a hut or place likely to harbor the escaped man. On calling at Mr. Dunn's place, at Mount Charles, he got the first trace of the person he was hunting after, and was told that a man such as he described had called there asking for work, and after receiving a feed was sent to the South Australian Company's sheep station, and told that wool-pressing was going on there. On this Mr. A. followed him up, and on arriving there found a man who had formerly been in the police force, and felt he could rely on any information he could afford. He stated that a sailor-like looking man had called and asked for work, and he had sent him on to Mr. Gilbert's place beyond Mount Crawford. The Inspector here told the ex-policeman that the man he was after was Carter, and was answered, "You will catch him—he left here yesterday." On the following day, towards sundown, the party came to one of Mr. Gilbert's out-stations, near Peway Vale, intending to make the head-station. On calling at the hut, they found no one within. The Sergeant-Major, seeing a man on the opposite rise busy removing hurdles, ordered the two troopers to remain at the hut while he rode towards the man at work. On approaching him he saw he was unnecessarily re-shifting the yard, which had evidently been pitched on to clean ground already. He also saw that he kept his head down, and failed to look up, as might be expected of him on his hearing the approach of a horseman. So he hailed him, and said, "Hold up your head, man, and let me see your face; who are you?" On his looking at his questioner, as he was compelled to do, aware of three armed men on horseback at hand, Mr. Alford said—"Hullo, Carter, is this you? I have had trouble enough after you." The two troopers, seeing a signal, quickly joined. Carter begged of the Inspector not to take him, and was told he must go quietly. "You know, Carter," said the Inspector, "I do not allow men to escape from me; I have my duty to perform." He was then handcuffed and taken to Mr. Gilbert's head-station, where they were hospitably entertained that night, and in the morning a horse was lent for the prisoner to ride on to town. They remained one night at Gawler Town. Sergeant-Major Alford delivered up his prisoner after a trip after him of over fourteen days. In justice to the police officers and privates it should be known that when away on these excursions in those days the men employed were at their own expense, and had to rely on the hospitality of settlers or to stay at their own cost at public-houses, so it was not likely they would remain out longer than actual duty required. The above narration is only a description of one of the many long journeys which were necessary in bringing to justice the numerous delinquents who visited us.

The following account relates particulars of a subsequent and most daring escape from the new Gaol by an American black, a fine tall man, named Dyer. He had arrived here as a sailor, and with a companion of the same race as himself had for some time been living in a cave in a gully between Brownhill Creek and the River Sturt. They had broken into and robbed several dwelling-houses, amongst others Mr. Hogarth's, on the South-road, and Mr. Whistler's, to the south of Unley. After much hunting they were at length caught and committed for trial, and imprisoned in the new Gaol. This man Dyer, being a handy fellow, was

appointed wardman of the yard in which he was placed. When he required water he called to the turnkey through the small grating in the door of the yard, and it was the custom to let him out to fill his bucket at the tap in the outer court. He must have been aware that the external gates were being opened to admit a dray with a load of firewood for the use of the prison; for as the dray was entering through the gates he was let out of the yard by the turnkey, when he seized this opportunity, and quickly placing his bucket down he boldly rushed past the two sentinels on guard with loaded muskets and ran like a deer up the road, risking the fire of the guards, and got clear off unharmed. Mr. Ashton was at the time at the window over the gateway, and viewed him running across the West Park Lands towards the Cemetery at such an extraordinary pace that he was not overtaken, nor was he heard of till some months later. The police at length got the information that the black man was working at Mr. Gold's dairy station, on the Upper Para. Inspector Tolmer and Sergeant-Major Alford, with two troopers, started during the night, and arrived at the dairy station about 4 o'clock in the morning. Mr. Tolmer and the men, in positions around the premises, waited quietly for daybreak. With the first streaks of dawn they began to search the premises outside the hut. One of the men gave notice that a man was running from a building, which they afterwards found was a detached dairy, and going with speed down the steep bank to the creek towards a waterhole. This trooper dismounted and gave chase. The others got down with their horses as fast as possible and crossed the creek, so as to give chase if the fugitive attempted to escape up the opposite rise. He had, however, jumped into the deep waterhole, the trooper following him, when a struggle took place in the water. The black managed to keep his opponent under water till he was nearly drowned, and until he was rescued from his clutches. The trooper, by getting a short grip of his sword, managed to pierce the side of his antagonist. When the nigger was dragged out of the waterhole he was found to be all but naked. When the police began to search the premises, Dyer, who was lying in the detached dairy, hearing them, and finding he would be unable to escape by the door, stripped himself to his shirt, in order to squeeze himself through a small hole at the end of the building, looking towards the creek, and away from the searchers. To effect this was no easy job, and then, if he had not been seen by the quick eyes of one of the men, and had gained the waterhole, he might, by keeping his body under water and covering his head with flags, have escaped detection. But he failed in this; he was secured and replaced in gaol, and in due time transported. These recitals show but a small portion of the evil doings of some of our misguided fellow creatures, but they are due to our first Governors and the officers and men of our police force in the early days, as showing what severe and anxious duties they had to perform.

I have recounted some of the difficult and trying expeditions on which our police were engaged in capturing bushrangers and other predators, and I will now relate Superintendent Inman's experience, in following erroneous information which he received as to the whereabouts of three bushrangers whom he was most anxious to capture, *which might have terminated in a tragical, but ended in a ludicrous manner.* I am able to do this by giving the substance of extracts from

a diary kept by Mr. Jno. Carruthers, who landed at Port Adelaide on the 19th of December, 1839.

His first impressions, from the appearance of the City of Adelaide, and from the depressed state of business in general to which he found the colony reduced by the first crisis, were very discouraging. At the time he and his friends were beating about to look for a residence a hot wind was blowing, and the dust was so great as almost to obscure the vision, the houses—such as they were—being dotted about, with wide gaps between them, and of no imposing appearance, most being weather-board or pizé. Having got the use of a three-roomed wooden hut they found the heat within hard to bear, the thermometer outside standing at 120 degrees. Under all these discouragements, however, when they were able to get a view of the beautiful hills they felt much cheered.

On seeking for information and guidance as to what to be about, they found so little confidence expressed in the place as to business matters, and that all the land near the city had been taken up, and no encouragement for them to embark a small capital in business without the almost certainty of losing it, as they heard so many had done, that they decided to make a tour and spend a little time in exploring the gullies and hills immediately to the east of the city, and to wait for better times. To carry out this plan they followed up the course of the River Torrens, and after entering the Gorge, proceeded a few miles upwards, until they came to a shelving rock forming an open cave, situated on one side and above the bank of the river, with a rich alluvial flat in a bend opposite. After a rest it was proposed to make a temporary residence there by facing the front of the cave with a wall of wattled teatree and thin poles, all growing contiguous, and so occupy such a cool and retired place until some openings in business for them turned up, one advantage in the meantime being they would be husbanding their resources, standing rent free, with abundance of wood and water. I now continue in his own words—"For the present, instead of going in to purchase surveyed land at a distance, we decided to squat for a time in the cave we had discovered, and to make it habitable. We cleaned out the place, and put up three rough bunks, and having walled in the front, considered ourselves snug and safe; but we soon found we had made a mistake, for after the police had in vain had more than one party out to capture three bushrangers who had been committing depredations on settlers, some busy person gave information to the police that three men were living in a cave above the Torrens Gorge, and we were at once supposed to be the parties they were in search of. In consequence, a native of the Adelaide tribe was secured to accompany Superintendent Inman and three troopers, who arrived in front of our cave, which was about fourteen feet above the bank of the river, and some yards back from it. Between the bank and our front was a patch of fern and scrub, and also the same on the opposite side of the stream. After we had retired to rest we heard a rustling noise as of cattle. One of the party said he heard the footsteps of men, and it was proposed to fire one barrel of a gun over the door, when if the noise were from cattle they would make off. The gun was fired and the challenge given, 'Who's there?' No answer, and the noise in the scrub ceased, so it was concluded that the visit was from bushrangers, and four guns were at once loaded, and we remained on the watch all night, but no attack was made. On the

first streak of light appearing, one of the party went to the door and looked out, and discovered four men under trees on the opposite side of the gully with guns in their hands, who were hailed with, 'Who are you, and what do you want?' The Superintendent replied, 'If you are honest men, turn out and show yourselves.' This order was immediately complied with. The next order was, 'Your names, and by what ship did you arrive?' Our immediate answer produced on their disappointed countenances a most ludicrous effect. Then a friendly junction took place, and Mr. Inman explained that when the gun was fired he decided at once that he had the bushrangers at bay, and waited to make a rush at early dawn, and, when discovered, were drawing near to rush upon us. We showed him our four loaded guns, and assured him if he had made the attack the previous night we should have resisted, as we took them for the bushrangers, and had determined to defend our lives and property. Our reconciled enemies partook of coffee or rum and departed on their return to the barracks, somewhat contented with the barren result of their night-watch, as they had not suffered much in remaining in the bush during an Australian summer night."

And so ended the inglorious "Watch on the Torrens."

CHAPTER XLII.

DISCOVERY OF THE STOLEN MERCHANDISE EXTRACTED FROM CASES ON THE PORT ROAD ; AND THE CAPTURE OF THE RECEIVER, PETER SIDD.—MURDER OF A NATIVE—THE ACTIONS OF KING JOHN.

BLACK JOE has more than once appeared in these narratives as having rendered assistance to the police in giving information to enable them to arrest criminals. On this occasion he comes under notice as connected with one of the many depredations committed against the trading community by carters on the Port-road before our first railway was constructed. In this instance he led unintentionally to the discovery of a quantity of valuable merchandise, and to the detection of a wholesale receiver of the stolen goods. On a certain Sunday Sergeant-Major Alford, with one trooper, was out on duty in the Tiers. At this time Sunday was rarely a day of rest either to officers or men of the mounted police force. The Sergeant-Major, amongst other places, called at Joe's hut in the splitters' quarter of the Mount Lofty Range, where he found some company assembled. I should mention that a discovery of an extensive robbery of valuable goods had been made some time before. The things were abstracted from two large cases which had been delivered to Mr. Beck by a Port carter, and the cart note had been signed as for safe delivery, the cases to all external appearance being all right. The cases of goods were afterwards purchased from Mr. Beck as per invoice by Mr. Macgeorge, and removed to his store, not having the slightest appearance of having been broken open. One of the invoices represented an assortment of valuable silk goods ; the other, men's made-up clothing. The goods were paid for by Mr. Macgeorge, and after remaining a short time on his premises they were opened, and it was found that the merchandise had been removed, and, in place of it, the cases filled with old rope, bags, and brickbats. As they had not been opened and examined after leaving the ship, the carter, who lived at Hindmarsh, could not be charged with the crime, and the abstractors remained undiscovered, and Mr. Beck had to refund the money he had received, no clue being obtained or traces of the stolen goods discovered for some time.

To return to Mr. Alford, at Black Joe's. Mr. A., at first sight of Joe and his wife, noticed that both of them were rigged out in new clothes of a superior stamp to those they generally wore ; so he entered, and remained in the hut, making no remarks till the company made themselves scarce. In the meantime he had been using close but un-noticed observations. He perceived that Joe had got on a good cloth suit, with a silk handkerchief unhemmed round his neck ; that his wife had on a new silk dress ; so as the coast was clear he called Joe and asked

him to take off his neck-handkerchief, and on his wife to appear. He now demanded of Joe where he got the goods, on which he expressed much surprise, saying, "What is the matter, Mr. Alford; I bought the goods honestly." "Well, both you and your wife must take them all off—they are stolen goods—and tell me from whom you got them, or I shall take both of you into custody, and you will have to go with me as prisoners. Further, what other goods have you got?" On this they produced more of the silk and other goods, and Joe said to the Sergeant-Major—"I have been in the habit of supplying Peter Sidd with timber, which I cart from the sawyers and splitters. You know he deals in timber, and that he keeps the Scotch Thistle. He pressed me to take goods in part payment. I got the goods all right from him without any doubt, as he is a publican, and carrying on business under the eyes of the police." "Now show me what other goods you have got." On this he and his wife took the officer into their bedroom and turned out the remainder of the piece of silk from which the gown had been made, and sundry other articles of merchandise, all of which were rolled up in two parcels and taken to town. Joe was ordered to be in town the following morning. On Mr. Alford's arrival at head quarters he immediately reported the discovery he had made to Mr. Inspector Gordon, who communicated with Mr. Beck. He, on viewing the goods, claimed them as having been abstracted from the broached cases. Inspector Gordon then, with Sergeant-Major Alford and some men of the mounted police, visited Peter Sidd's public-house. The officers left the accompanying policemen outside, and entered by the back door, which they found open, and within were some men amusing themselves at a game of cards, who soon all left, glad to be allowed to depart. The house clear of strangers, Inspector Gordon informed the landlord that he had come to search his house, and in the meantime he would not be allowed to leave. The search was then made, and in one of the rooms, which they found under lock and key, was discovered the greater part of the goods which belonged to Mr. Beck. Peter Sidd was then taken into custody and removed to the lock-up, and the house left in charge of policemen.

On the following morning, Monday, the receiver of stolen goods was brought up before the Police Magistrate. The goods were also brought to the Court in spring-drays. The charge of receiving goods knowing them to be stolen was made and proved against Sidd, and he was committed for trial. Mr. J. H. Fisher appeared for him, and succeeded in getting him out on bail, producing two sureties, who were bound in large amounts, as well as the prisoner, but he did not appear when the time of trial arrived, and his bondsmen suffered. He escaped, it was said, with plenty of money. As Mr. Beck recovered the larger part of his goods, and the Government made a considerable haul under the forfeited bonds, no great exertion was made to recover the delinquent; nor does it appear that any sufficient evidence was obtained to justify a charge being laid against the carter who delivered the cases. Peter Sidd, after his escape, was afterwards heard of as having purchased a small craft at Swan River, and as engaged in trading trips.

I may here mention that not long after the escape of Peter Sidd from punishment, Mr. Inspector Gordon failed in his health, and after lingering a time died of consumption. He was a most gentlemanly and amiable

man, and universally respected. He was highly connected, and was said to have been disappointed in not coming into possession of a large property in Scotland. He had served in the Indian army as a commissioned officer with honour. The high estimation in which he was held by the head of the police, by his brother officers, and by privates of both arms of the force, was shown by the large attendance at the public funeral which was given to his remains. He was buried with military honours, and his resting place is marked by a handsome tomb which was contributed for by members of the police force. I have mentioned that Mr. Inman whose name has frequently appeared in these papers, was the first Superintendent appointed on the formation of the police force, and an account has been given of his having survived most severe wounds inflicted by the natives after he had left the force. After he left the colony for England he became a clergyman of the Church of England, and is now, as I am informed, ably performing the higher duties of a parish priest in the town of Derby. His experience here, either in office or in his attempt to establish himself in private pursuits, was not such as to lead him to make further attempts as a settler in South Australia. Those who knew him will rejoice to hear of his continued success in the high calling he has undertaken.

On the death of Inspector Gordon Sergeant-Major H. Alford was promoted to the rank of Inspector of mounted police, in the year 1849.

As an occurrence of some interest, I have to relate that in the month of September, 1841, I went in company with a Mr. S—— (a new arrival) and the late Mr. John Emery to a cattle station on the Light, of which he was the manager, to select a small dairy of cows from the herd of cattle under his charge. We started on horseback from Adelaide late in the afternoon, intending to remain at Gawler Town for the night. On our arrival there we found that the house at which we put up our horses was full, with no beds for us. Accommodation in those days was very scanty, so we had no choice but to sup, bait our horses, and push on by moonlight. About the time the house was closing we started under the guidance of Mr. Emery, and made the station a little before sunrise. On rousing the people in the hut, we found them a long time in turning out, and then very unusual excitement was exhibited, especially by the stockkeeper, Roach, who pretended that he thought we were blackfellows, and produced a gun with a broken stock, the barrel being severed from the stock, and complained to Mr. Emery that the blacks had been killing calves, and he was now without firearms. He was aware we were coming out, and by orders had mustered the cattle on the previous day, and a large number were in the yards for our inspection. After an early breakfast the stockkeeper said there was a special mob he wished to get in, and which he had missed the day before, and he hastily mounted his horse, and started with the ostensible purpose of bringing them in to give us a larger choice. I saw him start off in an easterly direction from the hut. A large patch of scrub was in sight from the station to the west. The country for some miles was flat; to the east and north a jumble of hills shut in the prospect, so he was soon out of sight. Having nothing to do until his return I wandered alone to higher ground to obtain a good view of the country. We had passed through a corner of the western scrub in approaching the station, and I desired to see the extent of it. Looking steadily in that direction I saw a horseman ride

into it as if he came from a north-east direction, and not long afterwards a great smoke arose in the part of the scrub where I had seen the horseman enter. This, at the time, I did not think singular, but as connected with what I have to relate might have been an important link in bringing to punishment a cruel murderer. But I must mention I did not see the horseman leave the scrub, and when Roach was seen returning his approach appeared to be from a different quarter, and the distance of the man on horseback, as seen by me, was too great for me to have sworn to his identity. When Roach returned he had no cattle with him, and those already in the yard were sufficient in number and in quality to enable us to select such a draft as was required. Having obtained our quantity we started, after a station dinner, for Gawler Town, leaving the cattle to follow, to be delivered in Adelaide. That night we stopped at Robertson's Hotel in Gawler Town, and had a comfortable night's rest. At the breakfast table next morning we met Dr. Moorhouse, the Protector of Aborigines, and before we had concluded our meal the kind landlady brought in a little native girl of about twelve years of age, who, before the company, in a mixture of broken English and native words, told a pitiful tale to Mr. Moorhouse. She said that she and her grandfather were sitting down in a scrub eating kangaroo which blackfellows killed and went away, leaving her and the old man to follow. Whilst they were sitting down in scrub a white man on horse, with a gun, said, "You have killed a calf." We said, "No, no spear—eating kangaroo. White man plenty growl, and then he shoot old man grandfather. I ran and hid in scrub, and then came on to Gawler Town, where white woman gave me tucker last night and let me stop for night, and then she tell me Mr. Moorhouse in Gawler, and me come to tell him all about white man shoot grandfather." We did not then understand the locality where the murder had been committed. Mr. Moorhouse lost no time in taking police with him and the poor native child, believing her distressing tale, which he found perfectly correct, as I was made aware of some time afterwards. She charged the stockkeeper, Roach, with the crime, and guided the Protector and the police to the place in the scrub, where they found the body of the murdered old man, partly burned, and Roach was at once taken into custody. This man was from one of the convict colonies. I should have mentioned that we found in the hut two strangers, who said they were out looking for country, and had been at the station the whole of the previous day. The evidence of the child was unsupported. Roach brought forward the two men, who swore that they had been with him the whole of the day, and that he was never out of their company or in that scrub on the day the child swore to; and so the prisoner was discharged, to appear when called upon, although the child positively and without hesitation said he was the man who shot her grandfather.

After his discharge Roach mounted his horse to return to the North, but before he had well passed North Adelaide his horse reared with him and fell back on his rider, and in the fall his neck was broken, and so he died, and met with a punishment he richly deserved, as I have no doubt *on my mind* he committed a cruel and cold-blooded murder upon a poor, *unoffending*, helpless old man. This is the case of a barbarous murder of an old man, a native, by a white, which I previously alluded to.

My first experience in giving employment to the natives in a regular way was after I left and commenced farming in the Mount Barker district. They picked up and bagged potatoes and did other farming jobs. On one of these occasions, after work was finished. I was talking to them at their camp in the dusk of the evening, on the side of the hill above my premises, when a large meteor appeared (the largest I ever saw) which came from the east, at an apparent slow pace, showing larger and larger as it approached. I supposed it fell to the ground at or on the east side of Mount Lofty proper, but I was informed it had been seen crossing the plains of Adelaide. At the camp were a large number of blacks, many of them employed by neighbouring settlers. They no sooner saw the meteor than they cast themselves with their faces on the ground, uttering one combined and long-continued hideous yell. When the meteor had vanished all I could say did not pacify or relieve them of their fright; they persisted in saying it was devil-devil, come to kill blackfellows. On rising early the following morning I was greatly surprised to find the camp entirely deserted, nor did I see any of them till months afterwards, when some of them again visited me. They told me in distressing tones that many of the tribe had died through the coming of the big one fire. They undoubtedly had been suffering from some kind of fever, for those who had survived came in a most pitiable state of emaciation. They had suffered far away from the help of white men. I may mention that I have often given them medicine, which they were always eager to take, and so made excellent patients; the more nauseous the taste, the more they approved of it.

This tribe belonged to a piece of country on the banks of the Murray, called by them Wall. We called their chief King John, and the name of his chief lubra was Monarta, which was considered so pretty a name the whites never changed it. King John and Monarta often paid me a visit, and I set apart a small hut for them. He was a very good workman, and kept good order when I had a number of them employed. On one occasion John appeared anxious to tell me something. At last he pointed to Monarta at a distance, and said—"You see Monarta?" "Yes, what then you mean?" "Well, by and by a piccaninnie come." I then found what had filled his heart with joy. This was Monarta's first promise, and all other children by his other lubras had died. He was doatingly fond of children. I introduce the above particulars to lead to what follows.

After they left this time I did not see them for some months, when one day I saw two wretched black women slowly approaching. They did not, as usual, first visit the kitchen, but passed on at once to John's hut. I sent a female to see what was the matter. On her return she said Monarta was crying, and would not speak; that her hair was cut short, and there were large gashes on her head. I now went myself and questioned them, asking for John. At last Monarta blurted out—"John no more stop along of me; he say he kill me;" and then she put her hands up to inform me who had battered her head, and burst into a lamentable cry. After a pause I asked, "Where piccaninnie?" I had now touched on the cause of all this distress. I got no answer from Monarta, but the old woman said, "Piccaninnie dead; tumble down in scrub." After much trouble I got out of them that "Monarta walk walking through big one scrub, plenty hot day, no water, child and

blanket on her back. John gone long way, child plenty cry, cry all same as wild dog, so she put him down and left him." On my expressing horror at her action, she justified herself by saying "You see, master, he all same as wild dog." It appeared from the state she was in that John did not accept such a justification of her conduct, but beat her almost to death. It was many months before John became reconciled to her. He and the wreck of his tribe subsequently fell on my hands to procure for them the annual dole of blankets and a few necessaries. The tribe is now extinct, the few remaining alive having joined another diminished tribe. The last time I saw poor John I was walking along one of our most crowded streets, when I saw two young black men leading an old and blind native, when one of them, on seeing me, must have mentioned my name, for the old fellow cried out, "Where's my master? Oh, my master, Mr. B——! where is he?" Now all eyes were on me; but I could not resist the impulse to go to my old friend, although several gentlemen standing at the door of an hotel were greatly amused as he called out my name loudly. On my approaching him he cried out, "Oh, my master! my master!" and, throwing his arms round me, he kept patting me on the back in a most loving manner. I did not heed the laughter of some of the many spectators. I was rather proud of being the means of the exhibition of so much affection from a poor benighted black fellow-creature.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE.—INVENTION OF THE
REAPING-MACHINE.

IN this chapter I shall describe the progress in farming operations and the successive annual yields of grain as estimated from the number of acres cropped. By this record it will be proved how soon a small band of agriculturists changed the condition of the colony from one of importation to that of exporting breadstuffs, after suitable land was procurable. In the year 1838-9 a crop from about 20 acres was gathered, grown within the city, yield nominal. Harvest 1839-40, about 120 acres were cropped, yield, say, 25 bushels to the acre, nearly all in Adelaide or in the district. Harvest 1840-1, the breadth under wheat 1,059 acres, estimated yield 21,180 bushels; in barley, 388 acres, yielding 7,760 bushels; in oats, 424 acres, yielding 12,720 bushels; under maize, 192 acres, yielding 2,880 bushels. Total acreage, 2,503 acres.

At this harvest I had good crops on my small patches of wheat and potatoes; my seed wheat, which had been raised on town acres, had cost me 15s. a bushel. I had a few bushels of this, my first harvest, beyond what I required for domestic use and seed, for which I got 9s. a bushel. We now obtained our flour by the use at home of a handmill, which some neighbours had also used, and so commenced private independence as to bread-food against imported flour. To turn this mill was a change of work, either before or after ordinary long hours of daily labour. (See Appendix—Agriculture.)

I will now give an account of my own experiences in the harvest of 1842-3, and in the conveyance of the crop to market. Prices had fallen considerably and buyers were scarce. My crop was in condition for hand-reaping before the end of December, but I could not procure reapers before the 24th, as men had been earning large wages on the plains. Harvesting hands had been so scarce that the soldiers had been allowed to lay down their arms and take up sickles, and many soft-handed gentlemen had also turned out to give their doubtful but well-intended assistance in the emergency. On the 24th December, 1842, I was able to induce five men to accompany me, and I conveyed them to the farm. I did not allow them to work on Christmas Day, but they had Christmas fare. I engaged to give them 15s. and one bottle of rum an acre, with rations, for hand-reaping. The crop was dead ripe, the heads drooping with the weight of the plump grain. On the 25th a fiery hot wind was blowing, and continued on the following day, when I expected the reapers to start work, but they were missing. I found them at the nearest grog-shop. After some trouble I got them away to start work on the following morning. Before a sickle was put into the crop, the loss in shed wheat was over one bushel to the acre, and a further loss necessarily followed in harvesting.

Immediately on my return I took one of the men, the most sober of the lot, to see the over-ripeness of the crop, and by what transpired it will be seen how providentially, out of the difficulties of my situation, the idea flashed upon me as to the possibility of thrashing a standing crop of wheat, and which idea, on being worked out, has since wrought such a beneficial result for the colony at large.

On taking this man into the crop and pointing out to him its over-ripeness, and how careful they would have to be in performing their work in handling the standing crop and in binding, calling his attention to the shed grain on the ground. (I was standing a short distance within the crop.) And to show how tender the heads were, with the full grain staring us in the face out of the gaping chaff, I passed my left hand, with my fingers spread, under and just below the ears, allowing the straws to pass between my fingers, the ears being close to the palm of my hand. I then struck the heads with a sweep of the edge of my right hand, and held out my open hand for the man to see the clean thrashed wheat in the hollow of it, most of the chaff having been carried away. (I must here mention that before this occurred I had for many weeks been pondering over plans for applying machinery to a standing crop, and had passed many sleepless hours in bed, and had been remonstrated with by my good wife, who said I should lose my senses.) Before I moved from my position in the standing corn, I stood in a sort of amazement, and looked along and across the fine even crop of wheat. The ideas I had in vain sought for now suddenly occurred to me, and I felt an almost overwhelming thankfulness. I did not move, but sent the man for a reap-hook, and caused him to cut me a small sheaf of wheat, which I took into the barn. There, holding a bunch of it in a perpendicular position, I struck the ears with a circular sweeping blow upwards, using a flat and narrow piece of wood, and found the thrashed grain to fly upwards and across the floor; and thus I satisfied myself that the grain would bodily fly at a tangent up an inclined plain, when struck by beaters, and that a drum, as in a thrashing-machine, would not be required to complete the thrashing, and so felt I had gained the correct idea for a field thrasher, and that a segment below the beaters would be apt to cause the wheat to be carried round, and so be lost. All this occurred in 1842.

I afterwards lost no time in exhibiting a rough drawing to many of my neighbours (some of whose certificates I hold, as see appendix), but I got no encouragement, but from my oft-recurrence to the subject was sometimes told I had lost my senses.

The crop was reaped, and the reapers were settled with, and allowed to return home.

Before carrying and stacking was undertaken, I had to consider how I could get over the thrashing, as a thrashing-machine was not procurable, and the price asked for hand-thrashing was a shilling a bushel, cleaning and bagging extra.

Many months before this harvest I had anticipated a great fall in price, as well as the other troubles I have described, and had procured a large number of store and breeding pigs. I decided to have the grain *beaten* out of the heads of the sheaves only, without unbinding them, and engaged several German women from Hahndorf, with their curious *flails*, and a number of blacks to supply the thrashers with the sheaves,

to remove them as so partly thrashed, and to place them on frames around a large contiguous pig-yard, to be ready to be thrown to the pigs in fattening them. The sheaves were left out in shocks in the field, and were carted in to the unskilled thrashers as required, and so the expense of stacking was saved. I counted the cost by this novel process of thrashing, cleaning, and bagging, to be about 6d. a bushel. In the absence of a winnowing machine I had the assistance of natives, and got up a good sample by casting the wheat against the wind.

Next came the carting the wheat to town over the hills on the natural surface, with very little improvement from the hand of man. Now, bullockdrivers demanded ten shillings a day and expenses, so I undertook to drive one team myself, and started with a driver to conduct a second team. This was my first attempt to pilot a team of eight bullocks over such a chain of hills. I could comfortably handle a four-in-hand team of horses, but I was not up to the skilful management of a team of eight bullocks, although I had, as a matter of course, the handiest cattle for myself. The first rises accomplished successfully, in going down a steep pinch my polers fell, and Larry, a favourite beast, sticking his horns into the ground, went heels and body over head, and his neck was broken. The next job I and my man had to do was to prepare and dress the carcase, to avoid a total loss, and then to seek purchasers amongst the nearest splitters, to whom I had to dispose of the beef at a nominal price, although the bullock was in prime condition. He cost me twenty pounds, so my loss was considerable. With this delay we were unable to reach Adelaide that day. In making other trips that season I had sundry other accidents, but shortly afterwards improvements in the roads were made.

Immediately the thrashing was over, the fattening of the pigs on the partly thrashed sheaves commenced, and so the preparation for the knife and salting trough began. The pigs had water at hand, and whilst feeding themselves were doing good work in treading their bedding into a macerated bulk, as a valuable return to the land for crop taken off. Here is presented a striking change from famine prices for consumers to unremunerative prices for growers, with the ruinous rates of wages necessitating the introduction of machinery, about which I shall have something to say before I conclude this chapter.

I sold my wheat of this harvest, part at four shillings, and remainder at three shillings and sixpence a bushel. I estimated that about one-third was left in the sheaves and given to the pigs.

It was not long before I commenced to kill and cure hams and bacon, and used a smoking-house. When I had about three tons ready for the market, I carted the same to Adelaide, where, on going wearily about from store to store, I found I could get no offer for the whole lot, and less than four pence per pound for small quantities, and to take part out in stores. I declined these conditions, and when at a loss what to do I met Mr. A. L. Elder, who on hearing of my unsuccessful attempts to obtain a customer, ordered me take the lot to his small warehouse, then in Hindley-street, and gave me fourpence a pound, cash, for the lot, which he shipped to the Mauritius. I was glad to hear from him some time afterwards that the shipment met with a good market.

I may here mention that at this time prime beef and mutton were procurable at from one penny to three pence a pound.

After harvest work was done and I had time to visit Adelaide, I met with the same lack of encouragement wherever I spoke of my discovery for a locomotive thrasher, except from one individual only at that time.

A sort of club had been formed of town gentlemen, who, with farmers, used to dine together at an ordinary at Payne's Hotel (now known as the Exchange Hotel, in Hindley-street), and here discussions on agricultural subjects used to be introduced. Out of this gathering a committee was formed, called the "Corn Exchange Committee." I can remember some of the names:—Messrs. Alderman Peacock, Bentham Neales, Joseph Johnson (of the Reedbeds), Hamilton, and his partner Henderson, corn merchants, their managing clerk, Thorner, G. Stevenson, Weaver, Southam, Herbert, Robert Smith, Hogarth, and others. The necessity of some contrivance to aid farmers in harvesting having been made so apparent at the previous harvest, the committeemen who had been appointed took the matter up with zeal, and gave notice in the papers that they would be prepared to give a reward for the best invention to be exhibited to the committee, and advertised a day for the first meeting to be in the month of September following (1843), so as to allow time for the construction of machines before the coming harvest. At this time more than one machinist was engaged in constructing *ordinary fixed thrashing machines*, and, in consequence, of all those who were setting their wits at work to bring out a field-machine none gave their energies and thoughts to the principle of a mower or cutter, except myself. I did not waver; I had placed my ideas and plan before the late Mr. Thomas Hudson Beare, and he was the person to whom I have alluded as the only one who saw the correctness of my plan, and he set to work to oblige me, and constructed for me a *working model* entirely on my own principle, and was with me when it was exhibited before the Corn Exchange Committee on the appointed day, when a number of models and plans were also presented, but mine was the only one which proposed to deal with the heads only, as see the reports in the *Observer* and *Register* papers. (See Appendix A.) At this meeting Alderman Peacock was in the chair, and the committee passed the resolution at the end of this paper. But there was one person present at the exhibition, neither on the committee nor an exhibitor (Mr. John Ridley), who approved of my principle and afterwards adopted it, and a short time before the next harvest (1843) constructed one machine which embraced my ideas of a horizontal projecting comb, and revolving beaters driven by belts from the carriage wheels. Old colonists will remember that this first reaper was propelled by a pair of horses working behind the machine, harnessed to a long pole; but even with this awkward rig, the principle of taking the grain and leaving the straw standing was proved to be the right thing for the country and climate.

Harvest 1843-44. I give the estimated yield of this season to have been 280,000 bushels. I had a fine crop of over 30 bushels an acre. A few standing crops were gathered by Mr. Ridley's first machine, the only one constructed that season. Mr. Ridley after employing it on a few of the standing crops he had purchased, as well as some of his own near Adelaide, was kind enough to send me a man with horses and machine, and by this means my crop was gathered. Prices fell materially after the first field-machine sample reached the market. Several fixed

thrashing machines had been constructed, and were at work at the stacks. I may here mention that one of the arguments against the stripper, and which was much dwelt on, was that the crop having to remain until fully ripe and being harvested and bagged in such a dry state became flinty. Well, as soon as the way of shipping to England was found to answer, the dryness of our grain became an advantage, as it arrived in such good condition as to maintain the top price in London, as it has always done against the world. It has also been said the land by the use of this system of harvesting is both exhausted and rendered foul. To these complaints it is answered that the fault is in growing wheat after wheat, which is neither necessary nor wise, and was only adopted as a necessity when the farms were small, and now under more liberal land laws is *inexcusable*.

December, 1848.—As I have mentioned, I had been favoured by Mr. Ridley with the use of the first machine which was constructed to thrash a standing crop. I explain I had a large yield, and sold part of it at 3s. 6d. a bushel, but could not dispose of more than a few loads, and was advised to ship the remainder of the crop I had for sale by a vessel about to start to New Zealand; and I hurried the stock down and consigned the same through an Adelaide firm to a house in New Zealand. After patiently waiting for the return, which, to my great inconvenience, proved a blank, the report came that the whole cargo was condemned as unsound. A large quantity of smutty wheat being placed on board above mine, the whole was condemned and sold as a damaged cargo, and I got no return, and had only to console myself that the proceeds of the sale was admitted to have covered freight and charges; and so the bulk of my crop was a total loss of as fine a sample of wheat as was ever shipped. Before the following harvest Mr. Marshal constructed my first machine, and Mr. Ridley built more than one machine. Other colonists also took advantage of my public gift of the invention, which I made the day after the Committee gave their decision on the merits of the plans presented. (See Appendix.) To Mr. Thornber, the Honorary Secretary of the Corn Exchange Committee, I entrusted my model, with the expression that it was at the service of the public, and so it has remained. The machine built for me by Mr. Marshal differed from all others at first built, as I dispensed with a drum, and had a long inclined plane, which was in accordance with my first ideas, and has since been generally approached.

Copy of report extracted from *Register*, September 23, 1842:—

“At a meeting of the Corn Exchange Committee, held at Payne’s Hotel on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday evenings, when thirteen drawings and plans (models) were exhibited, it was resolved that this meeting, having carefully examined the models and plans submitted to it, is of opinion that no machine has been exhibited which the Committee feel justified in recommending for general adoption; but the plan of Mr. Swingler presenting some ideas which the Committee is desirous of seeing developed in a working model, they have awarded him the sum of three pounds to place one at their disposal.

“(Signed)

WM. PEACOCK,

“Chairman of Committee.”

Note.—No notice of any action as to the plan they considered worthy of support was ever made public. A few of the exhibitors

shortly after the meeting constructed cutting machines, which were never successfully used. The one designed to gather the grain only, as has been shown, was adopted by Mr. Ridley in the first instance, and its value proved by him. The inventor of it and Mr. Ridley (who constructed the first machine on the principle) have been spared to rejoice in the yearly-increasing benefit the same has conferred on the inhabitants of South Australia.

In concluding this chapter, I would wish to contrast 1839-40, 120 acres, yield 25 bushels each acre=3,000 at 15s. a bushel, £2,250, with 1874-75, 839,638 acres, yield 11 bushels 45 lbs.=9,862,693, at 5s. 5d. a bushel, £2,670,729. It must not be forgotten that the first of these crops was from good virgin soil. The second from a large proportion of second and third-rate land, and much of it reduced in productiveness after years of the usual colonial exhausting courses of wheat after wheat, as long as a fractional yield can be got. Remember also that this result was not obtained until after Mr. Strangways succeeded in carrying his Land Reform Bill, with the principle of credit to agriculturists, by which the land sharks were baffled and farmers enabled to obtain larger quantities of land direct from the Government, prices per acre also ruling higher, to the benefit of the land fund.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LOSS OF THE SHIP LADY DENNISON WITH CONVICTS, ALSO THE VOYAGE OF THE BRIG PUNCH WITH PRISONERS.

AMONGST the early experiences colonists had to endure of visitors from the convict colonies, I now give the closing scenes of two of the shipments of transports, which will add materially to the dark side of the history of the opening days of this colony, which in so many other respects were so bright and pleasing.

On the 17th of April, 1850, the *Lady Dennison* was engaged by our Government to convey ten long-sentenced prisoners to Tasmania under the charge of three constables. Sixteen passengers were also in the ship. It was afterwards reported that amongst the passengers were some confederates of the convicts on board. Of this unfortunate ship no tidings have ever been heard. It is unknown whether she went down with all hands or was taken by the prisoners; and, if so, as a matter of course, Captain Hammond—her commander—his crew, constables, and passengers, were all killed, excepting any who might have assisted or joined the prisoners. Written information was received by the Government shortly after the discovery of gold in Victoria that one or more of the escaped prisoners had been seen on the Victorian diggings, but no confirmation of such a statement has been made public.

To follow the brief and sad account of the missing *Lady Dennison*, I may with propriety quote the description of the narrow escape the captain of the brig *Punch*, his passengers and crew experienced, on a voyage shortly afterwards from Port Adelaide to Hobart Town. What took place on board I have learned from a gentleman, one of the cabin passengers, who, shortly after he made the trip, committed the occurrences to paper, and has obligingly allowed me to use the same.

“The brig had been taken up and chartered by our Government to convey twelve long-sentenced prisoners, to expiate their breaches of the law by penal servitude in Tasmania, or Van Dieman’s Land as it was then called; but this I did not know till I got on board. At this time, and for a short period afterwards, our prisoners were sent to one of the convict colonies, either to Sydney or Tasmania. In addition to twelve prisoners, the captain accommodated two cabin passengers. I should say three, for a female, the wife of one of the prisoners, was allowed to take a cabin passage, and she brought on board a considerable quantity of luggage; there were also four steerage passengers.”

The brig had amongst her prison passengers one at least who had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment under a first conviction, and so had not joined ours from a convict colony. As I know the respectability of his connections, I do not publish his name, as no good purpose has to be served thereby; and as I suppose he may have obtained his liberty long before this account appears in print, I trust his bitter experience of the consequences of wrong-doing will have produced a

favourable change in him. I may mention that on my passage from England he was as a youth engaged as cuddy servant on board the ship in which I and my family came out. One of the officers of the ship informed me he had been put on board in that capacity by an uncle for misconduct. I was not favourably impressed by his behaviour whilst on board. After landing, he was successful in getting into a most respectable situation, but there so misconducted himself as to merit the severe sentence which was passed on him. But to continue my friend's notes :—

“On the day the brig *Punch* was advertised to sail for Hobart Town I found myself under the necessity of visiting Tasmania without delay. To take advantage of the *Punch*, I only had time to make hurried business arrangements and to pack up a carpet-bag. Thus prepared I started in one of the Port passenger-carts. In those days the passage between Adelaide and the Port was as uncomfortable as an enemy might wish it to be. When the full number the driver chose to jam in were seated we started. The road was as full of holes as it was possible to be, so that when one wheel was out the other would be in; or it might be that both would make a plunge into a quaghole at the same time, when there would be a unanimous grunt from the passengers, this being the only variety experienced in the seven miles' ride, being a sort of introduction to an anticipated passage in a small brig jumping about in a short sea. After this miserable ride, on arriving at the bank of the Port Creek, I found the brig already in the stream ready for a start, and was put on board by a Port boatman. On stepping on deck the first thing which attracted my attention and surprised me was to perceive two armed sentries pacing the deck. On entering the captain's cabin I enquired of him the cause of the sentries being on board, and he, as if it was a matter of no consequence, informed me he had a number of prisoners between decks, but that if I wished for a passage with him I could have half a cabin with a gentleman passenger already on board. I felt rather dashed by the position in which I found myself, but as my business was most pressing I took my passage with a sort of desperation, and feeling prepared to defy any ordinary discomforts, but I certainly little expected what did occur.

“I had arrived on board in an excited state from the hurry I had been put to in the short notice I had, and did not feel in my usual spirits, perhaps in part occasioned by this being my first trip on shipboard since my voyage from England, and with a very lively recollection of a narrow escape from wreck on that occasion, causing me to feel an undefined dread of a coming calamity; but I certainly did not anticipate such a fright as we experienced, before we arrived at our destination, which was nothing less than an attempt of the prisoners to take the brig, and for which well laid plans had been made before we left the port of departure, which to the captain, crew, and passengers would have resulted in violent death in the contest, or in walking the plank if the ruffians' designs had succeeded; but in their attempt to recover freedom they were most providentially frustrated. Our captain was a man over six feet in stature and stout in proportion, with a fist and voice to create dread whenever called into play, so that when the first intimation of the prisoners' designs was revealed to us, and arms put in hands, our courage and confidence in our leader was aroused. Before any alarm was given,

I had observed in the captain's cabin a goodly supply of weapons in good order. Our captain had the look of a jolly Irishman, who rather had a taste for a scrimmage. We were soon making good way down the Gulf, having been towed to the Lightship. I was informed that amongst the prisoners were several lifers, as they were called, and the remainder transports for seven or fourteen years, and some returned runaway prisoners from the convict colonies, and many desperate characters were amongst them. On receiving this anything but cheering information, and seeing only three guards in charge of them, the nervous state of feeling which I have described as mine at starting, was not diminished, and I heartily wished myself on shore again, but this I knew to be an impossibility, as no boat would be allowed to leave a chartered convict ship."

I may mention here, to account for so many criminals being sent away at one time, that runaways from the neighbouring colonies were retained in gaol until after a session when a sufficient number of sentenced men could be added to make up a number to justify our Government in chartering a suitable vessel. To some readers it may be necessary to repeat that for some years after the founding of this colony, the Governments of New South Wales and Tasmania still received our own sentenced prisoners, and justly so, as we had been supplied with plenty of runaways and expirées from those colonies. Now we have to provide for our own criminals, and laws have been passed by our Legislature to forbid the landing of persons of that class on our shores, either from the mother country or from the neighbouring colonies.

"I now describe our passage. After leaving Port Adelaide everything seemed to go on favourably. The wind was propitious, and after turning in I passed a quiet and comfortable night. On passing Kangaroo Island we encountered a much rougher sea. Our brig was a smart craft, and our captain, as he afterwards explained, having the unknown fate of the *Lady Dennison* present in his mind (which was the convict ship previously dispatched from South Australia), had under the conditions of his charter made every suitable arrangement to keep secure his prison passengers, and he was resolved, if possible, to avoid the supposed fate of the captain and crew of that lost ship. The 'tween-decks were fitted up in a substantial manner, the chain cable so arranged that refractory prisoners could be made fast to it by shackles, and his cabin well-furnished with loaded firearms, cutlasses, &c. The cook was an old servant of the captain's, and had made many trips with him. When we were well at sea he came to the master with an appearance of having something serious to say. On his being asked, 'Well, cook, what do you want?' he replied, 'Captain, I don't like your lady passenger, Mrs. B——, the wife of one of the prisoners. She has a good deal of luggage in her cabin, and I think there is something suspicious about it. I noticed one of her trunks as being very heavy, and putting this and that together, I feel I must tell you what I have on my mind. I have an engagement with a young woman ashore in Adelaide to marry her, and she was quite upset when I parted with her. I told her we were only bound on a short trip, but she kept on crying, and at last said, "You will never come back, nor will the brig ever reach Hobart Town, as I have overheard a conversation between the passenger (Mrs. B——, whose service she had just left) and one of her friends to that effect."' On receiving this vague tale the Captain became more

than ever on his guard, and on hearing on a subsequent night an unusual noise among the prisoners, he went, accompanied with the guards and part of the crew, all armed, and shackled the worst of the men to the chain cable. The prisoners had the appearance of men under the influence of drink, which must have been smuggled to them. To explain how this might have been done, I must state that an arrangement had been carried out soon after starting of bringing three or four of the prisoners on deck for air and exercise, and on these occasions the prisoner B—— had been granted the privilege by the guards and the good-natured captain to hold a few minutes' conversation with his wife in her cabin. Before the captain went below after hearing the noise, Mrs. B—— begged of him in an excited manner not to do so, but he did not feel inclined to follow her advice, and, after securing some of the prisoners, turned in for the night, but like a miller, who is said to sleep with one eye open, he was alive to the slightest noise. When he was ruffled he was a sort of demon, but when things were going on smoothly he was quite amiable and anxious to make all hands happy. We had not long retired again to rest, and before midnight the sea had become very rough, and the brig laboured heavily, but above the noise of the elements a cry of one of the guards was heard. The crew and myself, and the other cabin passenger had been supplied with arms, and told to keep ourselves in readiness, and we were all soon on deck. We found the guards doing their best to beat the prisoners back from escaping up the main hatch, which was half open. Our captain was at the opening roaring with such vehemence and language as I never heard before that he would cleave in two any man who dared to come within his reach. After a short struggle the revolting prisoners were driven back, and every man chained to the cable, with the threat from the captain that on any fresh attempt every blessed man should go over the side fast to the cable. On the following morning the captain, accompanied by the cook, visited Mrs. B—— in her cabin, and addressed her in these words. He was very polite in his rough way:—

“Mrs. B——, I am sorry to intrude on you so abruptly and early in the day. My only excuse is my anxiety for the safety of my ship and passengers.”

“Captain, I do not understand you. What can I do to secure the safety of your ship; what can you mean?”

“Well, madam, it is no use mincing matters. I will be plain, and not keep you in further suspense. I have sufficient grounds to know that there is a conspiracy between you and your husband and the other prisoners to take the ship.”

“On hearing this Mrs. B—— became as white as death, and quickly exclaimed, ‘It is false, it is a lie! I know nothing of such a conspiracy; it is cruel to bring such a charge against me—an unfortunate woman,’ and with a woman’s last resource she burst into tears.

“The answer she got was, ‘Madam, I must be firm; and so I have at once to demand of you the keys of your trunks.’”

“At this she became abusive and refused to comply, and when she was told the cook would be ordered to break them open, she produced the keys. On the heavy suspected trunk being opened, pistols ready loaded, with cutlasses, &c., were found, also sundry charts and other requisites for a voyage. During this exposure the woman, dejected, with

her head depressed with shame and fear, kept silence. The skipper ordered the confiscated arms &c., to be placed in the store, and addressed the involved woman thus:—

“Madam you see our information was correct as to what was intended to be carried out. I have hitherto granted you every indulgence in my power. Now it becomes my duty to order you to keep close to your cabin for the remainder of the passage, and you will not hold any communication with your husband in the ship. I shall take care of your personal comforts and see that your wants are all attended to; but you must not attempt to leave your cabin, or to hold any secret communication with any person on board.”

“On this the captain went on deck, and called the passengers and crew to hear him. He ordered us to keep our arms in readiness, and to be ready to attend promptly to any call, night or day, and he added one of the crew to the guards.”

“There must be one universal opinion that the South Australian Government were highly to be blamed in sending so many prisoners with only three policemen as guards, especially as before we left the opinion had become general that something fatal had happened on board the *Lady Dennison*, which had been dispatched such a short time before us with prisoners, and of her no tidings had been heard. The weather during the remainder of the passage still continued rough, dark, and foggy. The captain became quite anxious, as he supposed he was in the neighbourhood of the dangerous rocks called the *Sow and Pigs*, but we fortunately passed without sighting them, and made the mouth of the *River Derwent*, and with a fair wind sailed up that beautiful river, and soon obtained a pilot. On his coming on board his first question to our captain was if any tidings had been heard of the *Lady Dennison*. On our nearing the wharf the usual officials came on board. The prisoners were ordered on deck, and were ranged, and their names called over. Before they were ordered over the side, where a file of soldiers were ready with fixed bayonets to receive and guard them, the privileged prisoner had the face to request to speak to our captain, and said:—

“Captain, I wish to ask you if you will accept a small token from me as a memento of this voyage? Amongst my wife’s luggage there is a trunk which I wish you to accept with its contents. In it you will find charts and other articles which we intended to use if an opportunity had occurred. It is useless to deny that it was our intention to have seized the ship, and to have compelled part of the crew to steer for California; but we were foiled in our purpose, and we must now submit as patiently as we can to our destiny.”

“The captain thanked him for his candid confession, but informed him that the present he offered had been in his safe-keeping some days, and would be handed over to the South Australian Government. And then the miserable fellow was marched off in a chained gang under a strong escort, the wretched wife from the side of the brig witnessing with floods of tears her husband’s departure. It was reported that she afterwards entered into a small way of business, and in a certain time applied for her husband, and obtained him as an assigned servant under the convict regulations.”

CHAPTER XLV.

TASMANIAN BUSHRANGERS.

THIS chapter will contain the narrative of the capture of four bush-rangers (who had escaped from Tasmania) by Inspector Tolmer, of the South Australian police, and five policemen, Captain Dashwood being South Australian Commissioner of Police at the time. The particulars I chiefly obtained from Mr. Tolmer, and from one of the troopers named Farrell, also from confessions of prisoners and sailors from the whaler, imparted to me by Mr. Tolmer.

The Inspector on his way to his office in the Police Barracks, on a certain day, was met by two men, who seeing him in uniform asked him, "Are you a police officer?" He answered, "Yes, what do you want?" "We are two policemen from Tasmania; we have a letter from our Governor to the Chief Secretary here relative to four desperate bushrangers, who have been the terror of Tasmania for over three years, during which time they have committed several murders, and for which crimes we have warrants to arrest them. It has been ascertained without doubt that they have shipped on board a whaling ship bound on a trip to fish off Kangaroo Island."

Mr. Tolmer seeing the serious nature of the case, at once took the men to the Colonial Secretary, who, on reading the letter, sent the disguised policemen on to the Commissioner of Police. He immediately placed the matter before the Governor, who ordered him at once to proceed to Port Adelaide and obtain from Captain Lipson, Harbour Master, the cutter *Lapwing*, with orders to him to furnish the craft with every necessary for a trip to search for the four criminals, and to convey a police party on special duty. Every preparation having been made, the Commissioner, with Inspector Tolmer and a number of police, embarked in the *Lapwing*, having Captain Lipson in command of the cutter, with instructions to cruise about the Gulf and to the southward of Kangaroo Island, with the view of falling in with the whaler. This was continued for several days, but as they did not meet with her they returned through Backstairs Passage and put into American River, Kangaroo Island, when Inspector Tolmer suggested to the Commissioner that probably the men might have left the ship and have landed at Hog Bay, and if so would be likely to be harbouring with characters of their class who he knew to be resident there from his previous official visits, when he had taken into custody depredators whom he had found in hiding in that locality. This suggestion was followed. The Commissioner, Inspector, and police, started on foot to make their way through the scrub lying between them and Hog Bay. The Inspector had on a previous occasion made his way through the same tangled vegetation, and now acted as guide. *Captain Lipson* had orders to take the cutter the following morning into

Hog Bay to meet the party. On their toilsome journey, about midday, they were overtaken by a violent thunderstorm and heavy drenching rain. At this time the Inspector had to give in, finding he could not proceed further without rest; in his eagerness for the work, he had left Adelaide when he was under the medical treatment of Dr. Nash. The party now sheltered themselves in the best way they could under bushes. Shortly after the storm had abated, the Inspector, feeling himself somewhat recovered, they continued onward through the dripping scrub until they came in sight of the huts at Hog Bay. The whole party creeping on, suddenly made a rush with the intention of seizing the men, if there, before they could recover their arms, but only the usual inhabitants were found. The invaders remained in the huts that night. In the morning the cutter entered the bay, and the force embarked. As Mr. Tolmer was still seriously indisposed, the Commissioner decided to return to Adelaide; but before doing so he adopted the Inspector's suggestion to call in at Kingscote, and to endeavour to enlist the assistance of an islander who had been some years on the island, and who was still squatting there. This man had been before the Police Magistrate in Adelaide under a charge of being a runaway from Sydney, but had been discharged through a defect in the warrant on which he had been taken, but he was told that if a Judge's warrant arrived he would be liable to be brought up again. The officers thought that he would be likely to render aid in the case on which they were engaged, as he possessed a sailing boat, and was in the habit of visiting the main.

The Inspector having on a former occasion visited him, and knowing his habits well, was dispatched to obtain an interview with him, and on finding the man at home, explained what desperate characters he was seeking to take, and the heavy crimes they had committed, and offered on behalf of the Government certain inducements to him. He was required to lose no time in communicating to the Government if the whaler arrived in which the men had left Tasmania, or if four men answering their description should arrive in a boat in any of the bays.

The Inspector obtained full promises from this sealer to the demand to dispatch his boat with any information he might gain, and the party left in full confidence that the islander would be as good as his word, as he knew a sword was hanging over him, and he naturally desired, with his family, to continue in undisturbed possession of the spot which he had made his home. The *Lapwing*, with her passengers, returned to Port Adelaide. A few days after their return, the Inspector as he passed the *Globe Hotel*, was addressed by two gentlemen, Mr. T. Giles and Mr. Weaver, who informed him that four men had landed from a boat towards the southern end of Yorke's Peninsula, and had engaged themselves to work for Mr. Bowden on his sheepstations. Their account of themselves was considered improbable, and altogether they bore a very suspicious appearance. They stated they were whalers, and to the south of Kangaroo Island had been fast to a whale, which dragged them out of sight of their ship and the island; at last they were obliged to cut the line, and bore up as they supposed in the direction they would find their vessel, and kept on until they entered the Gulf, and landed on the Peninsula, hoping to get food, having none on board the whale-boat. They found a stranded whale-calf on the beach, on which they lived several days, and kept along the coast until they met with Mr. Bowden.

This tale was too unlikely to be accepted as true by Inspector Tolmer, as he knew no boat ever leaves a whaling ship with four men only in her to attack a whale; he therefore lost no time in reporting the matter to his superior officer, the Commissioner, and they soon concluded that no time should be lost in following up the clue obtained. It was decided to send one policeman, disguised, to Bowden's Station, giving him the description of the men forwarded by the Tasmanian Government. In the meantime the Tasmanian policemen who had arrived were kept out of sight. A private of the name of Farrell was selected to act on this dangerous service, which required much caution and prudence, as well as courage, as it had been reported that the four men had stipulated with Mr. Bowden that they should be supplied with firearms, as they were afraid of the blacks, and arms were supplied to them. The next step for the officers was to see the gentlemen who had given the information and to ascertain when they would be leaving Port Adelaide for their stations. They replied that the cutter *Midge*, which was then trading between the Port and Oyster Bay, would leave for the Peninsula on the day following. An arrangement was then made with Mr. Weaver, who agreed to engage the disguised policeman as a shepherd in the place of a man who was about to leave him, and he promised that he would in other ways assist the police in pursuing the men "wanted." It was then arranged that the man Farrell should at an appointed time the next day meet Mr. Weaver, with a bushman's swag and costume, and be engaged by him, and his passage by the *Midge* be taken by his supposed master. All this was carried out, and at the appointed time the *Midge* sailed with master and man on board, and known only as such to the captain and crew of the cutter. Farrell was charged by the Inspector to assume all the characteristics of a bushman, and to avoid his upright soldierly carriage. He had served Her Majesty as a private in a regiment of the line, and had purchased his discharge and had entered the police force.

The first arrangement carried out and the start made, in the afternoon of the following day the Inspector was met by two men who had arrived in the sealer's boat from Kangaroo Island. The man had fulfilled his promise in losing no time in dispatching information. The men brought a letter containing an account of the arrival of the whaler at the island to enquire after four of his sailors who had left the ship with four men who had joined him off Tasmania, the party on leaving his ship having stolen one of his boats. Here was a further surprise and complication, for if eight had left the ship, and four only had shown up on the Peninsula, what had become of the other four? Had they been disposed of by the Tasmanian convicts, and more murders been committed? His first impression on reading the letter was that no fresh steps could be taken until he had information from Farrell as to the identity of those he was directed to report upon, as they might be the missing sailors; and then, where was he to look for the greater culprits? At this time the Commissioner had left town for his country residence. In the dilemma the Inspector decided to wait on the Governor, who considered that no time should be lost in getting a communication with Farrell. His Excellency was pleased at the prompt action in sending the spy to visit Bowden's station, and considered it imperative that the Inspector, with such a force as he considered necessary, should start in the *Lapping*, and wrote a letter to Captain Lipson, instructing him to prepare

and dispatch the *Lapwing* to convey the Inspector and his men to Oyster Bay, and to wait on him there. The Inspector started with four policemen, Bold, Flogdale, South, and Morgan, privates, and sailed that evening. Of the men he selected, South and Morgan are dead, Bold is now station-master at Bowden, Farrell, who was sent in advance, after he left the police departed from the colony, and Flogden was last heard of in California. During the time I was preparing these papers Farrell returned from California, and from him I obtained the account of what occurred until he was joined by the Inspector and the four men named.

Inspector Tolmer, having the highest opinion of the four men who accompanied him and of the man on the scent, considered he had a sufficient force, and the actions of the men in supporting him proved his confidence in them was not misplaced. Their night's passage proved propitious, and by early dawn they were approaching near Oyster Bay, and when about five miles from there they perceived two small cutters dredging for oysters. Not wishing to be recognised as the Government cutter, with police on board, he ordered his men to lie down out of sight, and the *gaftopsail* was taken down, he also hiding himself. On consulting with the captain he informed Mr. Tolmer that the *Lapwing* was often taken for the cutter *Elizabeth*, and as he approached the fishing boats he proposed to hail them, and on their asking what craft he would answer the *Elizabeth*, with stores for Bowden. After this exchange of compliments he steered south, and on sighting the *Midge* cast anchor about half a mile away from her, to avoid raising any suspicion of the object of the visit; this was especially necessary as a dray was seen on the beach with several men receiving stores from the *Midge*. The Inspector was much puzzled what step to take to obtain information of Farrell, and at last decided (he and his men still keeping out of sight) to dispatch his captain (Smith) to communicate with the captain of the *Midge*, and to invite him to return with him to the *Lapwing*. He was to be informed that the Inspector and men were on board, and that they were on an expedition to secure four desperate bushrangers, that he might be aware how much caution was required to be exercised.

The two captains returned, and an explanation was given to the visitor of what a critical situation the few inhabitants on the stations were placed, his own wife and children included, who were on Mr. Weaver's station, until these desperadoes were secured. He was then pressed to assist the Inspector by leaving his vessel in charge of his men, and to go at once to Mr. Weaver's head station to ascertain what progress Farrell had made, and if he could get a sight of him to inform him, as well as Mr. Weaver, that his officer and police had arrived, but to keep the matter quite secret from others; to return as quick as possible, and if after dark to raise two small fires on a gentle rise pointed out. The captain consented, and started without delay. The Inspector kept an anxious watch himself all night, but no signals appeared. Soon after daybreak the same cart which the captain of the *Midge* told him was from Mr. Weaver's station and not from Bowden's, came down to the beach for a load of stores, and as the captain did not arrive at the same time the Inspector became very anxious about his man Farrell. On the cart disappearing with its load he decided to put an end to the suspense, and ordered his men to prepare to land, and he with them was put on shore in the cutter's boat. They were in plain clothes, the men

armed with a carbine and pistol each, the Inspector with a brace of pistols only. On landing they ran and placed themselves under cover in a gully close at hand, squatting down. They soon heard a footstep, and to their joy the captain of the Midge was seen approaching. He was signalled in a suppressed voice, and quickly turned and joined the party. He informed the Inspector that Farrell was not at Weaver's head station, but had been dispatched to one of Bowden's stations for some cabbage plants, which had been promised to Mr. Weaver, who thought sending on such an errand would enable him to see the men without his real business being suspected, but Farrell had not returned. This information made the Inspector more and more anxious about the fate of Farrell, and caused him to decide to depart immediately to Mr. Weaver's head station. After following the dray track he came in sight of Weaver's Lagoon, and before they arrived at the station a number of dogs rushed out and gave notice of their approach, on which Mr. Weaver came out, also several men out of their hut, as they were in for dinner. Mr. Weaver addressed the Inspector by name, and in such a manner as to convey surprise to his men, as he did not wish them to suspect he had received information from the captain of the arrival of the police; and to a question he put Mr. Tolmer answered, loud enough for them to hear, "We are after some runaway sailors." On their entering Mr. Weaver's residence he said, in an excited manner, "Why have you shown yourselves? Farrell is expected every minute, and if my men in the kitchen become aware of what you are after they will be likely to sympathise with the bushrangers, and we cannot tell what may happen." The Inspector stated—"I have determined to proceed at once to communicate with Farrell. Is there a track from here direct to your out-station?" "Yes, slight wheel marks; one of my men has been between the two places through the scrub with a dray. You can have him as a guide. You know him; he is one of the prison class." His guidance was accepted. He was ordered to get up two saddle horses, one for the Inspector and one for himself. The latter rode a mare which had a foal following her. After they had proceeded a few miles the guide said, "I have lost the track." He was then addressed by Mr. Tolmer, thus—"Now, D—, you are suspected to be a runaway prisoner from Sydney. You know by this time I am Inspector of Police. You have purposely lost the track; my men shall find it again. If you do not render me assistance I shall take you as an escaped convict." The track was again found, and on proceeding a short distance only the barking of dogs was heard, and D— was then again cautioned. To add to the Inspector's difficulties, a number of Mr. Weaver's horses had followed the mare and foal. A halt was ordered, and the man D— was told to drive the horses back and to return without making any noise. On his return he was promised, if he faithfully obeyed orders, favour should be shown him. He was now told to gallop up to the hut (it was now after sunset), ask if Mr. Bowden was there, and to look into the hut and see if any person was there besides the shepherd and hutkeeper, and to return without giving any token of any party being in the vicinity. He returned and said "only the shepherd and hutkeeper were in the hut." He was then ordered to take the horse Mr. Tolmer had ridden, and to ride back to the head-station, driving the other horses before him. On his departure the party remained quiet under bushes, as near the hut as was prudent, so

as to avoid discovering themselves. After a time the Inspector decided to send Morgan without his firearms. He had much the appearance of a sailor, having a sou'-wester on his head. He was to represent that he had lost himself in attempting to find Mr. Bowden's Station, to which he had been sent to give information that the Elizabeth, cutter, had arrived with stores for Mr. Bowden. He was to ascertain if Farrell was in the hut, to ask for food for himself, and to be allowed to remain all night, and during the night to steal out if he saw a chance with information. He was after some time enabled to do this, and gave the following account:—"Farrell is in the hut. I have been lying before the fire with him. He whispered to me he had been at one of Bowden's stations, and had seen two of the men; they were all right. One answered the description completely, even to a very prominent mark of a wound in his face and hand. He heard of the other two men at another station engaged in putting up a hut." So it was proved D—— had attempted to deceive. Morgan was sent back, and told to leave the hut at the same time in the morning as Farrell left, and as early as possible, and to bring him to their ambush. The Inspector and the men had to remain in the open bush supperless, and passed a miserable night without blankets. In the morning the men did not appear as early as was expected, and explained when they did present themselves that they had considered it better to consent to take breakfast with the shepherd and see him off with the flock before any suspicion was excited.

Now comes Farrell's statement. "After leaving Adelaide and preparing himself with swag and disguise he started in one of the Port carts. On the driver stopping at the Half-way House he saw a gentleman who answered the description of Mr. Weaver coming out of the house to get into another trap, and addressed him, and said he was informed he was in want of a shepherd, and was answered, 'Yes.' After some further talk he was engaged to accompany Mr. Weaver to relieve one of his shepherds, who had to leave on account of bad eyes. He went on board the cutter with Mr. Weaver, and on landing at Oyster Bay assisted the first day in conveying stores from the boat to Mr. Weaver's head-station, and the next day was sent to an out-station, where the shepherd with bad eyes had a flock; but he was ordered by Mr. Weaver to tell the men he had to go to an out-station belonging to Mr. Bowden for some cabbage-plants, and to return with the plants again to the head-station before he took the flock from the man with the bad eyes. He managed to find Mr. Weaver's out-station, and remained there that night, and as there were only two bunks he had to roll himself in his blankets before the fire when he and the two men turned in. The two mates soon began to talk together, supposing him to be asleep. The hutkeeper said to his mate, 'I say, as you are going to town when this fresh chap takes your flock, you might leave some of your things for those poor castaways at Bowden's; they are hard up for things.' To which the shepherd replied, 'I know they are; I don't mind giving one of them a pair of boots; the chap has his feet bound up in rags, and says they were hurt on the rocks when they were cast away; and I'll make up a bundle of other things I can spare. The lame one is cooking. I left the sheep feeding, and went to their hut the other day. I am not to leave till Sunday, and I'll leave the things with you.' To which the hutkeeper replied, 'I would take the things down to the poor chaps myself, but I don't know the

way.' 'Well, there's an old dray-track leads from this hut down there; follow that.' All this Farrell was eagerly listening to, and in the morning asked the direction of Bowden's hut, to which he was going for the cabbage-plants. Farrell had been told that both these men were old lags, and therefore knew it would not do to seek any other information from them; but felt assured he was on the right scent, and so as soon as he had breakfasted he looked out for the track, and following it some miles, sometimes over a sheoak plain and sometimes through patches of scrub, at length made the hut, and passing an old sheeppark saw a bed of cabbage-plants. On entering the hut he saw the lame man at the fire baking a damper, and told him what he had come about. On his sitting down the cook handed him a pannikin of tea. On Farrell asking him what was the matter with his feet, he said his feet were cut in walking along the sea shore on shells. Farrell was told to go out when he had rested and help himself to cabbage-plants, and after returning with them and tying them up he sat down again. At this time a man came in for his dinner who cast his eyes on him, and muttered defiantly, and took a pistol out of his pocket and seemed to be examining it carefully. Farrell avoided any apparent notice of him; but at a glance saw he had a large scar on his hand and one on his face, answering the written description he had in his pocket. He assumed a very unconcerned look, and left as soon as he could without exciting suspicion, and arrived back at Weaver's out-station at sundown. Of course he was greatly surprised at the appearance of Morgan before they turned in, but they carefully assumed towards each other the actions of perfect strangers. In the morning Farrell had to appear to return with the cabbage-plants, and the other to seek Mr. Bowden.

They managed to bring to the watchers in the bush a supply of damper, which was all the breakfast the Inspector and the three policemen got that morning, and they could not show themselves to get even a drink of water.

The Inspector had now got all his men together to go to work with. The lame cook in Bowden's hut had told Farrell that his two other mates were at a new station which was forming near the shore of the Gulf. The Inspector was satisfied he had got all the necessary information to commence the arduous task of taking four fully armed, blood-thirsty villains, and he had now to adopt the most careful means to take them without bloodshed. It was fortunate that he could proceed against them in detail; he could rely upon his men being stanch and obedient to orders. The conflict must be reserved for a future chapter.

CHAPTER XLVI.

SEARCH FOR THE TASMANIAN BUSHRANGERS (CONTINUED).

IN the last chapter, giving an account of the first steps in the search for the four bushrangers who had escaped from Tasmania, after committing a series of outrages and murders there, and landed on Yorke's Peninsula, I have related with what expedition our Government acted; how a policeman in plain clothes, or detective, as he may properly be called, was sent by Inspector Tolmer to the Peninsula and obtained full information respecting the outlaws before Mr. Tolmer and other troopers arrived; also, how all preparations were made for the capture of the ruffians.

We left Mr. Inspector Tolmer and three of his men in the scrub near Mr. Weaver's out-station, where they had passed a miserable night in the bush, supperless, and without blankets or other covering. Farrell and Morgan, two of his men, having passed the night in the hut as strangers to each other, in the morning joined their officer. As soon as the shepherd had cleared out of the way with his flock, the officer with his five men proceeded under the guidance of Farrell to Bowden's out-station, keeping under cover of scrub and the oak patches as much as possible. On coming in sight of the hut in which Farrell had seen and identified two of the missing men, and by his cool and simple manner had passed their keen scrutiny, and where they hoped to catch the run-aways, they saw a man on horseback leave the hut, and squatted in the scrub out of his sight. Farrell explained that this was Mr. Bowden going to the man at work on the waterhole. Farrell stated his confidence that the blind adopted of calling for the cabbage-plants had succeeded in removing all suspicion as to the near approach of the police. Although the scoundrels were to be taken in detail, the Inspector considered it necessary to act with the greatest caution, so as not to expose himself and his men to avoidable danger, or to anticipate the course of the law. Farrell, in compliance with instructions, had led them to a cover at, and as near as possible to, the gable-end of the one-roomed hut. Soon after the disappearance of the horseman, they crept as silently as possible onwards. At this time, fortunately, a very heavy wind was blowing, enabling them to creep unheard round to the door, which was found to be closed, and had to be opened by a string-latch, on pulling which and opening the door a man was seen in the act of putting a leg of mutton into a boiler on the fire. He was suddenly rushed and placed on his back, handcuffed, and told if he made any noise he would be silenced by a ball. The door was closed. He was seen to have an injured foot wrapped up in rags. The man did not exhibit any alarm, but kept smiling and attempting to speak, and muttered, "You are after four bushrangers; you may catch three, but you will not get four." He was again cautioned, and remained quiet, still with an amused expression

of countenance. The Inspector was puzzled, as the man did not exactly answer to any of the descriptions he held, but still he was found as a mate with them. The constables were placed so as to view through holes in the slabs all approaches to the hut. Morgan, on his look-out, gave a whispered notice that the horseman was approaching. He was allowed to fasten up his horse and open the door, when he was pounced upon and prevented from giving any alarm. The Inspector informed him of the characters of the men he had employed, and that he had arrived with his men armed with warrants to arrest them as runaway convicts and murderers, and charged him to give his best assistance in taking the other three. "There," said the Inspector, "lies one of them already secured." In answer to a question, Mr. Bowden said, "The man at the waterhole is not aware of your presence or business; he will come in for his dinner shortly." Morgan soon gave notice that two men were approaching, one with a straw hat on, the other with a handkerchief on his head. Mr. Bowden said the man with the straw hat was the mate of the prisoner. This one, on arriving at the hut, stooped to wash his hands. The other man, on opening the door, was seized by Morgan and ordered to be quiet, and the straw-hatted one, before he could rise, was thrown by the Inspector on his back and his arms pinioned, and before he could reach a weapon he had in his pocket was handcuffed by one of the other constables. In one of his pockets was found in a leather-case a razor blade, lashed to a piece of wood as a handle. Guards with their fire-arms in hand were placed over the two men; to the last captured the Inspector said, "I take you in custody as the man Lynch, charged in the warrant I hold as an escaped convict, and subsequently charged with murder." The man was short and thick set, and in all respects tallied with the description sent of the desperado Lynch. The two prisoners were coupled together. The police party now took dinner with Mr. Bowden, and the prisoners also had food offered them, but sulkily refused to eat. Mr. Bowden privately informed Mr. Tolmer that the other two men were fully armed, when he was called on by Mr. Tolmer to accompany the party and to assist in the capture. He displayed great reluctance, but he was compelled to start as guide; his excuse was that he required to go to his head station for a shovel. He was told he could take one from the hut they were leaving. The bunks were examined for arms; one gun and a pistol were taken and discharged, and one dagger was found. Thus they started, Mr. Bowden leading on horseback, the prisoners being placed between the armed policemen. After a time the Inspector became aware that their course had been changed, as the sun was visible, [and he expressed as much to Mr. Bowden, who said he was confused and had lost his way. On this he was asked if he could find his way back to the hut, and to that starting-place he brought the party. Now the Inspector demanded the exact direction to the new station, near the beach, on which the two men were at work, which being pointed out, Mr. Tolmer became the guide, and led the party by keeping the sun shining on their backs, and steered through patches of scrub and dwarf trees until he made the coast of the gulf. He now asked Mr. Bowden if the place sought for was to the north or south? The answer was north; and in that direction they coasted, until a little before dusk they came to a swamp, when Mr.

Bowden said the men were on the other end of the swamp, which it was decided to skirt so as to keep out of the sight of the bushrangers, who were occupying a tent. The approaching party heard the sound of the men chopping wood. Mr. Bowden said they were cutting wood for the night. Now Mr. Bowden was directed by Mr. Tolmer to canter his horse to the tent, making such a noise as to cover the approach of himself and two of the police, and to sing out to the men—"I have brought the shovel, but we have to be out early in the morning sheep-hunting, as some sheep have been lost." The two prisoners were left handcuffed and coupled together in charge of Bold, Farrell, and Flogden, and before Mr. Bowden started, he was told if he departed in any way from the instructions given him, some of their lives might be lost. On his arriving at the hut he was to hobble out his horse, and act in his ordinary manner. On his starting off accordingly at a hand gallop the Inspector and two policemen rushed after him, and when he stopped they halted. They here planted their carbines, and depended only on their pistols, which were placed in the breasts of their shirts. Mr. Bowden had been ordered to heap up the fire, and to get one of the men to fry mutton-chops.

The Inspector and his men crept on their hands and knees until they reached the back of the tent. They had crawled on in single file—Inspector first, Morgan next, and South last—each having handcuffs unsprung. On closing the tent, when the Inspector rose, his men were to rise, and on his raising his hand, to rush on and each seize a man, and depend on him, pistol in hand to save them. They watched in the shade of the tent, and could see the men at the fire and hear the chops frying; one of the bushrangers (Rogers) was fidgetting in lighting his pipe. The Inspector rose, rushed to the fire and capsize the fryingpan, by which a great blaze was made. The police leaped in between the men and the tent, and closed with them as directed. Rogers, a most powerful man, could not be secured without the aid of the Inspector. Before he was overpowered he seized the Inspector's hand with his teeth, and continued his hold like a bulldog until he was struck with the muzzle of a pistol on his jaw. He left permanent marks of his teeth on the Inspector's hand, which remain to this day. These desperadoes being securely handcuffed and fastened, the Inspector then fired off a pistol, according to arrangement, to bring up the remainder of the party with their prisoners. The tent was then searched for firearms. Two single-barrelled guns were found, loaded, which had been carefully placed under the tarpaulin, so that at the least alarm they could be gained. These were discharged. The two last men secured now began to indulge in the most horrid language, taunting the Inspector and his men with cowardice, in sneaking on them as they had done, adding, "Give us only five minutes and we will show you what we are made of." They also swore deep vengeance against Bowden for leading the police to their capture, and continuing to utter such filthy and defiled language that to put a stop to it the Inspector threatened to gag them. They were also told that the Adelaide police when they went out to capture delinquents went with that intent, and not like some police in the older colonies, to give a chance of escape to such depredators as they were. As the captives had become quiet Mr. Tolmer returned alone to meet the approaching party, occasionally firing a shot, and cooeying to

guide and assure them. Not hearing any counter sounds he became anxious as to the prisoners and men whom he had left in charge of them. After proceeding some distance towards the end of the swamp he heard their approach. They explained to him that they had heard and answered his signals, but as the wind was strong in their faces their responses had not reached him. Farrell was informed, in answer to his enquiry, that the other two men were secured and in safe custody, upon which the prisoner Lynch, who had not uttered a word since his capture, exclaimed "My God." Upon reaching the camp Rogers, who was the leader of the gang, remarked to the first prisoners taken as they were brought up and placed beside himself and Riley, "Well, lads, here we are," which elicited no reply from Lynch, but produced the usual smile from the first captured man. That there might be no chance of escape a large fire was kept up, and the entire party remained on guard the whole of the night, not one being allowed to take rest, although much needed, especially by the officer, as that made his third night without sleep. About midnight Trooper Bold, who was the nearest sentry, observed some slight movement under the blankets which covered the four men, and drew the attention of the Inspector to it, when suddenly Rogers sprang up and attempted to escape; but he was quickly recaptured, and the whole four were pinioned and their legs made fast. Rogers had freed himself from Riley, to whom he had been coupled. After an early breakfast the Inspector pressed Mr. Bowden with his cart and horse on the public service, and the four prisoners were placed in the cart. The course was along the cliffs towards Oyster Bay. Much trouble was occasioned by the jibbing horse, which occasionally rushed on and then suddenly stopped; two of the prisoners, Rogers and Riley, were in consequence required to walk, guarded by Troopers Bold, Morgan, and South; Trooper Farrell, seated alongside the driver, the Inspector and Flodgen following behind the cart on foot. From the irregularity in the progress of the horse, the walking rear party were frequently left behind, and the Inspector had to wait until the men on foot came up. On one of these occasions Trooper Morgan called on the Inspector requesting a halt, and said—"Please, sir, Rogers asks for the use of a knife to ease the heel of his boot which is hurting him. Upon one being handed to him he commenced to operate on his right boot; to do so he had to lean down and forwards, and the prisoner Riley being coupled to him, had also to do the same. Whilst the men were in this position, Morgan, by signs, called the Inspector's attention to Rogers; by this something wrong was suspected, and the two prisoners were ordered to rise, and were again placed in the cart, and were now covered by the carbines of the whole party. At this time Morgan was able to explain to his officer that, when the prisoners were stooping, he overheard part of their whispered words. Rogers said, "Are you game?" Riley replied, "Yes." When the prisoners were securely placed, heavily ironed, on board the cutter, the Inspector questioned Rogers what he meant by "Are you game?" when he burst into a roar of laughter, saying, "Ah! you and your men had a narrow escape," and made the following confession. But the exact position of the guards must be understood. Two policemen followed close to the two prisoners on foot with shouldered carbines and each a pistol in his breast; two guards similarly armed at the cart; Farrell without arms riding in front. The prisoners were handcuffed, the right hand of Riley

to the left hand of Rogers. When a sudden halt was to be made by the two prisoners on foot they were to wheel suddenly round and seize the pistols from the constables and shoot them, having closed on them so as to prevent the use of the carbines; then they were to seize these pieces to dispatch two more of the party and secure their arms, so that if they had only partially succeeded there would have been bloodshed, and they as desperate men were prepared to sell their lives in a last bold attempt. Rogers added—"If we had failed in gaining our liberty we should at least have had the satisfaction of revenge." After a most weary journey Oyster Bay was reached, and the men were placed on board and between decks. After this Inspector Tolmer was greatly surprised by a sailor reperting himself as belonging to the whaler from which the escape of the prisoners had been made, and that he had been dispatched by the Government in a boat to meet him in order to assist in identifying the runaways. The seaman was at once invited to look down the skylight and tell what he would see. He approached with a show of reluctance, as a child looks down a deep black and unexplored hole. He no sooner caught sight of the men than he exclaimed—"Why, there's Rogers, sir; that's Riley; that's Lynch; and that's my old mate" (giving his name which is forgotten). Upon this the Inspector ordered the senior constable, who was in charge below, to release the poor heavily-punished innocent man, who had been first a prisoner of old lags, and afterwards been hardly treated as a real delinquent, to the awakened grief of the officer and his men. The poor fellow, on being set free and brought on deck, could hardly utter a word, but resolutely smothering his feelings and shaking hands with his mate, burst out into thanks to God for his deliverance, and to the police for saving his life, as he said he had been many days kept in fear that he would be put to death by the men below, by whom he had been hourly threatened by one or other of them, having often had a pistol or gun presented at his head, and with fearful oaths sworn at, that his life would be taken if he gave any hints as to their identity. On the arrival of the cutter near the Port, a despatch was sent to the Governor. The continuation of this expedition will require another chapter.

CHAPTER XLVII.

ONE TASMANIAN BUSHRANGER DROWNED—THE REMAINING THREE DELIVERED UP TO THE TASMANIAN GOVERNMENT.

BEFORE I give the account of the delivery by our authorities of three out of the four notorious Tasmanian bushrangers to the prison establishment of Van Dieman's Land, and relate what became of the fourth member of the gang, it is necessary to go back and take advantage of the recital given to our police officers by the sailor from the whaling ship, who was sent to identify the desperate men who deserted from her when at sea to the south of Kangaroo Island in the boat which they stole, added to which will be the simple tale of the released sailor who had been arrested with the three culprits. These narratives, together with the voluntary and boastful confessions of the three prisoners to the constables in charge of them, will form the most astounding portion of this sad and humiliating history of depravity almost unparalleled. I will first take the prisoners' own account of themselves, in giving which it appears they were prompted by a desire to impress on our police, who had so cleverly taken them, with what renowned men they had been engaged and had conquered. At this time they were perfectly aware that there was not likely to be a chance of their escape from captivity, and they too well knew to what a certain fate they were going, and so were determined to exhibit foolhardy gameness to the end of their career, and to die heroes—so much for the case-hardening effects of outlawed lives. With perfect glee and unconcern they told the following execution of a cold-blooded murder by them, which I select out of their long list of the crimes of which they boasted as the one committed shortly before they effected their escape from Tasmania in the whaler, and when they found the hue and cry after them had become too hot and strong for them to escape capture. Their statement, divested of their accustomed embellishments, is as follows:—At a time when the four had found shelter in a lone and unoccupied hut on a blustering and rainy night, being short of meat, two of them, Rogers and Lynch, started to the nearest sheepstation to steal a sheep. Shortly after their departure on that errand the two who remained in the hut heard a knock at the door and a demand for the door to be opened in the name of the police, whereupon Riley seized his gun, saying aside to his mate, "Yes, I'll police you, you," &c.; and, opening the door suddenly, shot the officer, who was an Inspector of Police, through the brain, and wounded the constable who accompanied him, who, however, managed to escape. It will be remembered how these bloodthirsty men upbraided Mr. Tolmer and his party with creeping upon and capturing them unawares in a cowardly manner, as they called it, as appears in a previous chapter. It is very probable that the murdered Inspector and his man were not aware of the characters who were temporarily occupying the hut, or they would not have so carelessly exposed them-

selves. It must not be forgotten that in an attempt to take them which had occurred a very short time prior to this fatal night, the police had been engaged in a regular skirmish with the four outlaws, when one of the police was killed, the remainder driven off, and some of them wounded. Lynch, one of the bushrangers was wounded on the face and hand on that occasion. Not long after Riley had shot the Inspector, Rogers and Lynch returned, carrying a slaughtered sheep, and, stumbling over the dead body lying across the doorway, exclaimed, "Hullo! who have you got here?" "Only a — policeman." Well, this to them ordinary occurrence only necessitated a hasty preparation and dispatch of grilled chops and an early change of quarters. The next matter they divulged to the police was the plan they had devised, to be put in practice after they had recruited themselves in Mr. Bowden's employment, of effecting their exit from Yorke's Peninsula, and which would have been attempted had it not been providentially frustrated by their capture.

It has been mentioned that the greater part of the men engaged on the Peninsula sheep-stations were of the prison class. The arrival of any of the cutters at Oyster Bay was soon known on all the neighbouring stations, so that the plan which Rogers had devised could have been easily carried into effect, all other things falling out favourably. I now give his scheme as related by him to their guards:—

On one of the return trips of the Midge, which he might choose to adopt, the three professionals, with their prisoner the sailor, were to make Oyster Bay before daybreak, and taking one of the shore boats which were in fine weather always handy, get silently alongside the Midge, surprise the captain, and dispatching him, press the two sailors ordinarily on board; having succeeded so far, without delay they were to up anchor and away, making sail for Western Australia, where on gaining a favourable part of the coast, first cutting the throats of the three sailors, they would sink the Midge, and escape in the small boat, and on making the settlement represent themselves as castaways to the authorities, with the ultimate intention and hope of obtaining passages to India. First to plan such deliberate murders, and then to boast of such shocking depravity, is almost beyond credence, and language is wanting to sufficiently express deep enough abhorrence of such wolfish men-demons.

I now come to information given by the sailor. The captain of the whaler in which these men, lost to all human feelings, managed to escape from Tasmania, had been ordered to cruise for whales, from the south of Kangaroo Island, along the southern coast of South Australia. After sighting Kangaroo Island he bore up for Hobart Town for supplies and water; after leaving that port and again sighting Kangaroo Island, he returned to a lone part of the coast of Tasmania. Feeling himself to be short of hands, and from the statement of the two sailors, on landing in his boat, he found four men who desired to ship with him. On this he engaged them. They were all armed with guns, which they gave up to the captain, saying they had been out kangarooing, but they did not "let on," as they say, that they had pistols also. The captain after this did not report himself at any Tasmanian port, and there are strong reasons to suppose he was aware he had taken into his service escaped prisoners. Although ignorant of what tarters he had caught, or as to the loss and inconvenience he was entailing on him-

self — although he might have been, and no doubt was, aware of the risk he was running—of a heavy fine if caught in Tasmanian waters. The captain having obtained his complement of men bore up again for Kangaroo Island, which he sighted before sundown, the weather being calm. On turning-in he set a watch of four men. About midnight each of these sailors was suddenly throttled, and a pistol pressed to his head, with threats of instant death if they gave the least alarm. [This part of the sailors' account I rather doubt, and prefer to suppose, as more likely, they had been induced to desert, as from the numerous robberies these Tasmanians had committed, they would most probably have possessed some quantity of gold and silver coin, and other valuables secreted in their swags.]

I continue the mariner's tale in a slightly abridged form. On the sailors finding themselves in this position they obeyed the orders of Rogers, who was the leader, and lowered the quarter-boat. She was fitted out complete, with oars, sails, biscuits, water, and compass, ready to be lowered. Whilst they were being forced on board, Rogers stood outside the ship holding on by the bulwarks, with a whale spear in hand, ready, as he said, to kill the captain if he appeared. On the boat pushing off he jumped into the sea and swam to the boat, prior to which he had lashed the helm of the ship so as to keep her on the same tack. In compliance with his orders, the boat was steered in the direction of Kangaroo Island, which they reached some hours after leaving the ship. The night being very dark, and not knowing the nature of the coast at the south-west point of the island, or the heavy current setting in upon its dangerous rocks, the boat became unmanageable, and was dashed on the rocks and smashed to pieces. One of the sailors and the fourth man of the bushrangers were drowned; two of the sailors landed without much injury, but the other one, who was taken on Yorke's Peninsula, was cast with his feet on sharp rocks and received rather severe cuts. Rogers, Lynch, and Riley were also carried on to the rocks and escaped without injury, but no swags were saved. The two sailors lost no time in taking to the bush to escape from their (as they said) forced companions, and kept on travelling eastward at the best speed they could make through the scrub. The sailor who had his feet cut was so disabled as to be hardly able to walk, and so could not make his escape with his comrades. Soon after daybreak the three bushrangers with their lame captive skirted the coast where the Cape Borda Lighthouse now shows its light, and in time reached Western River, living on such shellfish as the rocks afforded. At this place (due south from the Althorpe's) a settler named McCullum was residing, engaged at the time in building a schooner, to whom they applied for food and relief, after concocting a pitiful tale of their wreckage and misfortunes. This kind Samaritan showed them every hospitality, and entertained the wrecked *sailors* for several days; but one morning on turning out he found to his sorrow that the four men whose misfortunes had so much excited his compassion had made him a return for his kindness by absenting themselves and stealing his only boat, and in addition, also, a gun, ammunition, and twenty-five shillings, the only money he had in the hut. It is supposed as they had pistols *when taken* that they had them on their persons when wrecked. With the boat they crossed to Yorke's Peninsula, and in this trip made use of their captive sailor. On landing, they abandoned the boat, leaving it

high and dry, and travelled along the beach in a northerly direction. They had not been able to secure any stock of provisions, and so were soon hard up. They had after they landed passed a stranded whale calf, some of the flesh of which they carried with them—their sole subsistence. After following the coast for some days and meeting with no settlement, and despairing of being able to reach any inhabitants, they retraced their steps to get a further supply of food from the carcase of the young whale. On the eighth day after landing they started inland, and soon came upon sheep-tracks, which they followed, and eventually reached one of Mr. Bowden's sheepstations, whose owner gave them food, and subsequently engaged them to work for him, taking Lynch and the lame sailor to an out-station where he required a dam to be constructed, and Rogers and Riley to build a hut and make yards at a new station he wished to form near the coast and not far from Oyster Bay.

The links in the history of these outlaws having been filled up from the murder they committed immediately before making their escape from Tasmania, and all that is necessary to narrate of them until they were engaged and placed by Mr. Bowden as related, I have only to add one more link—namely, the account of the two sailors who parted company at Cape Borda, the scene of the boat accident. These men, pushing on through the scrub, missed Mr. McCullum's temporary residence on Western River, and made the coast after crossing that river more inland; they afterwards kept to the coast until they reached Nepean Bay, existing on shellfish. On arriving at the bay, to their joy they saw their own ship lying at anchor, and as soon as they could reported themselves to their captain, who appeared to believe their tale.

I now return to the Inspector, who with his prisoners had arrived at Port Adelaide, and immediately communicated with the Commissioner of Police, reporting his successful capture of the bushrangers, and advising that extra heavy irons should be placed on them before they were removed from on board the cutter. In due time Captain Dashwood arrived with the then Governor of the Gaol—the late Mr. Ashton—bringing a blacksmith, and heavy irons which weighed fifty pounds each, and these were rivetted on the legs of the three men. After a magisterial investigation had been held, when their identity was proved as the men for whose capture the Tasmanian Government had offered a reward of one hundred pounds for each man, they were remanded to Hobart Town. They were transferred to the charge of Mr. Ashton, and ordered into the boat alongside, to be conveyed to the Adelaide Gaol, there to remain until a vessel could be procured to ship them to Hobart Town, to be tried on some of the charges laid against them.

To give a further instance of the desperate character of these outlaws, after the prisoners Riley, Lynch, and the police had got into the boat alongside the cutter which had been anchored in the stream, Rogers, who was last to follow, and was a man of at least fourteen stone weight in addition to his heavy irons, made a leap into the boat from the deck of the cutter, with the intention of knocking a hole in her bottom, and thus to end their guilty lives with the chance of drowning some of the police; but fortunately the boat was strong enough to withstand the shock, which, through the massive irons on his legs, must have been severe enough to the ruffian himself. Mr. Ashton safely conveyed his prisoners to "*Ashton's Hotel*," as the gaol was then playfully called.

The Government, mindful of the desperate characters of these men, chartered as quickly as possible a vessel commanded by Captain Cameron to convey them to Hobart Town. When the ship was ready for sea the prisoners were escorted to Port Adelaide and securely placed in the hold on the stone ballast, where they could play no mischief. They were under the charge of a sergeant of foot police, and he had troopers Farrell and Morgan under him, who had been so active in effecting the capture of the men whom they had now to escort to their earthly doom. The three men not only kept up their assumed jolly defiance of all the present miseries which their reckless conduct had rendered necessary to be inflicted upon them, but also as to the speedy and certain retribution to which they were approaching.

On the vessel reaching Hobart Town they kept up the same line of conduct. The news of their capture had preceded them, and as may be supposed, there was a large concourse of people to see such notorious characters land. It might also have been expected of them that they would have shown anything but goodwill towards their captors. But in carrying out their eccentricities they elected to do them the greatest honour in their power, as on a guard of Tasmanian police coming on deck, the prisoners, who had been brought up, addressed them in the most contemptuous language in their vocabulary, and declined their escort, desiring to be conducted to "quod" by the gallant South Australian police, who had done in a short time what the miserable Tasmanian forces had failed to accomplish: "These are men; you are a set of crawlers whom we defied for years," &c., &c. It may be here explained that the police of that colony were then principally men who had gone through the prison discipline, and were in consequence treated as traitors to their order.

Well, the Adelaide men had the honour of acting as guards, the Hobart Town police following. The greatest excitement prevailed. The Tasmanian Government immediately forwarded to the Government of South Australia the reward which had been offered, £100 for each man captured, which was appropriated as follows:—To the Inspector, £25; to each of the five men who captured them, £15; and to the sergeant who had charge of them on board the ship, £15; and the balance, I suppose, towards the expenses incurred.

It was seen by the Tasmanian papers that these misguided men were quickly brought to trial for murders committed, and for bushranging under arms, were found guilty, condemned, and hung at Hobart Town.

The Tasmanian people, as was afterwards made known in Adelaide, expected that Inspector Tolmer would have accompanied the guards and prisoners to Hobart Town, when it was intended to have given a public reception to him and his brave men, and to entertain him at a public dinner, as well as to confer on him a grant of land at Port Sorrell. No doubt Mr. Tolmer felt greatly disappointed in not receiving orders to finish the work he had so ably conducted. As far as South Australia was concerned (selfish considerations entertained) it was as well that the Inspector was not dispatched, or we might have lost his services, as there followed much good work for him to do, as will appear when "later experiences" come out.

After preparing the history contained in this and the two preceding chapters I am led to make a few reflections on such a state of society.

Under the modern and more humane administration of the criminal laws, society has been extending the lives of trained law breakers, depending still on milder punishments to deter from repetitions of law-breaking, but with very unsatisfactory results. To form part of the new systems affecting convicts the Imperial and Colonial Governments did not at the same time inaugurate any comprehensive scheme to meet the evil flood at its main source and origin. Nor were Government schools extended to embrace the lowest depths of crime and ignorance. The chief agent as a cure employed was still, as before, punishment as a deterrent. Then on questionable arguments schools supported by public funds must be confined to secular teaching, and society at large jumped to the conclusion that at the secular line the responsibilities of Governments ended. Well, take the children of the lowest grades of society at their miserable homes, there taught to lie, steal, and deceive, what will secular education do for them? If principles of rectitude—to be honest, to speak the truth, to obey authorities—are to be imparted how this is to be done except for love of God and man, and by a reference to laws higher than man's, I do not know. Facts as to the results of secular systems have not yet shown such a result. I do not see how the gutter children are to be reached at all except by taking them away from their miserable homes—hotbed nurseries of crimes—and cleaning, clothing, feeding, housing, and training them in principles beyond the secular line now laid down under the present systems.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

MURDER OF PORT LINCOLN SETTLERS BY NATIVES OF THAT PART OF THE COLONY—MAJOR O'HALLORAN'S DIARY.

IN these papers, written after a residence in the colony extended over a period of nearly forty years, which the compiler has spent in active colonial pursuits, have been recorded to the best of his ability the "experiences" of the working bees who have been in their varied employments contributing their quota to establish and build up a new kingdom or dominion, and no class of events has caused him so much pain in relating as the collisions between the white intruders and the aboriginal races.

The present chapter has to be occupied with the painful details of the murders of detached settlers engaged in peaceful pastoral callings in the Port Lincoln district. The first and a quite unprovoked case of murder was committed on Master Frank Hawson, youngest son of a respectable and early inhabitant of the town of Port Lincoln, and brother of Captain Hawson, so well known in the early days as captain of the *Abeona*. This courageous youth was under 13 years of age, and happened to be left alone in the hut on their station, seven miles from the township in the early part of the month of March, 1840. The sad occurrence was entirely unexpected as the most friendly dispositions had been to all appearance entertained by the white and coloured races towards each other. The fine and bold boy was surrounded in the hut by twenty-two men and boys. He was pierced through by a war spear. On receiving this (which ultimately proved his death wound) he seized a gun and shot one native; the remainder retired, carrying away the wounded man.

Master F. Hawson survived the wound eight days and then expired. After great sufferings, he gave descriptions and names of some of his assailants, but for want of further evidence none of them were brought to justice by process of law. The object of the attack no doubt was plunder, and the hut had been watched until they knew the poor boy was alone, and they supposed he would from fear offer no resistance to their plundering intentions. There have been no trials or experiences more severe in forming settlements on the continent of New Holland than have arisen in occupying country and displacing the aboriginal inhabitants. In collating the incidents which appear in these chapters, which are most sensational and distressing, they form only a part of what has happened, and seem to take place as a matter of course where a superior race appears to make a better use of a country than the primitive inhabitants have done.

On March the 28th, 1842, intelligence was received in Adelaide that, on the 2nd of the same month, Mr. John Brown and his hutkeeper, a boy of the name of Lovelock, were barbarously murdered on Mr. Brown's station, not far from Port Lincoln. Mr. Brown was for the

time a large sheepfarmer. At the commencement of the attack, in resisting his assailants, he knocked one of them down with the butt end of his gun, but he was soon overpowered by numbers, and fell, after receiving several wounds; he afterwards struggled and got upon his knees, and whilst in the attitude of prayer he was dispatched. Although great exertions were made to bring his murderers to justice, they were not caught and punished in the ordinary way.

In the early part of the following month of April an attack was made by forty or fifty natives on the station of Mr. Biddle, a few miles from the locality of the previous murders, and, as is pretty certain, by the same unpunished and bloody aggressors. Mr. Biddle was on the station, and had with him in his employ one man as a shepherd, named Jas. Fastings, and an aged married couple of the name of Stubbs. When the party saw the natives approaching the hut, Jas. Fastings was passing from a fowlshed; the blacks threw several spears at him, and he received a spear wound in one of his legs, when he returned to the hut as quickly as he was able. The time was midday. The blacks soon surrounded the hut. They next pulled up some of the paling fence which enclosed a small garden, and then retired, but returned in about an hour; on which the man Fastings left the hut to release the dog, and exposed himself with remarkable courage to another flight of their war spears, and received one which pierced one of his arms, when he again gained the cover of the hut. Now the determined assailants set fire to the tarpaulin which formed the roof of the dwelling (they had left to provide themselves with fire-sticks) and threw spears through the open window into the hut. Mr. Biddle fired two pistols at them, and immediately received a spear wound in the heart and dropped dead. The old man Stubbs, who was standing by the side of his master, then fired a double-barrelled gun, and killed one and wounded another native. Stubbs then went to endeavour to relieve Fastings of the spears which were in his limbs, when several spears entered the hut, and he was brought to the ground, where he laid for a time in a state of insensibility. In a few moments Fastings fell dead across Stubbs. Prior to this the poor old woman, his wife, had secreted herself under one of the beds; she was sixty-nine years old. The murderous blacks now entered and soon found the poor old woman, and after dragging her out from her cover, put an end to her life by stabbing her in various parts of her body with a pair of shears. They now went out and procured hatchets, with which they shattered the heads of those whom they had already killed in such a shocking manner that their countenances were completely destroyed. As the head of Stubbs was covered by the prostrate body of the shepherd he providentially escaped death, although on his becoming sensible he felt himself faint with loss of blood from his numerous wounds. He took care to simulate death until the wretches departed, after clearing the dwelling of all they could carry away. It is quite evident that the white men deferred action until the natives had approached the premises too near, and had become the actual assailants. It is safe for persons who never expose themselves to be attacked by wild natives to say they must not have shots fired at them until they actually cast their spears, but here is an example of the consequence of such forbearance. I shall at the close of this publish an instruction from Captain Grey to Major O'Hall-

loran on this point. To return to the survivor. As soon as he was able he arranged the bodies as well as he could, and managed to crawl to the nearest station, which belonged to Mr. White. He there found Mr. Driver, the Resident Magistrate, who soon formed a party, and started off after the depredators and overtook them about four miles from the place where they had so far accomplished their horrid work. On seeing a strong party approaching they bolted, but did not get clear off without leaving one of their number, who was fetched down by a distant shot, and "bit the dust." They abandoned all their plunder—flour, silver spoons, &c., &c. Immediately after the above distressing news reached Adelaide a deputation of gentlemen waited on Governor Grey, viz., Messrs. Knott, Bentham Neales, Smith, and Bennett, and in consequence of their urgency a party of soldiers of the 96th Regiment, two companies of which were quartered in Adelaide, were sent. Lieut. Hugonin had under him one sergeant and fifteen privates. After their arrival at Port Lincoln they were marched out on an expedition against the tribes which had committed the murders and depredations. The party were supplied with a bullock-dray and team, also horses to carry provisions, baggage, &c., by Captain Hawson, who also accompanied the party to guide and direct the commander in his actions in endeavouring to capture prisoners of the offending tribes or families. This party was out three months; as the soldiers were all on foot, the natives, even when found, escaped in the scrub, and with the greatest ease avoided capture. The only result was the shooting of three of the blacks. This was a most unsatisfactory result of the expedition. At the time the orders were given to dispatch such a party, strong remarks were made in the papers of the day, and decided opinions were expressed by colonists in Adelaide on the bad policy of the orders given. It will be felt, on comparing the upshot of this expedition, sent out by Governor Grey, with the one under Major O'Halloran, dispatched by Governor Gawler against the Milemnura tribes or families, how unreasonable was the outcry raised against the previous Government measures.

The detachment under Lieutenant Hugonin was left at Port Lincoln some time. I have the advantage of the use of the diary of Major O'Halloran during the time he was subsequently out in the Port Lincoln district to endeavour to *catch and hold* natives, naked and greasy, in which he gives his opinion as to the use of a party of regulars of the infantry when employed on such service. Before the military were recalled by their Colonel, they were out a second time, accompanied by Mr. Driver, S.M., and three mounted troopers, on which occasion one native was shot. By these measures the natives were thoroughly frightened, and for some time no more murders occurred. Before removal of the soldiers Major O'Halloran and a party of mounted police were sent from Adelaide, and were out six weeks.

I now make extracts from the Major's diary:—"Nov. 7th, 1842. Embarked at Port Adelaide with Inspector Tolmer, in the Alpha, cutter, for Port Lincoln, and reached our destination on the 10th. I found to my great regret that Mr. Driver, the Resident, had taken the *police party into the country* in search of the blacks who had been *guilty of the late murders*. I was making arrangements for immediately *following*, when the return of Mr. Driver prevented me doing so. He *had left the party on their return*; they had been absent one week.

They yesterday fell in by accident with twenty-one natives, all of whom escaped except two, who were in charge of the police on their way in as prisoners. Both of these blackfellows have been identified as being concerned in the late murders. I decide with the police to proceed in search of the other actual murderers, who belong to the Midland or Battara tribe, amongst whom the Missionary Protector says there are not more than thirty fighting men. Port Lincoln appears at present a deserted place, more than half the houses have been abandoned, and the remainder are barricaded to protect the occupants against the attacks of the natives. I believe they have no more reason to fear an attack than the inhabitants of Adelaide have. The timid conduct of the settlers in leaving their stations, with a few honourable exceptions, has emboldened the natives. We must teach them to respect us, and give them high notions of our power and speed. The party consists of Inspector Tolmer and five constables, Mr. Driver, the Resident, Mr. Schurman, the Missionary Protector, and Messrs. Hawson and McEllister, who accompany me as volunteers. I notified to the party the orders I had received from His Excellency as to our conduct towards the aborigines. Before I started I had a long conversation with the Protector, who exhibited great reluctance to accompany the party when he became acquainted with the strict orders under which the party were held to act. He at length consented to join the party; nevertheless, if he had declined I should have used my powers and compelled him to proceed as interpreter! His original residence was at Happy Valley, where he had cultivated a small patch of ground, and had a promising crop of wheat growing, but, in fear of the natives, had taken up his residence in the township. A Protector is of no use if he is afraid to live and mix amongst the natives to whom he has been sent. To place himself between the settlers and aboriginals, and to mediate and reconcile differences, and by his politic training to lead those among whom he should be able at all times to mix and to exercise pacific habits—such a man so placed would do more to keep up peaceful relations between the white and coloured races than sections of military or police forces."

"The men of the 96th Regiment have nothing earthly to do; such quarters are enough to ruin them, and to induce and set up habits quite foreign to all those that ought to distinguish a British soldier. They should be relieved every three months. I pity the poor fellows greatly who are ordered here."

The following is an extract from a memorandum made by Major O'Halloran after an interview with the Governor, April 18, 1842, and certified:—

"Having sought for instructions from His Excellency to guide me in case I might be called on, during his contemplated visit with Captain Frome to Lake Albert, to proceed against the blacks if they continued troublesome in the North, I asked the Governor what would be the extent of any powers and instructions if sent on such a service? He replied that I must treat the blacks if armed and likely to resist as I would any hostile party who were resisting the law; and that I should be fully justified in becoming the aggressor in such a case; or if I thought the life of a single individual of my own party was threatened or endangered, I must act with vigor until all resistance ceased. The Governor further added that the law might have to decide upon the

legality of such proceedings. I might rest assured that the Government would give me every support and protection in their power.—T. O'HALLORAN, Commissioner of Police."

Major O'Halloran started from the township with the above-mentioned party on the 14th of November, twelve in number, to the country north-west of the township, with one of the prisoners named Moullier, who was caught and brought in by Mr. Diver's party. He promised to lead us to the waters where the tribe would be likely to be found. He was placed on the back of a pony, and made fast by a chain looped round the neck of the animal he rode. A friendly black named Utulla, who had been depended on to guide the party, was missing. The first day Pillaworta Water was made—30 miles. Here two police were left with stores in charge. The next day the several men of the detachment were supplied with three days' provisions, and guided by the prisoner made a start. Towards evening they came upon a place where the natives had been recently encamped, and where a patch of grass had been fired a few hours before. The prisoner said they had gone north. The Major in his diary says:—

"Here I had the misfortune to drop my watch on a rock—the only watch in the party. This day we were nine hours on horseback; the sun powerfully hot; flies most tormenting; distance travelled twenty-eight or thirty miles.

"Next day had much thunder and lightning. After riding sharp a few miles came in sight of and gave chase to a number of natives. On coming up with them, found our missing friend Utulla, who ought to have been with us. Intimated to these friendly blacks that we sought the murderers only, and desired to be at peace with all other black-fellows. These blacks took us to a waterhole where we refreshed men and cattle. They told us the part of the tribe with whom were four of the murderers (whose names they gave, and which corresponded with some of the men who were on the list we had) were ahead of us, so ordered an advance at speed. We had already travelled miles enough to fatigue our horses, and made out we would have to travel twenty-five miles before we could reach the next water. Mr. Tolmer was suffering from the effects of a fall he had experienced on his late expedition to Mount Arden, in the far North, but I could not allow him to return back alone. We were now about sixty-five miles from the township. At 1 p.m. the party mounted and continued chiefly through scrub, and sometimes on the beach of the Gulf. To our great joy we came upon a rock waterhole filled with recent rain, and carefully covered up with fresh cut green boughs, proving the natives were not far ahead. Saw this day many kangaroos and emus. After refreshing at this water, kept on at a sharp pace, and at about 4 o'clock saw about a mile in advance of us a mob of retreating blacks, to whom we gave chase over a terribly rough and scrubby country, but only caught one man. In this last gallop through high scrub, three of the party lost their swords, dragged out of their scabbards in tearing through high and strong bushes. We found the man we had taken was not one of the offenders, and so he was allowed to follow his friends, with the assurance we gave before to the others. He informed us we had passed two of the men we wanted, who had secreted themselves in a thick part of the scrub.

We returned to the chance water, after being in the saddle over ten hours.

“ Thursday, 17th November.—Returned to the depot, a distance of from forty to fifty-eight miles by the shortest course we could take. Our native guide or prisoner, poor wretch, must have been greatly astonished at his rapid ride, frequently tumbling out of the saddle. His nag was led by a trooper latterly; he held on, one hand grasping the pommel and the other the crupper. Memo.—I must not forget to represent to the Governor and Judge how faithfully he has acted as a guide, while Utulla had been unable to act, as he was under the process of being made a man and a warrior by his tribe.

“ Friday, 18th.—Mr. Tolmer left the party for Port Lincoln to obtain medical advice and to embark for Adelaide, having with him a despatch to the Secretary, Mr. Mundy.

“ 19th.—Mr. Driver left the party. All busy washing and mending torn garments and cleansing our bodies.

“ 20th.—Left the depot, party now eight in number, on a W.N.W. course. The black guide has now to tramp on foot, much apparently to his satisfaction, as the pony's back was seriously galled. After passing over several miles found no blacks; now travelling nearly due west. Moullier says this party must be in hiding, aware of our approach. He knows the whole of the natives now in this part of his country, and that his lubra and children are with them. He has no fear we shall hurt his family. He says four of the murderers are with this section of the tribe. After twenty miles, mostly through scrub, we arrived at several salt lakes, and now perceived ahead of us two smokes, and made a dash onwards. On coming up to the fires, found the birds flown. In the deserted wurlies, amongst other abandoned properties, was a fresh skin of a kangaroo. We were now thirty-five or forty miles from the depot; the natives had abandoned spears in their hasty flight; the horsemen divided into parties, and rode round the nearest lakes; tracks of the runaways were after some time found, where they had waded through the shallow lakes; and so if we had come up in sight of them, horsemen could not have followed through the lakes with rotten boggy bottoms, and the only course to stop them was by the use of firearms, which I should not have resorted to.”

After this second failure to secure any of the murderers, the Major adds:—“ One source of consolation I have, that this party has come across and greatly alarmed the whole of the Battara tribe, and visited all their usual haunts, by which much good may have been done in alarming the tribe and in giving confidence to the settlers.

“ I do not consider myself justified in entering on the country of the Coffin Bay tribe, which is immediately to the south of us, which tribe has done the settlers no harm except in the case of the murder of young Hawson about two years ago. I am not sure that the tribe has not suffered at the hands of the white settlers. We are now about fifty-five miles from Port Lincoln from whence we have been absent nine days.

“ Friday, 24th.—Embarked in the cutter Alpha with two prisoners in charge. Owing to foul winds had to land horses and men at Yankalilla, and made head-quarters on the 20th.” And so ends this expedition.

It had been well if the anticipations of the gallant Major had been realised as to the effect of his scouring the country of the Battara tribe and had extended to other tribes. A reference to a return from the Sheriff to Parliament opens a black record of the execution of twelve natives from the Port Lincoln side, at several times within ten years of the Major's return for murders of white people engaged in pastoral pursuits or in exploring, of which particulars will be given in another chapter.

CHAPTER XLIX.

PORT LINCOLN MURDERS (CONTINUED)—MR. JAMES HAWKER'S
DIARY.

HAVING in a previous number given the sad accounts of the murderous attacks by the natives on three of the Port Lincoln out-stations, which caused horror and alarm to the inhabitants of that settlement and anxiety to the inhabitants in Adelaide. I am now enabled to continue this discouraging part of our history by the use of the diary of Mr. James Hawker, who started overland from Adelaide in the hope of meeting Mr. C. C. Dutton (once sheriff of the province), who was known to have broken up his station in consequence of the hostile actions of the natives, and had started with his people and stock to make his way round the head of Spencer's Gulf. The party consisted of the following gentlemen, and started on the 14th of September, 1842, viz.:—Messrs. James Hawker, William Peter, James Baker, Charles Hawker, with a Sydney native (Billy). The Governor ordered Inspector Tolmer with four troopers to accompany and aid the volunteers, who had one saddle-horse each and two pack-horses to carry about six weeks' rations of flour, tea, sugar, and a small quantity of bacon—trusting to fowling-pieces to procure some game in aid of the small supplies of meat. The troopers had three pack-horses to carry their necessaries. The furthest outstation from the town of Port Lincoln was Mr. Dutton's. By sending the military previously something of martial law had been introduced. The soldiers had been marched out a few miles, and in their incursions some natives had been shot. A corporal and three privates had been posted at one of the deserted stations, and they on the appearance of natives in their vicinity abandoned their post, and made a hasty retreat on the township. Their report was not satisfactory, and they were punished.

Mr. Dutton had found his station quite untenable from the number of natives in that quarter, and in consequence started on his unfortunate overland journey. He left his station in July, 1842, escorted by part of the detachment of soldiers under the Lieutenant as far as one day's journey. When twelve weeks had elapsed after Mr. Dutton had moved off, and no tidings had reached even the outermost settlements on the Adelaide side of the Gulf, it was decided to start a light party to meet him or to obtain information as to what had befallen him and his party. Amongst other things feared was that he had been unable to reach the head of the Gulf from deficiency of provisions. The relief party, which has been described, after making their way north to head the Gulf, on the 18th September had the misfortune to lose a packhorse, which left the other horses in the night. As every hour saved was an object no time was spent in seeking the absentee, the anxiety being to push on, hoping to find

Mr. Dutton alive. To do this there was no alternative but to abandon part of the small supply of provisions, and this in the face of such a journey as they had to encounter, with the prospect of meeting a destitute party. For the next five days in journeying along they found both feed for the horses and water growing scarcer and scarcer, and at the same time the weather proved exceedingly hot. They were one night without water for man and beast. The volunteers, after a consultation, decided to go on alone and allow the police to return, as it was evident that water and feed could not be depended on to be found in sufficient quantity for so many horses. On this account the police returned to head-quarters, and the volunteers pushed on alone. On the 24th they reached Eyre's old Dépôt Creek, at Mount Arden, distance 236 miles from Adelaide. They found the feed during the last three days' travel most wretched. They remained at the dépôt three days to rest and recruit the horses. Here was found Eyre's tarpaulin tent lying on the ground rotten, where it had been left two or three years before. Two pigeons were here shot, which were very acceptable, as the party had been reduced to about one ounce of bacon each man in twenty-four hours, and even with that small supply it was seen it would not last many days. The diary of Mr. J. C. Hawker states:—

"On the 28th we started, horses much refreshed. Had great difficulty now in crossing the channel above the head of the Gulf owing to the numerous quicksands which were found in its bed. No feed for the horses, except stunted salt bushes. After twenty-five miles advance found a dirty pool of water, which the horses would not drink.

"29th—Pushed on to Baxter's Range, forty miles over a wretched country. Found a small supply of water; could only give three quarts to each horse, poured into a basin formed by the use of Peter's mackintosh cloak. Barked a tree here, and wrote 'Volunteers in search of Mr. Dutton, 29th September.' We had found Mr. Eyre's tracks plain here, and conceived it possible Mr. Dutton by following the same might reach this place.

"30th—As I and my brother could work the direct course we desired to take, it was decided to leave the guidance to us, and from this camp we struck out a course through a thick gum scrub, and could not make more than eighteen miles. No water found; horses nearly done up.

"October 1—Still a thick scrub in heavy sand. Crossed the dry beds of several salt lakes; the salt, as fine as dust, most annoying to horses and men. A packhorse unable to travel, although all his load had been taken off his back; his tongue was hanging out. Large patches of skin peeling off our own faces; our mouths so dry we could hardly articulate a word, and were adopting signs. It now became to us a matter of life or death to the whole party, men and horses, and it was determined that I and Billy the Sydney black, our horses being in best trim, should push forward and endeavour to reach a cluster of rocks which, according to Eyre's chart which we had with us, should be ahead of us, and at which was shown a permanent spring. Providentially, before I and the black had proceeded more than a mile through scrub we came upon the rocks, around which were green tussocks of grass, at sight of which our poor exhausted beasts were quite frantic. But imagine our horror when, on our first searching around the rocks, we could find no spring or water. The efforts of the horses to climb the rocks, and

their whinnying, assured us that there was water somewhere near; and shortly we found in a cleft of the rocks several gallons, about five feet down. We lowered our pannikins and got a small quantity up, and although it was full of insects, dead and alive, by us it was taken as nectar. We lost no time in returning to our comrades, and found them considering whether they should kill a packhorse, and drink his blood, to save human lives. The news we brought saved the life of the horse, and all hastened on to the rocks. Here we afterwards found other clefts, but all the water in such a polluted state that we had to strain it through saddlecloths, long used beneath the saddles (think of such a remedy to render water pure!), so we did not swallow insects. We remained here two days, and turned off for the Gawler Ranges. After making our way through scrub, and travelling eighteen miles without finding any traces of Mr. Dutton, and discovering neither feed nor water, we returned to the rocks. The weather was fearfully hot. On our return we perceived the place had been visited by a considerable body of blacks. Their fires were still alight, so that they must have bolted in alarm on hearing the clatter of our approach. After dark we set a watch. At this time the ammunition which we had retained was nearly exhausted. During the night the men on guard heard a blackfellow among the horses, who had a narrow escape from a shot fired at him.

"5th—Made an early start, the country all around us being alight with native signal fires. This day we were without water, but at night came upon a little grass for the horses, which were suffering much for the want of water.

"6th—Started at 6 a.m., travelling still in scrubs, with occasional bare ridges. After riding twenty-three miles came on a green patch, like an oasis in a desert. Here was a puddle of water on a clay pan, to which the horses could get themselves, and was quickly used up by them. Before this Peter's mackintosh had been the only means by which we could give them water for the last nine days.

"7th—A shower fell here, during which we caught water in our pannikins, from the dripping grass. We found dense scrub in travelling all day, and came upon no feed or water.

"Two days after this we came upon a good supply of both, such a treat as we have not met with for eleven days, and during that time, until this improvement in our prospects, we had not experienced the indulgence of a wash (think of this, ye daintily nurtured stay-at-homes!). The skin was still peeling from our faces in flakes, caused by the scorching rays of the sun and the hot sand drifting against our exposed countenances. The poor horses had suffered from the same causes, and their heads had been denuded of hair as if they had undergone a close shave. We this day rationed upon gruel composed of flour and the addition of the remains of mutton suet which we had brought with us to lubricate our firearms to prevent rust. With the exception of two pigeons our daily allowance of meat had been during the previous seven days one inch of bacon to each man. On the second day after this we shot an emu, and made a good meal out of the liver. In the afternoon we made the bare and deserted station of poor Dutton. Although we found no traces of him, it was afterwards ascertained through some of the natives that he and all his party were killed by a murderous tribe, and such of

his cattle as were not used by them were dispersed and scattered through this wild and scrubby country. It is sad to relate that the bodies of the slaughtered men have never been found.

"We had now a difficult matter to arrange, viz., how we were to appear in decent costume and to present ourselves to the Port Lincoln inhabitants. Our garments were in the last stage of dilapidation. We had not made any change of clothing for sixteen days; we had been under the necessity of abandoning all our spare changes. The gum scrub had torn our nether garments to ribbons, and patches had to be made of pieces of blankets of any colour obtainable; it might be dingy scarlet, deep blue, striped, or dirty white, or in some cases with fancy-coloured, much-worn saddle-cloths. These had in a great measure to take the place of the original materials left behind on the bushes. Our inventive faculties had to be taxed to the greatest possible extent, for the work was a crying necessity, and the fact was none of us were experienced or skilful in such work. I must not omit to mention that the legs of our boots had remained to us to our great benefit, but the soles had parted company. Well, in this motley array, the party started next morning for the Residency, a distance of thirty-two miles, and many a laugh we indulged in on the way. But I must change the subject to one of grief, for on our way we first came to the deserted and destroyed stations of the murdered Brown and Biddles, and here a more melancholy sight could not be imagined than met us. The flowers in one of the gardens were in full bloom, displaying the beauties of peaceful nature, growing up around the shattered furniture, recklessly destroyed and cast about here and there. There was one table standing on its legs, with its top stuck full of nails, which had been driven into it for amusement. On the legs and other parts were still to be seen dried blood and human hair clinging, as they had been dashed from the mangled heads of the already dead bodies. We shuddered on viewing such devastation on peaceful stations. The first inhabited station we reached was the Hawson's, three miles from the township, and here ourselves and horses were most hospitably received and treated.

"In the evening we reached Port Lincoln, and surely such a grotesque troop breaking the stillness of the quiet township never was seen; nor such a reception—with barking of dogs, rejoicing shouts mingled with peals of laughter—as greeted the arrival of our volunteer relief party, supposed to be lost and dead. We were here detained some days, as there was no vessel leaving the bay for Port Adelaide. One evening, to our astonishment and great surprise, a party came in overland from Adelaide, which proved to be under the command of Mr. Eyre, who, on the return of Mr. Tolmer and the troopers who had left our small body of men, had been speedily equipped and ordered by the Governor to follow the volunteers, to aid and lead them, and to seek for Mr. C. C. Dutton and his servants and stock. It had been rumoured that we had been all killed, as well as the unfortunate gentleman whom we went out to save; but our proposed rescuers, instead of finding our remains, discovered us with a jolly party discussing egg-flip.

"Mr. Eyre had suffered more severely than we had; for on finding the waters exhausted by us, he had to push for the beach of the Gulf, after losing one horse. His party consisted of three troopers and one black man."

The great anxieties and troubles which had occurred even up to the date of the circumstances already related in the "Early Experiences" will give some idea of the impolicy of the course pursued by Captain Grey in cutting down the police force in numbers and pay to one-half, as he reported in one of his earliest despatches to Lord Stanley, which was soon found to be a grave error. *

The report of Mr. Eyre will be given hereafter.

* See Appendix No. 4, Major O'Halloran's retirement.

CHAPTER L.

CONCLUDING ACCOUNT OF PORT LINCOLN MURDERS, AND EXECUTION OF NATIVES.

In closing this series of articles, it may be remarked that should such papers be continued they must have a title, "Later Experiences." In this concluding chapter it will be necessary to summarise some of the subjects already commenced. The first will be a very painful task, viz., to give a return which was made by Sheriff William Boothby, Esq., to the Parliament, of the conviction and execution of the native murderers of detached white settlers of the South-East Lake country, and in the out districts of Port Lincoln.

COPY OF REPORT.

- First, the murder of Geo. MacGrath, on the 3rd of June, 1844, at MacGrath's Flat, South-East, by Werd Maldera, *alias* Peter. Hung in front of Her Majesty's Gaol, Adelaide, 29th March, 1845.
- Murder of Captain John Beevor, in Port Lincoln District, May 3, 1849, by three natives, Neulatta, Pulluruninga, Keelgulta. Hung at Port Lincoln, November 9, 1849.
- Murder of Peter Brown, near Franklin Harbor, June 1, 1855, by three natives, Wadmiltie, Pamgulta, Ilyelta. Hung at Franklin Harbor, January 14, 1856.
- Murder of John Jones, near Franklin Harbor. Murderer hung at Franklin Harbor, May 13, 1860.
- Murder of Thomas G. Bergeest, at Fowler's Bay, by two natives, Nelgerrie, *alias* Peter, Telcherrie, *alias* Harry. Hung at Fowler's Bay, January 19, 1861.
- Murder of Margaret A. Impey, in Port Lincoln district, by two natives, Karrabidne, Mangeltie. Hung at Port Lincoln, May 2, 1861.
- Murder of William Walker, near Venus Bay, by Mangultie. Hung at Venus Bay, September 8, 1863.

The natives who had committed the crimes of murder in the previous melancholy list in the Port Lincoln country were first caught, after infinite trouble, then with witnesses brought to Adelaide, and after being tried and found guilty, after sentence were conveyed by the Sheriff and a sufficiently strong party to the respective districts in which the crime had been committed, and there hung at the several dates given.

The above revolting history has been given to close the experiences of the difficulties encountered by the first settlers in the Lake and Port Lincoln districts from attacks of the natives. It is a subject painful to reflect upon; but all such experiences in every part of Australia have proved that in situations where a state of safety for the lives and properties of white intruders has been attained, without exception it has been where in the first instance of occupation large and concentrated bodies of whites have settled down; or in other cases where the blacks,

having taken advantage of a few individuals venturing to occupy lonely places, have killed them, safety for succeeding parties has not been secured until a dread has been created in the minds of the offending tribe by speedy and severe punishment on the offenders and accomplices, and on those who sheltered them. It is a fact which cannot be denied that there has been no safety for the lives and properties of the whites until such a dread has been established.

The now lost or defunct Adelaide or Cowandilla tribe has been held up as a 'pattern tribe, because the members of it committed so few aggressions of a serious nature against the settlers on their arrival; but then, it must be remembered, in proof of the preceding statement, that the first settlers landed in overwhelming numbers and poured out of large ships, producing a great awe of the powers of the strange race arriving.

Then, to do justice to these aboriginal wanderers, it must be urged that it was the duty of the Government from the beginning of our intrusion to have made a sufficient aboriginal reserve of land in every tribal district, and to have respected their established native laws by negotiating with each successive tribe for consent to a white settlement to be formed in, or for a party of whites to cross over, their country. It was well known from the first that by the laws of their several tribes no stranger was allowed to enter the country of another tribe except by consent, or he was liable to be killed.

Then it was assumed by the authorities that by reading of the Queen's proclamation all the native tribes in the province by that simple observance became subjects of Her Majesty, and from that time they were presumed to understand the laws they were required to obey.

On reflecting on the long list of executions, it will not be unjust to say that through the weak measures adopted, and the mistaken instructions issued by Captain Grey at the beginning of the outbreak, he left a legacy of difficulties which culminated in additional massacres of the whites and the necessary legal executions of the murderers. Many, without doubt, have, however, at different times been shot by the whites rather than risk the tardy and uncertain legal punishment.

It is not advisable to enlarge further upon this unsatisfactory subject, or to repeat here statements as to the insufficiency of the arrangements made under orders from home applying to the aboriginal protectorate, as this subject has already been dealt with in a previous part of this work; but it is well to repeat Major O'Halloran's opinion of the special incompetency of the Missionary Protector who was appointed to act in the Port Lincoln district of the province, inasmuch as he was helpless and afraid to mix with the people whom he was sent to protect, and on him such grave responsibility was placed.

It is also a fact, not for the whites to be proud of, that advantage was taken by the intending settlers of the normal weak organisation of the natives, who, from the very nature of the climate and country, in the original scarcity of water and food, especially in the absence of natural and edible fruits and roots, could only exist in small scattered families or tribes and maintain life, chiefly depending on such food as snakes, reptiles, and insects. These tribes, although weak and degraded, were only held in check by the large numbers of the whites arriving. With such low

class of aboriginals scattered about a vast extent of country, there was no necessity forced upon the Government here or the governing powers at home to treat with such a race in the same manner as would be required with a superior and less-divided people.

There is one fact patent that the natives favourably placed as to superior food and abundance of water were found to be specimens of humanity finer in bodily development, and possessed of superior brain power than other less favoured tribes, and were also more dangerous to cope with. Under the above circumstances it was incumbent on the rulers and founders of the colony to have acted as the real protectors of such people when embracing them among its subjects, and not to have rested satisfied with the appointment of a few nominal aboriginal protectors to dole out a scanty supply of necessaries, and to employ themselves in persuading the supplanted and helpless natives to refrain from attacks on those who were taking their land from them and destroying or driving away their game without adequate compensation.

The researches by our professors into the relics of bygone ages have not brought to light any traces of an ancient and more exalted race of human beings, former inhabitants of this land, when nature was so bountiful and competent to support advanced and more numerous inhabitants in competence and plenty; although such scientific gentlemen have found preserved remains and proofs of former gigantic vegetation, and of comparatively large classes of animals which have lived in distant ages. For those of the white race who have to succeed the present inhabitants at some future distant period the consideration is a very serious one—whether this country is progressing towards greater dryness and aridity, and is going downwards, or if the return has commenced to its previous luxuriant state. This subject, the writer is informed, has been lately treated on by one of our professors. It is considered safe to say (by one who viewed the old giants of the forest forty years ago either erect or prone) that the future changes either way are likely to be very slow, and will not affect any but a very distant generation unless the upward change has commenced, and improvement in rainfall can be increased by artificial agencies, such as abundance of water lodges constructed in the numerous gullies in the ranges, dams in the watercourses as they cross the plains, and by tapping artesian springs in a country giving ample encouragement for such works by its general conformation.

The Divine command is “to increase and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it.” It is not presumptuous in those who believe in the Bible to believe that in obeying such a command, which must especially apply to such an unimproved country as this was, favourable results will follow and blessings attend the works carried on in obedience to it and in reliance on its implied promise. To reflect on the millions of tons of water which annually flow to waste naturally gives rise to regret that by some systems of reserves a large portion of such a valuable element is not utilised in irrigation in the dry season, and that no such system has commenced.

A large horticulturist has stated that he is prepared to pay to the Corporation of Adelaide £1 an acre for a supply of the waste water of the city, and many of his neighbours are said to be willing to do the same. These properties are situated to the west of the city.

On October 25, 1845, Captain Grey vacated his office as Governor of this colony. Before the expiration of the usual period of gubernatorial exchanges he was hastily ordered by the Imperial authorities to assume the office of Governor of New Zealand, in consequence of the serious outbreak of the Maories in that dependency. These tribes, as they proved in this contest, were of a higher type than any aboriginal inhabitants Europeans have attempted to subdue in any part of the world during the last three centuries, and were not to be overpowered or treated as the miserable Australian natives might be; nor were they to be deprived of their land without compensation with impunity. And here again comes in the questions of food and climate as agents in raising or depressing races of men, or even of animals. As to Captain Grey and the task which had been assigned to him, he found it a most onerous and responsible one, as a war had been drifted into between the British and the Maories—one of the little wars from which it is said England is never free. In this instance the Governor, who was an educated soldier, found these natives worthy to cross weapons with the veterans whom he had to send against them, and were found hard to be beaten in their wild country and behind their stockades.

At the time Captain Grey left his seat of Government he had witnessed the commencement of renewed and sound prosperity brought about by the indomitable perseverance of the settlers. When called on the earth had given forth her increase in food for flocks yielding wool for export, and for the sustenance of increasing herds of cattle; also from her bowels had commenced to come yields of silver lead and copper ores for export. Thus the colony commenced her career as an exporting community, and has continued in such a course until it has attained in exports the highest average per head of its inhabitants of any community in the world.

During Captain Grey's residence here it was not possible for him to become a popular Governor, as his stringent instructions from the Colonial Office had a most crushing effect on the community, and they were carried out by him with firmness and determination to obey orders, although he ultimately evinced a desire to assist claimants on the Government for goods supplied and work performed under the orders of his predecessor, Colonel Gawler. To meet such just claims he drew bills, which were dishonoured, and he received an unmerited censure from Lord Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies, as has been already explained. He also got wrong in making promises as to the claims of the firm of Borrow & Goodiar, which he was unable or unwilling to fulfil. On these accounts very severe censures were published in the papers, and much indignation was generally expressed at what was rated as repudiation.

The Governor also struck upon another rock—one that Governments frequently meet with, even in countries where representation precedes taxation, but in the case of the then Government of South Australia there was not even the semblance of representation. The power of the Governor was unchecked by any influence but such as resided in Downing-street, and there no sympathy existed in the person of the Colonial Secretary of State, when that post was filled by Lord Stanley.

On the intention of the Governor becoming publicly known of imposing heavy and exorbitant Port dues, a public meeting was held, and a

deputation waited on him, composed of a body of influential gentlemen, who respectfully remonstrated against the proposed impolitic measure, urging as the subjects of Her Majesty residing in the colony of South Australia, that they had no voice through any form of representation, and they entered their protests on behalf of the inhabitants at large against the proposed impost.

The reply he gave them, as reported in the papers of the day, was that he would enact taxation before any kind of representation was granted.

The deputation left his presence with their feelings considerably ruffled, and great indignation spread throughout the province, but the inhabitants on this as well as on all occasions since the foundation of the colony acted under such restraint as becomes good subjects, and in a short time he withdrew the obnoxious tax.

In justice to Captain Grey, an extract from a despatch to him from Lord Stanley, of December 24, 1842, must be given, on the liberty he had taken to pay claims.

“The justification which you have urged for the course taken by you is in substance this—that you understand that all the bills drawn by your predecessor were to be accepted at length and paid, and that the *claims* in satisfaction of which you were about to draw those bills were similar to those on account of which Governor Gawler drew his bills. It is true, that in order to sustain the credit of the Colonial Government, the Home Government ultimately consented to provide for the payment of all Colonel Gawler's bills; you were warned not to draw any bills without having previously received authority to do so.” Astonishment may well be felt and expressed on the extraordinary obtuseness of Lord Stanley in not perceiving that the question was not merely as to Colonel Gawler exceeding his instructions as to drawing bills, but whether the claims were just, and if the liabilities had been incurred principally in erecting necessary public buildings.

However, the severe and unfair censure which Captain Grey received must be accepted as an apology for his strict adherence to orders in other cases, although such a course might withhold justice from struggling colonists. It may be mentioned here that one of the great stumbling-blocks which stood in the way of claims outstanding at that time, and one most relied on, was that for the erection of what was incorrectly pronounced to be an unnecessarily large Gaol.

The writer, on a visit to the same establishment whilst preparing these papers, obtained from Mr. Howell, the present keeper, the following information :—That an additional yard, with usual accommodation, besides other internal buildings, had been added to the first structure; that in June, 1877, the number of prisoners confined was 197; and that the establishment on a proper separate system was only still competent to accommodate 110.

In closing this series, in which have been collected and published some of the early colonial experiences, the writer has endeavoured to give fair and impartial information, which, he trusts, while it may afford some entertainment, will at the same time correct mistakes and inaccuracies which have been put forth respecting the early days of the settlement. *The history has been brought to the verge of a settled state of prosperity, during which great public works have been subsequently accomplished,*

such prosperity having been, as to climate, subject only to occasional droughts, producing checks which all communities are more or less called upon to bear from one cause or another.

Finally, should encouragement be given, the subject may be further continued by recounting the gigantic works performed by such a young community.

SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA
FROM 1836 TO 1855.

Captain John Hindmarsh, R.N., K.H., from 28th December, 1836, to 16th July, 1838.

George Milner Stephen, Esq. (Officer Adm. Govt.) from 16th July, 1838, to 17th October, 1838.

Lieut.-Col. George Gawler, K.H., from 17th October, 1838, to 15th May, 1841.

George Grey, Esq., from 15th May, 1841, to 25th October, 1845.

Lieut.-Col. Fred. Holt Robe, from 25th October, 1845, to 2nd August, 1848.

Sir H. Ed. Fox Young, Kt., from 2nd August, 1848, to 20th December, 1854.

Boyle Travers Finnis, Esq. (Officer Adm. Govt.), from 20th December, 1854, to 8th June, 1855.

STATEMENT SHOWING PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONY FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN DECEMBER, 1836, DIVIDED INTO QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS FROM 1ST JANUARY, 1838, TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1877, WITH AVERAGE RESULTS.

PERIOD.	POPULATION.	REVENUE.	EXPENDITURE.	ACRES UNDER CULTIVATION.	ACRES UNDER WHEAT CROP.	NUMBER OF SHEEP IN COLONY.	VALUE OF IMPORTS.	VALUE OF EXPORTS.	STAPLE PRODUCE EXPORTED			SHIPPING INWARDS AND OUTWARDS.
									BREAD-STUFFS.	WOOL.	MINERALS.	
		£	£				£	£	£	£	£	Tons.
Year 1836	546	—	—	—	—	•	•	•	—	—	—	2,692
Year 1837	3,000	—	5,283	—	—	•	•	•	—	—	•	—
1838 to 1842	112,000	20,125	88,526	5,945	3,850	1200,000	248,887	46,891	—	13,476	•	148,725
1843 to 1847	23,084	89,883	40,420	30,811	22,574	526,708	280,759	197,555	—	64,642	•	84,546
1848 to 1852	58,094	179,185	148,080	160,800	40,000	1960,000	643,807	773,513	—	120,563	•	153,768
1853 to 1857	96,419	504,783	494,006	1166,000	126,000	11,965,000	1,768,777	1,655,432	424,384	323,730	•	258,026
1858 to 1862	125,489	505,538	540,904	407,268	203,277	12,984,900	1,742,622	1,825,977	584,960	547,491	•	204,481
1863 to 1867	156,135	832,547	823,998	670,992	439,037	4,083,247	2,542,068	2,861,513	1,024,555	844,556	•	323,572
1868 to 1872	188,818	735,293	770,287	965,461	624,480	4,827,475	2,396,583	3,110,568	808,658	1,207,000	•	324,070
1873 to 1877	215,168	1,176,810	1,166,885	1,468,566	984,124	16,012,879	4,949,885	4,641,692	1,589,242	1,812,827	•	617,233

• No returns.

† Returns incomplete.

‡ Average for four years only.

On 31st December, 1877, there were 392½ miles of State Railways working, 4,061 miles of Telegraph constructed, 1,096 miles of Main Roads constructed, 418 Post-Offices, and 180 Telegraph Stations throughout the Colony.

Total area of the Province (exclusive of the Northern Territory) 243,244,800 acres. Area alienated to 31st December, 1877, 7,463,639 acres. Area still unalienated (December, 1877), 235,781,171 acres.

APPENDICES

No. I.

ADDENDA—DISCOVERY OF PORT ADELAIDE.

ADMIRAL PULLEN having obligingly furnished through Mr. A. Barker interesting accounts of his early experiences in the necessarily first works in opening the new province, but which did not reach the author until the first sheets of the *Early Experiences* had passed the press, the pleasing matter has to appear as a supplementary chapter, preceded by extracts from the published journals of Colonel Light, as necessary to exhibit what trouble was caused to him and his party in consequence of his looking out in the dry part of the year for the lake of fresh water and the streams of running sweet water which Captain Jones had reported he had seen on his visit to the same locality; but, as we now know, that inspection must have been after a heavy fall of rain in a wet season.

After Colonel Light left Kangaroo Island as an unsuitable locality for the capital, and calling at Rapid Bay, he sailed from thence up St. Vincent's Gulf, and came to anchor in one quarter less five fathoms on September 24, 1836.

Extract from his diary:—"Opposite to the brig appears a very extensive flat, to the northward and east of which mangroves were to be seen lining the shore.

"25th.—Left the ship to examine what appeared to be an inlet, and on passing up the same at about half a mile the boat grounded; on getting off I returned on board. On the report of Mr. Hill, second mate, that he had seen from the mast-head a considerable river, I again left the ship in the hatch boat to explore, and after walking along the beach without success returned to the brig. At 4 p.m. an opening was plainly seen from the brig. I had gone along the shore southward. Mr. Field during my absence had gone in the jolly-boat and had entered and sounded the mouth of a considerable river, which I determined to explore next day.

"26th.—At 9 a.m. entered the river; the first reach runs about two miles. After passing the channel we came into a good wide river; on going some distance and finding it did not accord with Captain Jones's description of the harbour he discovered, I determined to run higher up the Gulf, and to examine this place at a future period, and returned to the brig.

"September 27th.—After running up the Gulf, at 3 p.m. anchored in three fathoms. From this position could see the head of the Gulf as laid down by Flinders. Dispatched Mr. Field in the jolly-boat; on his

return he reported no harbour could exist there; returned to the last anchorage. I now despaired of ever finding the beautiful harbour described by Jones.

"September 28th.—At half-past 6 sent Mr. Pullen and Claughton in the hatch-boat. They having shaped their course along shore we got under weigh to run with easy sail as nearly abreast the boat as we could. We had after a little time the satisfaction of seeing them enter an inlet, and soon after disappear. I was now full of hope that Jones's harbour was at last found, and at 1 p.m. came to an anchor in our former berth to await the return of the hatch-boat. At half-past 2 Mr. Field went in the jolly-boat to look at the same river I had been in on the 26th.

"Mr. Field met Mr. Pullen in the gig, who had left the hatch-boat at anchor at the northern entrance; each party after communicating separated, Mr. Field returning to the brig, Mr. Pullen to the hatch-boat. I now remained in great anxiety between hope and fear. A report brought back by Mr. Field that Mr. Pullen had seen no *fresh water* damped me much, and I could only remain till his return before determining what course to pursue.

"September 29th.—Mr. Pullen returned and reported his entrance by the northern channel, and no fresh water met with. He further stated that there were two separate channels. This was so different to the account given by Jones that I felt a great disappointment.

"September 30th.—Left the ship in the surveying boat (gy., the hatch-boat, with Mr. Pullen) and got into the harbour by a small channel about a mile to the northward of the southern entrance, and with a fine breeze from the north-west passed up a reach fully three miles in extent to the southward, carrying three or four fathoms all the way. We went on the island (Torrens) and found no *fresh water*. At the end of this reach a large inlet appeared still keeping a southwardly direction; but I was anxious to examine the creek to the eastward in a line with Mount Lofty. Into this I bent my course with the strong hope of finding it prove the mouth of some fresh water stream from the mountains. (In this he was disappointed.) On the rise of the tide I returned to the hatch-boat, which being now afloat we got under way, and having now fully persuaded myself that no part of this harbour could be that described by Captain Jones, I resolved on returning to the brig to run again down the coast (south) and see if by any chance we could have missed so desirable a shelter."

I here bring forward Captain Jones's account as given subsequently in Colonel Light's diary on which he so unfortunately depended, and in doing so endured great trouble and loss of time.

Captain Jones's report:—"The inlet (miscalled Sixteen-mile Creek) is a stream of fresh water, at about fifteen or twenty miles north of this river. I (Captain Jones) discovered a fine harbour, sheltered by an island, which is about three miles in circumference, with abundance of fresh water upon it, as well as some streams running into the harbour from the main land."

Continuation of the diary:—"October 1st.—At 6 a.m. made sail for the brig, at half-past 8 got on board and got under way once more in search of Jones's harbour."

So much for the misfortune of having relied on an exaggerated description of what Captain Jones saw. Thus Colonel Light again turned

his back on what he ultimately adopted as Port Adelaide, making light of the work accomplished by Mr. Pullen, in the first passage up the Sixteen-mile Creek, in his truthful but less florid report, furnished to his superior officer on September 29th.

On the subject of the ultimate adoption of Port Adelaide, it is only necessary to continue to give extracts from Colonel Light's diary, to be followed by information gained from Admiral Pullen's letters, recently received.

Diary continued :—" October 1st.—Running down the coast south, was enchanted with the extent of the plain to the north (qy., west) of Mount Lofty. All the glasses in the ship were in requisition. At length, seeing something like the mouth of a small river (Glenelg Creek), and a country with trees so dispersed as to allow the sight of most luxuriant green underneath, stood in and anchored in three and a half fathoms, in mud and weeds, about one and a half miles from the mouth of the river.

" October 3rd.—At 9 a.m. went on shore to examine plains. A gardener (with a spade) named Laws was landed. The gig's crew were desired to pull along shore and stop at the mouth of the river. Messrs. Claughton and Woodford accompanied Laws, keeping someway inland to examine the soil, while Pullen and myself kept along the beach. We proceeded about two miles, but found nothing but a wide indenture of the coast. We walked five miles further, and then returned to the place where we landed. At 4 p.m. all returned on board. I was much gratified at the report Laws gave me of the soil, he being a good judge.

" October 4th.—Went on shore at 9 a.m. to examine the plain. I cannot express my delight at seeing no bounds to a flat of fine rich-looking country, with abundance of fresh water lagoons. The little river, too, was deep. After walking some distance through long grass returned to the beach at 2 p.m., and getting into the gig pulled on board.

" October 5th.—Sent Messrs. Claughton and Jacob to trace the river up. At 1 p.m. these gentlemen returned, and said the river at four miles up was fresh. It was then a very narrow stream bending to the N.E., and appeared to have its source in the plains.

" The brig proceeded down the coast. At 1.30 p.m. hove-to on the 10th abreast a river—(qy. Onkaparinga.)—A native woman on board had mentioned this, and I sent Mr. Pullen in the gig to examine the entrance. At 2.10 he returned, and reported his seeing a large river for some distance, but the sand bar having much surf over it he was nearly upset. Again disappointed in my hopes of finding Jones's harbour, I now felt fully convinced that no such thing could exist on this coast, at least as described by him.

" 11th.—At 5.45 got under way. At noon we observed a boat coming towards us. At 2 p.m. hove-to; the boat brought Mr. John Morphett and Mr. Samuel Stephens. They reported the arrival of the *Cygnets* at Nepean Bay, and the landing of stores, and that the people were hutting themselves. I now resolved on going into Rapid Bay, and after landing some stores there, to send the brig to Kangaroo Island to fetch over the assistant surveyors, that they might be employed in the survey on this side the gulf during my examination of Port Lincoln, &c.

"November 2nd.—Divided the surveying party into two, Mr. Kingston having the largest party, and Mr. Gilbert with the greater part of the stores, to embark on board the *Rapid* for Holdfast Bay. Mr. Finniss, with his party, including Mr. Jacob, Mr. Hiram Mildred, and others to remain at Rapid Bay, each party to make as many observations as possible during my absence at Port Lincoln or elsewhere.

"November 6th.—At 4 p.m. the *Africaine*, Captain Duff, arrived at Rapid Bay with Mr. Gouger, Colonial Secretary, Mr. Brown, Emigration Agent, and other passengers. Mr. Gouger questioned me as to where we should settle. I could only recommend his proceeding to Holdfast Bay for the present, but stating that I could not guarantee permanent settlement there. With Captain Duff I embarked at 10 a.m. on the 7th.

"8th.—Landed at Holdfast Bay, met by Mr. Field and Mr. Morphett, who had been out exploring. The accounts given by these gentlemen, though not unfavorable, did not cheer the spirits of the new comers. Messrs. Field, Kingston, and Morphett had made a few miles inland, and had found a fresh-water river (the Torrens) much larger than any yet seen. Looking generally at this place I am quite confident this part will be one of the largest settlements if not the capital of the new colony; the creek will be its harbour.

"November 20.—Sailed for the creek (*i.e.*, sixteen-mile creek), taking Mr. Kingston with me. At 6 p.m. we came to anchor in the first reach, all hands overjoyed at the little brig's berth in so snug a spot.

"November 21.—Left the brig by the hatch-boat with Messrs. Kingston, Morphett, and Pullen, to examine the southern reach which I had before left unnoticed."

Extract letter to the Commissioners:—"November 22nd (dated). The Harbour. I could not leave this coast without looking once more at this harbour. We steered at once for this beautiful anchorage, and ran the brig in, where we now lie at single anchor although it is now blowing a gale of wind from the south-west with thick rainy weather. We were more than delighted to find the creek running into the plain so far. I am now more than ever persuaded that it is connected with the fresh water lagoons. It is one of the finest little harbours I ever saw. We had three fathoms water and very often four fathoms at dead low water in sailing up. I have sent Mr. Kingston to trace the connection between the head of the salt water creek and the fresh water, and to make his way back to the Glenelg camp by land."

"November 25th.—Got under way and out of the harbour with a light breeze. At 1 p.m. anchored in Holdfast Bay."

Extract from Mr. Kingston's letter:—"I kept along the banks of the river (creek) about two miles, when I think it had its source in the marshes (lagoons) in which I found the river (before alluded to) losing itself. The following day I crossed the river (Torrens) running down from" (direction of) "Mount Lofty. I again traced the plain, being able to view the course of the river by the reeds, until I found it again running through a regular bed," &c.

Colonel Light, after giving instructions to Mr. Kingston to follow up his discovery of the running river Torrens, left for Port Lincoln. What he found there has been already described in the *body of this work*. On his return to St. Vincent's Gulf on Decem-

ber 17th, "at daylight, Mount Lofty and the range of hills seen. At 10 came to anchor, and went ashore to see our party. The time now lost in much extra labour, and the arrival of many people from England makes me anxious to find some place to locate the land purchasers and others, and from every answer from the sealers and from the view I have had of the western coast (of the Gulf) I felt convinced I should never find anything more eligible than the neighbourhood of Holdfast Bay. As for Encounter Bay I resolved on leaving that to a future period for the following reason:—I never could fancy for one moment that any navigable entrance from the sea into the lake could possibly exist. On looking at Flinders' chart, and considering the exposed situation of that coast, moreover the very circumstance of so large a lake being there, was a convincing proof to me that the Murray could not have a passage sufficiently deep or wide to discharge its waters into the sea. Deep and fine harbours with good entrances are only found where the shore is high, hard, or rocky; sand alone can never preserve a clear channel against the scud of the sea such as must inevitably be thrown on the coast about Encounter Bay."

"On my arrival at Nepean Bay reports of the sealers I obtained confirmed the opinion I held that there was no such thing as a harbour along that coast, I therefore thought I should be throwing away valuable time in examining there."

"December 18th.—At half-past nine got under way with the *Tam o' Shanter* for the harbour, at six entered the first reach and came to anchor; about 11 a.m. the *Tam o' Shanter* struck on the edge of the western sandspit, having three fathoms of water within half her own length; she laid here until the 22nd; about 4 p.m. she was hove off, both crews assisting, and both ships made sail for the higher part of the harbour, preceding both ships in my hatch-boat."

"It was really beautiful to look back and see two British ships for the first time sailing up between mangroves in fine smooth water, in a creek that had never before borne the construction of the marine architect, and which at some future period might be the channel of import and export of a great commercial capital. Having got both ships up the harbour, I shall leave my narrative of the marine part of the expedition and proceed to my work on shore."

Thus ended the Surveyor-General's anxieties about the adoption of the main central harbour by the the adoption of the work of Mr. Pullen.

"December 24th.—Walked over the plain to that part of the river where Mr. Kingston had pitched his tent (the site of the future capitals). My first opinions with regard to this place became still more confirmed by this trip. Having traversed over nearly six miles of a beautiful flat, I arrived at the river, and saw from this a continuation of the same plain for at least six miles more to the foot of the hills under Mount Lofty, affording an immense plain of level and advantageous ground for occupation. Having settled future work with Mr. Kingston, I returned to make arrangements for finally leaving the ship.

"December 28th.—Pitched my tent near Mr. Kingston's at the side of the river. I heard of the Governor's arrival at Holdfast Bay, but having much to do had not time to go down to meet him.

"December 30th.—His Excellency the Governor arrived at our camp, and we walked together that he might see the spot I had selected

His Excellency expressed his sense of the beauty of the place, but said it was too far from the harbour." But, nevertheless, the site was adopted, on which is now built the most beautiful city in the Southern Hemisphere. Colonel Light, in deference to the Governor, entertained the idea of placing the city on the banks of the Torrens about one and a half miles lower down, but finding both above and below his first choice marks of the river overflowing its banks, he fortunately returned to his first choice.

EXTRACTS FROM ADMIRAL PULLEN'S LETTERS.

The following interesting notes (received too late for earlier insertion), extracted and furnished by Mr. A. Barker from correspondence with the Admiral, with whom he was engaged on board the *Rapid*, with the preceding portions of Colonel Light's diary, should be read after page 10, chapter 1, before Mr. C. W. Stuart's narration. The following are generally in the Admiral's own words:—

"I see in the portions of Colonel Light's journals which have appeared in the papers that not one mention of my name is made in them in connection with the discovery of Port Adelaide. I believe I was the first in it (*i.e.*, the southern reach of the present harbour). You cannot forget the brig dropping me with the hatch boat on September 28, 1836, when I got into an opening above the present entrance and finally anchored in the North Arm, thence proceeding southerly in the gig I passed up the long southern reach. On my return I met Mr. Field in the jolly-boat. On the next day I sailed out in the hatch-boat by Light's Passage, and on arriving on board the *Rapid* reported what I had discovered in my trip up the long southern reach, on receiving which the Surveyor-General decided to return with me the next day, on which occasion he confined himself to an examination of an eastern branch of the creek, and a patient search for fresh water. I have to complain of much the same treatment as to the Murray Mouth, as I was the first to enter that river from the sea. I feel great interest in that champion stream, and in the colony generally in the establishment of which we had something to do, and which seems to be flourishing wonderfully. I am now giving all the help I can to an engineer to go in for the docks in the Port just above the North Arm. A few days ago I was called on by a gentleman to tell me that such a thing was likely to be undertaken, whom I informed it was possible I might be able to give him some important information. The spot chosen is near where I got turned out in the water on the capsizing of the hatch-boat, by the force of a heavy squall, in beating up for the head of the creek (Old Port). I do not remember the names of my men, but it was a narrow escape, especially for poor Nation, who was with us. I heard of his sad death with great regret."

Note.—As to the circumstances which confused Colonel Light in the essential difference between the state of the water he found in the Sixteen-mile Creek, and the somewhat exaggerated account of it given by Captain Jones, such a discrepancy may be explained from the different season of the year when the creek was seen by them. It is natural to suppose, although the date of Jones's visit is not given, that he arrived and found the fresh state of the heads of the various branches of the main creek after a heavy and continued rain-fall, when the freshets were still running, and that fresh water had displaced the salt at and below

their unapproachable heads, as we know is more or less periodically the case now. Jones may also have landed on Torrens Island when he found lodges of rain water on it. I may mention that when ships were lying at or a little below the Old Port (misery) I heard reports of buckets being let down from ships' sides and fresh water obtained.

In further explanation it is observed that the time when Colonel Light made his inspection of the island and of the easterly branch creek which points towards Mount Lofty was late in the month of November, probably after a dry season. Moreover, his idea was a natural one, that a main stream might be found joining the eastern head of the creek, and thus he was led to neglect the southern reach on which Mr. Pullen had reported, the course of which runs parallel to the coast, and separated from it only by a narrow sandy strip of land. It is seen by these now published facts brought side by side that to Admiral Pullen and Sir G. S. Kingston belong the credit of proving that the sixteen-mile salt water creek and the constantly running water of the River Torrens have a connection, although after dry months the surface junction disappears.

I continue to extract from the Admiral's letters to show his work when a master's mate at the Murray Mouth, and his taking a boat in and reaching what was called Port Pullen, now the Goolwa. The Admiral says:—

“Port Pullen, I suppose, will follow (in the loss of his name), for the sketch I have lately seen of the entrance to the Murray is nothing like what I furnished after I had succeeded in passing in through the mouth. There too I nearly lost my life, for on going in in a boat expressly built for the river work I was thrown out into the surf. If I had lost my presence of mind and let go the steer oar, which the man pulling the after oar called on me to do, I should never have been writing this. I do not know how many times I passed down the south-east branch, now the Coorong, but the last time was when I went to hunt the murderers of the poor shipwrecked passengers and crew of the unfortunate Maria. When I first found the mangled bodies of men, women, and children, all in a nude state, I am certain that if there had been any natives present I could not have answered for the consequences, my men being in so exasperated and excited a state. Duncan was one of my men. He deserved a better berth than he has ever held since I have known him. He came home with me in the Lord Glenelg. The last time I saw him was in Valparaiso, in 1849; he was boatman's mate in the Nereus, a Government store-ship, and I was lieutenant in H.M. ship Asia.”

“Whilst engaged at the Murray Mouth the Governor, with Surveyor Nixon, were with me on Barker's Knowle when I was first sounding in and out. I have seen several plans and sketches of the Channel, but only one of them agrees with the course it had when I sailed in in the cutter Waterwitch, and the river only found that course a few days before the cutter reached Encounter Bay at my desire, for the purpose of sailing her in. Indeed, the course direct out had changed so suddenly that I had no time to sound the new one, which winded so much that I felt very anxious about it, but I could not give up, so risked it and happily succeeded.

“I can give you little of the events of the first days of the colony, except from recollection, for when I started on the survey of Lake

Alexandrina, while fitting out at Encounter Bay, I was burned out, and what notes I had with everything else I possessed were destroyed except a pair of trousers I seized hold of when I tumbled out of my cot to escape the burning element, then all over the roof, leaving me no time to get my watch from under the pillow. That fire commenced in another part of the building in which I had placed my instruments, &c., as more secure, but they all went, and I was helpless, and had to walk the whole way to Adelaide to replenish everything (over eighty miles).

"After some little time I returned and pitched my first camp, and surveyed what is now called Port Elliot, a mere notch in the coast, with an island or islet called by the then Governor Pullen's Isle, since known, I believe, as Lipson's, so blotting out all reminiscences of one of the earliest pioneers in the work.

"My next adventure happened at one of the survey camps (Hill's), where a vicious beast of a Timor pony I had in use threw me, and I was four days insensible away from my own camp, and no doctor nearer than Adelaide, which accident happened in this way. I had gone to Encounter Bay from my camp in the morning for some purpose in connection with my work, when in my return I called at Hill's camp, and found Mr. Nicholls, the Coroner, there. He had lost his horse, and I was asked if I found it on my way, I would return with it. I discovered the horse with the survey horses, and brought them all in, and whilst sitting carelessly with a slack rein on my beast whilst the men secured the horses, I was thrown. I do not know whether I fell with my head against a tree, or if the pony kicked me on the head. This was on Wednesday afternoon, and not until the Sunday following did I recover my recollection, when I woke up in a tent in Hill's camp, with old Dr. Wright and one of my men bending over me. The doctor had arrived that morning, and on seeing the state I was in, almost black in the face, thought it was all over with me. Now, from that day to this I never knew how it occurred. I found all my hair off when I recovered my senses, and my left arm much sprained, which I had to wear in a sling for some time."

"Shortly after returning to my camp I received a letter from the Surveyor-General, saying that Governor Gawler with a party wished to embark in my boats and go up the Murray, and if I had not sufficiently recovered one of the surveyors was to take my boats (Mr. Calder, I think), but this I could not allow, and by the time proposed I was ready, and directly the party reached my camp a start was made. Two ladies went with us—Mrs. Sturt and the Governor's eldest daughter. We stopped at the North-West Bend and there a camp was formed. A small party started off to explore, and the result of that ride was a sad one, where poor Bryant was lost (as given in the body of the book). The Governor was nearly gone also. In fact all the party came into the camp in a most exhausted state, also Sturt and Inman who had separated from the Governor. One horse had been killed to save human life." One of the mounts they saw was named Mount Pullen, but this name has been dropped, but is to be seen on some of the original maps. Thus ends Admiral Pullen's communications of his work in South Australia.

No. II.

RE INVENTION OF REAPER.

Reports *Register* and *Observer*, September 23rd, 1843.

Register.—"At a meeting of the Corn Exchange Committee held at Payne's Hotel (now Exchange Hotel), Hindley-street, Adelaide, in answer to advertisements, were exhibited, drawings, plans, and models by the following persons:—Messrs. C. Phillips, G. Cotter, A. J. Murray, E. N. Emmett, Samuel Marshall, Jas. Pitcher, J. W. Bull, F. Herbert, B. Swingler, — Hall, O. Smith, and — Robertson, when it was resolved — 'That no machine has been exhibited which the Committee feel justified in recommending for general adoption.—(Signed) W. PEACOCK, Chairman.'"

Part of report from *Observer*, September 23, 1843:—

"Mr. J. W. Bull, of Mount Barker, was now introduced. His machine consisted of a long-toothed comb fixed to a close-bodied cart, the teeth being operated on by four revolving beaters with square edges, which would have the effect of taking off the ears and depositing them in the body of the cart. Mr. Bull explained not only the principles of his invention, but their diversified beneficial application." At the conclusion of the meeting, Mr. Ridley (who had been present when the models were under inspection) stated "that he had purposely declined entering into competition, but his machine would be ready for action on the following Monday."

But no machine or model was exhibited by Mr. Ridley at that time.

J. W. Bull's remarks:—Messrs. Hamilton and Henderson, corn merchants, were on the Committee and in attendance. Their chief clerk, the late Mr. Thornber, was Secretary.

The Committee having rejected all the models and plans, I placed the model I produced in the hands of Mr. Thornber, and it was displayed in the office of the above firm with my instructions that it was at the service of the public, as I was unable to bring it out unaided myself.

Mr. S. Marshall, after the meeting, set to work to construct his mowing machine, Mr. Ridley offering to go halves with him.

See S. Marshall's letters following.

In answer to the remarks often recently put to J. W. Bull:—"Why have you not earlier made your claim to the invention?" he republishes the following letters he wrote the year after the first use of the reaper:—

[*Observer*, 15th March, 1845.]

"TO THE EDITOR.

"Sir—The favourable results which have attended the use of machinery in the ingathering of the corn during the past harvest having been brought so prominently before the public, I feel it a duty to myself to trouble you with the following remarks on the origin and history of an event which has proved of so much value to the colony.

"In September, 1843, pursuant to the public announcement, a meeting was held at Payne's Hotel, called by the Corn Exchange Committee, to examine models, plans, and drawings, and to adjudicate thereon. See *Adelaide Observer*, *Register*, and other papers.

"That meeting I attended, but I had been long previously and firmly persuaded that no machinery could be profitably applied to standing corn

in this climate except by stripping off at the ears only. I there presented a model of a machine to be constructed with such a view. Its principles consisted of an iron comb, and of revolving beaters moved by belts connected with the motion of the carriage wheels.

"Although many ingenious plans were placed by exhibitors before the Committee, by no other person than myself was a machine combining the above principles proposed or produced either at the meeting in question or at any of the subsequent ones which took place by adjournment. I beg to refer you to your files with the report of the meeting, in which you will find the observations I made upon my plan, and my expressions of confidence as to its ultimate success.

"Not being a constructor of machines, and from particular circumstances not prepared at that time to have one made under my own directions, I was obliged to rest satisfied with placing the matter simply but fully and unequivocally before the public, in the earnest hope that through the instrumentality of others the benefits I foresaw in its adoption might be effected. The hope has been amply realised (though it may now be said to an extent not imagined at the time).

"I must here, and with much pleasure, bear testimony to the great credit which is due to Mr. Ridley for his spirited exertions in bringing into action machines constructed on these principles. But whilst I concede to him all the honour which he has earned in this matter, I cannot lose sight of the fact that I came forward at the public call and presented a skeleton working model, and explained those principles which have been so successfully employed by him.

"Having now myself had the experience of two years in the use of such a locomotive harvest machine, I shall be happy to furnish you with some remarks at a future time on their application.

"It is universally admitted that a machine similar to the one I proposed, though not adopted by the Committee, is the only one by which corn can be profitably gathered—this is proved by the number which have been built this year (1844-5) on the same principles by various makers.

"I feel it right also to state that many months anterior to the meeting mentioned I had imparted to several gentlemen my ideas, the same as subsequently published at the meeting. Having experienced some inconvenience and even annoyance from my known connection with this subject, now that the ordeal of trial is over, and none of the evils anticipated by some have befallen it, I may, I am sure, be very fairly allowed to come forward and claim from my brother colonists, the honour of having been the originator of a revolution in rural economy which will prove of inestimable advantage to our common country.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"J. W. BULL.

"Blackwood, Mount Barker, 10th March, 1845."

The previous letter having called forth some angry remarks in the South Australian paper, the inventor replied, on the 5th of April following, in the *Observer*, as follows:—

"TO THE EDITOR.

"Sir—Perceiving in the South Australian newspaper an article on my letter which appeared in yours, explanatory of my connection with

harvesting machines, I merely deem it necessary to state (through you) that if Mr. Ridley will avow the South Australian article to be a representation of his claims correctly, or come forward in a public manner to contradict any of my statements in that letter, I shall then, in either of those cases, feel that I may with safety reply.

"In the meantime I shall be happy to trouble you with such a list of names, confirming dates and particulars, as will substantiate the points of my former letter, as early as I can procure authority for publishing them. In any allusion to Mr. Ridley in this or in my previous letter, I have not desired to detract from him, or to assume any merit belonging to him. I have merely published facts in connection with myself, supported by indubitable evidence.

"J. W. BULL."

Remarks of the Editor of the *Observer* on the above letters :—

"We fully believe all Mr. Bull has stated, but inasmuch as precisely similar ideas may have been entertained by more than one individual contemporaneously with Mr. Bull's avowal of his plan, the same idea may have occurred to Mr. Ridley."

To this is answered that at the time J. W. Bull exhibited his model and gave his explanations Mr. Ridley was present and did not then make a claim to the invention, or express his approval of it, nor did he commence to construct on that principle until some months afterwards, as see Mr. Marshall's letters and the papers reporting the meeting of the Reaping Machine Committee.

The above challenge not having met with a reply, J. W. Bull rested satisfied that his claim could not be disputed, and he now revives it that he may bequeath the honor due to him, to his children; he has not been favoured by fortune, yet he feels he has as a colonist not lived in vain, but has contributed largely to the prosperity of his adopted country.

The republication of the above letters of 1845 are the answer to the oft-advanced question put—"Why have you not at an earlier period made a public claim?" and he ventures to think he has proved his case on that point as well as on all he has advanced by the previous evidence, and further by what follows.

Note.—The following letters were published or received by J. W. Bull after a discussion on the subject appeared in the papers :—

MR. WHITTINGTON'S LETTER.

"To Mr. J. W. Bull.

"20th November, 1875.

"Sir—In reference to your being the inventor of the reaping-machine, I can say that in the year 1842 I was carrying on farming pursuits in the district of Mount Barker, in your neighbourhood. On one occasion in the above year, during a discussion we were engaged in as to how we should in the coming harvest meet the labour difficulties, you informed me you had thought of a plan to do the reaping by a machine to act on the ears of the standing crop. Your views I considered at that time to be rather Utopian. I subsequently heard (*i.e.*, in the early part of 1843) that you had procured a working model of your plan, which you intended to exhibit at a meeting advertised to be held in Adelaide. At that meeting I was present with others, and saw your model, which I and some present admired. I did not at once

understand why you did not yourself bring it to a practical issue, until I heard that financial difficulties were the cause. At the ensuing harvest Mr. Ridley had a machine in the field which I went to inspect, and at once saw it was the adoption of your model. At the time, to do Mr. Ridley justice, I did not hear that he claimed to be the inventor. There can be no two opinions but that South Australia is indebted to you for being the designer of the reaping-machines, which have proved such a success.

‘I am, Sir, yours truly,

“W. S. WHITINGTON.”

Extracts from a letter from W. L. Beare, Esq., J.P.—

“Clare, 25th November, 1875.

“My dear Mr. Bull—I have a clear recollection of the construction by my late father of a model of a machine for you, and entirely on your ideas. This was exhibited by you in Adelaide, and you were accompanied by my father. Mr. S. Marshall afterwards constructed a machine for you, following your model, which first worked at Netly, on my father’s section; the beaters were driven by a chain and a leather belt.

“I am, dear Sir, yours truly,

“W. L. BEARE.”

Mr. Marshall’s machine, when constructed, was tried on an early crop of Cape barley in the month of November following (see papers of the day).

Mr. Marshall’s letters:—

“Rundle-street, 25th November, 1875.

“To Mr. J. W. Bull.

“Sir—From all I know or can recollect about the origin of what is called Ridley’s reaper, I have no hesitation in stating that there is not a single idea in the machine that Mr. Ridley can claim as his own. I consider you were the first to originate the idea of thrashing the corn as it stood in the field. I never considered that any thanks were due to Mr. Ridley beyond carrying out the first construction, which few mechanics then in the colony could do for want of means.

“A number of models and plans were submitted to the Committee; all of them except yours proposed to cut the crop.

“I exhibited one for mowing. Mr. Ridley was present but did not exhibit, but afterwards offered to go halves with me in mine.

“I add that after I tried my machine in November I went to assist Mr. Ridley in building his first field reaper.

“I am, dear Sir, &c.,

“Rundle-street.”

“SAMUEL MARSHALL.

J. W. B. states:—After harvest Mr. S. Marshall constructed a machine for me. See Mr. Coull’s letter to the *Advertiser*.

“Athelstone, March 21st, 1876.

“Sir—As a number of letters have appeared in the papers as to who invented the stripper, I state that in the year 1843 I lived and carried on my business in Blyth-street. I may well remember all about the meeting at Payne’s Hotel in September, 1843, where a number of models were exhibited, and that Mr. Bull and Mr. Marshall showed models. I afterwards made the comb and beaters for the machine,

which Mr. Marshall built for Mr. Bull. I had at the time some heavy mill work to make for Mr. Ridley, so I can remember all particulars. Mr. Bull should have the credit of the invention of a machine to thrash a standing crop, and for having given it for the benefit of the colony.

"I am, Sir, &c.,

"J. G. COULLS."

"To the Editor of the *Advertiser*, from S. Herbert, Esq., J.P., Wissanger, Yankalilla, February 10th, 1876.

"Sir—Will you kindly insert the following as a matter of public interest. The comb, the beaters, the reaping-machine, who was the inventor?"

"In the year 1842, I was living in Adelaide. There was then an extended breadth of land under wheat. Labour being scarce, it became a question how the crop was to be secured. It had become publicly known that Mr. J. W. Bull proposed a machine with comb and beaters. I have not the least doubt that Mr. Bull is the inventor, as no such machine was heard of before that time. Mr. Bull exhibited his model in 1843, the only one with comb and beaters. What has been the result? Thousands have obtained wealth and position, and agriculture established on a solid base; the value of the public estate greatly increased, as seen by the constant flow of money into the Treasury; trade and prosperity of the colony built up."

In a subsequent letter to the *Advertiser*, February 29th, 1876, Mr. S. Herbert writes:—

"Was it not Mr. Ridley's intention to have patented the machine had he not been threatened by a caveat? And now, after more than thirty years, I fail to see how he is entitled to the honour, if not at the time he produced the machine, *i.e.* more than three months after the meeting for the exhibition of models. I may here remark I have not spoken to Mr. Bull for years, and I am not aware I ever spoke to him in reference to the machine or its inventor.—SEPTIMANE HERBERT."

By the preceding extracts from reports and letters published in the papers, &c., touching on the meetings of the Reaping-machine Committee, it will be seen that I (J. W. Bull) was the only exhibitor of the principle of gathering the grain from a standing crop.

Here I will add that I have at all times, in public and private, admitted that to Mr. Ridley was due the honour of having first constructed at his works a machine on the principle I produced, and which I gave to the public. I did not oppose the small reward Mr. Ridley obtained after he succeeded in the field in proving my principle; I only afterwards stood in the way of a patent being taken out for an invention I had given to the colony at a time when its immense value was not anticipated.

To conclude this lengthy note with an apology for its insertion in the appendix of this work, I trust my readers will accept the case (as a sufficient one, which I have here presented, that my design and plan of a harvesting machine as brought into practice by Mr. John Ridley places each of us in an advanced position as public benefactors, having conjointly introduced a mode of harvesting the staff of life by which the wealth and prosperity of the colony has been established—I as the inventor and he as the only individual who came forward with his means and appliances to construct the first stripper and prove its utility.

J. W. BULL.

No. III.

GOVERNOR GREY'S RETRENCHMENT—RESIGNATION OF
MAJOR O'HALLORAN.

WHEN Governor Grey in carrying out his severe retrenchment affecting the officials in the Government service, proposed to Major O'Halloran (who held the office of Commissioner of Police, in which office he had performed such arduous services) that he should consent to fulfil the duties also of Police Magistrate, the Major declined to occupy such a combination of duties, and resigned his office, much to the regret of the public generally and especially to the grief of the officers and men who had served under him and had gained such well-merited encomiums. On his taking farewell of them he was presented with a valuable silver snuff box by officers and men of the force.

To display the terms subsisting between the head of this department, and those who served under him in protecting the lives and properties of the colonists from the numbers of outlaws who had arrived from the convict colonies, and from the wild natives, a letter from the Commissioner to the body of the mounted police force is considered to be worthy to be recorded in this history of the first days of South Australia:—

“Lizard Lodge, O'Halloran Hill, 15th April, 1843.

“Dear Sir—Having long been intimately associated with the officers and men of the mounted police, almost all of whom have served on various occasions with me, I cannot express to you the absolute torture of my feelings when the time of parting arrived, and which rendered me quite incapable of expressing, as I intended, the feeling of attachment I felt towards all, and the deep sorrow of a separation from those I had learnt to appreciate the full value of from an intimate knowledge and acquaintance.

“I had not the slightest notion that their kind partiality intended presenting me with any token of regards, which when tendered by you in the name of the mounted police, and in the shape of a superb silver snuff box, richly and beautifully ornamented, rendered me quite incompetent for the time of returning the heartfelt thanks which I deeply felt for such unlooked for kindness on the part of my old comrades towards me.

“I now therefore offer, through you, my grateful acknowledgments for the gift which the officers and men of the mounted police have presented to me on retiring from the office of Commissioner, and I beg to assure all that this token of their esteem shall ever be dearly valued by me, and be handed down with pride to my eldest boy.

“I am, Sir, &c.,

“T. O'HALLORAN.

“Alexander Tolmer, Esq.,

“Inspector of Mounted Police, Adelaide.”

In conclusion, on the retirement of Major O'Halloran Captain B. T. Finnis was appointed by the Governor to the amalgamated offices, and for some time fulfilled the duties of the same most efficiently, as he has done subsequently some of the highest offices in the colony, amongst others that of Acting Governor on the retirement of Colonel Robe.

On the opening of the Northern Territory he was the first Resident Administrator.

No. IV.

ADMIRAL PULLEN'S FINAL ACHIEVEMENTS AFTER HE RETURNED TO HIS DUTIES UNDER THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.—HIS ARDUOUS WORKS IN THE ARCTIC SEAS IN SEARCH FOR THE REMAINS OF THE GALLANT SIR JOHN FRANKLIN, THE LOST ARCTIC EXPLORER, AND HIS HARDY CREWS.—IN THE LAST RUSSIAN WAR HIS BOMBARDMENT OF JEDDAH.—HIS UNDERTAKING IN THE RED SEA IN SOUNDING FOR THE FIRST CABLE.

EXTRACTS FROM ADMIRAL PULLEN'S LETTERS.

"When at Valparaiso I was superintending the loading a small brig chartered by the Commander-in-Chief of the Station to take stores and provisions to the Sandwich Isles for the Arctic ship in Behring's Straits.

"I went in the brig to join that ship, having been sent from England to join her at Panama, which port she did not visit, and I lost my passage, and it was not until June, 1840, I got on board of her, and ten days afterwards left in her boats to search the Northern Arctic coast of America in quest of Franklin; that ship I have never seen from that day to this. I wintered two years and a half with the fur traders of the Hudson Bay Company, entering the Rivers Mackenzy, and passing right through Northern America to York Factory, bottom of Hudson's Bay, and got home with my men in one of their ships in October, 1851.

"The next year I went out again to Davis Straits, Lancaster Sound, and Beachy Isle, and was shut up in the ice two years. The ship I commanded was the only one of that expedition that returned to England of the squadron of five which left home in 1852; the crews returning with me and two ships which had brought us supplies, which ships heaved in sight the day I got my ship clear of the ice with all four crews on board.

"I was glad to see these two ships, so we hauled into the edge of the floe again, and they took a share of the men I had on board, and we reached England again in time to take part in the Russian War, where, at the bombardment of Jeddah, I had no less than eleven of the murderers of our Consuls executed by decapitation. I got more than two salutes of thirteen guns each from two of our men-of-war, who arrived after I had finished the bombardment. I also received a letter from the Secretary for Foreign Affairs in acknowledgment of that affair.

"When in the Red Sea, sounding for the first cable for the purpose of connecting India with the western world, I had an audience with the Pasha of Egypt. This was in 1861, after my return from the Arctic regions, on which occasion he remarked to me, 'Why, your Government first freeze you and then send you here to be thawed.' After that service was completed I was in hopes I should have had something of the same sort of work to do in connection with South Australia; but no, the Lords of the Admiralty did not seem to enter into the spirit of enterprise sufficiently to spare one of Her Majesty's ships for the purpose. I would gladly have ventured in the undertaking, rotten as my old ship was, even to the necessity of taking out of her two of her heavy guns. In fact an engineer of the name of Gibson had commenced a correspondence with

me on the subject. Nothing would have given me more pleasure than in taking my old H.M. ship Cyclops into Port Adelaide. Hard as my life has been in all my services, I have, by God's blessing, good health, and have much indeed to be thankful for, still I cannot help grumbling at having at this time nothing to do, which is about the hardest work I ever had.

"I still feel great interest in the Murray Mouth, and, indeed, in all else in the colony. I should like to hear of that river being brought into closer connection with Adelaide and the Port by rail. The sea mouth must be such a heavy undertaking, and no means of estimating the end of the cost, so that it had better be dropped for the time. I am afraid though that amongst you there are so many conflicting interests that you don't pull together. It seems to me that every one is for himself, and no one for the good of all, and no downright public feeling and thought for the benefit of the country.

"I am very glad to hear that your new Governor takes such an interest in the colony, and that he advocates a railway to Port Darwin. I saw in one of the papers (the *Advertiser*) the speech of Sir William Jervois at the Mayor's dinner. I consider it a very good one, and to the point, and that he confirms my views also as to the sea mouth and Port Victor. Such opinions have been published in my letters some time ago.

"I met Sir William Jervois in Bermuda when I was there on marine surveying purposes. He was there to consider the best means of fortifying the islands, and I was called on to advise as to the best style of marine monsters (ironclads) to act in conjunction with the land forts.

"I believe that Adelaide (S. A.) will eventually be the chief settlement in Australia. The telegraph line across to Port Darwin has given a great impetus to the colony."

It has given me great pleasure in being able to publish the foregoing *résûmés* of Admiral Pullen's public services, both in the Imperial and Colonial services.

NOTES OF ADDITIONAL MISSIONARY MINISTERS.

I have alluded, in the body of the work, to the first independent minister who arrived amongst the very earliest colonists (the Rev. Thomas Quinton Stow), and may now mention two others who came to the colony somewhat later. The Rev. Ridgway William Newland arrived about the year 1839-4 and soon after settled at Encounter Bay, where for many years as he himself said, he "preached righteousness and wrought agriculture." He was a man of remarkable vigour, both of body and mind, just the right stamp for a pioneer colonist. He has walked the entire distance from Encounter Bay to Adelaide in a single day, fifty-six miles, swimming two rivers on the journey. He was a good preacher, and one who was not afraid to "call a spade a spade." He was very outspoken and unsophisticated, as an illustration of which I may mention that on one occasion having come to Adelaide on business, and been unexpectedly detained over Sunday, he was applied to to preach for the Rev. T. Q. Stow, who had been taken suddenly ill. Mr. Newland having expected to return home by the Saturday night, had not brought his Sunday suit

with him, and it being summer time had only light clothes and a holland coat, and that not fresh from the hand of the laundress. He replied to the messenger, "O, yes, I'll come and preach if the people of Freeman-street will not object to hear me in this coat." The people of Freeman-street were as sensible in this respect as Mr. Newland, and heard him with much pleasure, while he preached with more comfort probably than if he had had a blackcoat on, the day being hot. Mr. Newland did a great deal of good in the neighbourhood where he lived, and brought up a large family. He died at a good old age, some years ago, from the effects of an accident to the mail conveyance in which he was riding. It was before our public conveyances were brought to the state of comparative perfection that we now see, and when worn-out rotten harness and wretched jaded horses were in fashion. He was a sterling good man, and made his mark in the colony. He died respected and regretted. The next Congregational minister who came to the colony was the Rev. J. B. Austin, who arrived at the close of the year 1843 with a family of eight children. He, like Mr. Newland, had not come with the intention of taking up the ministry as a profession; but finding that the spiritual wants of the place were not adequately provided for, he felt it to be his duty to exercise the gifts he possessed, and he soon commenced Sunday services at Macclesfield, where he resided. There being at the time no place of worship, nor even a room large enough to accommodate the small congregation of about five-and-twenty persons, Mr. Austin, with the help of his son, used to pitch a tent on the flat early every Sunday morning. It was unsafe to pitch it over night, as the cattle came and chewed the ropes. Divine service was for many months held in the tent as reverently, and perhaps as profitably, as in the more pretentious and substantial ecclesiastical edifices of the present more civilised times. Mr. Austin also established preaching stations at Echunga, Mount Barker, and Strathalbyn, where he continued to hold services in rotation, sometimes at three different places the same day, and riding from sixteen to twenty-four miles. He was at this time an active man of about forty-four years of age. He is now the oldest minister in the colony, being in his 79th year; and though for the past three or four years he has given up preaching, he was actively engaged in the good work for about fifty-two years of his life. The services at Echunga were held in a large room in what had previously been Mr. J. B. Hack's residence, those at Mount Barker in a newly-erected barn belonging to the late Mr. Duncan McFarlane, J.P., and those at Strathalbyn in a large room. At all these places the congregations were composed of settlers of different religious denominations, who came from miles around on horseback, in bullock-drays, or on foot, and very few in spring-carts, for such aristocratic vehicles were very uncommon in those days.

The Rev. Thomas Playford, who arrived in the colony in the year 1844, belonged to the "Christian Society" founded in London by the Rev. Robert Aitken, who had seceded from the Church of England. Mr. Playford was born in Yorkshire in 1795, and was in the regiment of the Life Guards in the Battle of Waterloo. Soon after his arrival in the colony he commenced preaching in a little chapel in Hindley-st., previously mentioned, near where the Theatre Royal now stands, and from his earnest and impressive manner, as well as from the fact of his preaching on the near approach of Christ's second coming and personal reign upon the earth.

he drew many to hear him. In the year 1848 a new chapel was built for him in Bentham-street, and there he continued to exercise the pastorate for twenty years without remuneration. He was greatly respected, and led a useful and blameless life until the year 1873, when he died in the month of September, soon after entering his 79th year. Mr. Playford left a large family, all grown up, the eldest of whom, the Hon. Thomas Playford, M.P., has for some years ably represented the District of East Torrens in the House of Assembly, and has held the position of Commissioner of Crown Lands in two or three Ministries. It may not be out of place here to notice the high positions attained in the colony by other sons of the earliest ministers of the Gospel in South Australia. The eldest son of the late Rev. T. Q. Stow is one of our highly respected and talented Judges, the second is Editor of the *Advertiser* newspaper, and the third senior Judge's Associate. The eldest son of the Rev. James Way, a Bible Christian minister, is Chief Justice of the colony, and at present, for the third time, *ex officio* Acting-Governor of the province, in the absence of His Excellency Sir W. F. D. Jervois, K.G.C.M.G., R.E., &c., &c. Mr. Way's second son is one of our leading medical men. The Rev. J. B. Austin's eldest son has for many years been connected with the South Australian Press, and his two brothers have been engaged in pastoral pursuits.

About the year 1845-6 the Rev. George Stonehouse, a Baptist minister, arrived in the colony, having been induced and assisted to come out by Mr. G. F. Angas, with the view of establishing a Baptist College in Adelaide. But whatever might have been Mr. Stonehouse's qualifications for the work, the material, in the shape of students, was wanting, and Mr. Stonehouse had to content himself with ministering to a small congregation in North Adelaide. He was an excellent man, of very fair preaching abilities, and was beloved and respected by his people. He had hardly been two years in the colony, before Mr. Angas sent out the Rev. J. B. Titherington to assist him in the embryo college, which existed only in imagination. The "Gazette" of the day, edited by Mr. George Stevenson, contained a rather facetious article on the arrival of this second Baptist minister to assist the first, who was unable to do anything in the special work intended for him. The article compared their positions with that of the builder's labourers who were interrogated by their master, and replied as follows:—"Bill, what are you doing?"—"Nothing, sir;"—"Jem, what are you doing?"—"Helping Bill, sir." Mr. Titherington, however, engaged in preaching as opportunity offered, but was not successful in establishing a congregation who were able to support him. He was a truly good man, but very simple-minded, and rather eccentric. After some time the Lord Bishop finding him without a settled congregation, and knowing his real worth, made overtures to him to enter the Anglican Church, which he did, and continued in her communion to the day of his death. He had an unfortunate faculty for losing his way in the country, partly from his fondness for trying to make short cuts, and some very amusing stories are told of this peculiarity and the difficulties into which it led him. It was on one of these occasions that he lost his life by trying a road which led to a ford on the River Light, instead of going the better road by the bridge. The *Light* happened to be flooded at the time, and he was drowned in attempting to cross on horseback. He had a strange quaint style of preaching.

and if time permitted some amusing anecdotes might be given of his pulpit sayings.

It is but justice to record in this place that although in the opening days of the colony the Baptists did not make an early stand, yet at the time of this publication the Baptist section of the Christian Church occupies an important position both as to the superior places of worship which have been erected, and, with the high-talented and exemplary ministers, liberally supported by the members, amongst whom may be mentioned the late Hon. W. Peacock, M.L.C., who was early and to the last a most liberal supporter of that communion.



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(Incorporated by Royal Charter, 1847.)

Capital, £625,000.

RESERVE FUND, £200,000.

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INDIA.....	Oriental Bank Corporation.
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Advertisements.

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ESTABLISHED 1809.

Incorporated by Royal Charter.

Subscribed Capital	£2,000,000
Paid-up Capital	...	...	...	...	250,000
Fire Reserve Fund	...	...	...	...	£796,747
Fire Premium Reserve	...	...	...	...	286,021
Total Fire Reserves	...	...	...	...	1,082,768
Income of the Fire Department, Net Premiums and Interest	...	...	...	...	916,646

*Extracts from the Report of the Business for 1876,
as submitted to the Annual General Meeting of Shareholders, on 6th April, 1876.*

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The PREMIUMS received in 1875					
amounted to	...	...	...	...	£1,096,601 3 2
Less Re-Insurances	...	...	...	...	236,208 11 10
					£860,392 11 4
During the Year 1876 the Premiums					
received were	...	...	...	...	1,109,984 11 1
Deducting the Re-Insurances	...	...	...	...	251,920 3 3
Net Premiums were	...	...	...	...	858,064 7 10
					£2,328 3 6

Exhibiting a decrease of £2,328 3 6
While there has been this decrease in the amount of net Premiums, there has been an actual increase in the extent of the Company's operations, the gross Premiums for 1876 having exceeded those for 1875 by upwards of £13,000.

The net losses by Fire during the year 1876 have amounted to £482,438 11s. 9d., which sum includes all losses paid, and an estimate of all outstanding claims prior to 31st December, the amount of which was not actually ascertained, at the date of closing the Books for the year.

The following statement shows the progress of the Company in amount of Premiums received, Losses paid, and augmentation of the Fire Reserves during the last decade of years:—

	NET PREMIUMS.	NET LOSSES.	FIRE RESERVES.
1867	333,984	165,738	362,129
1868	415,544	222,792	435,668
1869	505,429	197,434	598,251
1870	555,179	323,925	695,123
1871	660,618	645,105	528,803
1872	794,315	504,365	596,341
1873	762,640	425,672	717,608
1874	824,941	455,999	827,238
1875	860,392	456,146	980,744
1876	858,064	482,438	1,082,768
	£6,571,106	£3,879,614	

In the Fire Department, in addition to the paid-up Capital of £250,000, the Reserve Funds of £1,082,768, there is a security of £1,750,000 of subscribed but uncalled-up Capital.

Agent for South Australia, HERBERT EVANS,
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North British & Mercantile Insurance Company.
LONDON AND EDINBURGH.

ESTABLISHED 1809.

Incorporated by Royal Charter.

ESTABLISHMENT FOR 1877.

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Brindisi, Ancona, or Venice ...	80	160	210	45
Port Said	73	146	196	42
Suez	70	140	190	40
Aden	45	90	120	30
Bombay	40			25
Ceylon	40			25
Madras	40			25
Calcutta	45			30
Penang	50			28
Singapore	55			30
Batavia	65			36
Hong Kong	65			40
Shanghai	75			45
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Fresh Bill of Fare every Day

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Vats, Wine Casks, Spirit Kegs, Butter Kegs, Tallow Casks, Beef Tierces, Well Buckets, Cheese Vats, Churns, Brewers' Casks, &c., on hand or made to order.

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